

**UNIVERSIDAD DE DEUSTO**

**QUESTS FOR INDEPENDENCE:**

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF JAMES JOYCE AND**

**PÍO BAROJA'S ATTEMPTS TO BREAK**

**BOUNDARIES**

**OLGA FDEZ. VICENTE**

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BOUNDARIES**

Tesis doctoral presentada por Dña. OLGA FERNÁNDEZ VICENTE

Dirigida por la Dra. MARÍA LUZ SUÁREZ CASTIÑEIRA

La Directora

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‘and yes I said yes I will Yes.’

(U18. 1609)



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# Table of contents

<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>I. Introducing the writers and their contexts</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>1.1. The writers' life and work.</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>1.1.1. James Joyce's life and work.</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>1.1.2. Pío Baroja's life and work.</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>1.1.3. Similarities and differences.</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>1.2. Socio-political context.</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>1.2.1. The Irish Context: Reinventing the Nation.</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>1.2.2. The Spanish Context: Fragmentation and Loss of Identity.</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>1.2.3. Similarities and differences.</b>	<b>72</b>
<b>II. Breaking away from contemporary socio-political contexts.</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>2.1. The writers' reactions to the socio-political turn-of-the-century climate.</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>2.2. Facing the creation of a national epic.</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>2.3. Facing the outbreak of nationalisms.</b>	<b>97</b>
<b>2.4. Nationalism and racial difference.</b>	<b>110</b>
<b>2.5. Independence movements and racism.</b>	<b>118</b>
<b>2.6. Nationalism and Language.</b>	<b>133</b>
<b>2.7. Flying over the nets.</b>	<b>151</b>

<b>III.</b>	<b>Breaking away from established religion.</b>	<b>161</b>
3.1.	The Church and society.	164
3.2.	Europeanism and secularization.	178
3.3.	Quest for freedom.	190
3.4.	Philosophy and Literature.	199
3.5.	Summary: religion versus philosophy.	213
<b>IV.</b>	<b>Breaking boundaries: Joyce and Baroja facing Modernism</b>	<b>215</b>
4.1.	A 'revaluation' or 'transvaluation' of values: Names are not final guides to styles	252
4.1.1.	Phases of Modernism	220
4.1.2.	Modernism and the role of the intellectual	227
4.1.3.	The vision of art in Modernism	231
4.1.4.	Joyce and Modernism	237
	4.1.4.1. Joyce facing Revivalism	240
	4.1.4.2. Joyce's Realism	248
4.1.5.	Modernism and Noventayochism.	252
	4.1.5.1. Baroja and the Generation of '98	259
4.2.	Quest for independence in an unheroic age.	262
4.2.1.	Joyce's Modernism?	268
4.2.2.	Escaping the boundaries of Modernism: Joyce's continuous search for independence.	276
4.3.	Baroja's quest for independence.	287
4.3.1.	Baroja's evolution.	295
	<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>305</b>
	<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>313</b>

# Introduction

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## INTRODUCTION

The starting point for this dissertation might well be Katherine Murphy's statement in which she argues against a restrictive study of Baroja:

Baroja's fiction was very much in tune with literary developments across Europe in the early twentieth century. The restrictive study of Baroja within a purely Hispanic context pays scant regard to the fact that works of fiction are not produced in cultural isolation (Murphy 2004, 13).

In this thesis we intend to delve further into precisely what Katherine Murphy suggests by comparing Baroja with, among others, one of the most discussed writers of the twentieth century, James Joyce. As Murphy suggests, evidence proves that Pío Baroja was very much aware of the modes of thought and of practice which pervaded the whole of Europe and which concurred with the beginnings of his novelistic career. In fact, the Basque novelist roundly rejected the strictly Hispanic notion of the Generation of '98:

*Yo siempre he afirmado que no creía que existiera una Generación del 98. El invento fue de Azorín. [...] una Generación que no tiene puntos de vista comunes, ni aspiraciones iguales, ni siquiera el nexo de la edad, no es una Generación<sup>1</sup>(Baroja 1949, 445).*

The main aim of this thesis is to demonstrate that Joyce and Baroja went on a similar quest for independence and that both attempted to break the boundaries that prevented them to be free to create. Sharing the climate of ideas that were spreading throughout Europe and feeling smothered by the narrow-mindedness of their stifling societies, they became part of the European challenge to the social, ethical and artistic values which accompanied the emergence of European Modernism, and converted their work into an attempt to Europeanise Spain and Ireland, or at least to make the countries more objective and immanent. This comparative study will also try to demonstrate that in both cases, labels are restrictive. We argue against James Joyce being defined as a modernist with pinpoint accuracy, just as we disagree with the Hispanic notion of *noventaiochista* being applied

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<sup>1</sup> I have always claimed that I didn't believe that no such thing as the Generation of '98 existed. It was an invention of Azorín's. [...] a Generation which does not share common points of view or similar aspirations or even the nexus of age, is not a Generation. (Translation mine)

## Introduction

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strictly to Pío Baroja. We consider that these labels are limits to a full understanding of the artistic production of the writers under consideration.

Although it is true that James Joyce's work has been subject to intense scrutiny by scholars of all types and that the avenues of research opened by Francisco García Tortosa<sup>2</sup> as President of the James Joyce Spanish Society have led to countless articles, a variety of publications and several doctoral dissertations on James Joyce in Spain<sup>3</sup> it is also true that Marisol Morales Ladrón's comparative study of the work of James Joyce and Luis Martín-Santos: *'Tradición y recepción de la obra de James Joyce en la narrativa de Luis Martín-Santos'* read in 1998, is the only comparative study among these. On the other hand, over the years Pío Baroja's works have also been the subject of several books, doctoral dissertations – among which we would like to highlight Lourdes Lecuona's *'Presencia de lo inglés en Pío Baroja'* – and countless articles.

However, in the present state-of-the-art we can say that Katherine Murphy's *Re-reading Pío Baroja and English Literature* is the only work which investigates the structural connections between James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and Pío Baroja's *Camino de Perfección*. In her book, Murphy investigates a wide range of structural connections between Pío Baroja's early fiction and the novels of his contemporaries in England and Ireland, with prominence given to Joseph Conrad, Thomas Hardy, E.M. Forster and James Joyce. However, whereas Murphy's study focuses on 'the representation of the artist in terms of non-integration, in society and in relation to personality' (Murphy 2004, 21) and on the artist's vision, this dissertation will focus on the relation of both artists and their production to politics, religion, philosophy and art. Their heroes – Bloom, Stephen, Ossorio and Zalacaín among others – will accompany us along the way in order to help us identify their creators' Odyssey in a society they found oppressive.

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<sup>2</sup> Some of Francisco García Tortosa's main contributions to making James Joyce better known in Spain include his translations into Spanish of *Ulysses* and 'Anna Livia Plurabelle.'

<sup>3</sup> See for example: '*La Recepción de James Joyce a través de la prensa española*' by García Santa Cecilia, Carlos (01/01/1996); '*El problema de la caracterización en la obra de James Joyce. El artista y sus personajes*' by Estévez Saá, Margarita (17/12/2001) or '*Resonancias de James Joyce en la vida y obra de Seamus Heany*' by Pozo Montaña, M<sup>a</sup> Angeles (02/06/2008).

## Introduction

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The central character of James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* must grow wings so as to break into a new setting – one in which he could be free to express his thoughts – ‘When the soul of a man is born in this country there are nets flung at it to hold back from flight. You talk to me of nationality, language, religion. I shall try to fly by those nets’ (Joyce 1996, 231). Both the Basque author Pío Baroja and the Irish writer James Joyce might have agreed in this contention with Dedalus, the artist as a young man, for both tried to dodge the nets of nationalism, religion and language in order to attain the perspective necessary to create and revolutionise the novel. However, as this comparative study will demonstrate, only one of the two managed to do so. Both of them explored similar revolutionary roads, but whereas Baroja stopped short, retraced his steps and became – by force – a repetitive writer, Joyce broke all boundaries and brought his revolution of the word to its final consequences. Indeed, as early as 1972, Domingo Pérez Minik in his short article ‘*Irlanda: los antojos de su narrativa*’ (*Ínsula* 311 October) referred to Baroja’s and James Joyce’s styles and already pointed out that whereas Joyce continued experimenting in his art to the end of his career, Baroja did not:

[...] *Como si estuviéramos a la vista de nuestro Pío Baroja, con su común conciencia estilística, aunque ya sabemos que James Joyce era hombre mucho más cuidadoso que el español, sin dejar de coincidir en la visión crítica de la sociedad, clan o individuo, y en su consideración con respecto al destino humano. En ‘Dublineses’ no había aparecido todavía lo que se ha llamado, con el ‘Ulises’, la aventura espiritual jesuítica de James Joyce. Esa trayectoria que va desde este recinto tan observado, doméstico y recatado de estas tempranas narraciones hasta ‘Un retrato del artista adolescente’, para terminar en el galáxico ‘Finnegans Wake’, no es fácil de caminar, entender o explorar. En estos años de la primera guerra mundial, James Joyce veía, apreciaba y componía casi como Pío Baroja, que de hecho, lo precedió en otras muchas cosas, desde el comienzo del siglo. Pero mientras Pío Baroja se paró, repitió o conservó. James Joyce que le llevaba diez años de edad a nuestro novelista, de pronto se lanzó a la consecución de la más extraordinaria hazaña narrativa que ha conocido el mundo después de Cervantes*<sup>4</sup> (Pérez Minik 1972, 5).

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<sup>4</sup> It is as though we had Pío Baroja with his common stylistic awareness, in our sights, yet knowing that James Joyce was a much more careful man than the Spaniard, always meshing his critical vision of society, the clan or the individual with his ponderings on the destiny of man. In ‘Dubliners’ we still cannot appreciate what will later be called, with ‘Ulysses’ James Joyce’s Jesuit spiritual adventure. This path which led him from the often observed, domestic, coy ground of his early work, to ‘Portrait of the artist as a young man,’ and ending up at the galactic ‘Finnegan’s Wake’ – not an easy path to walk, comprehend or explore. ... At the time of the First World War, James Joyce observed, appraised and composed in almost the same way as Pío Baroja who, in fact, preceded him in many other aspects since the start of the century. But where Pío Baroja stopped, repeated and preserved, James Joyce, ten years younger than our novelist, suddenly threw himself into achieving the most extraordinary narrative feat the world has even known since Cervantes(Translation mine).

## Introduction

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Though their paths did not follow the same revolutionary trajectory till the end, in this dissertation we defend that the similarities found in the evolution of these artists are the result of similar socio-political situations and backgrounds that led them to working in a similar way toward the liberation – perhaps Europeanisation – of both themselves as artists and of their countries.

Indeed, the wide range of codes and languages which *Ulysses* forms part of is significant in the concept of the author as a citizen, not only as a Dubliner but also as a European, in a way that fits Pound's description of the Irish author, 'He writes as a European, not as a provincial' (Pound 1971, 32-33). To a certain extent, the same description could be made of the Basque writer. A comparison of his works with Joyce's strengthens the idea pointed out by a limited number of critics and scholars, i.e. that in order to fully understand Baroja, he must be approached outside the potentially limiting confines of Hispanic literature. In this dissertation – together with John Butt in his article 'The 'Generation of 98': A Critical Fallacy?' – we challenge the insular concept, one of our principal contentions being that the term 'encourages a false view of the relationships between Spanish and other European literatures' (Butt 1980, 136-153). In *The Modernist Mind: Identity and Integration in Pío Baroja's Camino de Perfección*, J. J. Macklin makes a similar case by suggesting the need to look beyond the Iberian Peninsula, and argues that 'the affinities between early twentieth-century Spanish fiction and the Modernist novel in Europe [...] are obscured by the continued allegiance of critics to the purely Hispanic notion of the Generation of 1898' (Macklin 1983, 541). As we have already mentioned, more recently, in *Re-reading Pío Baroja and English literature*, Katherine Murphy has attempted 'to re-contextualize the works of the Spanish author in relation to the nineteenth - and early twentieth- century English novel, and thus to produce new readings of Baroja and of the relationship between Spanish and English fiction of the period' (Murphy 2004,13). Murphy's comparative approach is founded upon a close textual analysis of seven novels by Baroja and twelve works by his English contemporaries – out of whom particular attention is given to Conrad and Hardy –, within the context of the literary developments associated with the move

## Introduction

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toward Modernism in Europe. In her study, Murphy devotes one chapter to James Joyce and Pío Baroja under the title –‘Defining the Artist in *Camino de Perfección* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*’ – in which she states that ‘The idea, prevalent at the end of the nineteenth century, that the artist is somehow different from those around him, infuses both *Camino de Perfección* and *A Portrait of the Artist*’ (Murphy 2004, 21) and defends that ‘The most immediate point of comparison between *Camino de Perfección* and *A Portrait of the Artist* is the representation of the artist in terms of non-integration, in society and in relation to personality’ (Murphy 2004, 21).

It is undeniable that the structural similarities between Baroja and his English contemporaries undertaken in Murphy’s study bridge some of the many gaps in Barojan literary criticism. However, Murphy’s analysis focused on the attempt to capture in Baroja’s work those centres of consciousness fundamental to Joyce’s Modernist innovations is restrictive in itself. In this dissertation we argue that although the world of criticism has unanimously agreed on some variant or collocation of the word ‘modern’ to identify the arts of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, applying such a semantically mobile term to a historical phenomenon seems unbecoming. One of the points highlighted in this dissertation is that although Modernism undoubtedly existed, it is notoriously difficult to define it clearly because the term encompasses a variety of specific artistic and philosophical movements. We argue that Modernism may be defined as the point at which the experimental, technical and aesthetic ideal that had grown out of Romanticism reached its formal crisis and we agree with David Trotter that ‘Apocalypse was one of the things modernist writers imagined most fondly. They saw themselves as inhabitants of a social and cultural system which had stagnated to the point where it was no longer susceptible to reform, but could only be renewed through total collapse or violent overthrow’ (Trotter 1999, 77). This crisis was a crisis of culture which often implied an unhappy view of history – so an artist was not just the artist set free, as stated by Woolf, but the artist creating under circumstantial, historical strain. Modernism developed around the beginning of the century at a time of profound intellectual scepticism and social and intellectual

## Introduction

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unrest, and grew to influence the aesthetics, their sensibility and the mind of the vast majority of the most reputed artists of the time. Therefore, in this dissertation we argue against James Joyce being defined as a Modernist with pinpoint accuracy, just as we disagree with the Hispanic notion of *noventaiochista* since we defend that becoming ‘Modernist’ just meant moving beyond their 19<sup>th</sup>-century predecessors and, that labels such as this one are nothing but limits to the understanding of an artist’s work.

Baroja himself argues that, contrary to contemporary criticism, his work is very much a product of its time, pointing out the affinities between his art and that of later writers, and making a case for his own ‘modernity.’ While acknowledging the scarcity of 20<sup>th</sup> Century English fiction in his library, and his lack of familiarity with the novelistic production of this country in the final stages of his artistic career, he draws a comparison between his English and American successors and his own novels concluding that their writings have been shaped and sparked by the ethos of particular times:

*En la literatura actual, sobre todo en Inglaterra y en los Estados Unidos, hay muchos autores cuyas obras se parecen a las mías. No es que yo pretenda que me hayan leído o imitado, sino que han seguido una trayectoria parecida a la mía. Huxley, Somerset Maugham, Hemingway, Dos Passos se parecen a mí en los asuntos y en la manera. Lo cual quiere decir que mi tendencia no es absurda ni extravagante, sino algo que ha venido llevado por la corriente de la época<sup>5</sup> (Baroja 1949, 438).*

It is thus evident that Baroja was aware of the changing cultural and artistic concerns of the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century that spread across Northern and Southern Europe alike, producing the beginnings of a new type of fiction. Furthermore, one of the main points this study seeks to prove is that far from being an outdated traditionalist, Pío Baroja was a highly original and modern author whose very defects stem from his search for innovation in the novel. What is more, our approach supports the view that Spain was receptive to many of the cultural and artistic preoccupations which were prevalent in other parts of Europe during the period in question. We also argue that, although

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<sup>5</sup> In the literature of today, especially in England and the United States, there are many authors whose work resembles my own. I do not mean to say they have read and imitated me, but that they have followed a path similar to my own. Huxley, Somerset Maugham, Hemingway, Dos Passos are like me in their themes and style. This shows that my tendency is neither absurd nor extravagant, but something which has been carried along on the current of its time (Translation mine).

## Introduction

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criticism of the political and social situation of Spain associated with Generation of '98 writers is indeed present in the works of Baroja, it is not always acknowledged that his condemnation of aspects of his country is part of a broader trend towards the rejection of received cultural, ethical and literary values throughout Europe in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

As for his understanding of the genre of the novel, one of the ideas underlined in this dissertation is that Baroja regarded the novel primarily as an art form, not merely as a vehicle for social criticism. Nevertheless, we must ascertain the difference between the functions of art for art's sake and art as the mirror of life. Art for art's sake presupposes an attitude of aloofness on the part of the artist toward the complex struggle of life: he must rise above the ebb and flow of life and be merely an artistic creator of beautiful forms. In this thesis we argue that that is not the attitude of modernist art, which is preeminently the reflection of life, just as the artist, being part of life, cannot detach himself from the events and occurrences that pass panorama-like before his eyes, impressing themselves upon his emotional and intellectual vision. The modern artist is – in the words of August Strindberg – 'a lay preacher popularizing the pressing questions of his time' (Strindberg 1955, 45), not necessarily because his aim is to proselytize, but because he can best express himself by being true to life. Millet, Meunier, Turgenev, Dostoyevsky, Emerson, Walt Whitman, Tolstoy, Ibsen, Strindberg, Hauptmann and a host of others mirror in their work as much of the spiritual and social revolt as is expressed by the most fiery speech of a propagandist.

Likewise, when Stephen Dedalus remarks, 'History is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake' (*U2*. 377<sup>6</sup>), he summarizes the dilemma confronting twentieth-century artists everywhere – even though Joyce does not portray the violence of World War I or the Irish Rebellion directly – T. S. Eliot in 1923 hailed *Ulysses* as a breakthrough in solving the artistic problem of dealing with 'the

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<sup>6</sup> All references to James Joyce's *Ulysses* will be cited parenthetically within the body of the dissertation using the abbreviation *U* + episode and line number in reference to: Joyce, James. *Ulysses*, ed. Hans Walter Gabler et al. New York: Vintage, 1986.

## Introduction

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immense panorama of futility which is contemporary history' (Eliot 1975, 175). Joyce's solution to the problem of how to represent the unimaginable violence of the time was to construct arbitrary relationships between realistic events and multiple symbolic patterns, thus maintaining the structure of meaning without advocating particular meanings. In addition, Joyce introduced a type of irony that is based on formal incongruities rather than on a disparity between what speakers say and what they mean. In this dissertation we agree with Declan Kiberd in *James Joyce and Mythic Realism* when he declares that Joyce 'was, by virtue of his location, a leader of European modernism: but by virtue of his example, he became a pioneer of mythical realism' (Kiberd 1995, 152). In his book, Kiberd locates Joyce on a continuum – 'The modernism of Joyce was not only that of Mann, Proust or Eliot: it also anticipated that of Rushdie, Márquez and the post-colonial artists' (Kiberd 1995, 153). Keeping the term 'magic realism' for later postcolonial writers, Kiberd regards Joyce's 'canny blend of myth and realism' (Kiberd 1995, 153) as a prototype subversive magic realism:

He was one of the earliest writers to realise that as long as he posed his questions to the west solely in the old, familiar terms of the west, he would be surrendering to the ends of his discourse, just to resort to pre fabulism, untouched by any element of realism, would be to submit to the intentions of the native tribe. Mythic realism, by its subversive act of combination, disrupted the hegemony of both discourses, so that neither could achieve its goals (Kiberd 1995, 153).

One of the ideas highlighted in this dissertation is that in spite of the fact that both Baroja and Joyce opened their wings to escape the oppression existing in their societies, like Icarus, one of them flew too near the sun. Joyce rejected religion and nationalism in the extraordinary way he clung to reality and declared himself to be apolitical; whereas Baroja – like the main figures of English Modernist literature – got trapped in the nets he had tried to fly by and saw himself linked to the far right. This supposed a reversal in the evolution of his art which became mere political propaganda and thus Baroja lost the opportunity to belong to the realms of Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Rabelais, Cervantes or Goethe – all of whom, whilst often considered to be geniuses of their particular country, awaken, as Joyce does, an even greater interest for having been able to express universal truths.

## Introduction

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According to Ellmann, along his career, Joyce broke all physical boundaries to prove the universality of the human spirit:

[...]He had begun his writing by asserting his difference from other men, and now increasingly he recognized his similarity to them. This point of view was more easily demonstrable in sleeping than in waking life. Sleep is the great democratize: in their dreams people become one, and everything about them becomes one. Nationalities lose their borders, levels of discourse and society are no longer separable, time and space surrender their demarcations. All human activities begin to fuse into all other human activities, printing a book into bearing a baby, fighting a man into courting a woman. By day we attempt originality; by night plagiarism is forced upon us. In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* Joyce had demonstrated the repetition of traits in the first twenty years of one person's life; in *Ulysses* he had displayed this repetition in the day of two persons; in *Finnegans Wake* he displayed it in the lives of everyone (Ellmann 1982, 716).

As for the methodology, a combination of the comparative approach and some of the recent tenets of the historicist method will provide new insights not only into the complex problematic of intercultural relations and identity issues by producing that meaningful dialogue between cultures and literatures, but also into the dialectics between texts and contexts, between the texts themselves and the social and historical forces from which they stem and in which they participate. Indeed historicist practices are, so to speak embedded in the comparative approach, as comparative literature involves not only the study of texts in different languages and from different cultures but it also 'focuses on the historicity of the literary text, that is to say, the specific circumstances under which it is produced and received'(Fokkema1982,2). A combination of the two approaches 'creates a different relation between historical context and literary allusion – between life and art' (Coldiron 2001, 108).

Comparative literature by definition deals with texts, communication-situations and codes in various literatures and provides thus an international or supralingual perspective. Reading from a comparative historicist perspective helps us understand how essential international perspectives are in connecting history with literature. Such a perspective, while acknowledging the fundamental significance of the cultural matrix from which these individual texts emerge (Gallagher 1989, 12),

## Introduction

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also seeks to enlarge critical boundaries by placing texts and authors in the international, rather than only national, contexts.

The scientific relevance of a comparative historicist study between James Joyce and Baroja is twofold: on the one hand, it facilitates the study, and explanation, of similar socio-historical phenomena which occur in the respective cultures of the authors under consideration, to which they respond; on the other hand, it provides deeper insights into the structural similarities between the two writers, illuminating the fact that the analysis of Joyce works exclusively within Modernism and of Baroja's exclusively within the Spanish tradition of the *Noventayochismo* is restrictive. Neither was Joyce merely a Modernist nor did Baroja belong to a Spanish Generation. The study traces a similar evolution in their initial stages but, then, whereas Pío Baroja became intertwined with the dominant political cleavage that existed in turn-of-the-century Europe and thus lost his freedom to create and evolve, Joyce eliminated borders in his work, which eventually became universal.

Since the 1950s the concept of comparative literature has been the object of much debate concerning the identity of what is seen by some as a discipline and by others as just a field of study. During the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century such a concept has lost its perceived radicality in the West, to be replaced by other objects of investigation such as Literary Theory, Women's Studies, Semiotics, Post-Colonial Studies, Cultural Studies etc., which appeared more in tune with the specific preoccupations of their time. While Susan Basnett in her critical introduction to comparative literature rightly stresses that 'it could almost be argued that anyone who has an interest in books embarks on the road towards what might be termed comparative literature' (Basnett 1993, 1), we would nonetheless argue in favour of the specificity of comparative literary studies, if only to bring to the fore the point Basnett recalls: 'Everywhere there is connection, everywhere there is illustration. No single event, no single literature is adequately comprehended except in relation to other events, other literatures' (Arnold 1857 as quoted in Basnett 1993, 1).

## Introduction

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Clearly, an intertextual, comparative approach is the best basis on which to proceed in this respect as it will help illuminate the specificity of individual trends. Indeed, the concept of intertextuality is based on the idea that complete originality is impossible since everything derives from a previous text, no matter how transformative the relationship to that other text can be. However, the term ‘intertextuality’ – ubiquitous in contemporary criticism – runs the risk of becoming over-diluted and vague. To sum up briefly, as we deem it would be unnecessary to repeat the history of intertextuality theories, already excellently outlined in Michael Worton and Judith Still’s introduction to *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices*, and, more recently by Graham Allen’s *Intertextuality*, this dissertation looks at intertextuality in two strands, as highlighted by Worton and Still. First, the concept is based on the idea that ‘a text [...] cannot exist as a hermetic or self-sufficient whole, and so does not function as a closed system’ (Worton and Still 1990, 1). This openness of the text may be realised through the fact that its writer, himself/herself a reader, consciously or unconsciously calls upon his /her readings as part of the writing act. The second strand of intertextuality approaches the text from the point of view of reader-response theory: the reader establishes links between the text he/she is reading and other texts he/she has already read. Such links enrich the text and open it.

Indeed to place the emphasis from the outset on the interconnectedness of texts,<sup>7</sup> on the transgression of cultural and artistic boundaries through the deliberate activity of comparing and contrasting texts and genres, is notably to open the door to the full impact of intertextuality in textual construction and reading. The applications of the double definition of intertextuality noted above to comparative literature studies are clear: on the one hand we have studies of which the aim is to unearth the authors’ conscious or unconscious, explicit or implicit use of other texts, and the co-

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<sup>7</sup> The definition of ‘text’ is here both precise and broad ; ‘Text’ is also used in a more general sense to mean anything perceived as a signifying system – therefore the reader is anyone who (consciously or unconsciously) receives something of the message, and the writer has to be understood in an abstract sense’ (Worton and Still 1990, 33).

## Introduction

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presence and status of different previous texts within one. On the other hand, we have studies which aim, through the comparison and contrast of two or more texts, at uncovering common or distinct characteristics, which is our aim in this dissertation.

On the other hand, it is commonly recognised that an intellectual shift of considerable importance occurred towards the end of the eighteenth century, when many aspects of man's culture came to be viewed from an historical perspective. According to Collingwood, for example, the rise of history as a scientific discipline occurred at about this time, and the work of Herder contributed very significantly to the establishment of an historical outlook in the late eighteenth century (Collingwood 1946, 88-93). In a similar vein, Butterfield, in his well-known *Man on his past*, drew attention to the work of the Göttingen school of history in the latter part of the century, and stated that it marked the advent of the professionalization of historical studies (Butterfield 1955, 39-61).

Needless to say, the influence of the new historical outlook was not just confined to the discipline of history. One need only point to the changing of architectural styles in the period, with the beginnings of the Gothic revival,<sup>8</sup> to realize that men were developing a new interest in, and sympathy with, the past. An appreciation of the extent of the general change in outlook is further reinforced by an examination of contemporary literature, for although the historical novel was primarily a nineteenth century phenomenon, one can readily identify early instances of the 'genre' in the later part of the preceding century. Indeed, it might be said that the very rise of the novel in the eighteenth century marked a growing awareness of the flux of time.

Although the term historicism is a slippery one, and has been given a wide range of interpretations,<sup>9</sup> we will, however, try to use the word in a manner consonant with the meaning

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<sup>8</sup> On this, see for example, K. M. Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste*. London: John Murray Publishers Ltd, 1962.

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of the various usages, see D. E. Lee & R.N. Beck, 'The meaning of Historicism', *American Historical Review*, 1965 (pp.568-77).

## Introduction

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which it held in the early nineteenth century (in its German form, *Historismus*)<sup>10</sup> such as was intended by the followers of the German historical school of Law. Indeed, the use of the term '*Historismus*' may be traced back to the eighteenth century,<sup>11</sup> but the rise of historicism as an intellectual movement is usually linked with the so-called 'historical school of law,' which came to the fore in Germany in the early years of the nineteenth century under the leadership of F.C. von Savigny. In his pamphlet, *Ueber den Beruf unserer Zeit für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft*, for example, he wrote:

The historical spirit [...] is the only protection against a species of self-delusion, [...] namely, the holding that which is peculiar to ourselves, to be common to human nature in general. Thus, in times past, by the omission of certain prominent peculiarities, a natural law was formed out of the Institutes, which was looked upon as the immediate emanation of reason. There is no one now who would not regard this proceeding with pity; and yet we meet with people daily, who hold their juridical notions and opinions to be the offspring of pure reason, for no earthly reason but because they are ignorant of their origin. When we lose sight of our individual connection with the great entirety of the world and its history, we necessarily see our thoughts in a false light of universality and originality. There is only the historical sense to protect us against this [...] (Savigny 1831, 134-35).

Thus, we will use the word 'historicism' to refer to a belief in the efficacy of offering 'explanations' of the nature of things or phenomena by means of their history. It is in this sense that Runes's *Dictionary of Philosophy* defines historicism as:

[...] the view that the history of anything is a sufficient explanation of it, that the values of anything can be accounted for through the discovery of its origins, that the nature of anything is entirely comprehended by its development... or, [in general, it is] the doctrine which discounts the fallaciousness of the historical fallacy (Feibleman 1956, 127).

However, to use the term in this way still leaves open the question of the meaning of the 'history of anything.' We maintain that this does not mean simply a knowledge of the antecedents of a thing or event, which are in some manner 'causally connected' with it. For the term also has methodological connotations. For an historian approaches his task, not by appeal to general laws and 'boundary

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<sup>10</sup> For a sketch of the etymology of the terms 'historicism,' 'historism' and '*Historimus*', see G. G. Iggers, *The German Conception of History: The national tradition of historical thought from Herder to the present*. Indianapolis: Wesleyan, 1984 (pp.287-90).

<sup>11</sup> See H. Kantorowicz, 'Savigny and the historical school of law,' *The Law Quarterly Review*, liii. Andover: Sweet & Maxwell, 1937 (pp. 326-43).

## Introduction

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conditions,<sup>12</sup> but by rummaging in libraries and archives, selecting from the information there discovered, so as to piece together an account of a sequence of events that can serve as a means of accounting for certain subsequent events or phenomena. It is the interest in the unique historical events, rather than the general historical laws, that is the hallmark of the historian, and which characterizes the historicist attitude that we consider to be the appropriate structure for this dissertation since this broad methodological framework allows us to focus on such important issues as politics and literature and follow the ideas of theoreticians such as Benedict Anderson, Mikhail Bakhtin, Vincent Cheng, Frantz Fanon, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm or Emer Nolan among others.

We have divided our study into four parts. In the first part, ‘Introducing the writers and their contexts’, we will first focus on both writers’ major life events, together with their similarities and differences since we argue that these events had – in one way or another – an impact in their works. We will also give an overview of the socio-political contexts in which they were born and grew up, and to which they responded through literary works which, in their first stages, show similarities in their evolution. Baroja and Joyce’s lives span a period in history in which material conditions, political structures, and intellectual life were profoundly shaped by the growth and decline of European empires and the flourishing of various nationalisms. A study of their contexts, while illuminating the significance of their literary production, will help to understand how Joyce and Baroja were rooted in their times, how they were both products and critics of their contexts. In this point, we will use Richard Ellmann and Brenda Maddox’s biographies as well as *Dubliners*, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Ulysses*, *Exiles* and *The Critical writings of James Joyce* together with Miguel Sánchez-Ostiz’s biography of Baroja and the Basque novelist’s ‘*Vieja España Patria Nueva*’, *La Dama Errante*, *Nuevo Tablado de Arlequín*, *La leyenda de Jaun de Alzate*, *Aurora*

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<sup>12</sup> See the description of historians’ work given by John Passmore in ‘Explanation in everyday life, in science, and in history,’ in G.H.Nagel (eds.), *Studies in the Philosophy of History*. New York: Harper’s, 1965, (16-34), emphasising the historians’ use of unique and individual events in their explanations.

## Introduction

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*Roja* and *Ayer y Hoy* in order to help the reader place our writers in their socio-political contexts more easily.

In the second and third parts, entitled 'Breaking away from contemporary socio-political contexts' and 'Breaking away from established religion' respectively, using on the one hand, *Dubliners*, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Ulysses*, *Stephen Hero*, *Letters of James Joyce* and *The Critical Writings of James Joyce* and *Nuevo Tablado de Arlequín*, '*La Voluntad*,' *Camino de Perfección*, '*Las Cigüeñas*,' *Momentum Catastrophicum*, *La leyenda de Jaun de Alzate*, *Ayer y Hoy*, *Comunistas*, *Judíos y demás ralea*, *Aquí París*, Baroja's *Obras Completas*, *Las inquietudes de Shanti Andía*, *Susana*, *El Arbol de la Ciencia*, *Divagaciones Apasionadas*, *El Mayorazgo de Labraz*, *Juventud Egoatría* and *El Mundo es Así* on the other, we will reflect on the socio-political and religious situations they faced and on how they tried to wriggle out of them. We will focus on our writers' relation and reactions to nationalism and language, religion and philosophy and the general intellectual context of their day. We will look into the way they tried to escape from their social nets in order to revolutionise the novel so as to break their boundaries and occupy a space of their own in Europe. However, we will also analyse some differences which mainly regard the politics of our authors. Whereas Joyce was a liberal writer looking for interinvolvement, Baroja was a racist who got entwined with the right-wing politics of his time.

Finally in part IV, 'Breaking boundaries: Joyce and Baroja facing Modernism' we will focus mainly on their literary background and on the evolution of their art, to do so, we will focus our study on Joyce's *Ulysses*, *The Critical Writings of James Joyce*, 'The Dead' and *Finnegans Wake* and in Baroja's *Comunistas*, *judíos y demás ralea*, *La Casa de Aizgorri*, *Obras Completas*, *Aventuras, inventos y mixtificaciones de Silvestre Paradox*, *Paradox*, *Rey*, *Mala Hierba*, *La Ciudad de la Niebla*, *El Mayorazgo de Labraz*, *Aurora Roja*, *La Dama Errante*, *El Arbol de la Ciencia*, *Juventud*, *Egoatría*, *Memorias de un hombre de acción*, *La Sensualidad pervertida*, *El Hotel del*

## Introduction

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*Cisne, El Mundo es Así, César o Nada* and *Camino de Perfección*. This last part presents a general theoretical framework for the relation of our writers to Modernism. Thanks to his freedom of thought Joyce went further in his innovation; prone to novelty, he tried to advance consciousness, attempting to provide an independent and futuristic point of view. As for Baroja, by the time he had reached the final stages of his evolution, he had defied the traditional division between imaginative and non-imaginative literature only to settle for a formless, shapeless discussion in which opinion and belief, appearance and reality were difficult to separate.

We believe that this dissertation may open the path for other scholars interested in doing research on the connections between James Joyce and Pío Baroja, as we are aware that we have not been able to deal in depth with some of the topics, such as the Jews in James Joyce and Pío Baroja or the Jesuits and their role in their works. The presence of the Basque and Irish languages in their respective works is also a thematic line that deserves further attention. And, last but not least, although Asier Altuna García de Salazar has written several revealing and enlightening articles on the connection between the Basques and the Irish and their literature<sup>13</sup> and Francisco García Tortosa has opened a new line of research on James Joyce and the Basque language in his article: ‘*Vascuence en Finnegans Wake (I.iv, 101.02-102-17)*’<sup>14</sup>, there is still much scope for interesting research in this area.

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<sup>13</sup> For examples of Dr. Altuna’s research see: ‘... and wild dwellers by Vizcáy? Ye, the unconquered remnant of the brave old Celtic race’. The Basques in *The Nation* in *New Perspectives on James Joyce. Ignatius Loyola, make haste to help me!*. Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, 2009 (pp. 115-123) or ‘Imagining the Basques, Imagining the Irish’ in *The Irish Knot: Essays on Imaginary/Real Ireland*. Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones. Universidad de Valladolid, 2008 (pp. 371-379).

<sup>14</sup>Included in *New Perspectives on James Joyce. Ignatius Loyola, make haste to help me!* Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, 2009 (pp. 79-90).

### I. Introducing the writers and their contexts.

This dissertation focuses on the works of Pío Baroja, the Basque novelist, whose production represents one of the most daunting and genuine portrayals of history in twentieth-century literature in Spanish, and those of the Dubliner James Joyce, who is regarded as one of the most preeminent Irish authors of the twentieth century. This thesis will demonstrate that as a result of a similar socio-political situation and background both writers worked in a similar way toward the liberation – indeed Europeanisation – of their countries. However, we will also prove that Baroja did not follow James Joyce’s revolutionary trajectory till the end.

In agreement with Baroja’s description of the writer:

*El escritor está vinculado con su tierra, con su idioma, con las costumbres y la historia de su tierra. El escritor fuera de su país no es nada; es una vaga sombra, no porque no le atiendan, que eso no tiene gran importancia, sino porque no tiene en el extranjero motivos de inspiración; por lo mismo, es patriota. Es una de las razones de su vivir*<sup>15</sup> (Baroja 1993, 72)

In this first part we are going to present, firstly, the writers’ major life events, together with their similarities and differences since we argue that these events had – in one way or in another – an impact on their works. Secondly we are going to give an overview of the socio-political contexts in which they were born and grew up, and to which they responded through literary works which, in their first stages, show similarities in their evolution. A study of their contexts, while illuminating their literary significance, will help to understand how Joyce and Baroja were rooted in their times, how they were both products and critics of their contexts. This in a way will be demonstrated using the tenets of comparative and historicist methodologies outlined before in the Introduction.

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<sup>15</sup> An author is connected to his motherland, his language, and the traditions and history of his motherland. An author out of his country is nothing; nothing but a vague shadow, not because he is ignored, which is of little importance, but because abroad he has nothing to inspire him. For this reason he is a patriot. It is part of his existence (Translation mine).

### 1.1. The writers' life and work.

#### 1.1.1. James Joyce's life and work.

The Irish novelist James Joyce (2<sup>nd</sup> February 1882 - 13<sup>th</sup> January 1941) is best known for his literary innovation, which, although not strictly original, he took to unparalleled heights. Having produced only a handful of poems, two plays, a single book of short stories and just three complete novels, James Joyce cannot be described as a prolific writer. However, rather than sheer quantity, a better physical measurement for Joyce's writings might be density; his works are compact, each book a small universe of riches and complexities, with meaning folded upon meaning until the words themselves seem to vibrate.

James Joyce was born in a suburb of Dublin, Ireland, in 1882. However, by 1893, his father had lost his position and eventually the family would become impoverished; James Joyce would describe his family's journey from prosperity to poverty in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*:

[...]Stephen sat on a footstool beside his father listening to a long and incoherent monologue. He understood little or nothing of it at first but he became slowly aware that his father had enemies and that some fight was going to take place. He felt, too, that he was being enlisted for the fight, that some duty was being laid upon his shoulders. The sudden flight from the comfort and reverie of Blackrock, the passage through the gloomy foggy city, the thought of the bare cheerless house in which they were now to live made his heart heavy; and again an intuition, a foreknowledge of the future came to him [...] (Joyce 1965, 74).

Joyce studied at Clongowes Wood College from 1888 until 1892,<sup>16</sup> and, after a brief time at Christian Brothers School, was enrolled at Belvedere College in 1893. Joyce's strict early education was strongly traditional in its Catholicism, but when he entered University College, he rejected both his religion and his national heritage; in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* Joyce would make his alter ego Stephen Dedalus follow in his footsteps in his rejection of Catholicism and Irish nationalism:

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<sup>16</sup> Richard Ellmann explains that when the family's financial state devolved, Joyce had to leave the school: 'The family had now to move closer to Dublin, John Joyce, his financial troubles increasing, withdrew his son from Clongowes in June 1891' (Ellmann 1982, 34).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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The pride of that dim image brought back to his mind the dignity of the office he had refused. All through his boyhood he had mused upon that which he had so often thought to be his destiny and when the moment had come for him to obey the call he had turned aside, obeying a wayward instinct. Now time lay between: the oils of ordination would never anoint his body. He had refused. Why?

[...]

His soul had arisen from the grave of boyhood, spurning her graveclothes. Yes! Yes! Yes! He would create proudly out of the freedom and power of his soul, as the great artificer whose name he bore, a living thing, new and soaring and beautiful, impalpable, imperishable (Joyce 1965, 188-193).

By the time Joyce took his undergraduate degree in 1902, he was more comfortable casting himself as an alienated writer than as a typical citizen of Dublin who, he thought, lived a life of mediocrity, sentimentality, and self-deception. Joyce operated the dream of life ‘abroad’ in ‘A Little Cloud’ where Little Chandler’s responsibilities as a family man, coupled with his shyness, stand in the way of his ambition to be a poet:

Little Chandler quickened his pace. For the first time in his life he felt himself superior to the people he passed. For the first time his soul revolted against the dull inelegance of Capel Street. There was no doubt about it: if you wanted to succeed you had to go away. You could do nothing in Dublin.

[...] He tried to weigh his soul to see if it was a poet’s soul. Melancholy was the dominant note of his temperament, he thought, but it was a melancholy tempered by recurrences of faith and resignation and simple joy. If he could give expression to it in a book of poems perhaps men would listen (Joyce 1988, 79-80).

While at college Joyce studied modern languages and taught himself Norwegian so he could read the plays of Henrik Ibsen in their original language. At this time, Joyce, whose literary reviews appeared in *Fortnightly Review*,<sup>17</sup> also began his entry into the artistic life of Dublin:

In 1902 literary life in Dublin was ambitious and intense. Joyce could be as distrustful as he liked of the directions that Yeats and Moore were taking, but in English there was no one writing verse or fiction whom he admired more. Synge had begun to write his plays; Lady Gregory at the age of fifty had revealed an unexpected skill at peasant comedy; George Russell, talented himself, was hospitably encouraging a *cenacle* that included Padraic Colum, ‘Seumas O’Sullivan,’ and other writers who, if they were minor, were young and lively. The Irish literary movement, fostered by Standish O’Grady, John O’Leary, Yeats, Douglas Hyde, and others, had made Dublin an intellectual center, and in spite of his careful dissociation of himself from many shibboleths of the new literature, Joyce profited from its momentum.

During the summer of 1902 he decided to make himself known in Dublin literary circles (Ellmann 1982, 98).

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<sup>17</sup> As Richard Ellmann records, his review of Henrik Ibsen received a positive personal response from Ibsen himself: ‘[...] Archer relayed this message to Joyce on April 23: ‘I think it will interest you to know that in a letter I had from Henry Ibsen a day or two ago he says ‘I have read or rather spelt out, a review by Mr. James Joyce in the *Fortnightly Review* which is very benevolent (‘velvillig’) and for which I should greatly like to thank the author if only I had sufficient knowledge of the language’’ (Ellmann 1982, 74).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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James Joyce graduated from University College of Dublin in 1903 and, after moving to Paris, he planned on studying medicine<sup>18</sup>, however, when his mother was diagnosed with cancer<sup>19</sup>, Joyce returned to Ireland as is described in *Ulysses*:

You were going to do wonders, what? Missionary to Europe after fiery Columbanus. Fiacre and Scotus on their creepystools in heaven split from their pintpots, loudlatinlaughing: *Euge! Euge!* Pretending to speak broken English as you dragged your valise, porter threepence, across the slimy pier at Newhaven. *Comment?* Rich booty you brought back; *Le Tutu*, five tattered numbers of *Pantalon Blanc et Culotte Rouge*; a blue French telegram, curiosity to show:

- Nother dying come home father (*U* 3.192-199).

Back in Dublin, he continued reviewing books and many critics believe that his life in Dublin provided the fuel for all of his later creative endeavours.

On 7<sup>th</sup> January 1904, back in Dublin, Joyce attempted to publish *Stephen Hero* only to have it rejected by the free-thinking magazine *Dana*. On his twenty-second birthday, he decided to revise the story into a novel he called *A Portrait of the Artist*, but, as Ellmann portrays in his biography, he eventually grew frustrated with its direction and abandoned this work<sup>20</sup>:

At the beginning of 1904 he learned that Eglinton and another writer he knew, Fred Ryan, were preparing to edit a new intellectual journal named *Dana* after the Irish earth-goddess. On January 7 he wrote off in one day and with scarcely any hesitation, an autobiographical story that mixed admiration for himself with irony. At the suggestion of Stanislaus, he called it 'A Portrait of the Artist,' and sent it to the editors. This was the extraordinary beginning of Joyce's mature work. (Ellmann 1982, 144).

That same year he met Nora Barnacle, a young woman from Connemara, County Galway who was working as a chambermaid. On 16 June 1904, they first stepped out together, an event

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<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, the lectures were conducted in a technical French that Joyce was not prepared for: 'Joyce probably attended his first classes on December 7. He told Gorman later that he stopped at once because he found he would have to pay his fees immediately; but it seems likely, too, that he was discouraged to find his French inadequate for the highly technical lectures' (Ellmann 1982, 113).

<sup>19</sup> Despite his mother's attempts to get him to return to Catholic Church, Ellmann tells us that Joyce remained unmoved even after her death and until his own: 'Frau Giedion-Welcker arranged, with Nora's consent, for a death mask of Joyce by the sculptor Paul Speck. A Catholic priest approached Nora and George to offer a religious service, but Nora said, 'I couldn't do that to him'' (Ellmann 1982, 742).

<sup>20</sup> Brenda Maddox states that it was never published in this form, but years later, in Trieste, Joyce completely rewrote it as *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*: 'Nora and Joyce themselves argued a great deal. One day, in a fit of rage at her, Joyce took the manuscript of *Stephen Hero* and threw it into the fire and stormed out of the room. Nora, Mary and Eileen leaped to rescue it. 'This book will make him famous,' Nora told Mary. 'I'm going to hide it so he won't destroy it.' Joyce was too shrewd to have thrown to the flames a work he considered important. He was well on his way to turning *Stephen Hero* into *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Nonetheless, he was grateful to his home fire brigade and told his sister Eileen that there were passages in it that he could not have rewritten' (Maddox 1989, 154).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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which would be commemorated by providing the date for the action of *Ulysses*. In fact, Richard Ellmann describes Joyce's setting *Ulysses* on June 16 as his personal tribute to Nora:

The appointment was made, and for the evening of June 16, when they went walking at Ringsend, and then arranged to meet again. To set *Ulysses* on this date was Joyce's most eloquent if indirect tribute to Nora, a recognition of the determining effect upon his life of his attachment to her (Ellmann 1982, 156).

As is well-known, Joyce and Nora went into self-imposed exile, moving first to Zurich, where he had supposedly acquired a post to teach English at the Berlitz Language School through an agent in England. As Ellmann points out, it turned out that they had been cheated, but the director of the school sent him on to Trieste, which was part of Austria-Hungary until World War I:

Confident that their difficulties would soon be over, Joyce went round late in the morning to the Berlitz School to announce his arrival. The teaching, he supposed, would be dull but easy, and would afford him time to complete his book of ten stories and his sixty-three-chapter novel. Buoyed up by such thoughts, he called on Herr Malacrida, the director of the school, and was shocked to hear that Malacrida did not know of his coming and had no vacancy for him to fill. [...] In this emergency Malacrida was sympathetic and obliging. He offered to try to find Joyce a position in another Berlitz school in Switzerland or Italy. [...] Then at last Malacrida got wind of a vacancy in Trieste, so off went Joyce and Nora with their suitcase, their trunk stored temporarily with a friend they had somehow made in Zurich (Ellmann 1982, 184).

Once again, he found there was no position for him, but with the help of Almidano Artifoni, director of the Trieste Berlitz School, he finally secured a teaching position in Pola, then also part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He stayed there, teaching English mainly to Austro-Hungarian naval officers stationed at the Pola base, from October 1904 until March 1905, when the Austrians — having discovered one espionage ring in the city — expelled all aliens. As Brenda Maddox portrays in her biography of Nora Joyce, with Artifoni's help, Joyce moved back to Trieste and began teaching English there:

By Easter they were transferred to the Berlitz School in Trieste. Joyce hated the Berlitz regime, where the proprietor locked up his Bachelor of Arts certificated to prevent him applying for other jobs; but he and Nora loved the large and beautiful city, with its green, wooded hills running down to the Adriatic, its cosmopolitan liveliness, its fountains, its fine piazzas open to the sea and its opera house, the Verdi. The first monument to be erected to the composer, the Verdi attracted the finest international singers, who found Trieste a convenient stopover on the route between Milan and Vienna (Maddox 1989, 82).

Eventually, Joyce would remain in Trieste for most of the next ten years.

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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Later that year Nora gave birth to their first child, George. According to Richard Ellmann, Joyce then managed to talk his brother, Stanislaus<sup>21</sup>, into joining him in Trieste<sup>22</sup>, and secured him a position teaching at the school:

[...] Joyce wrote his brother that a post was ready for him and he must write immediately if he was coming or not.

For Stanislaus, not yet twenty-one, the decision was not easy. He loathed Dublin, but was not quite sure how much. His future there was black; a clerkship at fifteen shillings a week was all he could hope for, and he would share that with his sisters. But he did not wish to abandon them either. [...] Though in later years he was inclined to view his departure as animated principally by a desire to help James, he could not have done otherwise once the possibility of a career elsewhere had been opened to him. With some trepidation, he allowed himself to rescue and be rescued (Ellmann 1982, 211).

With the chronic wanderlust of Joyce's early years, he became frustrated with life in Trieste and moved to Rome in late 1906, having secured employment in a bank. He intensely disliked Rome, and moved back to Trieste in early 1907 where his daughter Lucia was born that summer. As we read in Ellmann's biography, Joyce was in hospital himself when his daughter was born:

Some days after Joyce was hospitalized Nora's labor began, and she too went to hospital. The baby was born on July 26 in the pauper ward, 'almost born on the street,' as she admitted later. It was St. Anne's day, and so, since Anne was also the name of Nora's mother, they added Anna to the first name of Lucia, the patron saint of eyesight, which Joyce had decided on earlier. When Nora left the hospital she was given ten crowns in charity. This child was to affect Joyce's life much more deeply than he would have believed possible. But the immediate disruption was serious enough: the household was in turmoil, Joyce sick, Stanislaus surly, Nora weak and nursing, Lucia crying, Giorgio rambunctious (Ellmann 1982, 262).

In order to visit his father and work on getting *Dubliners* published<sup>23</sup>, Joyce returned to Dublin in mid-1909 with George. As Brenda Maddox points out, Joyce's main aim was to restore family bonds:

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<sup>21</sup> Stanislaus and Joyce had strained relations throughout the time they lived together in Trieste, with most arguments centring on Joyce's drinking habits and frivolity with money: 'The Joyces continued to dine out a good deal, usually at the Restaurant Bonavia, and sometimes prevailed on the Francinis to come along, which they could not well afford to do. On other evenings Joyce would sometimes shake off his brother and get drunk; then Stanislaus would hunt him down in disgust, and make him come home' (Ellmann 1982, 215).

<sup>22</sup> Joyce's ostensible reasons were his desire for Stanislaus' company and the hope of offering him a more interesting life than that of his simple clerking job in Dublin. In truth, though, Joyce hoped to augment his family's meagre income with his brother's earnings: 'Stanislaus had scarcely been installed in a room next to his brother's at Signora Moise Canarutto's when James apprised him that he and Nora had one centesimo between them, and asked whether any money was left from his trip' (Ellmann 1982, 212-13).

<sup>23</sup> He visited Nora's family in Galway, meeting them for the first time (a successful visit, to his relief). He also launched Ireland's first cinema, the Volta Cinematograph, with backing from his Italian friends: 'In Trieste, as it happened, there was a group of four small businessmen who had been remarkably successful not only with two theaters in the city (the Edison and the Americano), but with a third, the Cinematograph Volta, in Bucharest. [...] Joyce knew better than to approach them directly; he got his friend Nicolò Vidacovich, who was acquainted with them, to arrange a meeting. [...] The partners were persuaded. The next question was Joyce's share in the profits' (Ellmann 1982, 301).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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It was time to heal the breach between Ireland and Trieste. In the winter of 1908 Joyce decided on a plan. As Nora had her hands full with the two children, he decided that in the summer he would send Stanislaus back to Dublin with Giorgio, counting on the handsome child to win over the family.[...]

But in the spring of 1909 Joyce's feelings of persecution, exacerbated by the continuing row over the language of *Dubliners*, were almost out of control. He got it into his head that his family in Dublin did not wish to receive his little son. [...]

When the train drew into Westland Row on July 29, 1909, the entire Joyce family was lined up. Out stepped the long-awaited Giorgio, accompanied not by his uncle but by his father (Maddox 1989, 118-19)

After his visit and while preparing to return to Trieste he decided to take one of his sisters, Eva, back with him to help Nora run the home. However, he spent only a month in Trieste before returning to Dublin, this time as a representative of some cinema owners hoping to set up a regular cinema in Dublin. The venture was successful (but quickly fell apart in Joyce's absence), and he returned to Trieste in January 1910 with another sister, Eileen, in tow<sup>24</sup>. Joyce returned to Dublin again briefly in mid-1912 during his years-long fight with his Dublin publisher, George Roberts, over the publication of *Dubliners*. His trip was once again fruitless, and, as Richard Ellmann describes, on his return he wrote the poem 'Gas from a Burner' as an invective against Roberts:

On September 11 the sheets were destroyed; Joyce said by fire, Roberts, stickling for accuracy in his later accounts, insisted they were destroyed by guillotining and pulping. Burnt or dismembered in effigy, Joyce had no further business in Dublin, and he left with Nora and the children that same night.

He stopped in London long enough to offer his book to the *English Review* and to Colum's publisher, Mills & Boon, without success, then crossed to Flushing, Holland. As he waited for the train at the station, he was provoked to write a new broadside, 'Gas from a Burner,' ostensibly spoken by Roberts himself, but blended with Falconer, the printer, and he finished it on the way to Munich (Ellmann 1982, 335).

As Ellmann recounts, after this trip, he never again came closer to Dublin than London, despite many pleas from his father and invitations from fellow Irish writer William Butler Yeats:

Almost five years after his first departure from the North Wall, Joyce, on the evening of September 9, departed from Dublin with Eva and Giorgio. [...]

The trip to Dublin had been at once turbulent and pointed. Moving through the events of Joyce's brief stay there are, in phantasmagoria, the outlines of *Exiles* and *Ulysses*. [...] Long afterwards, Ettore Schmitz, having just seen a performance of *Exiles* in London, said to Joyce, 'Exiled? People who return

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<sup>24</sup> Eva became very homesick for Dublin and returned there a few years later, but Eileen spent the rest of her life on the continent, eventually marrying Czech bank cashier Frantisek Schaurek: 'Another change took place now in Joyce's household. His sister Eileen was engaged in 1914 to a Czech bank cashier in Trieste, Frantisek Schaurek. [...] James suggested to Eileen that she postpone her marriage until the war ended, but she decided not to wait. The ceremony was arranged for April 12, 1915, with James as best man' (Ellmann 1982, 384-85).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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to their home country!’ ‘But don’t you remember,’ said Joyce, ‘how the prodigal son was received by his brother in his father’s house? It is dangerous to leave one’s country, but still more dangerous to go back to it, for then your fellow-countrymen, if they can, will drive a knife into your heart’ (Ellmann 1982, 291).

In 1915, after most of his students were conscripted in Trieste for World War I, Joyce moved to Zurich<sup>25</sup>. There, he met one of his most enduring and important friends, Frank Budgen, whose opinion Joyce is said to have sought constantly through the writing of *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. According to Richard Ellmann, it was also here where Ezra Pound brought him to the attention of English feminist and publisher Harriet Shaw Weaver, who would become Joyce's patron, providing him with thousands of pounds over the next 25 years and relieving him of the burden of teaching in order to focus on his writing:

[...] In Ezra Pound, as avid to discover as Joyce was to be discovered, the writings of Joyce found their missionary.

Pound was then the most active man in London. Full of contempt for the world of contemporary writing, he had made himself its strident reformer. [...]

Pound saw at once that the place to publish Joyce was in the *Egoist*. [...] Miss Marden decided to devote herself to writing and, accepting the title of contributing editor, gave up the principal editorship to Miss Weaver.

Harriet Shaw Weaver was to complete what Pound began for Joyce (Ellmann 1982, 350-52).

While in Zurich Joyce wrote *Exiles*, published *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, and began serious work on *Ulysses*. During the war Zurich was home to exiles and artists from across Europe, and its bohemian, multilingual atmosphere suited him. Nevertheless, after four years he became restless, and after the war he returned to Trieste as he had originally planned. He found the city had changed<sup>26</sup>, and some of his old friends noted his maturing from teacher to full-time artist. Joyce headed to Paris in 1920 at an invitation from Ezra Pound, supposedly for a week, but, as we

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<sup>25</sup> Ellmann describes in his biography Joyce’s problems to get out of the country: ‘The consul granted the visa notwithstanding, but there remained the difficulty of securing permission to depart from the Austrian authorities, who might prefer to intern him. Joyce sought help from two of his most influential pupils, Baron Ambrogio Ralli and Count Francesco Sordina. The Austrian authorities were promised, safely enough, that he would not take part in any belligerent activity against the emperor, and so raised no objection to the exit permit Ralli and Sordina requested’ (Ellmann 1982, 386).

<sup>26</sup> As Ellmann recounts, Joyce’s relations with his brother, who had been interned in an Austrian prison camp for most of the war due to his pro-Italian politics, were more strained than ever: ‘For some years Stanislaus had been an outspoken Irredentist, basking in the anti-clerical liberalism which Garibaldi had left behind him in Italy. He expressed himself with reckless candor against the Holy Roman Empire and the Vatican ‘empire.’ When war began he did not become circumspect, and his forthright remarks drew the attention of the authorities to him. Stanislaus paid no attention, and even went on a tour of the fortifications at Trieste with a friend of his named Petz. As a result he was arrested on January 9, 1915, and sent to Austrian detention centers for the rest of the war. The ant was interned, but the grasshopper continued his dance’ (Ellmann 1982, 380).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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read in Brenda Maddox's biography of Nora Joyce, he ended up living there for the next twenty years:

Nine months later they were all back on a train, changing cities yet again. It was Ezra Pound's idea that Joyce should visit Paris. He persuaded Joyce during two days on the Lago di Garda, where he was on holiday. Joyce came to meet at last the American poet and literary editor of the *Egoist* who had brought him publication and patronage.

[...] Joyce, who had only reluctantly agreed to make the short trip because (he warned Pound) he was poor and shabby, nonetheless readily accepted Pound's suggestion that he show his face in Paris, the centre of the literary universe. Still, he told Pound, and Pound agreed, that the best thing until *Ulysses* was finished was to stick it out in Trieste.

But Joyce had been unable to re-root himself in Trieste. He hardly spoke a word to anyone. He spent most of his time sparwling across two beds, writing the final chapters of *Ulysses*, while Nora read the *Daily Mail* (Maddox 1989, 227-28).

Joyce set himself the task of finishing *Ulysses* in Paris, delighted to find that he was gradually gaining fame as an avant-garde writer. A further grant from Miss Shaw Weaver meant he could devote himself full-time to writing again, as well as consort with other literary figures in the city. During this era, Joyce's eyes began to give him more and more problems<sup>27</sup>. Throughout the 1930s he travelled frequently to Switzerland for eye surgeries and treatments for Lucia, who, according to the Joyces, suffered from schizophrenia.<sup>28</sup> In her biography of Nora Joyce, Brenda Maddox describes the mental collapse which eventually led her brother Giorgio to commit Lucia to a mental hospital:

For Lucia the strain of Giorgio's impending parenthood was the last straw. On February 2, 1932, Joyce's fiftieth birthday, her sanity collapsed spectacularly: she picked up a chair and hurled it at Nora. [...]

Giorgio, whatever the complex reasons behind the event, lost patience. He believed his sister was mad. He did what Joyce could not; if only to protect his mother, he took Lucia to a private clinic for mental illness, leaving Nora to escort a dismal Joyce to the fiftieth birthday party the Jolases had arranged in his honour.

Nora too feared Lucia was mad. But she could face it if she had to. Her favourite saying was 'We must put up with it.' Joyce, in contrast, could not accept the possibility (Maddox 1989, 369).

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<sup>27</sup> He was treated by Dr Louis Borsch in Paris, undergoing nine operations until Borsch's death in 1929 and being treated by Dr. Vogt since then: '[...] Joyce continued to see Dr. Borsch, until Borsch died. [...]Vogt, when consulted, was surprisingly optimistic, and promised him the sight of at least one eye. [...] On May 15, 1930, Vogt operated on the left eye for tertiary cataract' (Ellmann 1982, 622-23).

<sup>28</sup> Lucia was analysed by Carl Jung at the time, who after reading *Ulysses*, had concluded that her father had schizophrenia. As Ellmann points out: 'When the psychologist pointed out schizoid elements in poems Lucia had written, Joyce, remembering Jung's comments on *Ulysses*, insisted they were anticipations of a new literature, and said his daughter was an innovator not yet understood' (Ellmann 1982, 679).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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On 11<sup>th</sup> January 1941, Joyce underwent surgery for a perforated ulcer; while he initially did well, he relapsed the following day, and despite several transfusions, fell into a coma. Ellmann recounts that he awoke at 2 a.m. on 13<sup>th</sup> January 1941, and asked for a nurse to call his wife and son before losing consciousness again. They were still on their way when he died 15 minutes later. He is buried in the Fluntern Cemetery near Zurich Zoo<sup>29</sup>.

It has often been said that more writers and artists have been influenced by James Joyce than by any other author of the twentieth century. In fact, Joyce's intention in writing *Dubliners*, his first major work, was in his own words, 'to write a chapter of the moral history of his country' (Joyce 1966, 125); he chose Dublin for the backdrop because that city seemed to him the centre of paralysis and he tried to present it to the indifferent public under four of its aspects: childhood, adolescence, maturity and public life. In *Dubliners* we see the totality of Dublin life and the evolving patterns that hold Joyce's visions of the city together even when aspects of that pattern are in different stories. The episodes cohere into the mindscape of Dublin and enact the repetitious cycle of blunted aspiration and frustration, of crass materialism, of sexual repression, of drunkenness or even of moral idiocy. In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, which is an excellent first glimpse into the experimental style of Joyce's mature works, Joyce sets forth the childhood, adolescence and early manhood of his character, Stephen Dedalus, his own alter ego in both *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*. He travels through Stephen's mind and soul allowing us to experience his mental and spiritual development whilst witnessing the physical changes he goes through as he matures:

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<sup>29</sup> Although two senior Irish diplomats were in Switzerland at the time, neither attended Joyce's funeral, and the Irish government subsequently declined Nora's offer to permit the repatriation of Joyce's remains. As Brenda Maddox points out:

Nora remained an exile for Joyce's sake. She could not leave 'him' – that is, his body. Her antagonism to Ireland was no greater – and no less – than Ireland's antagonism to him. An event in Ireland that same year only strengthened Nora's belief that the Irish did not like James Joyce. In 1948 the Irish Government brought the body of W. B. Yeats back to Ireland from the south of France where he had died in 1939. Yeats had wished to be buried in the Drumcliff churchyard in his beloved Sligo, and had reserved a plot for himself and his family. In 1948 Ireland repatriated Yeats's body with solemn homage. The coffin was taken from France to Galway by a ship of the Irish navy; there the widow, her children and the poet's brother were piped aboard. Then a funeral procession escorted them from Galway to Sligo, where Yeats was buried with a military guard of honour and representation from the Irish Government.

Why not the same for Joyce? Nora, backed by Giorgio, felt that the Irish Government should do no less for its greatest writer of prose than for its greatest poet (Maddox 1989, 477).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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Where was his boyhood now? Where was the soul that had hung back from her destiny, to brood alone upon the shame of her wounds and in her house of squalor and subterfuge to queen it in faded ceremonies and in wreaths that withered at the touch? Or where was he?

[...]

[...] His soul was swooning into some new world, fantastic, dim, uncertain as under sea, traversed by cloudy shapes and beings. A world, a glimmer or a flower? Glimmering and trembling, trembling and unfolding, a breaking light, an opening flower, it spread in endless succession to itself, breaking in full crimson and unfolding and fading to palest rose, leaf by leaf and wave of light by wave of light, flooding all the heavens with soft flushes, every flush deeper than other (Joyce 1965, 195-197).

*Stephen Hero* was published after Joyce's death, from the charred remains of the manuscript that had survived the author's attempt to burn it. As we have already mentioned, Joyce began writing the text during his university years in Dublin with his brother Stanislaus suggesting the title. The text continued to mutate when he moved to Trieste but was eventually abandoned as Joyce felt it immature and not worth publishing. However, as Richard Ellmann points out, one of his private students, Italo Svevo, read an extract and encouraged him to take up the theme of the emerging young artist once again:

It was inevitable that, since Joyce had read Schmitz's work, Schmitz should have to read his. The three chapters of *A Portrait of the Artist* were duly produced, and Schmitz had to write a criticism of them. The letter he sent Joyce on February 8, 1909, roused his teacher from inertia:

Dear Mr. Joyce,

Really I do not believe of being authorized to tell you the author a resolute opinion about the novel which I could know only partially. I do not allude to my want of competence but especially to the fact that when you stopped writing you were facing a very important development of Stehen's mind. [...]

[...] You are obliged to write only about strong things. In your skilled hands they may become still stronger. I do not believe you can give the appearance of strength to things which are in themselves feeble, not important. I must say that if you had to write a whole novel with the only aim of description of everyday life without a problem which could affect strongly your own mind (you would not choose such a novel) you would be obliged to leave your method and find artificial colours to lend to the things the life they wanted in themselves.

Excuse me, dear Mr. Joyce, these remarks which prove perhaps only my conceitedness and believe me yours very truly,

Ettore Schmitz (Ellmann 1982, 273-74).

Hence, Joyce reworked the text and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* emerged from the discarded pages of *Stephen Hero*. It is interesting to compare *Stephen Hero* to *A Portrait* in that one

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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can clearly see the transition from the writing of a young apprentice in the wordsmith craft to that of a mature author who has reached the level of master craftsman.

Initial preparation for Joyce's best-known work began in 1902 while Joyce was still twenty years old. He was self-possessed enough to gather all his epiphanies and begin arranging them to form notes for *Ulysses*:

[...] Similarly, his epiphanies would have to give up their disembodied existence to become parts of a narrative, which in its turn would be affected by the prior existence of these 'spots of time.' Instead of being the author of short works, he must pour them into his long ones, without waste (Ellmann 1982, 128).

He began work in earnest in 1914, after the publication of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, eventually publishing *Ulysses* in 1922.

As we know, Joyce was heavily influenced by the dramatic writing of Henrik Ibsen and wrote his own theatrical work, *Exiles* in 1914, after the completion of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and just before beginning *Ulysses*. The play is set in the Dublin of 1912 and the plot revolves round the character of Richard Rowan and his intellectual dilemmas as to whether he should settle down in Ireland as a lecturer in Romance Languages and try to Europeanize Ireland or flee the net, as Joyce himself did. There is a fear that if he decides to stay it will leave him in a state of paralysis and bitterness and at the play's end we do not find a resolution, only a deep longing for love and understanding on the part of Bertha, Richard's wife and a deep weariness on the part of Richard himself. As we can see, the play has much autobiographical information relating to Joyce's early experiences of exile in Europe which is of interest. What's more, one also gets an insight into Joyce's preoccupation with jealousy and betrayal in love<sup>30</sup>:

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<sup>30</sup> Richard Ellmann points out that Joyce used Prezioso's admiration for Nora as background for *Exiles*: With this spectacle he had helped produce, Joyce (quick to be cool again) had the rest of the plot for *Exiles* where Prezioso's overtures form a considerable part of the action. Prezioso, for his pain, was honoured by having his first name, Roberto, given to Richard's dishonourable friend in the play, Robert Hand. Joyce was half-responsible for Prezioso's conduct, in an experiment at being author of his own life as well as of his work. No doubt he was taking too much upon himself, but he did not do so for pleasure, except perhaps the pleasure of self-laceration (Ellmann 1982, 317).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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RICHARD

*(controlling himself)* You forget that I have allowed you complete liberty – and allow you it still.

BERTHA

*(scornfully)* Liberty!

RICHARD

Yes, complete. But he must know that I know. *(more calmly)* I will speak to him quietly. *(appealing)* Bertha, believe me, dear! It is not jealousy. You have complete liberty to do as you wish – you and he. But not in this way. He will not despise you. You don't wish to deceive me – with him, do you?

BERTHA

No, I do not. *(looking full at him)* Which of us two is the deceiver? (Joyce 1992, 175)

However, as a piece of theatre, *Exiles* has never been a major success.

Although not renowned for his poetry, Joyce's work in this area is accomplished. *Chamber Music* is essentially a collection of thirty-six love poems written in different styles, composed and revised between 1901 and 1906. In 1927 Joyce published another book of poetry, *Poems Pennyeach* with Sylvia Beach's Shakespeare and Company Press. Joyce wrote many other poems such as 'Gas from a Burner' and 'The Holy Office', both polemical attacks on Irish society. Among his other renowned poetic works is 'Ecce Puer', a poem dealing with the death of his father John Stanislaus Joyce and the birth of his grandson, Stephen Joyce:

Of the dark past  
A child is born;  
With joy and grief  
My heart is torn.

Calm in his cradle  
The living lies.  
May love and mercy  
Unclose his eyes!

Young life is breathed  
On the glass;  
The world that was not  
Comes to pass.

A child is sleeping:  
An old man gone.  
O, father forsaken,  
Forgive your son! (Joyce 1992, III).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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In addition to his works of fiction, James Joyce wrote and published numerous pieces of non-fiction throughout his life. Last but not least, *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce's final novel was created over a period of fifteen years, with composition starting in 1923 and finally completed in 1938. Like all of Joyce's work, *Finnegans Wake* was dogged by publication controversy. He found, due to the perceived obscurity of the text that even his closest allies lost faith in his last artistic venture, finding it too obscure and occluded to penetrate and it was only his own innate belief in his artistic mission that carried him through to complete the work as the conversation portrayed in Ellmann's biography shows:

On another occasion he read from *Work in Progress* to a small group which included Mrs. Colum, and at the end asked her, 'What did you think of it?' She replied with her accustomed forthrightness, 'Joyce, I think it is outside literature.' He did not make any comment then, but later he took Padraic Colum aside to remark, 'Your wife said that what I read was outside literature. Tell her it may be outside literature now, but its future is inside literature' (Ellmann 1982, 635).

### 1.1.2. Pío Baroja's life and work.

The Basque novelist Pío Baroja y Nessi (28<sup>th</sup> December 1872 - 30<sup>th</sup> October 1956) met the social changes he witnessed in his lifetime with great skepticism, and as a result, his independence and pessimism stand out in a work which represents one of the most daunting and genuine portrayals of history in 20<sup>th</sup> century Spanish literature. Baroja's outlook on life, attitude and understanding of history were closely related to the landscape and mentality of his country, and he always maintained a passion for his beloved Basque Country, to which his words on 15<sup>th</sup> December 1935 in San Sebastián<sup>31</sup> bear witness:

*Si se borra mi recuerdo y el busto persiste en su sitio, me contentaría, si esto fuera posible, con que la gente que lo contemplara en el porvenir supiera que el que sirvió de modelo a esta estatua era un hombre que tenía el entusiasmo por la verdad, el odio a la hipocresía y la mentira y que, aunque*

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<sup>31</sup> Baroja went to the Museo Municipal to inaugurate the bust sculpted by Victorio Macho which would be removed during the Spanish Civil War: *También acudió, unos cuantos días después del acto de Salamanca, el 13 de enero, a una reunión de la Real Academia Española que tuvo lugar en San Sebastián, en el Museo de San Telmo, donde hasta ese mismo año de 1936 había estado entronizado el busto de Baroja del que es autor Victorio Macho* (Sánchez-Ostiz 2006, 357).\*

\* On the 13<sup>th</sup> January, some days after the act in Salamanca, he attended a meeting of the Royal Academy of Spanish in San Sebastian, in the San Telmo Museum, the same museum which that same year, 1936, had given pride of place to Victorio Macho's bust of Baroja (Translation mine).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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*dijeran lo contrario en su tiempo, era un vasco que amaba entrañablemente a su país*<sup>32</sup>(Baroja 1949, 322).

In 1879 the Barojas moved to Madrid, where at 15 Baroja began to study medicine. He received his doctorate in medicine from the University of Madrid in 1893 and spent the next year as a country doctor in Cestona, a small Basque town. However, disgusted by the hardships and petty intrigues of country life, Baroja renounced his medical post in 1895 and the following year joined his brother Ricardo in managing a bakery in Madrid. According to Miguel Sánchez-Ostiz, Baroja's experiences as a doctor in a small Basque town formed the basis for many of his novels and short stories:

*Baroja ve esa vida de médico rural, o rural a secas, sórdida, llena de pejugueras, maledicencias y envidias que, como bien saben todos los que han vivido en ese idílico medio rural, son los impagables ingredientes que dan vida y color al dichoso mundo idílico, y emponzoñan de por vida a muchos de sus habitantes.*

[...]

*Las páginas que dedicó Baroja a hablar del año que pasó en Cestona son importantes porque ahí está casi todo Baroja, y de ahí, de los encuentros que fueron casuales, surgieron personajes de sus novelas, sin contar lo del sentimiento vasquista, que tuvo a lo largo de su vida mucha más importancia de la que se cree y conoce*<sup>33</sup>(Sánchez-Ostiz 2006, 73).

The shock of the Spanish-American War in 1898 provoked in Baroja, as in many of his contemporaries, a reaction against the social abuses and the corrosive influence of the Catholic Church in Spain, which he denounces in '*Vieja España, Patria Nueva:*'

*El fanatismo religioso y el fanatismo liberal han de ser un obstáculo enorme para la redención de España. Los fanáticos en religión impedirán la evolución del sentimiento religioso; los fanáticos de la democracia, considerando intangible el sufragio, la libertad de la Prensa y el parlamentarismo, impedirán la evolución de la idea política*<sup>34</sup> (Baroja 1982, 52).

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<sup>32</sup> If my memories are erased and yet my bust remains, I would be happy enough that people contemplating it in years to come knew that the model for the statue was a man who was a true enthusiast about the truth, a hater of hypocrisy and lies, and who, though in his time the opposite was said of him, was a Basque who dearly loved his country (Translation mine).

<sup>33</sup> Baroja views the life of a country doctor, indeed any kind of country life, as sordid and rife with gossip, slander and jealousies. As anyone who has inhabited such an idyllic rural setting knows that this is the daily bread which gives life and colour to country living, and poisons the existence of many. [...]

The pages Baroja dedicated to the year he spent in Cestona are important as being almost pure Baroja, and from these pages and the chance meetings he described, appear the characters of his novels, not to mention the Basque sentiment which was much more important throughout his life than is generally believed or known (Translation mine).

<sup>34</sup> Religious fanaticism and liberal fanaticism are huge obstacles to the redemption of Spain. Religious fanatics will prevent the evolution of religious feeling; while fanatics of democracy, who feel their vote, the freedom of the Press and parliament to be intangible, will impede the development of the political concept.

The ethical issue has isolated me from the Spanish way, turning me into one more lonely Robinson Crusoe, dressed in jacket and bowler, inhabiting the cities of Spain (Translation mine).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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Toward the end of 1898 he began to contribute articles to the journal ‘*Revista Nueva*’ and made the first of many trips to Paris; two years later Baroja published *Vidas sombrías*, a collection of short stories, and his first novel, *La casa de Aizgorri*. After the bakery failed in 1902, Baroja devoted himself entirely to writing, publishing two or more books almost every year until his death in 1956.

In 1899 Baroja travelled to Paris where he met Oscar Wilde and Élisée Reclus and made his acquaintance with the Machado brothers. After the publication of *Vidas Sombrías* in 1900, he met Azorín, who would become his lifelong friend:

*La de Azorín es una amistad cómoda de veras porque no le impuso jamás el trato asiduo. Al revés, todos los biógrafos coinciden en que estuvieron mucho tiempo sin verse. Por parte de Azorín hubo siempre admiración rendida, artículos elogiosos, favores (será el muñidor de su candidatura a la Academia y quien mueva las cuerdas académicas) y algunos regalos de precio<sup>35</sup> (Sánchez-Ostiz 2006, 95).*

Together with Darío de Regoyos, Ramiro de Maeztu, Ciro Bayo Seguro, Paul Schmitz and his brother Ricardo, Baroja explored different towns and villages of Spain and collected these experiences in his books. Surprisingly, Baroja was extremely shy, and, except for a small number of trips abroad – travelling to Tangier in 1903 as war correspondent for the newspaper ‘*El Globo*,’ to London and Paris in 1906, and the following year visiting Switzerland and Italy – he lived a secluded and sedentary life. Baroja created an ideal society in his mind and his celebrated solitude came from not being able to adapt himself to the reality he lived in. As a consequence, loneliness became one of the most recurrent motifs in his works and in his prologue to *La Dama Errante*, he admits to having become a solitary:

*La preocupación ética me ha ido aislando del ambiente español convirtiéndome en uno de tantos solitarios, robinsones con chaqueta y sombrero hongo, que pueblan las ciudades<sup>36</sup> (Baroja 1967, 30).*

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<sup>35</sup> Azorín’s was a truly easy friendship in that he never imposed his presence with any frequency. Quite the contrary, every biographer coincides with the fact that they didn’t see each other for long stretches. On Azorín’s side there was always total admiration, complimentary articles, favours (he was instrumental in moving Baroja’s candidature for the Academy, pulling academic strings for him) and various expensive gifts (Translation mine).

<sup>36</sup> An ethical concern has isolated me from the Spanish environment, turning me into one more loner, one more Robinson in jacket and bowler inhabiting the cities (Translation mine).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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Baroja enjoyed considerable fame within Spain<sup>37</sup> and abroad, and many of his novels were translated into English. His works influenced many younger writers, notably Ernest Hemingway<sup>38</sup>, who visited Baroja in Madrid in 1956 to declare his debt to him.

1935 saw the death of Baroja's mother – to whom he was extremely attached – and his appointment as member of *La Real Academia de la Lengua* on which occasion he delivered the speech '*La formación psicológica de un escritor*<sup>39</sup>', which was contested<sup>40</sup> by Dr. Gregorio Marañón. In *Pío Baroja, A Escena*, Miguel Sánchez-Ostiz describes Baroja's grief over the loss of his mother:

*Para Baroja ese tuvo que ser un golpe duro. Todo su mundo familiar privado, de verdad privado, se venía literalmente abajo con la muerte de la madre. No es de extrañar que, un par de meses después,*

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<sup>37</sup> As Miguel Sánchez-Ostiz states, in 1935 Baroja was admitted to the Spanish Royal Academy.:

El 7 de junio de 1934, Pío Baroja es elegido académico de la Real Academia de la Lengua Española. Le han apoyado Gregorio Marañón, Casares y García de Diego.

Se sentará en el sillón del olvidado dramaturgo Leopoldo Cano y leerá su discurso de ingreso casi un año después, el 12 de mayo de 1935 (Sánchez-Ostiz 2006, 275). \*

\*On the 7<sup>th</sup> June 1934, Pío Baroja is elected as academician of the Royal Academy of Spanish, seconded by Gregorio Marañón, Casares and García de Diego.

He would take the seat of the late playwright Leopoldo Cano, and would read his acceptance speech nearly one year later, on the 12<sup>th</sup> May 1935 (Translation mine).

<sup>38</sup> Ernest Hemingway was greatly influenced by Baroja and is reported to have told him on his visit in October 1956:

Allow me to pay this small tribute to you who taught so much to those of us who wanted to be writers when we were young. I deplore the fact that you have not yet received a Nobel Prize, especially when it was given to so many who deserved it less, like me, who am only an adventurer (As quoted in the prologue to Baroja 1965, 30).

<sup>39</sup> 'The psychological make-up of a writer' (Translation mine).

<sup>40</sup> *Corría el año 1934. 'En una de las sesiones de la Academia Española celebradas en la primavera ya muy avanzada, Pío Baroja es elegido académico. Azorín y Marañón luchan denodadamente para conseguir el triunfo -afirma Gómez Santos-. El primero cumplía con su antigua amistad con Baroja, pero Marañón había procedido por un impulso espontáneo de hacer justicia al novelista vasco, con el que había mantenido muy escasa relación.'*

*Pío Baroja agradece a Marañón su intercesión y le pide que sea él quien conteste a su discurso de ingreso a la Academia. Entonces, el madrileño se ve envuelto en una singular anécdota. Gómez-Santos continúa el relato: 'Menéndez Pidal, como Presidente de la Academia Española, recibe el informe acerca del discurso barojiano sobre La formación psicológica de un escritor y cuyo tono -el usual en el novelista- pareció inadecuado a los censores de la Casa.' Por esa razón, el filólogo le escribe a Marañón: 'He hablado con los censores del discurso de Baroja y me dicen que convendría atenuar algo de la nota de desinterés por la labor académica que en muchas páginas se expresa, pues no es oportuna en el momento preciso de la entrada en la corporación.' Baroja no puede con su genio, y lo demuestra una vez más, aunque 'su ingreso en la Academia le llena de gozo, lo cual se advierte en su epistolario. Marañón estuvo junto a él en esa circunstancia.*

*Aunque las diferencias de carácter y de objetivos entre Marañón y Baroja son evidentes, tuvieron experiencias en común –el ámbito, los estudios universitarios, el ejercicio de la medicina, la condición de académico- y tuvieron, asimismo, una enriquecedora relación personal, de la que da testimonio el bastón navarro regalado a Marañón por el novelista, sin el cual el médico ilustre, poco antes de morir, 'no daba un paso durante su estancia en Toledo. (EL TIEMPO, Azul, 5 de julio de 1998)\**

\* It was 1934. 'During one of the sessions of the Royal Academy, celebrated in late spring, Pío Baroja is elected as academician. As noted by Gómez Santos, Azorín and Marañón fight tirelessly on his behalf; the former in deference to his long-standing friendship with Baroja, while Marañón was driven by a spontaneous impulse to do justice to the Basque novelist, with whom he has had little contact.'

Pío Baroja thanks Marañón for interceding on his behalf, and asks him to be the one to respond to his acceptance speech. Thus the man from Madrid finds himself embroiled in a curious anecdote. As Gómez-Santos relates: 'Menéndez Pelayo, as President of the Royal Academy of Spanish, receives news of Baroja's speech on the psychological training of a writer, written in a tone – the usual tone adopted by the novelist – seemingly unfitting in the eyes of the house censors.' Because of this, the philologist wrote the following to Marañón, 'I have spoken to the censors about Baroja's speech and they advise me to lessen the noted lack of interest in academia expressed on many of his pages, since it is not fitting just when entering the corporation.' Baroja's genius weighs heavy and he shows this once and again, even though 'his entry into the Academy filled him with joy, as can be seen from his letters.' Marañón stood by him.

In spite of the fact that the differences of character and aim of both Marañón and Baroja are plain, they did share common experiences – their background, university studies, medical practices and academic condition, and also enjoyed a rich personal relationship. Witness to this was the Navarre walking stick which was given to Marañón by the novelist, without which, shortly before his death, the illustrious doctor 'never took a step during his stay in Toledo' (Translation mine).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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*cuando escriba para su homenaje donostiarra se sienta en sus palabras algo parecido a una desesperanza, a un encontrarse perdido, el ser un edificio ruinoso*<sup>41</sup> (Sánchez-Ostiz 2006,289-90).

In June 1936 he was in Vera de Bidasoa when the Spanish Civil War broke out. After an encounter with the army and as a result of the many opinions he had expressed before the war, he decided to exile himself in Paris where he spent most of the war years. Back in Spain he started writing his memoirs, *Desde la última vuelta del camino*. His brother-in-law, Caro Raggio, died in 1943 and Baroja's sister passed away in 1949 followed shortly by their brother Ricardo who died in 1953; Baroja's life in this period is mirrored in the title of the book written by his nephew, Pío Caro Baroja: *La soledad de Pío Baroja*, published in Mexico. Baroja died on October 30<sup>th</sup> 1956, at the age of 83.

### 1.1.3. Similarities and differences.

As a conclusion to the first two points, we can say that the most obvious similarity between Pío Baroja and James Joyce is the time period in which they lived and worked; Pío Baroja was only ten years older than James Joyce, and as a consequence, the two were active in the same period. Furthermore, during their childhoods both writers felt uprooted as a consequence of their parents' continuous moves: Baroja's father was a mining engineer who moved from place to place, whereas Joyce's father's many failures were always overshadowed by his enduring sense of grandeur – particularly the grandeur of himself. As we have seen, at one time, the Joyce family had some money, but by the time James was born, it had been squandered by his father. The Joyce clan grew large and on the streets of Dublin they are reported to have been seen, after yet another eviction, moving en masse to new lodgings. In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Stephen Dedalus famously describes the career, or careers, of his father, Simon:

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<sup>41</sup> This must have been a great blow to Baroja. The whole private world of his family, his truly private world, came tumbling down with the death of his mother. It is not surprising that, only a couple of months later, when writing for his homage in San Sebastian there is something close to desperation in his words, a feeling of being lost, of being a building in ruins (Translation mine).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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A medical student, an oarsman, a tenor, an amateur actor, a shouting politician, a small landlord, a small investor, a good fellow, a storyteller, somebody's secretary, something in a distillery, a tax-gatherer, a bankrupt and at present a praiser of his own past (Joyce 1965, 274).

However, in spite of the difficult relationship both writers had with their fathers, their works are considered to have been greatly influenced by them. It is said that Baroja's father, who brought up his son on Spanish and Basque ballads and legends, may have been responsible for his son's writing career (Baroja, the father, being also a poet and author of the libretto for perhaps the only opera in the Basque language). In a similar manner, much of Joyce's own work seems to have been influenced directly by his father and by his father's circle of Dublin friends, as Joyce himself admitted to close friends that after his father's death he had even considered abandoning *Work in Progress*:

On January 17, 1932, he informed Miss Weaver that since his father's death he had been plunged into such 'prostration of mind' that he was considering once again abandoning *Work in Progress*. With more self-knowledge, he suggested that his talent sprang from a trait of character which he shared with John Joyce:

[...]My father had an extraordinary affection for me. He was the silliest man I ever knew and yet cruelly shrewd. He thought and talked of me up to his last breath. I was very fond of him always, being a sinner myself, and even liked his faults. Hundreds of pages and scores of characters in my books came from him (Ellmann 1982, 643).

Furthermore, both Baroja and Joyce studied medicine although they seemed to be more interested to show their fellow country-people the reality of the society they inhabited, and so they eventually devoted their lives to literature.

Baroja and Joyce's was the reality of a country with which they had a love-hate relationship and from which they exiled themselves – for different reasons and with different consequences – at some point in their lives. However, despite the fact that both Joyce and Baroja expressed their disenchantment with their fellow citizens, they always showed a fondness for their motherlands, as is expressed by Joyce in 'Gas from a Burner':

Oh Ireland my first and only love  
Where Christ and Caesar are hand in glove  
Oh lovely land where the shamrock grows!  
(Joyce 1992, 107-110)

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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The same fondness which is expressed by Baroja in the following words devoted to his beloved Basque Country:

*Yo recuerdo, cuando era médico de pueblo, las mañanas en que salía a caballo a hacer mi visita. La aldea estaba dormida, las casas iban brotando de la noche, negras por la humedad; sobre el río se levantaba una niebla azul que luego se deshacía en jirones. Yo subía por el monte al paso de mi caballo por las sendas, entre la niebla, sin pensar en nada. Muchas veces en la cumbre veía todo el valle lleno de brumas blancas, y arriba brillaba un sol espléndido y el cielo estaba azul como un zafiro; otras veces las nieblas avanzaban, corrían por entre los árboles desnudos, cuyo ramaje negro parecía una humareda, y la bruma volvía a envolverse. Aquellas brumas de los montes son para mí un recuerdo indeleble; otras cosas se me han olvidado: odios y cariños, favores y desprecios, han pasado por mí sin dejar una huella; esas brumas, en cambio, anegaron mi alma para siempre; ya no salen de ella, ya no saldrán jamás*<sup>42</sup> (Baroja 1904, 135).

A further point in common which will be further developed in this dissertation is their strained relationship with the Catholic Church. Julio Caro – Baroja’s nephew –, in a brief introduction to one of Baroja’s Basque novels – *La leyenda de Jaun de Alzate* –, describes the novelist as a Basqueist who thinks that is possible to be a Basque, pure and simple, without being a nationalist, a Carlist, or even a Christian. In *La Leyenda de Jaun de Alzate* Baroja’s main character – Jaun – fights against the growing influence of the Catholic Church in The Basque Country and defends their ancient pagan rites:

*CHORIBURU*

*Tú ingresarás también en el catolicismo.*

*JAUN*

*Yo, no; yo, no. ¿Qué quiere decir católico?*

*CHORIBURU*

*Universal.*

*JAUN*

*Yo no seré universal nunca: me contento con ser de Alzate.*

*CHORIBURU*

*Cuando sepáis la verdad ingresaréis todos en la Iglesia. Vivís ahora en la idolatría, en un mundo lleno de errores y de vicios.*

*JAUN*

*¿Qué errores? ¿Qué vicios hay en Alzate? ¿Me lo quieres decir?*

*CHORIBURU*

*Adoráis al sol, a la luna, a las estrellas.*

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<sup>42</sup> I recall when I was a country doctor and I would ride out in the morning to make my house-calls. The village still slept, the houses surging out of the night, black with damp, and a blue mist rose over the river, to later drift away in shreds. Thinking of nothing as I rode, my horse would take me slowly up the mountain paths through the mist. Often, from the top I would see the valley below filled with white clouds whilst above me a splendid sun shone in a sapphire sky. Other times the mists rolled up, swirling through the bare trees and seeming to fill their branches with smoke. Those mountain mists are an indelible memory, other things have been forgotten - hates and loves, good turns and bad have washed over me without leaving their mark, but those mists flooded my soul forever, they have never left and will never leave (Translation mine).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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JAUN

*¿Y por qué no?*

CHORIBURU

*Rendís culto a las bestias.*

JAUN

*No es cierto*

CHORIBURU

*Tenéis al macho cabrío como dios.*

JAUN

*Es un símbolo de un pueblo pastor. Vosotros los cristianos, ¿no tenéis el cordero?*

CHORIBURU

*Sois bárbaros y atrasados.*

JAUN

*En cambio, vosotros sois más hipócritas y más fanáticos que nosotros.*

CHORIBURU

*Tiene contestación a todo este palurdo. Bueno: ahí tienes a tu hija, que vuelve de la iglesia. No la llames Ederra. Se llama ahora María.*

Entra Ederra.

JAUN

*¡Ederra, hija mía! ¿Es verdad que has abandonado nuestra creencia y te has hecho cristiana?*

EDERRA

*Sí, padre, me he bautizado. Ahora me llamo María.*

JAUN

*Para mí siempre serás Ederra. ¿Y por qué has dejado nuestras tradiciones vascas?*

EDERRA

*Porque me han enseñado la verdad.*

JAUN

*¡La verdad! ¡La verdad! Cada pueblo tiene su verdad. El catolicismo será la verdad de los forasteros, de los maquetos, pero no la nuestra<sup>43</sup> (Baroja 1986, 64-65).*

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<sup>43</sup> CHORIBURU

You'll go into Catholicism too.

JAUN

Not I, not I. What does catholic mean, anyway?

CHORIBURU

Universal.

JAUN

I shall never be universal – I'm happy to be from Alzate.

CHORIBURU

When you know the truth you will all enter the Church. You live now in idolatry, in a world of errors and vice.

JAUN

What errors? What vice is there in Alzate? Tell me please!

CHORIBURU

You worship the sun and the moon and the stars.

JAUN

And why not?

CHORIBURU

You worship the beasts.

JAUN

That is not true.

CHORIBURU

You hold a ram as your god.

JAUN

It is the symbol of a shepherding people. Don't you Christians have a lamb?

CHORIBURU

You are barbarians and backward.

JAUN

And in turn you are more hypocritical and fanatical than any of us.

CHORIBURU

This yokel has an answer to everything. Well, here comes your daughter, on her way back from Church. Do not call her Ederra –her name is now María.

Ederra enters.

JAUN

Ederra, my child! Is it true you have forsaken our beliefs and taken up Christianity?

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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Baroja's mocking scepticism made him enemies everywhere and his well-known anti-clerical views were an abomination to traditionalist Catholics. Likewise, from the very beginning James Joyce's readers have considered him a Catholic or an anti-Catholic writer. Even though, a study of his writings reveals that throughout his career he rejected the church in which he had grown up, in recent years the tendency has been to recuperate him for an alternative and decidedly liberal form of Catholicism. As John Nash points out, Joyce's reputation has been linked to national, cultural and religious struggles, so his name often ranges over complex and sometimes contrary ideas:

It can be seen, then, that Joyce's reputation in Ireland was bound up with the nation's own national, cultural and religious struggles and debates. The forging of his reception is thus both the creation and the fabrication of Joyce, whose name comes to stand as shorthand for a range of complex and sometimes contrary ideas. While he has been seen as both a Revivalist and not, a Catholic writer and national figure as well as a European and liberal one, it might be tempting to conclude that Joyce's reception only ever confirms the values of the reader. Yet such a reading would 'flatten' Joyce into his reception. In fact, what contemporaries increasingly came to see as Joyce's literary and socio-cultural significance – as the major writer of prose and of realism in the Revival period, as the major writer of the period from a Catholic background, as one whose anti-imperial sentiments and political skepticism make him a modern, national figure – continues to shape our reading of him today (Nash 2008, 121).

As for the differences between the two writers, first is the fact that Baroja wrote two books a year until his death whereas Joyce cannot be described as a prolific writer. Secondly, their lifestyles – which are mirrored in their works – were extremely different: Baroja lived a secluded and sedentary life while Joyce enjoyed a full life surrounded by family and friends. However, it is important to highlight the fact that the biggest difference between the two authors is hidden in their relation to politics, an aspect which will be further developed in this dissertation.

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Yes, father. I have been baptised. Now my name is María.	EDERRA
For me you will always be Ederra. Why have you given up our Basque traditions?	JAUN
Because they have shown me the truth.	EDERRA
The truth! The truth! Each people have their own truth. Catholicism may be the truth for outsiders, for non-Basques, but not for us (Translation mine).	JAUN

### 1.2. Socio-political context.

One of the ideas emphasised in this dissertation is that no-man's-land might symbolize the loss of identity witnessed in the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century in every nation. Hence, our methodological choice, a combination of the comparative approach and some of the recent tenets of the historicist method which provides a meaningful dialogue between cultures and literatures, and into the dialectics between texts and contexts, between the texts themselves and the social and historical forces from which they stem and in which they participate is appropriate to our subject matter. In this study we demonstrate that it is undeniable that we appreciate in the literature of this time a psychological pondering over culture and history together with an analysis of the situations that resulted, in every country, from the coexistence of a new decadence with both old prejudices and immemorial magnificence. We argue that as a result of this pondering, the culture of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century can be said to have been influenced by the controversy that arose from confronting tradition and modernization and from the fierce criticism which was levelled at the nostalgic decadence which was felt in all public spheres. Furthermore, we prove that the fin-de-siècle brought about a global change<sup>44</sup> of attitude which was especially noticeable in the field of culture, which showed a profound preoccupation with social matters. We also see how these years witnessed the emergence of a new type of writer who, setting aside his work of creation, wished to have a direct influence on the political and social events of his time; to define this kind of artist, the term 'intellectual' was coined.

Indeed, in the case of Joyce as well as in that of Baroja it is difficult to separate the literary text from the socio-political, as both writers incorporated aspects of the 'real world' into their works,

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<sup>44</sup> A new religiosity, based on a Christianity with evangelical roots, seemed to influence many contemporary authors. In the 90s the philosophy of positivism, which had meant an overwhelming enthusiasm for science, disappeared. Now, both intuition and revelation seemed to be as legitimate methods of gaining knowledge as science. Pictorial impressionism ceased to be a novelty and philosophical irrationalism appeared. Likewise, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche became popular among the young writers, their influence being so big that Baroja tried to explain the reasons for Nietzsche's popularity in his article 'El éxito de Nietzsche:'

*Quizá fuera necesario escribir una psicología completa del tiempo actual para poderse explicar con lógica el éxito de Nietzsche, que en la actualidad llena todo el mundo de la inteligencia.* (Baroja 1904, 27)\*

\* 'The success of Nietzsche':

It would perhaps be necessary to describe a complete psychology of modern times in order to logically explain Nietzsche's success, which today fills the world of the intellect (Translation mine).

and, therefore the dialectics text context illuminates their literary significance. In the next two points we will depict the fin-de-siècle social and political contexts both in Ireland and in Spain that shaped their lives and works.

### **1.2.1. The Irish context: Reinventing the Nation.**

Fin-de-siècle Ireland was badly in need of reinventing itself. After the political ups and downs of the 16<sup>th</sup> C., Ireland was living riot-filled times; it is well known that in spite of being under English political and economic rule, Ireland had its own ways and culture. Eventually, in 1800 the Irish parliament in Dublin was annexed to that in Westminster which thus ruled both countries from a sole government whose seat was established in London. Despite the uneven situation, it was not until the last years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that the Irish dream of a limited way of independence known as Home Rule gave way to the appearance of an incipient nationalism in the bosom of Irish society.

Engaging in a vision of a successful overthrow of imperial power and achievement of self-sufficient nationhood despite being aware that there was no pure/racial/ethnic Irish essence (or past) to posit as an alternative (whether real or nostalgic) to British influence, writers like Joyce did not entirely despair of the possibility of a non-nostalgic Irish revival:

[...]Today, these Irish emigrants in the United State number sixteen million, a rich, powerful, and industrious settlement. Maybe this does not prove that the Irish dream of a Revival is not entirely an illusion! (Joyce 1959, 172).

In 'Ithaca', for instance, Jew Bloom is unmasked as a political animal who strongly supported Ripon and Morley who were defenders of Irish Home Rule; the following paragraph suggests that Bloom's nationalistic politics were perhaps no less vigorous than those of Simon Dedalus and other Irishmen, and probably much more carefully considered in terms of specific policies:

In 1885 he had publicly expressed his adherence to the collective and national economic programme advocated by James Fintan Lalor, John Fisher Murray, John Mitchel, J.F.X. O'Brien and others, the

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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agrarian policy of Michael Davitt, the constitutional agitation of Charles Stewart Parnell (M.P. for Cork City), the programme of peace, retrenchment and reform of William Ewart Gladstone (M.P. for Midlothian, N.B.) and, in support of his political convictions, had climbed up into a secure position amid the ramifications of a tree on Northumberland road to see the entrance (2 February 1888) into the capital of a demonstrative torchlight procession of 20,000 torchbearers, divided into 120 trade corporations, bearing 2000 torches in escort of the marquis of Ripon and (honest) John Morley (*U 17*. 1645-56).

Following this line of thought, the Home Government association was formed in May 1870 by Isaac Butt. The demand itself, a call for the re-establishment of an autonomous Irish parliament in Dublin, had a very high level of acceptance among Irish voters, for it was basically a resurrection of the O'Connellite call for repeal of the Union. In addition the Association benefited from the high level of national political awareness achieved by the Fenians and the Amnesty Campaign; and it also benefited from the growing disillusionment with Gladstone's promise of 'Justice for Ireland.'

By the parliamentary recess of 1876-77, it was clear that Butt's more moderate obstructionism was winning moral victories and gentle compliments from the conservative front bench, but little else; and there emerged within the Home Rule party a small coterie, centred on Biggar and Parnell, who were prepared to develop a more ruthless approach to parliamentary procedure. Together, these men abandoned the restraints of their nominal leader and embarked upon a campaign of disruption aimed at government business. The obstructionist tactics of the Biggar-Parnell coterie brought as little tangible gain as the genteel parliamentary gamesmanship of Isaac Butt; they did, however, arouse tremendous popular interest and enthusiasm. Eventually, the obstructionists divided the Home Rule party; the confrontation of August 1877 being swiftly followed by Butt's deposition (at the hands of Parnell); in 1878 Parnell was re-elected as president of the Home Rule confederation. In May 1879 Butt died and the divisions continued until May 1880, when Parnell was able to overthrow the stop-gap leader (William Shaw) who had been nominated by the dying Butt and sustained by the moderates.

One of the strengths of Parnell's political leadership rested with his cool, noncommittal appraisal of his options. Another strength, however, lay with the genial plundering of the ideas and

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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initiatives supplied by others. In the late 1870s his opportunity came; he was promoted to a national prominence on the strength of the tenacious obstructionists' policies pioneered by Biggar. He had been taught by Butt of the political potential contained within constitutional Fenianism, and now, in 1878-79, Devoy supplied a political alliance and a political agenda, resurrecting the ideas of Fintan Lalor and indeed of Butt. Michael Davitt, a recently released Fenian prisoner, supplied an organization initiative in the shape of the Land League of Mayo, created in August 1879.

However, more important than all that was a deepening agricultural crisis, which broke the prosperity of the early and mid-1870s, and the moderate political attitudes and institutions which depended, partly, on a sense of well-being. These were the formidable tools available to the new leader of Irish nationalism at the time of his accession, in May 1880 and, undoubtedly, Parnell made perfect use of them, becoming for many, even for Joyce, 'the uncrowned king of Ireland.'

His most recent critic has tried to minimize the greatness of this strange spirit by pointing out the different sources of his agile parliamentary tactics. But even if we grant the historical critic that obstructionism was invented by Biggar and Ronayne, that the doctrine of the independence of the Irish party was launched by Gavan Duffy, that the Agrarian League was the creation of Michael Davitt, these concessions only make more conspicuous the extraordinary personality of a leader who, without forensic gifts or any original political talent, forced the greatest English politicians to carry out his orders; and, like another Moses, led a turbulent and unstable people from the house of shame to the verge of the Promised Land (Joyce 1959, 224-25).

Between 1879 and 1882 Parnell succeeded, partly through skill and partly through good fortune, in helping to raise a protest that was sufficiently potent to give him leverage over the British government, while also falling far short of the agrarian revolution that some of his more radical lieutenants had envisioned. He identified himself with extremist agrarians and condoned violent activity, but remained an ardent parliamentarian with a curious concern for his own landed class, and indeed for the good order of society as a whole. When, in May 1880 he was elected as chairman of the Irish parliamentary party, he was able to add a constitutional dimension to the popular authority and the Fenian endorsement which he already possessed: one of the foundations for Parnell's later ascendancy lay with this rationalization of political leadership inside Catholic Ireland; his essential

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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achievement was to preserve a semblance of unanimity within what was a very diverse ideological environment.

On 17 October 1882, after the Phoenix Park murders, the New Irish National League was launched, a body which differed from its banned predecessor both in having self-government as its primary function and in having Parnell as its effective creator and undisputed master. In Joyce's 'Eumaeus' the seaman's mention of cold steel leads to an accidental conversational reference to the Phoenix Park murders which both Stephen and Bloom regard as rash in the present company. But the indiscretion is swallowed up in general silence and in Skin-the-Goat's total inscrutability:

- And I seen a man killed in Trieste by an Italian chap. Knife in his back. Knife like that.

Whilst speaking he produced a dangerous-looking claspknife quite in keeping with his character and held it in the striking position.

- In a knockingshop it was count of a tryon between two smugglers. Fellow hid behind a door, come up behind him. Like that. *Prepare to meet your God*, says he. Chuk! It went into his back up to the butt.

His heavy lance drowsily roaming about kind of defied their further questions even should they by any chance want to.

- That's a good bit of steel, repeated he, examining his formidable *stiletto*.

After which harrowing *dénouement* sufficient to appal the stoutest he snapped the blade to and stowed the weapon in question away as before in his chamber of horrors, otherwise pocket.

- They are great for the cold steel, somebody who as evidently quite in the dark said for the benefit of them all. That was why they thought the park murders of the invincibles was done by foreigners on account of them using knives.

At this remark passed obviously in the spirit of *where ignorance is bliss* Mr B. And Stephen, each in his own particular way, both instinctively exchanged meaning glances, in a religious silence of the strictly *entre nous* variety however, towards where Skin-the-Goat, *alias* the keeper, not turning a hair, was drawing spurts of liquid from his boiler affair. His inscrutable face which was really a work of art, a perfect study in itself, beggaring description, conveyed the impression that he didn't understand one jot of what was going on. Funny, very! (U16. 577-600).

'Eumaeus' is an episode full of unclear, indeterminate, or mistaken identities and essences. This particular episode is suffused with a very interesting linguistic effect: we witness many things that have been named or identified repeatedly undergoing a process in which those very 'names' and essential identities get questioned – e.g. is Skin-the-Goat really Fitzharris the invincible? – and problematized:

So the scene between the pair of them, the licensee of the place rumoured to be or have been Fitzharris, the famous invincible, and the other, obviously bogus, reminded him forcibly as being on all fours with the confidence trick, supposing, that is, it was prearranged as the lookeron, a student of the human soul if anything, the others seeing least of the game (U16. 1043-47).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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Apart from this 'Eumaeus' renders an important passage that seems to get to the heart of some of the ideological positions Joyce advocates via Bloom: the need to look at more than one side in each question; the vigilance required to combat any moral smugness or essentialist confidence in a world in which nothing is actually simple or one-sided; anti-violence and pacifism and the need to refute the binary stereotypes of absolute difference which generate hatred for a constructed Other:

- Of course, Mr B. Proceeded to stipulate, you must look at both sides of the question. It is hard to lay down any hard and fast rules as to right and wrong but room for improvement all round that certainly is though every country, they say, our own distressful included, has the government it deserves. But with a little goodwill all round. It's all very fine to boast of mutual superiority but what about mutual equality. I resent violence and intolerance in any shape or form. It ever reaches anything or stops anything. A revolution must come on the due instalments plan. It's a patent absurdity on the face of it to hate people because they live round the corner and speak another vernacular, in the next house so to speak (*U* 16. 1094-103).

In addition to the battery of secular resources, the Parnellites now added the authority of the Church. In the general election of July 1886, while Ireland reaffirmed its commitment to Home Rule, Britain and especially England, pronounced in favour of the Union. Obviously Ireland was still lacking Home Rule and Joyce described both his main characters, Bloom and Stephen as missing the keys to their homes – in a literal sense as well as the figurative keys of rule in their own usurped abodes:

- Give us that key, Kinch, Buck Mulligan said, to keep my chemise flat.

Stephen handed him the key. Buck Mulligan laid it across his heaped clothes.

[...]

Horn of a bull, hoof of a horse, smile of a Saxon.

[...]

Usurper (*U*1. 721-44).

Stephen sees Haines smiling at him, at that comfortable stereotype of the wild and primitive Irish the English race needs to believe in. Stephen at least knows to beware of him and of his smile. For Irish Catholics the latter two amount symbolically to the same thing. Stephen distrusts both the smile of Saxon Haines and his Irish collaborator, Buck Mulligan, whose treachery Stephen relates to the wooden horse of Troy. For Stephen, the horses of authority and power are not to be trusted. Stephen

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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is the Irish artist who speaks with ‘the voice of Esau’ (*U9*. 981) because his birthright has fallen into the hands of the usurper. In short, Ireland, Bloom and Stephen were all in the same figurative condition of homeless usurpation.

Although 1886 is frequently seen as a turning point in Parnellite development, perhaps the true redefinition of Parnell’s politics came earlier, in 1882. Parnell had been president of the Land League and he had been careful to associate himself, at least in spirit, with some of his most hard-line colleagues. With the renewal of the land agitation between 1886 and 1890, his relationship with the hardliners became more distant. Some of the economic conditions that had combined to fuel the Land War of 1879-1881 re-emerged in the late 1880s; and there was some corresponding effort by some veterans of the Land League to regenerate an agitation. Parnell’s alliance with the Liberals did not crumble because the Irish were cut off from tangible political concession, nor was it replaced by an understanding with the Tories: the alliance ended because what Gladstone saw as the moral harmony between the parties suddenly gave way to dissonance. The origin of this lay not in Parnell’s occasional militant lapses, but rather in the divorce court. Parnell’s relationship with Katherine O’Shea began in 1880 and provided some of the psychological bedrock for Parnell’s successful political career in the following years; but it was, of course, a flawed stratum. In ‘Eumaeus’ Joyce portrays Irish nationalist feelings for O’Shea:

- That bitch, that English whore, did for him, the shebeen proprietor commented. She put the first nail in his coffin.

- Fine lump of a woman all the same, the *soi-distant* townclerk Henry Campbell remarked, and plenty of her. She loosened many a man’s thighs. I seen a picture in a barber’s. The husband was a captain or an officer.

- Ay, Skin-the-Goat amusingly added, he was and a cottonball one (*U* 16. 1352-57).

Initially it seemed that Parnell would indeed pull off the greatest tactical coup of his career, by sustaining the silence of the Church and the endorsement of the party in the face of his adultery. However, British non-conformist leaders such as Hugh Price Hughes, whose Home Rule convictions were interlinked with Christian Principle, now saw Parnell as a blight on their moral cause and were

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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fierce in their denunciation. Gladstone made it clear: Parnell's continued leadership of the Home Rule was incompatible with his own command of liberalism; and this forced the Irish members to reconsider their earlier and instinctive closing of ranks and giving way to what is known as the 'split,' whose ruthlessness is described by Joyce in 'The shade of Parnell:'

In his final desperate appeal to his countrymen, he begged them not to throw him as a sop to the English wolves howling around them. It redounds to their honour that they did not fail this appeal. They did not throw him to the English wolves; they tore him to pieces themselves (Joyce 1959, 228).

The 'split' was the central feature of Irish politics until Parnell's death in October 1891: indeed it remained a dominant theme until the reunification of the Irish party in 1900. In the months of the split, Parnell sought legislation that would discriminate in favour of the small farmer interest and against the substantial farmers who bolstered his opponents. He reaffirmed his faith in a non-sectarian nationalism and his attacks on the Church's intrusion into politics became ever more aggressive while at the same time carefully guarding his reputation for religious tolerance. However, a heightened concern for the role of his fellow Protestants within the New Ireland was also evident in these months.

If the split was merely an unveiling of the core of Parnellite thought, then this very process involved a fatal demystification. The emotional release provided by the split brought not just taunts but also violence as Joyce shows in the *Portrait*:

-It was down in Arklow one day. We were down there at a meeting and after the meeting was over we had to make our way to the railway station through the crowd. Such booing and baaing, man, you never heard. They called us all the names in the world. Well there was one old lady, and a drunken old harridan she was surely that paid all her attention to me. She kept dancing along beside me in the mud bawling and screaming into my face: *Priesthunter! The Paris funds! Mr. Fox! Kitty O'Shea!*

[...]

-Well, I let her bawl away, to her heart's content, *Kitty O'Shea* and the rest of it till at last she called that lady a name that I won't sully this Christmas board nor your ears, ma'am, nor my own lips by repeating.

[...]

-Do! said Mr. Casey. She stuck her ugly old face up at me when she said it and I had my mouth full of tobacco juice. I bent down to her and *Phth!* says I to her like that (Joyce 1965, 40-41).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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He who had once brazenly defied the conventional laws of politics had become simply a conventional, over-ambitious nationalist failure; Fanon's depiction of the internecine conflict among the colonised, what Sartre refers to as the betrayal of one's brothers, was indelibly re-enacted in Ireland at the national level by the drama of Parnell. This background of internecine betrayal and the rhythms of Irish treason forms the historically specific contextual background to 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room' –a study of post-Parnellite, shoneen politics:

- I was just telling them, Crofton, said Mr. Henchy, that we got a good few votes to-day.

- Who did you get? asked Mr. Lyons.

- Well, I got Parkes for one, and I got Atkinson for two, and I got Ward of Dawson Street. Fine old chap he is, too – regular old toff, old Conservative! *But isn't your candidate a Nationalist?* said he. *He's a respectable man*, said I. *He's in favour of whatever will benefit this country. He's a big rate-payer*, I said. *He has extensive house property in the city and three places of business and isn't it to his own advantage to keep down the rates? He's a prominent and respected citizen*, said I, *and a Poor Law Guardian, and he doesn't belong to any party, good, bad, o indifferent*. That's the way to talk to 'em.

- And what about the address to the King? said Mr. Lyons, after drinking and smacking his lips.

- Listen to me, said Mr. Henchy. What we want in this country, as I said to old Ward, is capital. The King's coming here will mean an influx of money into this country. The citizens of Dublin will benefit by it. Look at all he factories down by the quays there, idle! Look at all the money there is in the country if we only worked the old industries, the mills, the shipbuilding yards and factories. It's capital we want.

- But look here, John, said Mr. O'Connor. Why should we welcome the King of England? Didn't Parnell himself...

- Parnell, said Mr. Henchy, is dead. Now, here's the way I look at it. Here's this chap come to the throne after his old mother keeping him out of it till the man was grey (Joyce 1988, 147-48).

Parnell died on October 6<sup>th</sup> 1891. He had helped to direct an agitation which produced the most important single land reform of the 19<sup>th</sup> C.: the Act of 1881. He had created a disciplined parliamentary party and popular movement dedicated to the restoration of Irish legislative independence; he forced Home Rule onto the political agenda of a reluctant British parliament. He united the Church and Fenianism in one national movement; he brought together farmers of all descriptions, the urban middle classes and the Dublin working class in the call for Home Rule. He alone of Irish popular leaders in modern times, as an Irish Protestant nationalist who was interested in the role of the Protestants in Irish society, had the capacity to overcome the endemic sectarian and cultural divisions of the island. He applied 18<sup>th</sup> Century modes of thought and expression to the task

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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of organising a late 19<sup>th</sup> Century popular movement. The politics of the 1890s were partly about the appropriation of the Parnell legacy. For most of the 1890s there were at least three competing nationalist organizations: The National League, The National Federation and T.M. Healy's People's Rights Association. This period produced an introspection within mainstream constitutional nationalism which represented a major disability, both when the party was confronted with militant Ulster Unionism in 1912-14 and when it was challenged by militant Sinn Féin after 1916. The challenge of defending a second Home Rule Bill, in 1893, did not inspire any reunification of the nationalists. The lurid accusations exchanged during the Split of 1890-1 had inflicted a lasting damage on the party's credibility.

The Irish Party could, and did, reactivate the old but often hesitant liberal commitment to Home Rule; but they had comparatively little control over the legislative shape that this commitment might assume. Part of the difficulty lay in the real weakness of its parliamentary position. When Asquith launched the third Home Rule Bill in April 1912 the peak of Irish euphoria had already been reached, and indeed disappointment was beginning to set in for the Bill contained a highly ungenerous definition of financial autonomy.

In the years of Redmond's chairmanship and Dillon's influence, the Irish Parliamentary Party had been engaged in a zero-sum game, the prize for which was Home Rule. The rules of the match were clear: the party would only play with the liberals, and it would only play seriously within the arena of the British Parliament. The basic strategies of the party were shaken first of all by the Ulster Unionists. In 'Nestor' Stephen recalls the Orange toast to the memory of William III:

Glorious, pious and immortal memory. The lodge of Diamond in Armagh the splendid behung with corpses of papishes. Hoarse, masked and armed, the planters' covenant. The black north and true blue bible. Croppies lie down (*U2*. 273-76).

Stephen evokes the Protestant Progrons of the 1790s. He repudiates a narrative that turns the English invasion of Ireland into a process bringing civilization to the barbarians. He insists, instead, on the

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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barbarities for which the English themselves were responsible. He also insists that their current claims to civilization cannot be separated from a history of outrage.

But the party was shaken even more comprehensively by the war, which created a consensus between the liberals and Tories and which effectively neutralised the value of the Irish vote. Both the Irish Party and Irish issues were now of a massively diminished significance. Underlying the marginalization of the Irish Party at Westminster was the war; underlying the marginalization of the Party in Ireland was its endorsement of the British War effort. England was indeed dying when Joyce wrote:

May I trespass on your valuable space. That doctrine of *laissez faire* which so often in our history. Our cattle trade. The way of all our old industries. Liverpool ring which jockeyed the Galway harbour scheme. European conflagration (*U2*. 324-27).

Dying by the thousands in a fiasco from which its aristocracy has never recovered. But the causes of the war were more along the lines of Stephen's analysis than Deasy's. There is a disorienting moment when a more honest interpretation of the war breaks suddenly into the naturalistic narrative: a dislocation of language and temporality in which Joyce's words seem to speak in ghostly diagnosis of his times.

The Party presented a vision of Home Rule that receded and became blurred: the Parnellite version of Home Rule was compromised by concessions on the issue of financial autonomy and by progressive concessions on the Ulster Question. If the Party was apparently breaking electoral promises, then there were large sections of Irish society to whom it was promising, and delivering, little or nothing. It was a legion of the excluded which went to war against the British Crown and against Irish parliamentary tradition on Easter Monday, 1916. In fact, the Rising was led by those who had largely been beyond the interest or appeal of the parliamentarians and one of its principal achievements was to expose the compromises and contortions which parliamentarism had involved.

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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It seems clear that the conspirators were more anxious that a Rising should take place than that it should be successful. They were primarily interested in framing their declaration of a Republic with a credible display of force. Easter Sunday saw not the comprehensive uprising that had been planned, but rather a fraught meeting of the conspirators at Liberty Hall. Here it was decided that the Revolt would go ahead on the following day even if the confusion of orders and counter-orders threatened an initially poor response. Pearse, who was overall commander-in-chief of the insurgents and president of the provisional government of the Irish Republic, was the author of the proclamation that announced the establishment of the provisional government. On Saturday 29<sup>th</sup> April on a cardboard picture-backing, the decision of the provisional government to seek terms with the British was sadly recorded and promulgated.

The initial popular reaction to the insurgents seems confused. The Rising was in reality a highly paradoxical event, it was a separatist rising that was disavowed by many separatists; it was an armed insurrection against British rule, but the victims were mostly Irish.

Contrary to Yeats, Joyce did not make any direct reference to the Rising, either in his novels or in his critical writings. Ellmann's biography registers Joyce's rejection of an invitation to write an analysis of the Rising for a Swiss journal:

Balanced between bitterness and nostalgia, he declined an invitation from a woman on the *Journal de Genève*, Fanny Guillermet, to write an analysis of the Irish events, replying with some inaccuracy: '*Je n'écris jamais d'articles*' (Ellmann 1982, 399).

Yet, Joyce revealed in a letter his intention to represent the Rising by means of his art. It is this interest in the unique historical events that characterizes the historicist attitude which allows us to focus on such important issues as politics and literature.

Hugh Kenner, one of the first critics to address this problem in Joyce stated that 'A dark tavern dominated by a mad fool is Joyce's synecdoche for the state of Irish patriotism twelve years before the rebellion' (Kenner 1982, 93). On the other hand, James Fairhall's analysis reads Stephen

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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smashing a chandelier in a brothel in the ‘Circe’ episode as an allusion to the Rising, and his violent encounter with British soldiers that follows as an allusion to the Civil War of 1922-23 (Fairhall 1993, 47). Emer Nolan has further developed the potential of the ‘Circe’ episode to be seen as a cultural representation of the Easter Rising. Nolan points out the fact that the Rising itself failed in reaching out to the ordinary citizen of Dublin, calling it a bourgeois revolution (Nolan 1995, 133). Enda Duffy calls attention to the timing of the Rising as it ‘occurred in the same year that Joyce was writing some of his most evocative passages on Dublin streetscapes, in the ‘Wandering Rocks’ episode’ (Duffy 2000, 37). The streets and buildings Joyce was depicting in his novel were being shelled and demolished at the same time in Dublin. This surrealistic situation, Duffy argues, paradoxically offered Joyce a creative inspiration and thus *Ulysses* began to assume a unique characteristic:

*Ulysses* contrasts a busy mimeticism about specific details on the one hand with a relentless strategy of omitting most of Dublin from the novel on the other. Thus the space represented is at once uncannily hyperrealized in parts and ignored in others. The cornucopia of details is counterpoised with an equally eloquent missing *Ulysses* (Duffy 2000, 46).

Duffy summarizes this characteristic as ‘a late colonial milieu where the spatial real is never simply what it appears’ (Duffy 2000, 46).

By the end of Easter week it seems that the Rising might even be seen as an attack on democratic Irish opinion. On the other hand, the traditional response of the British government to Irish nationalist insurrection had been a mixture of armed suppression and legislative concession; and the pattern of events in May-June 1916 did not, despite the demands of the Great War, differ greatly from earlier precedents. Traditionally, this sequence of actions could not have been better calculated to endorse revolutionary nationalism: it involved the martyring of insurgents, followed by the legislative enactment of at least part of their programme. Having suppressed the Rising and deified its architects, the British government proceeded to endorse their achievement through a political initiative: the reactivation of the national question. In May and June 1916 Lloyd George was

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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commissioned to bridge the gap between the Irish Party and the Ulster Unionists but by 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1916 the negotiation was at an end.

The failure of the Lloyd George talks was a defining moment: after July 1916 the Irish Party was still capable of winning by-elections in Ireland, but only because there was as yet no organised alternative; this alternative was to be found in Sinn Féin. As the Irish Party ceded political initiative to Sinn Féin, so Sinn Féin annexed some of the most valuable Irish Party assets. A republic was declared to be the first aim, but it was also emphasised that once a republic had been won the future of Irish government would be decided by the people. They also had the same opaque stand on political violence that had characterised classic Parnellism: neither advocated violence, but each was prepared to accept that opportunities might arise where purely political action might be inadequate. Surprisingly, in 'Cyclops,' Joyce attributes to Bloom Griffith's grandiose idea:

So anyhow when I got back they were at it dingdong, John Wyse saying it was Bloom gave the ideas for Sinn Fein to Griffith to put in his paper all kinds of jerrymandering, packed juries and swindling the taxes off of the government and appointing consuls all over the world to walk about selling Irish industries (*U12.1573-77*).

Bloom is not a Zionist, but an Irish nationalist who is dogmatically pacifist, a prophet of peaceful coexistence. Yet, in vital ways, he regards these attitudes as remnants of his Judaism. When Bloom defends passivity and love as above nationalism and violence, he publicly declares himself a Jew for the first time:

- But it's no use, says he. Force, hatred, history, all that. That's not life for men and women, insult and hatred. And everybody knows that it's the very opposite of that that is really life.

- What? says Alf.

- Love, says Bloom. I mean the opposite of hatred (*U 12.1481-85*).

But if he won't hate or die for the cause, does he really believe in Ireland for the Irish? :

- Are you talking about the new Jerusalem? says the citizen.

- I'm talking about injustice, says Bloom.

- Right, says John Wyse. Stand up to it then with force like men (*U12.1473-75*).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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As we have seen, a fundamental ambivalence towards violence was a much more thoroughly established characteristic of Irish politics. Before 1916, Sinn Féin was too weak but with the popular beatification of the rebels Sinn Féin found itself on the electoral roll; the bond between the insurgents and Sinn Féin was made solemn with the election of the surviving commandant of the Rising, Eamon De Valera, as president of the party. This marriage contract involved not merely the curtailment of Griffith's authority within his own movement, but also the relegation of his constitutional views: Sinn Féin was now committed to the achievement of a Republic, although the party was also now bound to a popular referendum on the future of the Irish government once independence from Britain had been won. Griffith's non-violent political party had lost its innocence: it had been radicalised, popularised and bound with militant separatism.

It was only in April 1921 that Sinn Féin accepted full responsibility for the IRA campaign which was necessarily limited in both scope and ambition. From the beginning of the war one of the focuses of the IRA campaign was on the assassination of high-profile British military and political personnel. The assassination of 14 British officers on 'Bloody Sunday' 1920 was the most sensational counter-intelligence coup of the war, even though perhaps only 11 of those killed were actually agents.

The British offered a truce in 1921. It was clear to the IRA command that the military tide was turning; and certainly Michael Collins, who was the IRA director of intelligence, was convinced that a prolongation of the war would produce only an Irish defeat. On the other hand, the political achievement of the IRA was remarkable: following in the footsteps of the Fenians of 1867, they had levered political concessions from a British government which would almost certainly have otherwise proved unrelenting. The terms offered to the Irish in 1921, and which were eventually embodied in the Treaty of December 1921, amounted to full domination status, and therefore went far beyond the Home Rule measures of 1914 and 1920. However, the IRA's political success, great

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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as it was, was also based upon an evasion – the evasion of the Ulster Question. The dominion status offered to the Irish in 1921 was only available because the British government had partly rid itself of the Ulster problem through the creation of Northern Ireland. They had won their independence by – to all interests and purposes – accepting the reality of partition.

Eamon de Valera was accorded the title of ‘President of the Irish Republic’ by the Second Dáil in August 1921, but in settling the terms for a negotiation between the British and Irish leadership, he did not lay any particular stress on his republican aspirations, nor did he rule out the possibility of an association between Ireland and the Empire. The starting point for the Irish was an independent unitary nation, loosely bound to the Empire, but accepting the Crown only as Head of the Empire. The British, on the other hand, sought to apply a modified form of dominion status to Ireland, granting wide autonomy but retaining the King as a nominal Head of State, and demanding an oath of fidelity to the Crown. In a clash between two emotive and fundamentalist political creeds – Irish Republicanism and British Imperialism – each was more concerned about symbols than about substance. The Irish Cabinet accepted the Treaty on 8 December and on 7<sup>th</sup> January 1922 so did Dáil Éireann. After De Valera’s resignation he was replaced by Griffith and in January 1922 Dublin Castle was surrendered by the outgoing British authorities to Michael Collins. But the apparently smooth pro-Treaty victory was accompanied by tensions and bitterness which cut to the quick of Irish separatist politics. The distance between the Republican aspiration and the reality of the Treaty was wide. Behind the attacks lay the conviction that, had the Irish team resisted, a unitary republic might have emerged.

Ellmann remarks that the recent events in Ireland had not pleased Joyce in spite of the fact that they represented the triumph of the Sin Féin principles he had espoused in Rome and Trieste:

As the prospect of Irish independence improved, however, Joyce was like his father and other old Parnellites, in that the reality of freedom did not requite the desire for it (Ellmann 1982, 533).

It has frequently been remarked that the distance between the two antagonists, the supporters and opponents of the Treaty was so slight as to make the later civil war inexplicable: it was the difference between supporting a De Facto and a De Jure Republic. However, De Valera promised that the anti-treatyites would not interfere with the new government. On 20<sup>th</sup> May 1922, Collins and De Valera agreed to avoid a direct electoral confrontation: this fact proposed in effect that the election should pass uncontested, with a national coalition panel, comprising the existing number of Treaty supporters and opponents. The election emphasised the broad popular support for the Treaty, and for the Irishmen who had signed it.

The British applied an ever-intensifying political pressure on the provisional government, threatening the reoccupation of Ireland in the event of the republican challenge being left unanswered; and this appears to have goaded an extremely reluctant Irish cabinet into action on 26 June. The interception and arrest of a republican raiding party in Dublin by traditional troops on 27 June seems to have been designed as a warning shot or, indeed, as a provocation; and, when the Four Courts replied with the kidnapping of Ernie O'Malley, the provisional government was supplied with a pretext for an assault on the republican positions in Dublin. The bombardment of the Four Courts began on 28 June in a tragicomic way; but this initial hesitation would soon be resolved into the tragedy of the Irish civil war.

Nevertheless, looking back, we can state that it was in truth the Great Famine which defined the structure and concerns of Irish politics in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, as it simultaneously destroyed the immediate possibility of mass agitation and underlined the need for effective Irish political representation. In short, it defused the urgency of repeal, while simultaneously arming the Land Question. Furthermore, the Famine was at one time blamed for the demise of the Irish language, although it is now widely accepted that Irish was under challenge well before the arrival of the potato blight, and that the Anglicization of Ireland, though hastened by the Famine, depended upon other circumstances.

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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The Great Famine that started in 1845 and lasted the entire decade meant the death or gradual emigration of several million men, women and children – over half the entire Irish population at the time. As a result of the dire situation, this period became a key point for the Irish fight for self-determination. Originating in an ecological disaster, the Great Famine (1845-51) meant starvation and disease. At the root of the tragedy was a virulent fungus, which was observed in the USA in 1843 and which began to attack the Irish potato crop in the late summer of 1845. As Irish dependence on the potato had been growing since the early 18<sup>th</sup> Century, and by the mid-1840s it constituted the essential foodstuff of the labouring poor, the Great Famine claimed one million lives and stimulated a mass emigration which totalled one and a half million in the ten years after 1845. Towards the end of James Joyce's 'The Dead,' Gabriel Conroy's wife Gretta cries herself to sleep after telling her husband about Michael Furey, a childhood friend and victim of consumption who dies after facing the cold of a winter night to confess his love for her. Disillusioned by the revelation that she had known the romance of having a man die for her, he watches her sleep, wondering about the girlish beauty that must have inspired such adolescent heroism:

He did not like to say even to himself that her face was no longer beautiful but he knew it was no longer the face for which Michael Furey had braved death (Joyce 1986, 254).

More than a mere acceptance of the transitory nature of beauty, Gabriel's realization expresses a realism that stands in opposition to the romantic ideal of heroic self-sacrifice that Michael Furey embodies. Michael Furey's disease, moreover, a conventional feature of the romantic personality, personifies a sentimentalized notion of Irish national identity predicated on starvation. References to starvation in Irish literature contemporary with 'The Dead,' invite speculation about literary representations of Ireland's national trauma, the Great Famine.

Out of this apocalypse reverberates much political and intellectual controversy; however, it is much easier to describe government attitudes and activity in the years of the Famine than to assess their effectiveness. On 1<sup>st</sup> November 1845 the Prime Minister, Robert Peel proposed the creation of a

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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special relief commission: this in turn was charged with the management of a supply of £100,000 worth of maize and meal, which the government had ordered from the USA. The second element of the Peelite relief strategy involved the encouragement of local relief committees, which were designed to support the official commissariat. The third and more traditional remedy applied by Peel to amend conditions in Ireland was the provision of work.

Nevertheless, by mid-1846 Peel's administration fell opening the way to a much more doctrinaire administration, and to a number of disastrous modifications in the administration of relief. Centralization was a hallmark of the new dispensation. The extent of the failure was recognised in February 1847 through the Destitute Poor (Ireland) Act and a U-turn in policy: the Act brought about a shift away from efforts to provide the poor with work and money towards a much more direct approach – the provision of free food. The more considered Whig response to the Great Famine came with the Poor Law Amendment (Ireland) Act of June 1847. This amounted to a modification of the existing Poor Law to cope with the demands of a near-permanent crisis, and it was launched against deceptively auspicious circumstances – falling food prices and an anticipated rise in the demand for labour. The burden of debt among the landed classes grew to the extent that the government saw the need for the Encumbered Estates Act (1849), which was designed to facilitate the sale of the many estates 'encumbered' with debt. It was also hoped that the measure would attract capital from outside Ireland but in fact Irish property proved to be an unappetizing prospect.

It was a tragedy for the starving millions that the Great Famine should have coincided both with a financial trough in Britain and with the ideological ascendancy of utilitarianism. Criticisms of British government policy date back to the Famine and a tradition of impassioned denunciation began with the young radicals of the *United Irishman* newspaper, followed by James Joyce himself who in his essay 'Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages' blamed English rule for the impoverished state of the country:

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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Ireland is poor because English laws ruined the country's industries, especially the wool industry, because the neglect of the English government in the years of the potato famine allowed the best of the population to die from hunger... (Joyce 1959, 167)

What's more, in *Ulysses*, the men in the pub conduct an extensive critique of colonialism that also echoes Joyce's lecture at a number of points:

Where are our missing twenty millions of Irish who should be here today instead of four, our lost tribes? And our potteries and textiles, the finest in the whole world! And our wool that was sold in Rome... (*U* 12. 1240-42).

Nevertheless, no less politically charged than the question of culpability is the debate over the impact of the Great Famine. The Famine touched almost every aspect of Irish life in the mid and late 19<sup>th</sup> C. Ireland was altered beyond recognition after it. The disappearance of the poor, particularly susceptible to starvation and disease, combined with the economic vulnerability of the gentry, meant that the Ireland of the post-Famine years became a country of middling farmers. The Famine brought about an immediate reduction in the Irish population and seems to have popularized a range of attitudes and actions which ensured further decline as Joyce depicted in 'Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages:'

Because, even today, the flight of the wild geese continues. Every year, Ireland, decimated as she already is, loses 60,000 of her sons. From 1850 to the present day, more than 5,000,000 emigrants have left for America, and every post brings to Ireland their inviting letters to friends and relatives at home. The old men, the corrupt, the children and the poor stay at home, where the double yoke wears another groove in the tamed neck; and around the death bed where the poor, anaemic, almost lifeless, body lies in agony, the rulers give orders and the priests administer last rites (Joyce 1959, 172).

The mass exodus that followed the Great Famine left hundreds of thousands of Irish men and women scattered about the world. Most of them settled in the main cities of Great Britain, North America and Australia, experiencing the void left both by their homeland and their culture. Just like the Americans at the time, even if they were not born Irish, they did feel Irish. Simple symbols like a flag, a hymn and some evocative words sustained this feeling. Back home, the situation was similar. The Irish had two kinds of freedom within their reach. On the one hand, the return to a past that still longed for a long-denied way of expression, i.e., the return to a Celtic identity previous to the

colonization. On the other, they were offered the reconstruction of their national identity from scratch. The first option cast aside most of what had happened, either good or evil, during the centuries of occupation; the second option was even harsher as it expected the Irish to ignore many other aspects of their past.

After showing in this point on a historicist approach how Joyce's works seem to reflect the historical background and to be the output of their time, in the next point we will focus on the Spanish socio-political situation at the time as reflected in Pío Baroja's works.

### **1.2.2. The Spanish context: fragmentation and loss of identity.**

Fragmentation and loss of identity, as we will show, characterizes the Spanish context in the period we are dealing with. In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the struggle between the Catholic, traditional Spain of the Middle-Ages and the progressive, European-oriented Spain of the Renaissance revealed the dichotomy ever present in the country between the conservative elements which supported the *status quo* and those which demanded change in the name of progress. Such a dichotomy became sharply focused on the polemics between the supporters of the conservative writer, Marcelino Meléndez Pelayo and those of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, these two philosophies, in modern dress, clashed head on during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and under the second Spanish Republic.

Heir to the revolutionary period of 1868, Republicanism, based on a belief in progress and with the undeniable support of the urban sector, an important part of Spanish society, was already a political force at the beginning of the Restoration period. By 1903 Salmerón's leadership of the Republican movement had become permanent, but the emergence of the nationalisms contributed to the split of Spanish Republicanism, which, by 1905, had become a spectrum of political parties, attitudes and ways of life whose main characteristic was the extreme attitude of its leaders. This

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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revolutionary attitude showed a clearer tendency to anti-clericalism than to favouring a social revolution and, at the same time, it exercised an unquestionable attraction on the working class, as described by Baroja in *Aurora Roja*:

- *Sí, fué una época de fiebre de todo el pueblo entero – dijo el Libertario.*  
- *¡Sí fue! En todas partes se daban mítines de propaganda, se hacían bautizos anarquistas, matrimonios anarquistas, se mandaban proclamas a los soldados para que se indisciplinaran y no fueran a Cuba, y gritábamos en los teatros: ¡Muera España! ¡Viva Cuba libre!! ...Luego, ya hubo día en que las calles de Barcelona estuvieron dominadas por los anarquistas*<sup>45</sup>(Baroja 1994, 231).

In the political arena, we can describe fin-de-siècle Spain as a parliamentary, though non-democratic, monarchy in the classical European style. Slowly, but following an unambiguous path, the interpretation given in Spain to the doctrinaire constitution derived into a liberalising formula, especially after the First World War. This period also saw a certain reluctant attitude towards a parliamentary liberalism, with a tendency to authoritarian formulae, which, when proposed as a programme, had both a limited and temporary character.

Broadly speaking, we can say that in Spain there were two main political parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals, known as '*partidos de turno*' since they took turns to rule Spain. Striking as it may sound this system was possible due to the fact that both parties did not differ much from one another. Apart from these two parties, there were another two social forces in Spain which were strong enough to impulse the urban mobilization of the electorate; on the one hand, Catholicism, identified with the Conservative party, and on the other, the Left Wing Party, whose members were mainly Republican. Nonetheless, the really important figure in the Spanish political system at the time was the *cacique*, who wielded immense power in public life. Needless to say, this situation was possible due to the obvious apathy and passivity of the Spanish society which, in truth,

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<sup>45</sup> -Yes, it was a time when the whole population was suffering from a fever – said Libertario.

-Yes! There were propaganda meetings all over the place; anarchists' baptisms and anarchists' marriages; soldiers were called on to rebel and not to go to Cuba; theatres were full of cries of 'Death to Spain! Long live free Cuba!...even the streets of Barcelona were taken for a day by the anarchists (Translation mine).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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constitutes the key factor to understand the core of the Spanish political system; Baroja describes this situation in *El tablado de Arlequín*:

*Los políticos blandirán sus armas de guardarropía y reñirán enormes batallas en medio de la indiferencia absoluta de todos*<sup>46</sup>(Baroja 1904, 12).

However, such apathy might be better understood if we bear in mind that those years in Spain saw a political disorder that had an obvious effect on society. In March 1899, Silvela, leader of the Conservatives, rose to power and fought the *Caciquismo* by reforming the local government and imposing a political decentralization. He put into practice the first regulations of a social reform and tried a budgetary balancing which promoted the interests of the productive sectors, whilst keeping up a close, friendly relationship with the Vatican. In March 1901, the Liberal Party came to power. Sagasta, who was not much of a revolutionary politician, presided over this cabinet introducing an anti-clerical programme which was predestined to be an important factor in Spanish politics for the next 15 years. In 1902, Silvela was back in power again, submitting his resignation when his minister, Maura's performance was considered to be unacceptable. Fernández Villaverde, whose triumph meant the victory of a conservatism submissive to the court and to the aristocracy, took over from Silvela. He just ruled until December 1903. After him, Antonio Maura, who had a reputation for being both clerical and authoritarian, rose to the direction of the Conservative Party and, consequently, to the presidency of the cabinet. He struck up conversations with Rome in order to deal with the status quo of the religious orders, but a disagreement with the King over the commission of a senior official and the split of Conservatism brought about his downfall. In December 1904, Azcárraga succeeded him, but just for forty days. Early in the year, Fernández Villaverde was back in power but just for some months. In short, we can say that just in two years' time there had been four presidents, five crises and 66 ministers: a chaotic situation which made

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<sup>46</sup> The politicians wield their boardroom weapons and wage great battles in the midst of the total indifference of the rest (Translation mine).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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public opinion oblivious to the real situation of the country. In *El Tablado de Arlequín* Baroja argues that the Spanish people show a complete lack of interest in politics:

*Todos los periódicos están conformes en asegurar que las elecciones provinciales se han celebrado en Madrid, como en provincias, en medio de la más absoluta indiferencia.*

[...]

*Somos así; no tenemos el sentimiento social que tienen otras razas. Sentimos el atomismo individualista más que la solidaridad social*<sup>47</sup>(Baroja 1904, 70-71).

On the other hand, another important feature of the Spanish political system of the time was the army. Not only had the Spanish army been defeated in the colonial war but they had also come out of it in a situation which called for a quick remedy; their difficulties were mainly economic. As a result of their dire situation, the army got partially involved in politics again, although in truth, they had never really excluded themselves from the political arena. In March 1906 the situation became even more chaotic when the Jurisdictional Law was passed.

Together with the workers' movement and the peripheral nationalisms, Catholicism was a potential tool of renovation in Spanish society; they constituted a means for the Spanish political system to gain more credibility. However, everything changed dramatically as a consequence of the Barcelona incidents known as '*La semana trágica*' (Tragic Week). These incidents were to have a decisive influence on the Spanish political world. What happened damaged the political system of the Restoration, and the consequences led Moret to ask the cabinet to submit their resignation. Alfonso XIII ended up accepting Maura's resignation and Moret substituted for Maura, although for a short period since there was a military upheaval which came as a consequence of the promotions gained by actions in Morocco. When the crisis broke out, Canalejas, who had an innovative approach to social and educational matters, took over from Moret. Canalejas's stance on the religious question

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<sup>47</sup> Every newspaper agrees that the local elections, held both in Madrid and in the provinces, provoked mass indifference. [...]

This is just the way we are. We lack the social sentiments held by other races, experiencing individualist atomisation much more than any social solidarity (Translation mine).

was to separate the Church from the State as he found the Vatican obsessed with condemning Modernism and was disgusted by the Church's growing attitude of narrow-mindedness. Eventually, as a result of their different opinions on the question, Church and State were practically on the verge of breaking off relations.

Canalejas was assassinated in November 1912 and from that moment until the beginning of the First World War politics seemed to become the struggle of gang leaders to rule the country. After the assassination, García Prieto substituted for Canalejas initially although just for some hours since the Count of Romanones finally took over. During the summer of 1913, García Prieto and Montero Ríos founded the Liberal-Democrat Party, which attracted a big number of parliamentarians, in fact, a much higher number than that of those in favour of Romanones. As a consequence, in October 1913, Romanones resigned. After his resignation, the advent of the Conservative Party to power was inevitable, and in October 1913 Alfonso XIII designated Eduardo Dato as President. The most characteristic feature of the period was that, for the first time, there was an ideological component in the split. However, the split of the *partidos de turno* avoided, from then on, what had been the main political aim from 1907-1912, the regeneration from the summit.

It has been common for historians to consider 1917 as the initial point of the crisis of the constitutional monarchy of the Restoration period. In 1917 the workers' protest coincided with the Regionalist protest. In spite of the fact that it is obvious that this date is of the utmost importance since nothing stayed the same after this moment, it is also probable that its importance might have been exaggerated since there was never a real revolutionary possibility nor the heterogeneous nature of those who took part in the protest led to expect the minimum agreement needed to that effect. From 1913 onwards, whilst the political system met increasing problems, Spain maintained a neutral position during the First World War. However, while the Spanish Government remained neutral, the Spanish society lived such tense moments that Baroja described the situation, which came partly as a

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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consequence of the fact that Spain had become a battlefield for the propaganda of the belligerent parties, as a 'civil war.'

Eduardo Dato was in power during the first stage of the First World War – to be more precise – he was in office until December 1915. During his term of office he tried to dodge the Parliament and in December, by means of a decree which avoided discussing the issue in the Spanish Parliament, the sub-national fundamental charters were passed. These played an important role in Spanish politics, satisfying the pressing demands of *catalanismo* which had increased its demands during the war. Romanones took over from Eduardo Dato but was pushed out of office because of his management of foreign affairs. When he fell, García Prieto was appointed. At the beginning of June 1917 the military *Junta de Defensa* decided to impose the acknowledgement of their existence on García Prieto, but not being willing to accept it, he ended up submitting his resignation. Once more the army had made their situation in the Spanish public sphere clear, and once again the Liberals had proved themselves unable to face them and, more importantly, to defeat them; Eduardo Dato came back to power again.

As a background to this socio-political unrest, we must bear in mind the reality of a dramatic rise in prices, which became excessive after 1916 when the number of working days missed as a consequence of the strikes reached the figure of two and a half million and which did not drop below one and a half million until the end of the war. Even though this situation was really problematic for the government, the military situation was even more worrying. Dealing with the political crisis that came up as a consequence of the summer of 1917 was complicated and the crisis ended with the creation of a temporary system of government. The person appointed was Manuel García Prieto, whose leadership collapsed in March 1918. In that moment of crisis, under the threat of the king's abdication and thanks to Romanones, a national government gathering the most important politicians of the time was established but it only lasted nine months. After this period they had to go back to the turn system again; García Prieto was back in office and he had to face the

almost immediate aggravation of the protests of the Catalan supporters of autonomy. When García Prieto admitted he was incapable of solving this problem, Romanones, considered to be likely to satisfy the demands of *catalanismo*, was appointed. Romanones sorted out this problem but was not able to cope with the social question and he ended up resigning when the military authorities from Barcelona confronted the social authorities. The Conservatives were then back in power from 1919-1921; Joaquín Sánchez de Toca was in power until the end of the year and then replaced by AllendeSalazar in 1921. Eduardo Dato was in office until he was assassinated in 1921 being substituted for by Bugallal for a short period until AllendeSalazar took over again; he was president until August 1921 when Morocco played its devastating role in Spanish politics.

Some historians claim that at the beginning of 1923 when the coup-d'état took place, Spain was on the verge of a dramatic political change. The country kept a regime that was still a liberal oligarchy but which was increasingly deteriorating due to the urban and intellectual public opinion, which, on its own, was unable to transform the system. In other words, as we see in this dissertation, what we find in 1923 Spain is not a democracy which was in crisis, nor even the dawning of a new political system, but a growing feeling of void to which we have to add a sense of paralysis and fragmentation so as to get a further view of reality.

Although the First World War had made the imbalance in the Spanish economy obvious, an important economic boom could also be clearly appreciated at that moment. But, on the other hand, industrialization had also contributed to the growth of the workers' movement and to the creation of trade unions; this meant an increase in the number of the protests which were linked to other factors such as the intellectual and ideological unrest of the post-war period or to the emergence of new political models and the growth in the regional identities in almost all the Spanish geography. All these factors had as a result an increase in social unrest, and the weak Spanish political system was forced to resort increasingly to the army.

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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In this dissertation we argue that, mirroring the situation in the rest of Europe, the years of the First World War post-war period were of a serious social crisis in Spain. Although in other countries it was caused by the breakdown or, at least, an important crisis of the State after the world war – the Russian Revolution being an example of this – in Spain, a decisive feature of the crisis was the need to readjust the production system to the post-war needs.

On the other hand, the spread of associationism of any kind was accompanied by considerable social unrest and we see the appearance of a violence which had become less frequent in Spain from the beginning of the second half of the century and which did not appear in the shape of mutinies but in that of physical attacks. The real novelty of the Spanish Unionist System lay in the final constitution of an important anarchist unionism which was now at its highest peak. It was this union which led the protest and turned Barcelona into a permanent worry for all the constitutional governments since 1918. However, the agitation also caught on in other parts of Spain such as Andalucía, where the years 1918-1920 were to be known as the *trienio bolchevique*.

Although the Spanish dictatorship was not unique in Europe at the time, since soon the hopes of democracy that had risen at the end of the First World War were lost and the wave of democratic regimes that had appeared in 1918 had the outbreak of dictatorships as a counterpart; doubtlessly, this dictatorship was the main reason for the fall of the Spanish Monarchy and for the resulting proclamation of the Republic. There had been rumours of the possibility of a coup-d'état in Spain since the first months of 1923 although it was finally outlined in June. However, the main reason for Primo de Rivera's victory on September 14 was that neither the army nor the Spanish society was willing to fight for their government. Unfortunately for his regime, with the course of time, Primo de Rivera ended up confronting the intelligentsia, a social sector whose influence might have been scarce if we only take into account their number but whose relevance on the public opinion proved to be extremely important in the '20s. Public opinion had seemed to slumber for seven years, but after

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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that period it started to play a very active role in political life. When the first consequences of the 1929 crisis were beginning to be felt, the Spanish intelligentsia showed a belligerent attitude towards the monarchy. The whole of the Spanish society was starting to feel politics in a different way and democracy was beginning to be seen as a possibility, as circumstances seemed to favour the process of change. The monarchic government was unable to reduce the tension in public opinion, the *caciquismo* collapsed and the government was defeated in the polls for the first time in Spain. The democratic experience lived in Spain after 1931 was not usual, since the Second Spanish Republic was much more profound in its reforming efforts regarding the social sphere and more participative in politics than any other political regime we find in the inter-war period.

The Republic originated in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and unanimity which was, in great part, the result of the change produced by democracy in political life. In the '20s, the process of modernization that had started in Spain at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century had not yet been completed; as a result, Spain was a semi-industrialised country. Although the neutral position that Spain had maintained during the First World War had facilitated a quick process of industrialization, and it could no longer be considered as a country with a rural population and an agricultural economy, it is also obvious that Spain had not yet experimented such a decisive change as other countries. In fact, this contradiction between modernization and its limits constitutes the best explanation for the tensions that were felt; during the Republic Spain faced some important problems such as the controversy between clericalism and anticlericalism, the question of the regions, the dilemma between conservation and transformation...all of them creating differences of opinion in the political force.

On the other hand, the evolution of Spanish culture during the Republic cannot be understood if we do not take into account the feeling of plenitude that constituted the main characteristic of the period. As a matter of fact, in the '20s, the culture of the avant-garde was only

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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developed in minority circles. In the '30s, however, there appeared, although with limitations, a global project of cultural modernization that originated mainly in the two big Spanish cultural capitals – Madrid and Barcelona – but which spread to the urban and rural circles from there. The economic, social and spiritual crisis of the '30s had very direct repercussions on the intellectual and cultural circles. The media, to which the intellectuals were so linked, experimented over the period an enormous politicization which was easily felt in their contents. Nevertheless, with time, those intellectuals that belonged to the 1914 Generation, and the ones still alive from the previous one, disappeared. For Baroja, the Republic soon became something totally unimportant, and Unamuno grew increasingly worried about the solution given to the Catalan question and angered by the anti-clericalism of the Catalanists against the Jesuits. However, we cannot forget that where the eldest showed an image of despair and anguish, the youngest lived the political commitment in the republican period with enthusiasm, so these intellectuals were substituted by the youngsters who undertook an enthusiastic politicization almost always out of line with the initial intentions of the new regime. That happened, for example, to a great part of the members of the *Generación del 27*, who had previously been concerned with politics. From 1931 Alberti's poetry became political and partisan and Lorca's rural plays showed at the same time the telluric and tragic force of sex and also the revolt against social conventions and the traditional moral. As a consequence, literature also became a battlefield. The social novel became so realistic that it resembled a documentary; we can take as an example Sender's *Siete domingos rojos* whose subject matter was committed to denouncing a decaying aristocracy or *Imán* which was an exaltation of the working class. However, it can be stated that there is a contradiction between the bigger freedom enjoyed in this moment and the higher level of creativity which seems to have been common during the dictatorship when there was not such freedom. In these years, the avant-garde finally burst onto the scene and from the aesthetic point of view the most peculiar thing might have been the inclusion of surrealism in the Spanish avant-garde, which created great controversy in cultural circles.

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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Unfortunately, the Civil War 1936-1939 was the only important reason for the presence of Spain in the international sphere in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, at least until the transition to democracy after Franco's death. The situation was described by Baroja in *Revisión necesaria*:

*Europa ve que España, a pesar de los desastres sufridos, se empeña en no ser una nación europea. Europa ve que España no ha hecho la limpieza necesaria de sus hombres funestos, que trata de sostener el prestigio de sus ideas arcaicas y de su gente fracasada*<sup>48</sup> (Baroja 1904, 139).

What's more, the Spanish Civil War constitutes the only case in Western Europe where a civil war broke out during the crisis of a democratic system. The most characteristic feature of this war was the demonizing of the opposition, a real transposition of the religious wars to the political sphere – the outbreak of the war opened a profound breach in Spanish society which would remain for a long time. Cultural factors took precedence over social ones; the Spanish intellectuals had lived the difficult and critical juncture of the 30s with determined belligerency, which was increased by the outbreak of war. The war gave strength to the voice of those who were already committed to one side or the other, but it also enlisted those who thought they had no other alternative but to take a stance, either because they thought that half-measures were impossible in such a situation or because they felt the need to take a step beyond the geographical loyalties to the fraction where they were at the time of the outbreak of war. Others decided to remain silent or even marginal since both the Spanish intelligentsia and the citizens faced two personal dangers during the war, the first of them was the purge; they might be considered to be dangerous by one of the factions or even by both of them – as happened to Ortega y Gasset or to Sánchez Albornoz. The second danger was of no lesser importance as it meant the need to submit their work and ideas to the belligerency in a utilitarian way. The factions felt tempted to consider the intelligentsia guilty of the outbreak of war, up to the

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point that Saínz Rodríguez spoke of a real *temor colectivo* of the intelligentsia, and Cossío suggested calling themselves *hombres de razón* instead of intelligentsia.

In Spain the ‘Disaster of ‘98’ meant the loss of the last American colonies; during the conflict, the United States played the role of a mighty world power willing to put into practice its imperialism by demanding that Spain sell Cuba to them. As a consequence of the Spanish refusal to do so, war broke out and Spain was defeated. This defeat brought about a deep feeling of collective insecurity. The fin-de-siècle crisis linked to the ‘98 colonial disaster meant for the Spanish people a loss of self-confidence which was similar to that felt by the Irish. The Spaniards realised for the first time they were no longer the chosen people, as described in the Bible. What is more, they felt Spain was now at a disadvantage to other countries. In *El Tablado de Arlequín* Baroja shows no surprise at the world’s indifference towards Spain: ‘*Vivimos en un triste país; por eso ya en el mundo nadie nos hace caso..., y hacen bien*’<sup>49</sup> (Baroja 1904,92).

One of the biggest turning points in Spanish history, what we have come to know as the *Desastre del 98*, i.e. the loss of the American colonies, was, on the one hand, the inevitable consequence of the Spanish kind of colonialism at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and, on the other, the result of the international situation which led the most powerful countries in the world to demand a redistribution of the colonies. According to the terms of such redistribution, the ‘Christian dying nations’, as described by Lord Salisbury in his famous speech, should lose their colonies. Unfortunately, Spain was among these ‘dying nations’ as is clearly stated in an article published in *The News of London*, on May 8 1898:

Though the Premier mentioned no peoples by name, yet allusion to the Christian dying nations was so pointed that there is little wonder that Spain has fitted the cap of death on her own head.

The article left no trace of doubt, the Spanish situation in the international world tottered:

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<sup>49</sup> We live in a sad country which is why nobody anywhere in the world pays us any attention - and they are right not to (Translation mine).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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...but now that the energetic action of the United States has forced on Europe the picture of the rottenness, tyranny, and colonial impotence of the modern Spaniard, the only question that remains is whether the sick Hidalgo can be cured or not... the amputation of all its colonies can alone save the idle and incompetent trunk from dying out of Europe altogether.

Although Spain was a European nation from the geographical perspective, it differed from the developed countries of the old continent in many other aspects. One of the main differences resided in the importance the rural world still had on the Spanish economy and society. Admittedly the process of industrialization had started around the 1850s but the scarce resources, together with the limitations of the domestic market, had diminished the potential of the Spanish economy; the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century was characterised by a general crisis, especially agricultural, whose significance cannot be overseen.

To make matters worse, during the conflict with Spain, America behaved as an example of a powerful nation willing to exercise its imperialism on an underdeveloped country, and to that effect they offered Spain the only solution the Spanish ruling class deemed to be unacceptable. They should sell the island to America. As a consequence of this situation and of the strained relations between Spain and the powerful European nations, the Spanish government declared war with America on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1898, in the belief that if such war did not break out the Restoration System might weaken or even fail.

In hindsight, we can state that although the *Desastre del 98* played an important role in the history of Spain, it was not so much due to the fact that it was a political disaster but to the critical conscience that it generated in the Spanish society as a whole. In fact, not only did the *Desastre* mean the birth of Regenerationism but it also meant the realization of Spanish limitations. Even though at the beginning of the conflict a mistaken vision of the past and a new feeling of honour deeply criticised by Baroja:

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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*Si tuviéramos una idea clara y exacta de lo que hemos sido; si 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*<sup>50</sup> (Baroja 1904, 51).

had brought Spanish society together, the defeat created in the Spaniards a deep feeling of insecurity.

Feeling that the recovery of the country's identity would be the starting point to overcome all evils, once the war was over the Spanish leaders tried to follow the example of France after the 1870 defeat, and created a new vision of the nation. In any case, this did not mirror the cultural pluralism which had become patent since the 1850s, as we read in *Ayer y Hoy*:

*Los que presenciamos el fin del imperio colonial en el siglo XIX vimos con cierto recelo que la demolición no iba a quedar limitada a esto, sino que iba a seguir en la península. Efectivamente, por entonces se inició el separatismo en Cataluña y después en otras regiones.*

*La pérdida de las colonias no era peligrosa en sí para el país. La prueba fue que inmediatamente de perderlas la hacienda española mejoró. Lo sistemático era que el fenómeno de disgregación se iba dando en el territorio nacional amenazando con atomizar su integridad y debilitar su espíritu*<sup>51</sup> (Baroja 1939, 67).

Thanks to the efforts of these leaders, even though the fin-de-siècle left a profound cultural inheritance identified with nationalism, it did not mean a complete break with 19<sup>th</sup> Century Spain, which was still considered by many, the only national reality.

### 1.2.3. Similarities and differences.

As we have seen in the previous point, in Ireland, the central claims which came under attack revolved around what sceptics viewed as an ahistorical and teleological conception of nationality itself. A very ancient, uninterrupted genealogy of Irishness was widely presumed, and seen as engaged in a centuries-long struggle for freedom. This Ireland was classless, or at least

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<sup>50</sup> If we had a clear, true idea of what we have been, if we knew our history without legends or fiction, and not only at times of strife but at every moment of our lives, we would be better able to understand what we can be (Translation mine).

<sup>51</sup> Those of us who witnessed the end of the colonial empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, were warily conscious of the fact that the demolition would not stop there, but would spread to the peninsula. And so it was, as separatist movements sprang up in Cataluña and thence to other regions. The loss of the colonies was not a danger to the country per se. Proof of this was that Spanish finances improved immediately after the loss. What was systematic, however, was the phenomenon of disintegration which arose throughout the country, threatening to atomise its integrity and weaken its spirit (Translation mine).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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exceptionally egalitarian. It expressed itself in a separatist nationalism, with physical force Republicanism as its purest form; a tradition which was closely associated with a range of specifically Catholic themes and symbols. Against it, British rule exercised a repressive power said to have been uniquely vicious. It is a fact that England's firm grip over Ireland was that of a first world over a third. However, it was the monolithic power of the Roman Catholic Church which many saw as the most repressive force in Irish life. Although the British State and the Catholic hierarchy probably had no need of each other in any formal sense, it is not difficult to see how each guaranteed the hegemony of the other in their respective spheres, the English guaranteeing a law and order within which spiritual power could be exercised and the church producing a deferential populace, unlikely to challenge too harshly their place in the colonialist economic scheme of things.

As we have seen, in spite of the obvious differences, – Spain was never colonised –, at the turn of the century Spain was also undergoing a political, economic and spiritual crisis. The country had just lost the last of its colonies in a war with America and was not looking forward to a prosperous future. The last century had left a legacy of political dissolution: two Carlist Wars and periodic insurrections in the provinces had marked a period in which a disreputable queen, an army of generals, and an anticlerical king had been forced to abdicate their power to a short lived Federal Republic. And although the Restoration Government had temporarily quelled the power struggles of church, army and province, it had also, as it seemed to many young liberals, suppressed the economic and spiritual growth of the nation.

The anticipation of a new century had unleashed mixed reactions from most Spaniards: while some saw the end of the nineteenth century as marking the final phase of Spain's fall, others saw the beginning of the twentieth century as marking a new era of growth and change. There were a few, however, who suggested that in the twentieth century Spain would neither decline nor prosper, but simply continue, as it always had, to survive. It was the possibility of no change which

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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particularly frightened the young intellectuals of the turn of the century, for most, as Rubén Darío announced in his *Prosas Profanas* (1986), hated the era in which they were born<sup>52</sup>. Many considered Spain's history to be a disgrace; still more felt they were living in an ignoble country at an ignoble period in history; as a result, most preferred to be considered citizens of the world rather than citizens of Spain.

What was happening in Spain was just a reflection of what was already happening in other European latitudes. To put it briefly, we state that the fin-de-siècle was mainly a time characterised by a profound feeling of uneasiness, by the crisis of the formerly accepted values and by the uncertainty of new ones. From these feelings stemmed the distressing impression of decadence, breakdown or degeneration of the preceding world. On account of this, against this 'degeneration,' it was not surprising to find the term 'regeneration' as an alternative. As a result, although clearly differentiated, we see in Spain a Regenerationism of reform and a Regenerationism of rupture, which had in common the need to change the country but were not unanimous in the means to do so or in what the final results of such transformation would be.

As for Ireland, many of Joyce's fellow countrymen claimed to have been 'made not begotten' (*U3*. 45) so as not to feel indebted to his precursors and thus feel free to self-invent themselves; Declan Kiberd explains the situation:

Yet Stephen's ultimate fantasy is of self-invention. He would prefer to have no debts to precursors but to be a challenging, 'made not begotten', unlike Jesus who, according to Scripture was 'Begotten, not made.' Self-invention was a recurrent myth in the Irish writing that preceded Joyce (Kiberd 2009, 68).

Both Irish and Spanish people alike were in a state of paralysis; estranged from the past, caught on the cusp between tradition and innovation; robbed of their belief in their own future and overcome by feelings of anomie and indifference, they seemed rudderless and doomed. Both were badly in need of reinventing themselves.

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<sup>52</sup> 'Qué queréis, yo detesto la vida en que me tocó nacer' (Darío 9). \*  
\*What can I say, I detest the life I was born to live (Translation mine).

## Introducing the writers and their contexts

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Joyce and Baroja alike assumed that politics had turned hope and dreams into narcotics; in fact, using Karl Marx's celebrated statement 'Religion is the opium of the people' (Marx 112), we can claim that both in Ireland and Spain, politics was the opium of the people, as it had come to fill the position left vacant by religion. People had tried to find in politics the ethical and practical solution that religion had not been able to provide. But it had also failed. So our writers reacted not only against politicians but also against the clergy. Baroja stood his ground all his life, and kept condemning the excesses and lack of rhetoric of both politicians and clergy to the end:

*El fanatismo religioso y el fanatismo liberal; todos ellos han de ser – siempre – un obstáculo enorme para la redención de España. Los fanáticos en religión impedirán la evolución del sentimiento religioso; los fanáticos de la democracia (los progresistas), considerando intangible el sufragio, la libertad de prensa y el parlamentarismo, impedirán la evolución de la idea política<sup>53</sup> (Baroja 1904, 167).*

Joyce, just like the Basque, tried, even from Trieste, to pass his people's desolation onto the developed world by means of a series of newspaper articles, to this effect, he wrote:

The soul of the country is weakened by centuries of useless struggle and broken treaties, and individual initiative is paralysed by the influence and admonitions of the Church, while its body is manacled by the police, the tax office and the garrison (Joyce 1959, 171).

In the next section, we will study in more detail Joyce and Baroja's reactions to the political situations which not only kept their country fellows in a state of paralysis but threatened to set limits to their own work and we will focus on their attempts to break free from them in order to create a new and liberating form of art.

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<sup>53</sup> Religious fanaticism and liberal fanaticism: both have to be – always – a huge obstacle to the redemption of Spain. Religious fanatics will block any evolution of religious sentiment, and fanatics of democracy (liberal progressives), whilst believing unattainable their goals of suffrage, freedom of the press and parliamentarianism, will block the evolution of the political idea (Translation mine).



### II. Breaking away from contemporary socio-political contexts.

#### 2.1. The writers' reactions to the socio-political turn-of-the-century climate.

This section aims at presenting a brief summary of the reactions of our writers to the socio-political turn-of-the-century climate, which was characterized in both countries by a similar state of paralysis and lack of commitment. The disenchantment that both Joyce and Baroja shared toward their fellow citizens in general, particularly politicians, did not prevent them from feeling a deep fondness for their motherlands. In this section we will see that both authors felt extremely pessimistic about the political and intellectual situation of their countries which reinforced both paralysis and existing divisions, thereby delaying the countries' transformation into modern nations.

As we have seen, Baroja's disappointment in his country's situation led him to form the '*grupo de los tres*<sup>54</sup>', whose members felt extremely pessimistic about the situation of Spain at the time but were hopeful about the Spain to be. They believed that Spain would be able to renew and regenerate itself and, eventually, to follow a new path. They understood that the loss of the remains of the Spanish colonial period meant that a cycle was over and, consequently, Spain was ready to set a new course:

*Yo empiezo a considerar posible la redención de España; casi, casi creo que estamos en el momento en que esa redención va a comenzar.*

*Hemos purgado el error de haber descubierto América, de haberla colonizado más generosamente de lo que cuentan los historiadores extranjeros con un criterio protestante imbécil, y tan fanático o más que el católico. Hemos perdido las colonias. España ha sido durante siglos un árbol frondoso de ramas tan fuertes, tan lozanas que quitaban toda la sabia al tronco. El sol no se ponía en nuestros dominios; pero mientras en América iluminaba ciudades y puertos y monumentos construidos por los españoles, en España no alumbraba más que campos abandonados, pueblos sin vida, ruina y desolación por todas partes.*

*Se han perdido las colonias; se han podado las últimas ramas, y España queda como el tronco negruzco de un árbol desmochado. Hay quien asegura que este tronco tiene vida; hay quien dice que está muerto<sup>55</sup> (Baroja 1904, 50).*

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<sup>54</sup> Group of three (Translation mine).

<sup>55</sup> The loss of the colonies was not a danger to the country per se. Proof of this was that Spanish finances improved immediately after the loss. What was systematic, however, was the phenomenon of disintegration which arose throughout the country, threatening to atomise its integrity and weaken its

In Baroja's opinion, the pillars of Spanish society had to be renovated and their people's values had to prevail over an official culture, over an ideological strain which had turned political and social democracy into a farce incapable of putting an end to civil wars. As we have already mentioned, Spain kept a political regime which was decaying in the eyes of urban and intellectual opinion that, unable to change the system, was seized by a growing feeling of void to which we should add a feeling of paralysis and fragmentation:

*Esta falta de vitalidad, – dice Baroja – en donde todo parece agotado, cae en una especie de 'miasma' entre la indiferencia y la resignación, entre la impresión soñadora y la soberbia, entre la filosofía del mártir o la del esclavo y la del tirano. Esta es la razón del divorcio entre élites, instituciones y masas: la clase política respecto de la intelectual, las masas respecto de la clase intelectual, la política respecto de las masas<sup>56</sup> (Pabón 1963, 112).*

These grounds for revolt and the appeal to history were also a response to the snobbish and frivolous atmosphere of the ruling classes or of those who pretended to be the rulers; the lack of commitment and the failure of social Catholicism (Benavides 1973, 421), the paralysis or the feudal anarchy, condemned by Unamuno and Azorín (Azorín 1969, 66-71), raised doubts about the entire political sphere whose mission was the regeneration of Spain. Far from it, the politicians did not think about the future; they evoked the glorious Spanish past either to cover themselves with the same nobility they praised or to make people admire a heroism which had not yet been avenged:

*Las clases dirigentes españolas se engañaron y engañaron al pueblo. Salvo escasas personalidades y en períodos muy críticos, el conjunto de la inteligencia española ha estado al servicio de una falsedad; la falsedad de nuestra condición de país no sólo rico, sino privilegiado<sup>57</sup> (Mallada 1994, 167).*

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spirit. We have lost our colonies. For centuries Spain has been a leafy tree with boughs so strong and lush that they sapped the trunk itself. The sun did not set on our dominions, but whilst in America it shone on cities, ports and monuments built by the Spanish, in Spain it lit only abandoned fields, lifeless villages, ruin and desolation. The colonies have been lost, the last branches lopped off, and all that is left of Spain is the blackened trunk of a pollarded tree. There are those who assure us that the trunk is still alive, and those who say it is dead (Translation mine).

<sup>56</sup> This lack of vitality – says Baroja – where everything seems to have been used up, falls into a kind of miasma, somewhere between indifference and resignation, between the dreamer and the arrogant fool, the philosophy of the martyr or the slave and the philosophy of the tyrant. This is what is behind the divorce of the elite, the institutions and the masses: the political class with respect to the intellectual, the masses with respect to the intellectuals, politics with respect to the masses (Translation mine).

<sup>57</sup> The Spanish ruling classes deceived themselves and deceived the people. With the exception of a handful of personalities and at very critical moments, the whole of the Spanish intelligencia has been at the service of a falsehood: the falsehood of our status not only of a wealthy country, but of a privileged country (Translation mine).

In contrast to these politicians, there was a group of artists, historians and philosophers who wanted to renovate the national image. In order to accomplish their purpose they set about investigating four areas which they considered to be crucial to the rejuvenation of Spain. First, there was the problem of a national identity, which was associated with the discovery of a true national spirit. Second, there was the problem of historical self-determinism, which was connected with the invasion of Napoleon's armies in 1812. Third, there was the problem of the decaying morality which dated back to The Golden Age. And finally there were the usual social, economic and political problems which accompanied most Western nations' transition from a feudal to a modern agrarian state.

Of all of these issues, the intellectuals considered the creation of a new national identity to be the most crucial, for they believed that the more positive aspects of the national spirit had been lost in recent history. Some believed that, because of its dual Moslem and European heritage, Spain was different from other European nations, and they argued for the creation of a national identity that was more in keeping with medieval Spain. Ángel Ganivet maintained that in order to regain its vitality, Spain needed to destroy the decadent strains of European Catholicism and return to the purer foundations of the medieval Catholic faith (Ganivet 1998, 17). Miguel de Unamuno, in a similar vein, argued that Spain should revive the primitive Moslem energies, and even conduct itself like a barbaric African State (Unamuno 1958, 385). In contrast to Ganivet and Unamuno, Ramiro de Maeztu and José Ortega y Gasset believed that Spain was more European than African, but they disagreed as to which Western tradition best suited the Spanish spirit. Maeztu argued that popular Spanish democracy had always lent itself to the adaptation of a Republican system of government and he even envisioned a United States of Europe (Maeztu 1958, 289-295). Ortega y Gasset, on the other hand, argued that popular Spanish independence lent itself to the creation of a parliamentary democracy similar to that of England (Ortega y Gasset 1946, 265-307).

For both Unamuno and Ganivet, the question of a national identity was linked to questions of medieval tradition and morality. For Maeztu and Ortega y Gasset, on the other hand, the question of a national identity was linked to the question of nineteenth century determinism. For Baroja and Unamuno, the Fall of the Republic was proof that democracy would not work in Spain. Baroja argued in *'La Voluntad'* that equality was in actuality a blasphemy against nature:

*Nuestro tiempo es un tiempo de excepción para los intelectuales. En primer lugar el hecho que se ha mostrado claramente a todos los pensadores es que el principio democrático es un error, que los dogmas de la Revolución: Libertad, Igualdad y Fraternidad, contienen una contradicción, una blasfemia en contra de la Naturaleza eterna... Libertad e Igualdad son incompatibles porque la Naturaleza ha hecho a los individuos desiguales, y, por consiguiente, éstos, en la realización de su libertad volverán siempre a la reconstitución de su desigualdad*<sup>58</sup> (Baroja as quoted in Baeza 1962, II: 21).

while others, such as Unamuno, argued that the rebellion during the presidency of Pi and Margall was proof that the average Spanish citizen did not understand the basic tenets of a republic. In contrast, Ortega y Gasset and Maeztu argued that the declaration of the First Republic had been premature.

On the other hand, there was the moral problem, which, at the turn of the century, was not unique to Spain. As we have already mentioned, in 1898 most of Spain's youth was suffering from an intense lack of will, what Ganivet referred to as a collective *abulia*, which had been brought on by the conviction that the world was crumbling about them and that, because of some inherited weakness, they could do nothing to save themselves. This sense of *abulia*, this failure of the will to assert itself in the absence of any strong imperative, was often accompanied by a sense of cosmic nihilism, a sense of the futility of any national quest (Shaw 1975, 164). Although many intellectuals

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<sup>58</sup> Our time is a time of exception for intellectuals. To begin with, the fact, which has become abundantly clear to all thinkers, that the democratic principle is an error and that the dogma behind the Revolution – Liberty, Equality and Fraternity – enshrine a contradiction which blasphemes against everlasting Nature...Liberty and Equality are incompatible because Nature has made individuals unequal and, therefore, as they strive for liberty these individuals will always return to the reconstitution of their own inequality (Translation mine).

were aware of the problem, few knew what to do about it. Concerning this phenomenon Clarín – as quoted in Díaz Plaja – denounced the Spanish youth's indolence and lack of values:

*Nuestra generación joven es enclenque, es perezosa, no tiene ideal, no tiene energía; donde más se ve su debilidad, su adquexia, es en los pruritos nerviosos de rebelión ridícula, de naturalismo enojoso de algunos infelices*<sup>59</sup> (Díaz Plaja 1951, 3).

Baroja saw this attitude as the result of not one, but two decadent moralities: the morality of the Catholic tradition, which Baroja described as an iron brace for a dead and rotting society (Baroja 1946, 530) and the morality of modernity, which was based on a bourgeois drive for material goods and a rebellious desire for sensual pleasure. Neither of these moralities suited Baroja, for not only were they not representative of the true Spanish spirit, but they generated unrealistic political and philosophical views: those who practiced the old morality either continued to think of Spain as a great nation or believed that Spain would survive the current crisis through prayers; those who ascribed to the new morality either turned their backs on contemporary problems or thought of the country as a primitive entity, struggling to achieve the progress that its superior European neighbours had attained.

Finally, there were the immediate social, economic and political problems which, because of Baroja's direct contact with the people as a doctor, had deeply affected him. Most Spanish intellectuals tried to investigate these problems, but instead of coming up with any practical solutions, they became lost in the more bizarre aspects of their search. Unamuno, for example, became obsessed with the problem of immortality, and his novels depicted anguished confrontations between creator and creation. Azorín, on the other hand, became fascinated with the little details of history. Baroja, in contrast, became interested in the more documentary aspects of the Spanish

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<sup>59</sup> Our generation is weak, it is lazy, it has no ideals, it has no energy. Its greatest weakness is in the nervous itching of absurd rebellion and the irritating naturalism of a few unhappy souls (Translation mine).

struggle for survival, and his novels depicted strong characters being defeated by the spiritual, economic and political forces of contemporary life.

Yet, the Spanish case was not an isolated case. Something similar was happening in Ireland where, on the one hand, we find those who claimed a 'return to the source' which was only to be found in their ancestral language and, on the other, we find those who demanded a greater integration with England, arguing that only by becoming cosmopolitan would Ireland become modern. By turning the fight against England into a tradition, the leaders of the previous century had forgotten what they were fighting for, i.e. a culture of dances, sports, costumes and legends, all of them united under the cloak of the Irish language. The mistake hidden beneath it became clear to Douglas Hyde who declared Ireland's cultural independence in a speech he delivered in 1892; his motto was clear, 'Deanglicization.' According to Hyde, from that moment on, speaking their language should make them feel proud. However, he was accused by many of mistaking 'Anglicization' for modernization. At seeing the willingness of the clergy to support The Gaelic League even Joyce's Stephen Hero claimed that the priests expected to find in Irish a bastion against modern ideas which would help keep 'the wolves of unbelief' at bay and people frozen in a past of 'implicit faith.' In spite of this, we must not forget that Hyde had pinpointed a revealing key issue; he had stated that far from being anchored to their past, the Irish were on the verge of breaking off irretrievably with their cultural heritage. Unfortunately, Hyde's stance was ambiguous from the beginning; he was the leader of the movement in favour of saving Irish, yet he was also one of the founders of the Anglo-Irish Literary Revival whose biggest paradox is the fact that their writings, which fed the Irish nationalist feelings, could often be accused of being based on the imperialist strategy of treating the native culture as a spoilt child. As years passed, Yeats, a key figure in this movement, realised that the Irish Revival was nothing but a revolt against the provincialism that could sometimes be found as clearly in nationalism as in imperialism; in truth, after the riots that occurred during the opening performance

of Synge's *Playboy of the Western World* in 1907, Yeats realised that in order to protect his movement he would have to fight provincial nationalism just as fiercely as he had had to fight the narrow-mindedness of Trinity College some years before. On the other hand, the harmfully selective Irish revivalist myth was, just as in Spain, sometimes reinforced by snobbism and inherited prejudices; Richard Ellmann emphasises this aspect in his description of Yeats and Joyce's first meeting in which the difference in their upbringings became apparent:

[...] But Joyce preferred to meet Yeats more privately and haphazardly on the street near the National Library. They went from there to a café.

Their meeting has a symbolic significance in modern literature, like the meeting of Heine and Goethe. The defected Protestant confronted the defeated Catholic, the landless landlord met the shiftless tenant. Yeats, fresh from London, made one in a cluster of writers whom Joyce would never know, while Joyce knew the limbs and bowels of a city of which Yeats knew well only the head. The world of the petty bourgeois, which is the world of *Ulysses* and the world in which Joyce grew up, was for Yeats something to be abjured. Joyce had the same contempt for both the ignorant peasantry and the snobbish aristocracy that Yeats idealized. The two were divided by upbringing and predilection (Ellmann 1982, 100).

Yeats' poems were founded on a contradiction: they celebrated the soul of a nation while at the same time insisting on the fact that such a soul had yet to be created. Eventually, Yeats admitted that his writings lacked the vision of reality without which art is superficial and unable to transmit the tragedy implicit in any change or growth, while he realised, at the same time, that Joyce had rectified his error. Ellmann emphasises Joyce's predilection for the ordinary in his work:

Joyce was the first to endow an urban man of no importance with heroic consequence. [...] Yeats was aristocratic and demanded distinctions between men; Joyce was all for removing them. [...] Joyce's discovery, so humanistic that he would have been embarrassed to disclose it out of context, was that the ordinary is the extraordinary (Ellmann 1982, 5).

'The ordinary is the extraordinary' ... and Joyce did not hesitate to turn an ordinary man into his Odysseus; furthermore, in 'Sirens' he went to great lengths to prove that although Blazes Boylan might well be the 'conquering hero', Bloom remained the unconquered one:

-See the conquering hero comes.

Between the car and window, warily walking, went Bloom, unconquered hero (*U11. 340-42*)

Joyce's hero, Bloom, is to all extents a modern hero, far from the traditional epic hero, and, faithful to his principle, Joyce set his writings in the future not in the past; to him, the conscience of Ireland was still 'uncreated' and he was willing to help create it. Thus, in his writings we find a double condemnation, he blamed colonialism just as the Revivalists did, but he did not stop there; he did not falter in stating that Irish culture did not live up to its people's expectations. To his mind, neither nationalism nor the Literary Revival was a real option as they remained hidden in the mists of a dream world:

[...] one thing alone seems clear to me. It is well past time for Ireland to have done once and for all with failure. If she is truly capable of reviving, let her awake, or let her cover up her head and lie down decently in her grave forever (Joyce 1959, 174).

In Joyce's opinion, the main drawback to nationalist culture was its resistance to change and its cult of martyrdom which gave way to an insane obsession with an uncertain future in many of its followers. A clear example of this cult is the Deirdre of Irish tradition – aware of her legend status – or the monks<sup>60</sup> in Joyce's *Dubliners*, whom he uses to make fun of the nationalists' tendency to become walking dead; to Joyce's mind, the nationalists manipulated the past they praised until that past was lost beyond redemption.

Nevertheless, Joyce was not the only Irish writer who surmised the needs of Irish literature. He agreed with Wilde that Art was not mere artifice; it also had to be symbolic. Art was not just a matter of surface but also of symbol attaining greatness in moments when the real took on the contours of the magical. In the preface to *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, Wilde attributed the growing aversion to romantic imagination to 'the rage of Caliban not seeing his face in a glass' (Wilde 1997,

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<sup>60</sup> In 'The Dead' Joyce illustrates how norms and rituals embed themselves into his characters' minds. Many of his characters live their lives like they are part of a machine. They all have their functions that are solidified through the rituals they obey. An extreme example of characters that live by ritual is the monks, which Joyce describes near the beginning of the story to illustrate intense obedience through the image of the monks: 'He was astonished to hear that the monks never spoke, got up at two in the morning and slept in their coffins' (Joyce 1988, 220).

15) as that ‘looking-glass’ represented for Irish writers the realistic aesthetic that forced them to depict the social setting which they felt compelled to challenge. As a consequence, in the first pages of *Ulysses*, Joyce turned ‘the cracked looking glass of a servant’(U1.146), into ‘a symbol of Irish art,’ mocking those realist writers who gloated over the superficial aspects of life in a colonised city, that is to say, those who only captured the surface effects of life under occupation. In contrast to them, as we intend to prove in this dissertation, Joyce’s writings, from *Stephen Hero* to *Finnegans Wake*, forced the reader to look into the impact of social tides on literature and, what is more, to reconsider the nature of politics. In a letter to Grant Richards dated 5<sup>th</sup> May 1906, Joyce insisted on the need to show the Irish their distinctive characteristics in order to awake them from their slumber:

I seriously believe that you will retard the course of civilisation in Ireland by preventing the Irish people from having one good look at themselves in my nicely polished looking-glass (Joyce 1966, 134).

Interestingly, in spite of living, as we have seen in the previous section, a different political situation, Baroja identified in his people the same feeling of desolation Joyce found in his fellow country people; let us not forget that the Irish writer insisted on the fact that the *raison d’être* for a book like *Dubliners* was ‘to betray the soul of that hemiplegia or paralysis which many consider a city’ (Joyce 1996, 55) as Dublin was in his opinion ‘the very center of paralysis’(Joyce 1996, 134). In this regard we should point out that Baroja agreed with Joyce’s vision of Art; let us take a passage which illustrates this point, in 1917, in his speech for the *Asociación de Artistas Vascos* Baroja did not falter in portraying the paralysis of his beloved Basque Country:

*Indudablemente, y a primera vista, éste parece un pueblo que marcha. Si hay que fijarse en las chimeneas, en los humos, en las máquinas, este pueblo avanza a pasos agigantados, y en cambio, si se fija uno en los hombres, y en los hombres de empresa, ya no parece que marche tanto [...] En Bilbao, como en todo el País Vasco, echan más chispas las chimeneas que el espíritu de los hombres*<sup>61</sup> (Baroja 1997, 60).

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<sup>61</sup> Undoubtedly, and at first glance, this appears to be a place which works well. If you look at the chimneys and the smoke and the machinery, this country is making great progress; if, on the other hand, you look at the men, and the businessmen at that, then things aren’t going so well [...] In Bilbao, as in the whole of the Basque Country, more sparks fly from the chimneys than from the spirits of the men (Translation mine).

Baroja, just like Joyce, asserted that, unlike the people who covered up the ills of their motherland with their rhetoric, favouring that way the spread of such an ailment, the real patriot was the person who dared admit the problem, the one who diagnosed and found a cure for it. Baroja exposed the two different patriotic stances that were common in Spain at the time in his work *La Formación Psicológica de un Escritor*: that of the rhetoricians and that of the intellectuals; what is more, in his opinion the excessive long-winded patriotism had resulted in the Spanish youth's lack of love for their country:

*La falta de sentimiento patriótico natural, biológico, falta que se observaba en nuestra juventud, se debía indudablemente, al abuso hecho por los políticos de la retórica patriótica, que les servía de capa para cubrir sus insensateces*<sup>62</sup> (Baroja 1935).

This, however, was not a unique situation as this feeling became commonplace among the European youth in the aftermath of the Great War, when the poets who were eloquent and downright about the European situation echoed Stephen's question in 'Scylla and Charybdis': 'Who is the father of any son that any son should love him or he any son?' (*U9*. 844 - 45). Even though the main theme of the discussion at the library scene in *Ulysses* are the relationships between Hamlet and his mother, between Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway, and between Stephen and his own mother, Stephen's relations with his mother are the focal point of the discussion and form a matrix from which arise the problems concerning paternity. Although Stephen is haunted by the ghost of his dead mother, the trustworthiness of maternal love is never questioned in the novel:

STEPHEN

*(choking with fright, remorse and horror)* They say I killed you, mother. He offended your memory. Cancer did it, not I. Destiny.

THE MOTHER

*(a green rill of bile trickling from a side of her mouth)* You sang that song to me. *Love's bitter mystery*.

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<sup>62</sup> This lack of natural, biological patriotic feeling to be found in the youth of today, is undoubtedly due to the politicians' abuse of patriotic rhetoric, which they have used as a bluff to cover their follies (Translation mine).

STEPHEN

*(eagerly)* Tell me the word, mother, if you know now. The word known to all men (*U* 16. 4185-93).

It is the father's reality and dependability that constitutes the real problem:

A father, Stephen said, battling against hopelessness, is a necessary evil. [...] Fatherhood, in the sense of conscious begetting, is unknown to man. It is a mystical estate, an apostolic succession, from only begetter to only begotten. On that mystery and not on the Madonna which the cunning Italian intellect flung to the mob of Europe the church is founded and founded irremovably because founded, like the world, macro and microcosm, upon the void. Upon incertitude, upon unlikelihood. *Amor matris*, subjective and objective genitive, may be the only true thing in life. Paternity may be a legal fiction (*U*9.828-44).

In this dissertation we argue that though Joyce claimed to be uninterested in the war – as recorded by Ellmann – he told George Borach on October 21, 1918 that as an artist he was against every state:

As an artist, I attach no importance to political conformity. Consider: Renaissance Italy gave us the greatest artists. The Talmud says at one point, 'We Jews are like the olive: we give our best when we are being crushed, when we are collapsing under the burden of our foliage.' Material victory is the death of spiritual preeminence. Today we see in the Greeks of antiquity the most cultured nation. Had the Greek state not perished, what would have become of the Greeks? Colonizers and merchants.' He went on to explain, 'As an artist I am against every state. Of course I must recognize it, since indeed in all my dealings I come into contact with its institutions. The state is concentric, man is eccentric. Thence arises an eternal struggle. The monk, the bachelor, and the anarchist are in the same category. Naturally I can't approve of the act of the revolutionary who tosses a bomb in a theatre to destroy the king and his children. On the other hand, have those states behaved any better which have drowned the world in a blood-bath? (Ellmann 1982, 446).

Thanks to Dominic Manganiello's important research we are finally learning the extent of Joyce's real involvement and interest in current events and political development. It is well known that the *Telemachiad* was completed in late 1917, and it is undeniable that the actualities of the time resound in an allegorical way within the fictive time frame; the 'Nestor' episode, for example, shows significant traces of the historical situation contemporaneous with its composition – according to Robert E. Spoo history plays an important role in Joyce's fictional world:

[...] this convergence of history and story within an episode whose symbol, according to Joyce's schema, is 'history' raises important questions about Joyce's whole fictive enterprise in *Ulysses* and his

## Breaking away from contemporary socio-political contexts

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place in the larger modernist response to ‘the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history’ (Spoo 1994, 13).

In this sense, the main themes of ‘Nestor’ – the conflict between youth and age, the nightmare of history, fatherhood... – depict the reality of 1917, just in the same way as they become repositories for historical matters previous to 1904; *Ulysses* being thus transhistorical. However, we also state that it is not the only work of its time to show these characteristics: *The Waste Land* is also commonly seen as a war or post-war poem, and according to Bernard Bergonzi (Bergonzi 1996, 139), Pound’s ‘Homage to Sextus Propertius’ uses the Rome of Augustus to comment on wartime England, according to Robert E. Spoo Eliot’s understanding of Joyce’s use of history in his works might be inaccurate:

The more we recognize the variety and complexity of historical textures in *Ulysses*, the harder it is to accept unquestioningly Eliot’s view that Joyce’s ‘mythic method’ provides a way ‘of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and a significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history.’ Such a method would require a static conception of history in which present and past are distinct from one another and observable by an ordering consciousness (a mind ‘manipulating a continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity’). But if past and present, or history and not-yet-history, are observable, then from what vantage, at what remove are they to be observed? [...] How, in short, can we rouse ourselves from the nightmare of history in order to begin to apprehend other perspectives? (Spoo 1994, 150).

However, Joyce’s best-known example of the clash of the two unquestionable authorities at the time in Ireland might be the first chapter of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* where Stephen is home from school to spend Christmas with his family. He has been allowed to sit at the table with the adults for the first time; the Dedaluses, Dante, Uncle Charles and Mr. Stephen’s friend – Mr. Casey – are sitting at the table waiting for supper to be served. Mr. Stephen and Mr. Casey are chatting about a mutual acquaintance that is known to have been making explosives. The turkey is served and Stephen says grace. During the dinner Mr. Stephen talks admiringly about a mutual friend who, confronting a priest, had dared criticise the role of the Irish church in politics. Dante openly disapproves of the story and claims it not to be right for a Catholic to criticise their Church. The

disagreement soon turns into a bitter argument. Dante believes that it is a Catholic's duty to follow the commands of their priests and bishops and not to question them. It does not matter if they go against Irish nationalism. Stephen feels puzzled by the situation, unable to understand how anybody would dare question the decisions of the Irish Church. He believes Dante to be right, but remembers his father having said mockingly that she had once been a nun. Mr Casey then goes on to narrate how he was once attacked in the street by a woman who was debasing Parnell and his lover. In order to make the woman silent Mr. Casey spat in her face, putting an end to the story. Mr. Casey's tale makes the men roar with laughter but it also makes Dante furious, and, beside herself, she yells that God and religion must be above all. Mr. Casey responds that if that were true, then maybe Ireland should have no God. To Stephen's utter puzzlement, Dante loses her temper and leaves the table as Mr Casey cries for Parnell. As we can see, far from inspiring feelings of community and brotherhood, in *A Portrait*, politics and religion are seen to give way to divisions in families and countries as stated by Derek Attridge in his foreword to Vincent J. Cheng's *Joyce, Race and Empire*:

During his boyhood in the ebbing nineteenth century, James Joyce breathed in politics with the Dublin air. In Ireland, as in many other countries dominated by a European power and torn internally by different responses to that dominating fact of existence, politics was inseparable from family life, friendship, religion and vocation (Attridge in foreword to Cheng 1995, 12).

In short, one of the lines of thought followed in this dissertation is that as a developing artist, Joyce walked a tightrope between his own keen interest in Irish politics—he was nine years old when he wrote a poem detailing what he saw as the unforgivable betrayal of Charles Stewart Parnell—and his desire to become a respected 'European' author, free from the nationalism and cultural specificity that was disdained by the ideals of High Modernism. In this section we argue that although it is true that Joyce refused to make any overtly political public statements, this reveals less about his own private political positions than his strong desire to present himself in the role of international exile.

As for Baroja, we have seen that the loss of the colonies and many other situations in public life may help justify the belligerency of the fin-de-siècle intellectuals on extra-literary fields. The intellectuals, who were characteristic of the turn of the century, were of French origin and appeared in Spain as a consequence of the military trials of those imprisoned in Montjuich, Barcelona, charged with being anarchist terrorists. But the starting point of this critical attitude was not directly related to the loss of the colonies. Those Spanish intellectuals who criticised the Restoration system played a role similar to that of other European artists in the last decade of a century which was marked by uneasiness and concern. During and after the war, the fin-de-siècle intellectuals levelled fierce criticism at the Restoration regime which was in fact characterised by its feebleness.

In the next section we will deal with the relation between literature and the creation of a national epic. The attempt at recovering a national epic is indeed a major concern at the turn of the century, linked, no doubt to the emergence of modern nationalisms. As Timothy Brennan points out, nationalism and imaginative literature are indivisible:

The rise of the modern nation-state in Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is inseparable from the forms and subjects of imaginative literature. On the one hand, the political task of modern nationalism directed the course of literature, leading through the Romantic concepts of 'folk character' and 'national language' to the (largely illusory) divisions of literature into distinct 'national literatures'. On the other hand, and just as fundamentally, literature participated in the formation of nations through the creation of 'national print media' – the newspaper and the novel. Flourishing alongside what Francesco de Sanctis has called 'the cult of nationality in the European nineteenth century,' it was especially the novel as a composite but clearly bordered work of art that was crucial in defining the nation as an 'imagined community' (Brennan 1964, 48).

### **2.2. Facing the creation of a national epic.**

Both James Joyce and Pío Baroja became engaged with the role art should play in the community and with the fin-de-siècle interest in the reconstruction of both national characters and literary traditions. In this section we argue that the temptation to regard 'language' or 'literature' as

the guarantor of a nation's 'pedigree' recalls the similar employment of the concept 'color.' In both cases an apparently exclusionary process is meant somehow to isolate the pure 'pedigree' of a race, a language or a literature, even as that process ends up in a compensating search for some emblem of universality. We are familiar enough with the practice whereby literary history or literary canons stand in for a notion of national spirit or character, but a counterveiling tendency also needs to be discussed, one which would take into the account the fact that particular national authors do not only speak for themselves or for their 'race,' but also for 'mankind:' authors such as Homer, Dante, Rabelais,

, Shakespeare, and Goethe are often seen as 'consummate geniuses' of a given national spirit, or 'founding fathers' of their respective national literatures, yet ultimately attract even greater interest because they seem in some way to have embodied 'universal truths'<sup>63</sup>. Nation and nationalism, then, begin to dissolve their hegemonies with the formation of this larger grouping, defined by 'genius' (Fanon 1965, 58). One of the points made apparent in this dissertation is the fact that the Romantic conception of 'universal genius' has not waned even in the present day – in all cases, the favoured designees of 'universal genius' are drawn not from a particular country, not even from a given colonial power, but in fact from the 'notion' of Europe itself. Despite the general use of these authorial 'founding fathers' to stand for a white European cultural ideal, the actual texts they have written seem radically mixed, even syncretistic – *The Odyssey*, *The Divine Comedy*, *Don Quixote*, *King Lear*, or *Faust* would seem the last possible proof-texts for any separationist or exclusionary brand of racial or cultural hubris. It might seem a paradox, but the language of such texts – that subsequent literary canons have taken as the quintessence of Greek, Italian, Spanish, English, German, or simply European genius – is radically heterogeneous and eclectic. According to James

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<sup>63</sup> [...] subscribe to the Arnoldian notion that the work of art that most fully disengages itself from the particularities of its origin and its production is, by virtue of that 'disengagement,' most fully and purely itself. It is 'universal,' the proper thing for art to be (Deane 1990, 7).

Snead: ‘These texts are extraordinary, not by virtue of the skill and confidence with which they exemplify a particular style or vernacular, but by the way in which their language mixes a variety of styles and vernaculars; they are not so much universal as hybris, unifying previously scattered or dispersed dialects, colloquialisms, and oral traditions’(Snead 1990, 2329. They reach beyond the standard sets of materials proper to a local sense of group cohesion, and make assimilationist gestures which abruptly break the mold of national languages – for Bakhtin, the period of the novel’s rise is that in which the world becomes multilingual:

[...] the world becomes polyglot, once and for all and irreversibly. The period of national languages, coexisting but closed and deaf to each other, comes to an end... The naive and stubborn co-existence of ‘languages’ within a given national language also comes to an end – that is, there is no more peaceful coexistence between territorial dialects, social and professional dialects and jargons, literary languages, generic languages within literary languages, epochs in language, and so on (Bakhtin 1981, 12).

One of the points highlighted in this section is that throughout history, literature has often been believed to mirror the conscience, the awakening of a nation, – according to Seamus Deane – ‘All nationalisms have a metaphysical dimension, for they are all driven by an ambition to realize their intrinsic essence in some specific and tangible form. The form may be a political structure or a literary tradition’ (Deane 1990, 7).

In this section we see that in Spain this awakening was that of a ‘national conscience’, of a ‘spiritual life’ according to Salinas (Salinas 1935, 22), or of a ‘Spanish individual conscience’, in the words of Entralgo (Lain Entralgo 2003, 65-8). We also see how under these circumstances and loyal to this understanding of literature, Spanish criticism covered all fields: politics, religion, customs and manners, tradition, history and social unrest. However, we also argue that even though it is obvious that the fin-de-siècle generation meant an aesthetic and thematic break with the past, this did not happen in Spain as if by magic – it was the logical result of what was happening in the rest of Europe thanks to the influence of Taine and Renan among others – Seamus Deane’s description of the situation in Ireland at the time may serve as an example:

It was in the late years of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century that the political situations in Britain and in Ireland demanded a reconstituted version of both the national characters and the literary traditions of each. This is one – but a crucial – example of the interaction between the political and cultural zones (Deane 1990, 10).

In his voluntary exile, Joyce maintained that the conscience of a people could only be appreciated in their literature. However, we must also point out that he was not the first; before him, ‘remember first to possess his books, for without them he’s but a sot’ (Shakespeare 1999: III, ii), in *The Tempest*, Shakespeare had made Caliban plan a revolt in order to master the intellectual tools which contained, to his understanding, power and freedom; for Conrad, the act of writing was a true act of altruism, and if we expand Blake’s categories, we realise that in his eyes, Art, rather than religion or politics, implied brotherhood; in this dissertation we see that Joyce shared with them, to a certain extent, the belief that Art played an important role in the community, hence his words:

I believe that in composing my chapter of moral history in exactly the way I have composed it I have taken the first step towards the spiritual liberation of my country (Joyce 1966, 623).

As for Spain, we see how the frustration felt by their people was especially dealt with in the context of the Generation of ‘98 by writers such as Unamuno, Azorín or Baroja. In truth the Basque novelist captured like no other the resentment, disappointment and insincere guilt feelings his people were experiencing. These writers launched their attacks onto a vital background: regenerating Spanish behaviour and outlook. In their eyes, the backwardness of their country struggled through the mists of the past, tradition and modernity, and, as a last resort, they decided to carry out a thorough revision of their culture. In order to take part in the Spanish political and social life and thus lead to the regeneration of their society, these writers set up, as we have seen, the ‘*grupo de los tres*:’

[...] *los tres* – recuerda ‘Azorín – éramos Ramiro de Maeztu, Pío Baroja y yo [...] *los tres* éramos el núcleo del grupo literario que se disponía a iniciar una acción social’<sup>64</sup> (Azorín 1969, 981-82).

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<sup>64</sup> The three – recalls Azorín – were Ramiro de Maeztu, Pío Baroja and myself [...] the three of us formed a literary nucleus ready to take up social action (Translation mine).

In this section we argue that the creation of this group divided the fin-de-siècle literary group into two factions. On the one hand, we find ‘the three’, willing to play an active role in Spanish life, and, on the other, we find the ‘Modernist writers,’ led by Valle-Inclán and Jacinto Benavente. In spite of the fact that we cannot deny the enormous influence of Modernism on Valle-Inclán’s work, it is also undeniable that the dividing line between the two groups is not so clear. In *Literatura Española SXX* Pedro Salinas ventured that Modernism was the incipient language of the Generation of ‘98. In fact, only Unamuno among the prose writers of this Generation seems to have escaped the influence of Modernism, which doubtlessly extended to Pérez de Ayala and Gabriel Miró. The descriptive impressionism found in Azorín’s earlier work for example shows a clear Modernist influence and we also find in Baroja’s first novels, especially in *Camino de Perfección*, both descriptions and lyrical expansions which may be deemed to be Modernist:

*En el ambiente oscuro de la capilla el cuadro aquél parecía una oquedad lóbrega, tenebrosa, habitada por fantasmas inquietos, inmóviles, pensativos. [...] Fernando sintió como un latigazo en sus nervios, y salió de la iglesia*<sup>65</sup> (Baroja 1994, 185).

As we can see, despite the general Impressionistic style Baroja has used in this extract, a modern touch is also perceived in his choice of adjectives or in the way he has ordered them, as well as in the over-elaborated words, such as ‘fendiente’ or ‘gorgueras’ or in the stereotyped expressions such as ‘el de Orgaz.’ We even feel this modern touch in the weak cadence of the sentences, not to forget the decadent neurotic impressionability the extract itself conveys; we also find some other clear examples of this rhythmic prose in some articles Baroja published in 1901:

*Es el camposanto del monasterio tranquilo, reposado, venerable; huerto con arrayanes y cipreses en donde palpita un recogimiento solemne, un silencio sólo interrumpido por el murmullo de una fuente que canta invariable y monótona su eterna canción no comprendida. Los cipreses oscuros, inmóviles, soñadores, como si ellos guardasen el alma huraña de los monjes, perfilan sus agudas cimas verdes sobre la dulce serenidad del cielo immaculado*<sup>66</sup> (Baroja 1901).

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<sup>65</sup> In the dark of the chapel the painting looked like a gloomy, shadowy hollow, inhabited by restless, motionless, thoughtful ghosts. [...] Fernando felt his nerve-endings crackle, and went out of the church (Translation mine).

And some weeks later (14<sup>th</sup> October), we find a similar Modernist landscape in an article by Baroja titled '*Las Cigüeñas*' published in the same newspaper:

*Me habían dicho que era una ciudad agonizante, una ciudad moribunda, y mi espíritu, entonces deprimido por la amarga tristeza que deja el fracaso de los ensueños románticos, quería recrearse en el espectáculo desolado de un pueblo casi muerto*<sup>67</sup>

Undoubtedly here we can feel the aesthetic preoccupations of the Basque novelist whose style, considered by many effortless and spontaneous, was, however, the result of a laborious search, of a learning process. However, although Baroja may have felt attracted by the cadence of Modernist prose, once his learning process was over, he wriggled out of Modernism, escaped the influence of his contemporaries – whom he hardly ever read – and created his own unmistakable style which came from his vision of the world, from his radical scepticism and his disappointment in the world.

As for Ireland, the Irish-English collision had its own importance. Turn-of-the-century Ireland produced a remarkable literature in an attempt to overcome and replace the colonial experience by something other which should be native. Thus, Irish writing raised the question of how the individual subject can be envisaged in relation to its community, its past history, and a possible future. However, – in Ernest Gellner's words, nationalism is not just the role of the past in the creation of the present:

[...] nationalism is *not* the awakening of an old, latent, dormant force, though that is how it does indeed present itself. It is in reality the consequence of a new form of social organization, based on deeply internalized, education-dependent high cultures, each protected by its own state. It uses some of the pre-existent cultures, generally transforming them in the process, but it cannot possibly use them all (Gellner 1983, 48).

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<sup>66</sup> It is the monastery's cemetery – tranquil, calm and venerable; a plot with cypresses and myrtle where a solemn gathering pulses, a silence broken only by the murmur of a fountain singing its eternal song, ever the same, ever monotone and never understood. The dark cypresses, immobile and dreaming, as though they themselves were the guardians of the sullen souls of the monks, outline their sharp green tops onto the serenity of a pristine sky (Translation mine).

<sup>67</sup> I had been told that it was a dying city, a moribund city, and my spirit, saddened by the bitter grief left by the failure of romantic reveries, wished to wallow in the desolate spectacle of a dying town (Translation mine).

The Irish literary revival was haunted by the desire for a national epic. In *Ulysses* we see that this was a pressing issue in 1904; in the scene in the National Library Mr. Best remarks: ‘Our national epic has yet to be written, Dr. Sigerson says. Moore is the man for it’ (*U9*. 309-10). There had been a number of attempts and experiments with epic form among the revivalists and the desire for a national epic had also motivated translators of early Irish literature. According to Maria Tymoczko, for the nationalists, ‘epic’ was a value-laden term as much as the name of a literary gender:

[...] The *OED* continues: “The typical epics, the Homeric poems, the Nibelungenlied, etc., have often been regarded as embodying a nation’s conception of its own past history, or of the events in that history which it finds most worthy of remembrance. Hence by some writers the phrase *national epic* has been applied to any imaginative work (whatever its form) which is considered to fulfil this function.” Irish nationalists not surprisingly desired such an epic – either medieval or modern – for the prestige it would confer on their national literature and for the centering of the literary tradition it would provide both at home and abroad (Tymoczko 1994, 55).

Whatever their professed stand on the need for a national literature or on Irish nationalism, the Anglo-Irish writers of the Irish literary revival were in the main committed to an English poetics. Anglo-Irish precursors of the Irish revival such as Ferguson wrote in the style of Tennyson, Yeats began as a nineteenth-century English romantic, and many of the principal writers of the revival used drama as their main form. In short, despite the surface concern with Irish subject matter, formally the Anglo-Irish literary revival was a branch of English literature, and the Anglo-Irish writers showed themselves to be West Britons in their art. Hence, Joyce’s *Ulysses*, which has been often hailed as a modern epic, can be seen as his response to the interest of the Irish literary revival in a national epic.

As for Baroja, in this section we have already seen that at the beginning of his career he was not sure which direction his art would take. Like many of his contemporaries, he had been inspired by Ganivet’s call for a work that would form a separate interpretation of the spirit of the era (Ganivet 1998, 124), but he was uncertain as to what this interpretation should be. In Ganivet’s view works like *Don Quijote* and *La Vida es Sueño* were more than artifacts of an ancient society, they were

interpretations of history which contained the moral consciousness of the race. *Vidas Sombrias*, Baroja's first publication, which covered in thirty short stories the thoughts and attitudes of the Spanish people from every economic sector and social class, marked the beginning of the Basque novelist's search for an epic that would rejuvenate his race.

In the next points of this section we will study the impact nationalism had on Joyce and how Pío Baroja dealt with the appearance of the various nationalisms which threatened with breaking the unity of the country which, as Brennan states, was a common trend among European nationalisms:

If European nationalism was a project of *unity* on the basis of conquest and economic expediency, insurgent or popular nationalism (not, that is, of the Pinochet variety) is for the most part a project of consolidation following an act of *separation* from Europe. It is a task of reclaiming community from within boundaries defined by the very power whose presence denied community (Brennan 1964, 58).

Likewise we will delve further into our writers' search and longing for the best way in which to create the national epic that would awaken their peers from their slumber and would help create a better future for their countries. As we have seen both Joyce and Baroja felt desolated because they felt their nations to be paralysed and hoping for a better future tried to plant the seeds of hope in their fellow countrymen.

### **2.3. Facing the outbreak of nationalisms.**

In this section we will deal with Irish nationalism and with the emergence of nationalisms in Spain –we will speak more specifically about Basque nationalism as this was Baroja's motherland. We will delve into the way nationalism influenced our writers and their works since even though it is true that, as we have already seen, the situations in Ireland and Spain were not the same, our writers' reactions to nationalism were very similar. Both of them believed that nationalism would retard the advance of their nations – both were fond of their motherlands but understood that in order for their nations to become modern they had to forget the past.

We must bear in mind that if it is true that the increasing cultural homogeneity of modern societies acts to dissolve traditional insularity, as Wyndham Lewis complains in *Time and Western Man*, it is also true that such societies resemble each other, ironically enough, in refusing to recognize their common destinies:

So while *in reality* people become increasingly one nation (for the fact that they are fanatically nationalist does not prevent them from approximating more and more closely to the neighbours against whom, in their abstract rage, they turn), they *ideologically* grow more aggressively separatist, and conscious of ‘nationality’ (Lewis 1927, 96).

Indeed, it is from the traditions of political thought and literary language that the nation emerges as a powerful historical idea in the west – Benedict Anderson expresses the nation’s ambivalent emergence with great clarity:

The century of the Enlightenment, of rationalist secularism, brought with it its own modern darkness... [Few] things were (are) suited to this end better than the idea of a nation. If nation states are widely considered to be ‘new’ and ‘ahistorical’, the nation states to which they give political expression always loom out of an immemorial past and...glide to a limitless future. What I am proposing is that Nationalism has to be understood, by aligning it not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which – as well as against which – it came into being (Anderson 2006, 11-12).

Furthermore, Cristopher Langlois emphasises the fact that the concept of literature ‘becomes a privileged term in the relationship between nationalism and community’ since, ‘in order to emerge, grow, and develop, must take recourse to fiction. All nationalisms and communities are, after all, imaginative constructs that nevertheless shape the historical reality of our institutions and ideologies. Literature, accordingly, is ideally situated as a critical and transformative mode of thinking precisely because it revels in the analysis, experimentation, and mobilization of fiction’ (Langlois 2012).

If we take into consideration the structure of the old-fashioned novel, we realise that it is clearly a device for the presentation of simultaneity whereas the idea of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogenous time is an analogue of the idea of the nation, which is

also conceived as a solid community moving steadily up or down history. That's why – as Anderson points out – the appearance of the novel and the newspaper in Europe in the eighteenth century is of the utmost importance since these forms provided the technical means for 're-presenting' the kind of imagined community that is the nation:

[...] the very possibility of imagining the nation only arose historically when, and where, three fundamental cultural conceptions, all of great antiquity, lost their axiomatic grip on men's minds. The first of these was the idea that a particular script-language offered privilege access to ontological truth, precisely because it was an inseparable part of that truth. [...] Second was the belief that society was naturally organized around and under high centres – monarchs who were persons apart from other human beings and who ruled by some form of cosmological (divine) dispensation. [...] Third was a conception of temporality in which cosmology and history were indistinguishable, the origins of the world and of men essentially identical. Combined, these ideas rooted human lives firmly in the very nature of things, giving certain meaning to the everyday fatalities of existence (above all death, loss, and servitude) and offering, in various ways, redemption from them.

The slow uneven decline of these interlinked certainties, first in Western Europe, later elsewhere, under the impact of economic change, 'discoveries' (social and scientific), and the development of increasingly rapid communications, drove a harsh wedge between cosmology and history. Nothing perhaps more precipitated this search, nor made it more fruitful, than print-capitalism, which made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways (Anderson 2006, 36).

James Joyce's Stephen, for example, develops in a world of intense, claustrophobic intimacy resonant with the clamour of a variety of social styles and voices. As Bakhtin argues, this is the kind of social environment which is so essential to the form of the Bildungsroman:

The importance of struggling with another's discourse, its influence in the history of an individual's coming to ideological consciousness is enormous [...] The process is made more complex by the fact that a variety of alien voices enter into the struggle for influence in the individual's consciousness (just as they struggle with one another in surrounding social reality) (Bakhtin 1981, 348).

The fact that Joyce came to prove that exciting, experimental art did not necessarily raise difficult political questions even in modern age is reflected in his response to Pound in 1928:

The more I hear of the political, philosophical, ethical zeal and labours of the brilliant members of Pound's big brass band, the more I wonder why I was ever let into it (Joyce 1966, 276).

As Richard Ellmann writes of Joyce's bewildered response to Pound: '[Joyce] was a musician surrounded by preachers and generalisers' (Ellmann 1982, 609). Like Yeats, the Daedalus

of *Stephen Hero* is searching for an alternative and heterodox tradition with which to identify. In typically modernist fashion, Yeats is engaged on creating through art a tradition to which his own art might then belong: for Yeats, 'Irishness' is an aspect of the identity he desires to create; for Stephen, it is the identity he wishes to escape. In *A Portrait of the Artist* Stephen is indeed devoted to the elaboration of a narrative which distances him from the religious, political and 'national' identifications already established in his biological family. While the content of his quest is in complete contrast to the aspirations of contemporary cultural nationalism – a project which was dominant in the cultural milieu of Joyce's youth – nonetheless the aestheticist self-creation pursued by Dedalus offers a structural homology to the artistic mission to which it is opposed. According to Emer Nolan: 'In his resolutely individualistic self-fashioning, Dedalus ironically re-enacts the self-making and self-discovery of the nationalist cultural project' (Nolan 1994, 38). As critics of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* have observed, Stephen's wish to fly over the nets is never granted:

Stephen's aspiration towards a fully autonomous and self-created identity is nowhere securely achieved in that text. Instead, Dedalus is presented as a subject forever in process, and the projected moment of his ultimate self-fulfilment in art is postponed beyond the limit of the narrative (Nolan 1994, 38).

Indeed, *A Portrait of the Artist's* depiction of Dedalus's supposed rejection of the ideology of cultural nationalism remains complicit with the terms of nation-building. However disgusted Stephen is with 'the compact body of Irish revivalists' (Joyce 1991, 43) in his college, he is never entirely disengaged, he is alienated rather than isolated. He is granted the opportunity to define and redefine his artistic credo in the face of the Church's own 'ambassadors' (Joyce 1991, 210-11); he is sought out for personal interview by the President of the College, and his views are notorious among his peers. Stephen is present at the opening of the Irish Literary Theatre and witnesses the furore over Yeats's *The Countess Cathleen*. Stephen's intimacy with the emergent forces in Irish society is

suggested by the fact that one Hughes stands up to refute the artist after he delivers his paper on 'Drama and Life' to the College Literary and Historical Society:

Mr. Daedalus was himself a renegade from the Nationalist ranks: he professed cosmopolitanism. But a man that was of all countries was of no country – you must have a nation before you could have art. Mr. Daedalus might do as he pleased, kneel at the shrine of Art (with capital A), and rave about obscure authors. In spite of [his] any hypocritical use of the name of a great doctor of the Church Ireland would be on her guard against the insidious theory that art can be separated from morality. If they were to have an art let it be moral art, art that elevated, above all, national art (Joyce 1991, 108).

In this society, Stephen's refusal of political commitment in art becomes the subject of general comment and controversy. His assertion of artistic autonomy is assailed and defended, continually thematized and understood as politically charged from the outset. Both Joyce and Baroja raised in their works wider issues about nationalism, language, religion and history than many other writers who claimed to be nationalists, and both, as a result of expressing their ideas, were accused of not loving their country. One of the major points defended in this dissertation is the fact that the Spanish socio-political situation gave way to Baroja's scepticism. As we have said, the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup>C saw in Spain the strengthening of the peripheral nationalisms, which were based on Regenerationism. These nationalisms criticised the Restoration system and were rooted in a cultural substratum which had faded in the preceding centuries. Sometimes, the nationalist stance showed a will to resist change by basing their nationalism on the traditional values. At other times, they just appeared to be the natural consequence of that change. Among these peripheral nationalisms, Catalanism was the most important one. In fact, it was the only one to obtain electoral independence and to be allowed to play an active role in the Spanish Parliament. Yet, it was as a consequence of the growth of Catalanism that the first confrontations in the Spanish society became public. On the one hand, there were those who felt Spain as a nation and resented the fact that there were others who did not share their opinion. On the other, there were people who saw Spain as a country made up of different nations and kept their nationalist feelings for another entity. As a result of this

situation, together with the blooming of the peripheral nationalisms we can appreciate the reaffirmation of a Spanish national conscience, though this time it was based on a different criterion from that of yore.

In the last years of the century, Catalanism was shaped as a nationalist movement with its own view of the past and the future; in fact, it was set up as a plural current of both continuation and possibility. Even though at the beginning they followed in the footsteps of the Irish Independentists, they ended up accepting the model set by the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

In the elections of 1906, Solidaridad Catalana got an overwhelming triumph in all the Catalan constituencies with the exception of two and as a result of this victory, the turno system, i.e. the bipartite system of alternating governments that characterised the Spanish Restoration during the last part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, disappeared from the region. From that moment on, Catalanism, whose early will to play an active role in the core of the Spanish political system had become one of its most characteristic features was not just a political reality in Barcelona but in Catalonia as a whole. However, Catalanism was not an isolated case in Spain as we find at the end of the century a cultural substratum which fed a nationalist feeling in the Basque Country, motherland of our novelist, whose political system is known to have enjoyed a special characteristic until 1876 and which was ruled in the economic area through the fueros, i.e. local rights or traditions.

The Basque Country is geographically situated at the Western end of the Pyrenees and covers territories in both Spain and France. The most populated area of the Basque Country is in Spain, which is a compound state incorporating various degrees of internal ethno-territorial plurality. Modern political unification of Spain took place by means of a dynastic union under the Catholic Kings in 1469 (Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon). However, its constituent territories (crowns, kingdoms, principalities, dominions or provinces) maintained their autonomous existence.

The incorporation of such territories to the Hispanic monarchy was achieved at an early stage of the European Modern Age, centuries before the process of national homogenization was carried out by other European monarchies. Prior to the union of the Catholic Kings, the Castilian princes had brought through conquests and royal marriages the unification of Leon and Castile (1230), as well as the incorporation of the Basque provinces of Guipuzcoa (1200), Alava (1332) and Biscay (1379).

According to Salvador de Madariaga (1979), the three Basque Provinces were not constituent units of the Basque Country. This has rather been a modern political creation. But all three provinces took good care of their *fueros*, or local rights and traditions, before and after they joined the Castilian Crown: ‘They would not recognize Lord or King without the prior and solemn pledge for honouring their *fueros*’ (Pi i Margall 1977, 251):

*“¡Imbéciles! ¡Imbéciles!”*, repetía mentalmente el doctor Aresti.  
*Pensaba con tristeza en los miles de hombres muertos en aquellos montes y en otros de más allá; en todos los que se pudrían y disgregaban en las montañas de la tierra vasca por un pleito de familia, por una simple cuestión de personas, hábilmente explotada en nombre del sentimiento religioso y de la repulsión que siente el vascongado por toda autoridad que le exija obediencia al otro lado del Ebro*<sup>68</sup> (Blasco 1999, 111).

During the 19th Century, many territories of Spain, particularly those with a strong historical identity and a tradition of self-government perceived liberal centralism as unnatural and stifling. This, in turn, provoked these regions to demand the restitution of their *fueros* or ancient rights to autonomy – as an example of the liberties they enjoyed, we observe that the ‘98 war was the first time the Basques had to fight under the Spanish Flag. However, in spite of this and, quite surprisingly, in the Basque Country the cultural Renaissance started later than in Catalonia, coinciding with the emergence of the Basque political nationalism.

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<sup>68</sup> ‘Fools! Fools!’ cried Dr. Aresti to himself. He thought sadly of the thousands of dead men lying in those mountains, and of others farther off; of all the men rotting and disintegrating in the mountains of those Basque lands because of a family feud, a simple question of people ably exploited in the name of religious sentiment, and the repulsion felt by the Basques for all authority demanding obedience to the other side of the Ebro (Translation mine).

Sabino Arana founded the PNV (The Basque Nationalist Party) in 1898, at the same time as some other movements of a nationalist nature appeared in different areas of Spain although only those in Valencia (Valencianismo) and in Galicia (Galleguismo) became relevant in the years previous to the First World War.

Arana's ideology was based on a millenarism which represented the past of the Basques as a mythical golden age which had given way to the catastrophic wretchedness that came as a consequence of the Basque submission to Spain. Like most nationalist leaders in other countries, Arana turned the past and the rural root of the Basque Country into myth, something which, according to Hobsbawm, is a common feature among nationalisms:

It is clear that plenty of political institutions, ideological movements and groups – not least in nationalism – were so unprecedented that even historic continuity had to be invented, for example, by creating an ancient past beyond effective historical continuity either by semi-fiction (Vercingetorix, Arminius, The Cheruscan) or by forgery (Ossian, The Czech Medieval Manuscripts). It is also clear that entirely new symbols and devices came into existence... such as the national anthem... the national flag... or the personification of 'the nation' in symbol or image (Hobsbawm 1983, 7).

Thus, Sabino Arana, main figure of Basque nationalism became the prophet whose doctrines were followed faithfully. Regardless of the notorious exploitation of history in his books, Arana based his doctrine on the principle of a strict Catholic affirmation, which turned Catholicism into a symbol of national identity. Being his motto, 'Jaungoikoa eta Lege Zaharra', i.e. 'God and the Old Laws' strongly criticised by Baroja:

*Al lado de este sentimiento, que nos parece un tanto cómico a los chapelaundis, hay otro sentimiento más recio y más fuerte: es el del vasco reaccionario y ultramontano. Este vascongado no ama el idioma castellano, porque el castellano ha sido para él el vehículo de las ideas revolucionarias, no ama tampoco a la Patria ni espera nada del Estado porque para él la única Patria es la Iglesia Católica y todo lo que no sea ella es una usurpación. Roma es la verdadera capital para el ultramontano y el Padre Santo es el único rey, y si España se separa de esa ciudad y de ese monarca, abominará de ella*<sup>69</sup> (Baroja 2004, 41).

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<sup>69</sup> Alongside this sentiment, which seems rather comic to us *chapelaundis* (literally: Big Hats – liberal-minded Basques), there is another sturdier, stronger sentiment: that of the reactionary, ultramontane Basque. This Basque does not love the Spanish language because Spanish for him has been the vehicle of revolutionary ideas. Neither does he love the Fatherland, nor expect anything of the State, because for him the only Fatherland is the

Despite claiming to be a republican in favour of an independent estate, Arana's political ideas can be defined as both a patriarchal and popular democracy, giving race a very important role in the formation of nationality:

*Sobre la idea de la pureza de la raza y su correspondencia con el idioma no se puede basar nada que tenga valor.*

*El nacionalismo vasco quiere basarse sobre la idea de la raza, así es de endeble y de raquítrico. Es una teoría de chapelchiquis.*

*El que no tiene los cuatro apellidos vascos no es vascongado, según nuestros nacionalistas.*

*Ya podemos los que no estamos en ese caso preparar la maleta para el momento en que triunfen los bizkaitarras. Lo extraño es que uno de los primeros que tendrá que largarse del país será uno de los jefes bizkaitarras: el Sr. Sota.*

*Los nacionalistas catalanes, más enterados que los vascongados y más cucos, no han hecho hincapié en esta idea de la raza: aquellos datos de los índices cefálicos del doctor Robert los abandonaron como una fantasía sin valor, y han ido a afirmar la nación a la manera que la afirmaba Renan, como un todo espiritual, con una idea, con un lenguaje y con una dirección.*

*Otros sostenes además de la raza tiene el nacionalismo, la religión, el idioma, la cultura, la historia, la simpatía y la antipatía, y, por último, el interés<sup>70</sup> (Baroja 2004, 34).*

The high number of immigrants arriving in the Basque Country from the rest of the Spanish territory might help explain the greater radicalism of Basque nationalists when compared to other nationalisms in Spain, although another important factor when explaining it might be the remains of a culture which showed the characteristics of their deeply rooted Catholic faith. This devotion was strongly criticised by Baroja in most of his works, in *Momentum Catastrophicum*, for instance, we read:

*Respecto a la supuesta religiosidad de los vascos, mayor que la del resto de los españoles, según opinión general, yo no la veo por ningún lado. El vasco no tiene inquietud religiosa alguna. Al*

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Catholic Church, and anything not of the Church is a usurper. Rome is the true capital for the ultramontane and the Holy Father the only true king, and if Spain cuts itself off from this city and this monarch, it will abhor them (Translation mine).

<sup>70</sup> Nothing of value can be based on the idea of the purity of the race and its correspondance to the language.

Basque nationalism wishes to found itself upon the idea of race, which is why it is so weak and feeble. It is the theory of the *chapelchiquis* (literally: Small Hats – small-minded Basques).

If you do not have four Basque surnames you are not a true Basque, according to our nationalists.

So those of us who don't, should start packing our cases in readiness for the moment the Bizkaitarras (Basque-speaking inhabitants of Biscay) triumph. The strange thing is that one of the first who'll have to leave the country is one of the top Bizkaitarras – Mr Sota. Catalan nationalists – who are more savvy and wily than the Basques – have not made so much of this idea of race. They abandoned Dr. Robert's data on cephalic indices as worthless fantasy, and have gone on to proclaim their nation in the same way Renan did, as a spiritual whole, with one idea, one language and one direction.

Other arguments apart from race include nationalism, religion, language, culture, history, sympathy, antipathy and, lastly, interest (Translation mine).

*aceptar su teocracia no hace más que aceptar una norma fácil, una disciplina cómoda para la vida*<sup>71</sup>  
(Baroja 2004, 55).

In this section we argue that – as Ernest Gellner states – European nationalism, particularly in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, seemed to depend increasingly for its definition upon cultural criteria:

The most violent phase of nationalism is that which accompanies early industrialism, and the diffusion of industrialism. An unstable social situation is created in which a whole set of painful cleavages tend to be superimposed on each other: there are sharp political, economic and educational inequalities. At the same time, new culture-congruent polities are emerging. In these conditions, if these multiple and superimposed inequalities also coincide, more or less, with ethnic and cultural ones, which are visible, conspicuous and easily intelligible, they impel the new emerging units to place themselves under ethnic banners (Gellner 1983, 111).

Dedication to the idea of culture provided a kind of generalized coverage, insuring a group's identity against external or internal threats of usurpation, assimilation, or denaturation; consequently, an important feature of Basque cultural Renaissance was the Basque language which had been gradually receding in the Basque Country since the 16<sup>th</sup> C. The decrease in the number of speakers of Basque seemed to be due mainly to the fact that it found a bigger difficulty than the Catalan language to assimilate the immigrants who were drawn to the Basque Country by the economic boom of the area. Baroja, however, gives different reasons for this decrease:

*[...] Respecto al posible empleo de los idiomas regionales en la vida moderna, no cabe duda que el más impropio para las necesidades actuales es el vascuence. Los demás, el catalán, el valenciano, el gallego, el bable, el caló mismo, como idiomas de sintaxis latina, sirven como el castellano o como el francés. El vascuence no, porque representa una mentalidad tan arcaica que es imposible amoldarla a la vida actual. Por eso retrocede, no porque nadie le haga la Guerra, sino porque no sirve para la vida*<sup>72</sup> (Baroja 2004, 44-45).

Surprisingly, in spite of the fact that Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities* pointed out that the arena of language often takes on a central role in the 'imagining' of nation and national identity as a community homogeneously shaped by a shared vernacular-as-destiny:

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<sup>71</sup> With reference to the supposed religiousness of the Basques, which general opinion holds to be greater than the rest of the Spanish, I for one cannot see it anywhere. The Basque has no religious concerns whatsoever. His acceptance of theocracy is nothing more than the acceptance of an easy rule, a comfortable discipline for life (Translation mine).

<sup>72</sup> Regarding the possible usage of regional languages in modern life, it is obvious that the most useless for everyday needs is Basque. The others, Catalan, Valencian, Galician, Bable, even Romany, are all based on Latin syntax and are just as useful as Spanish or French. Basque is not, because it represents an arcane mentality which is impossible to mold to life today. This is the reason for its slipping into disuse, not because a war is being waged against it, but because it has no use in modern life (Translation mine).

What the eye is to the lover – that particular, ordinary eye he or she is born with – language – whatever language history has made his or her mother-tongue – is to the patriot. Through that language, encountered at mother's knee, and parted with only at the grave, pasts are restored, fellowships are imagined, and futures dreamed (Anderson 2006, 154).

Arana gave race a predominant role over language in his doctrine:

*¿Qué es, pues, lo que respecto de la pureza de la raza se contiene en el programa nacionalista? Puede reducirse en los puntos siguientes:*

*1) Los extranjeros podrán establecerse en Bizcaya bajo la tutela de sus respectivos cónsules; pero no podrán naturalizarse en la misma. Respecto de los españoles, las Juntas Generales acordarán si habrían de ser expulsados, no autorizándoseles en los primeros años de independencia la entrada en territorio bizkaino, a fin de borrar más fácilmente toda huella que en el carácter, en las costumbres y en el idioma hubiera dejado su dominación.*

*2) La ciudadanía bizkaina pertenecerá por derecho natural y tradicional a las familias originarias de Bizcaya, y en general a las de raza euskeriana, por efecto de la confederación; y, por cesión del poder (Juntas Generales) constituido por aquéllas y éstas, y con las restricciones jurídicas y territoriales que señalara, a las familias mestizas euskeriano-extranjeras<sup>73</sup> (Reglamento redactado por Sabino Arana Goiri para 'Euskeldun-Batzokija' art. 199).*

Thus, as final remarks to this section, we would like to point out that nationalism has been particularly effective in the modern period precisely because it contains within itself some kind of metaphysical essentialism. Imperial nativism sought solace in time past or the problems of the present and often came up with the notion that present failure was the consequence of the decline of 'national character,' perhaps the most enduring and insubstantial creation of all nationalist mythologies. As a result, these insurgent nationalisms attempt to create a version of history for themselves in which their intrinsic essence has always manifested itself, thereby producing readings of the past that are as monolithic as that which they are trying to supplant. They are usually, as in Ireland, under the additional disadvantage that much of their past has been destroyed, silenced or erased; the story is, in effect, like that in Spain, the story of the fall of society as it was known.

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<sup>73</sup> What then, with respect to the purity of the race, does the nationalist agenda include? It can be simply expressed in the following points:

- 1) Foreigners may settle in Biscay under the tutelage of their respective consulate, but they will not be able to nationalise themselves. The local government (Juntas Generales) will decide in the case of Spaniards, agreeing as to whether or not they shall be expelled, not authorising their entry to Biscayan territory in the first years of independence, in order to erase all trace of their domination, be it character, traditions or language.
- 2) Basque citizenship will be granted by natural and traditional right to families originating from Biscay and the Basque race in general, by effect of the confederation, and including, by ceding the power (local government) constituted by the both above, and noting the legal and territorial restrictions, racially-mixed Basque-foreign families. (Regulation drafted by Sabino Arana Goiri for "Euskeldun-Batzokija" (Translation mine).

However, we argue that Irish Catholic folk memory, excluded and defeated was traditionally hostile to the state whereas this was not always true in the Basque Country, motherland of Pío Baroja.

The most long standing and powerful basis for Irish nationalism might be in the historical grievances of the Irish Catholic community; as we have seen, historically, since the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century until the 19<sup>th</sup> this community, an ethnic mixture comprising of Old English as well as Gaelic Irish, found itself dispossessed of land and excluded from political power, in favour of an administration based in England and a ruling class, landed and economic, largely composed of Protestant settlers from Britain. Nothing like this has ever existed in the Basque Country. If anything, ethnic Basques in the 19<sup>th</sup> century found themselves in a superior position to the workers from other parts of Spain who flocked to the region to work in the Basque Country's burgeoning industries. In fact, in the next section we will see that one aspect of early Basque nationalism, as articulated by its founder, Sabino Arana, in the late 1800s, was hostility to such immigrants, who could be derided as dirty, un-Basque and irreligious. Moreover, while in Ireland, Irish Catholic folk memory, being both excluded and defeated by the state, generally celebrated its hostility to Britain, until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this was simply not true in the Basque Country; many Basques of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century fought to protect the autonomy or *fueros* of their provinces, but they did so as Carlists, loyal to the 'traditionalist' branch of the monarchy in Madrid against the 'liberal' line. In this study we argue that the idea that the Basque Country was occupied and oppressed by Spain only really became a reality after the Spanish Civil War, when the Basque nationalists sided with the Spanish Republic against the right wing military uprising. With the victory of Franco's forces, the two 'traitor provinces' were harshly dealt with; many nationalists were executed and imprisoned and the Basque language was banned.

The point we want to make is that whereas in Ireland, particularly in Northern Ireland, where you stood on the national question was largely determined by your family's religion, origin

and class; in the Basque Country it has always been much more fluid – an outgrowth of this difference is that while nationalist conflict in Ireland could sometimes be described as a conflict between communities, this was never true in the Basque Country –, as it was and is an ideological conflict, running across linguistic and class lines, over what the Basque Country really means. In short, where the conflict in Ireland was sometimes between communities, in the Basque Country it was ideological. However, we also argue that if those are important differences, there are also intriguing parallels; both Ireland and the Basque Country are home to very old languages – Gaelic and Basque respectively – and in both places, the languages, neither of which have any relation to English or Spanish respectively, are associated very closely with a traditional rural culture and with national identity. Furthermore, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Basque and Irish, as well as the traditional customs that supported them, looked to be in deep trouble. In Ireland's case, by emigration and language shift in Irish speaking areas, in the case of Basque, by the advance of Spanish with the rise of industrialisation and the arrival of many thousands of Spanish speakers into the Basque Country although persecution of the language also became a factor under the Franco regime. The interesting thing is that the fear that national identity is under mortal threat is common to both Irish and Basque nationalism and at roughly the same time – from the 1890s onwards, the native language and also things like traditional sports – in the Irish case hurling, in the Basque pelota – became political symbols for national identity in a way they had never previously been.

In the next two points we will deal with race as it is one of the most important tenets of nationalism. On the other hand, it is also one of the most controversial issues when dealing with Baroja and his work and it might well be said to be the most crucial difference between Joyce and Baroja. Joyce's choice of Jewish Bloom as the hero of his epic speaks clearly of rejection of the idea of purity whereas Baroja's opinions on the Jews are deeply influenced by his political ideas.

### 2.4. Nationalism and racial difference.

As we have already mentioned, race aroused enormous interest in the Basque Country and in Ireland, which showed in the centuries of the Modern Age a special relation with blood purity. As for the Basque Country, the connection between the *Fueros* (the Basque privileges) and blood status was always direct: the Basque lineage, pure and noble, was a Christian lineage uncorrupted either by Jews or Moorish who had never inhabited their land. In fact, the *Fueros* seemed akin to Mr. Deasy in *Ulysses*, as they banned any kind of new Christians from the Basque Country:

- [...]Ireland, they say, has the honour of being the only country which never persecuted the jews. Do you know that? No. And do you know why?
- [...] Because she never let them in, Mr. Deasy said solemnly. (*U2*. 437-442)

This connection between blood purity and the Basques was to have far-reaching effects on contemporary nationalism; in the nationalist press of the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, for instance, it is easy to find articles that praise Drumont's anti-Semitic ideas, which insisted on race purity. Furthermore, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Larramendi already spoke of a '*raza vasca*,' using the terminology that was becoming popular in Europe and in the Basque Provinces we can even speak of an ethnic discrimination whose aim was to keep the foral privileges. It is not surprising, thus, that scholars such as Jon Juaristi have found in the literature of the *fueros* important anti-Semitic features. However, the most outstanding figure of the time is Joseph-Augustine Chaho – Republican, anti-Christian and defender of an esoteric deism that he identified as the primitive religion of the Basque Country – this author was crucial in the creation of the myths and legends which talk about the ancestral independence of the Basques and which influenced posterior writers.

Chaho played a similar role to that of James Macpherson in relation to the Basques: in 1760, James Macpherson published under the title *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, a compilation of fifteen poems, all of them short elegies on the death of Scottish warriors. This collection of poems had

enormous success as the Gaelic society seemed to have found a treasure that they were not willing to lose. In August 1760, Macpherson set off in search of the great Scottish epic and in 1762 he published *Fingal. An Ancient Epic Poem in Six Books, Together with several Other Poems composed by Ossian the Son of Fingal*. In this book, the narrative of the wars is combined with wretched love stories and early deaths; instead of focusing on heroism, the poems convey a feeling of melancholy which is emphasized by the detailed lyric fragments. In 1763, appeared *Temora. An Ancient Epic Poem in Eight Books, Together with several Other poems composed by Ossian the Son of Fingal*. Both poems, *Fingal* and *Temora*, were published together in 1765 under the title *The Works of Ossian*. The response from the Scottish elite was enthusiastic and the reception of the Ossian's poems in Europe at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was also favorable – being even described as a sample of the best primitive poetry by Herder. Yet, in England they were suspected of being a fraud from the beginning. Eventually, Hegel settled the question stating that the poems were modern as they did not recreate an epic universe but a novelistic one; what's more, he found the characters to be real individuals and not metaphors of the community as was the case in epics.

In Ireland the influence of the Ossian poems was both complex and ambiguous. On the one hand, the Irish writers deemed the image of the Ossian society too primitive to be worth imitating. On the other hand, they considered the Ossian heroes to be their own. As a result, they launched accusations of plagiarism and usurpation at Macpherson.

According to Irish scholars, *Fingal* and *Ossian* were nothing but illegitimate versions of two of the Fianna heroes, Fionn Mac Cumhaill and Oisín, who had become popular in the Irish Risorgimento. As we know, during the Irish Revival, Irish writers seized upon all that was denied in official culture – holy wells, pagan festivals, folk anecdotes, popular lore – and wrought these things into high art. Broadly speaking, they sought to reconnect realism and romanticism in a single

moment. As an example we may use Joyce's Citizen's nationalist account of history in which Revival Historiography can be appreciated; undeniably, the fondness for heroics is still there:

Twenty thousand of them died in the coffinships. But those that came to the land of free remember the land of bondage. And they will come again and with a vengeance, no cravens, the sons of Granuaile, the champions of Kathleen ni Houlihan. (*U*12.1372-75)

and the same grandly improbable vision of the future:

So off they started about Irish sports and shoneen games the like of lawn tennis and about hurley and putting the stone and racy of the soil and building up a nation once again and all to that (*U* 12. 889-91).

Clearly, Joyce was well aware of the connections binding the emergent nationalist culture to revival culture – the relationship between the two cultures partly resembled that between Revival culture and English culture. The demands were repeatedly for purity. However, the reality, again and again, was interinvolvement. In fact, Kenan Malik's theory seems to have made his way into Joyce's work as he made the ideological issues of race and empire be overtly and consciously layered into each page of *Finnegans Wake* to an astonishing degree. Malik argued that racial discourse and theories of racial difference arose in opposition to the Universalist ideas of the Enlightenment, and gained their plausibility from 'the persistence of differences of rank, class and peoples in a society that had accepted the concept of equality' (Malik 1996, 70). As the nineteenth century unfolded, the politically dominant classes appropriated science (particularly the evolutionary theory) to support the idea of a natural order underlying social and economic inequalities, though nothing about the dynamic of science itself necessitated racial conclusions. Thus, 'the discourse of race did not arise out of the categories of Enlightenment thought and the social organisation of capitalism' (Malik 1996, 225). The idea of race applied initially to class differences within European society, but was later applied to differences between Europeans and others, 'and hence became marked by colour differences' (Malik 1996, 8). In the twentieth century, racial theory was largely discredited by its association with Nazism, and the word 'racism' entered the political vocabulary as a term of

criticism, but the defeat of the Nazis led only to a recasting, not the destruction, of a belief in immutable differences among groups of human beings. This belief has been transferred to contemporary notions of culture. As depicted by Malik, twentieth-century anthropological thought mistakenly divided humanity into integrated, holistic cultures that must be understood as static; such cultures must not be tampered with, since the nature of their harmonious functioning requires that they must 'survive intact' (Malik 1996, 156). Malik saw this tendency in anthropology as another expression along with the idea of race, of 'a particularist, relativist, and anti-humanist philosophy' that has rejected Enlightenment universalism (Malik 1996, 7). He opposed the 'politics of difference' – the identification of competing social groups based on shared history and a sense of identity – believing it sets back the struggle for political and economic equality. As Len Platt argues in *Joyce, Race and Finnegans Wake*, representations of racial and imperial/colonial relationships have eventually come to be recognised as one of the central and structuring topics of the *Wake*, alongside such fundamental *Wakean* building blocks and influences such as Vico, Egyptology, the topography of Dublin, the sleeping body, Shakespeare and so on:

At the very least, however, the notebooks confirm the importance of placing the *Wake* in a diversity of histories and, because of the many modern and European sources that Joyce utilised, help to develop a sensitivity to the fact that *Finnegans Wake* was constructed and published not just during a critical phase of Ireland's colonial/postcolonial history but also at a turning point in the history of both the modernising project and of racism. [...]Racial identity had never been more vital, nor the implications of being of the 'wrong' race more grave (Platt 2007, 9).

In short, it is the very nature of *Finnegans Wake* to call into question all monologic claims to a unitary authority, revealing all essences to be multiple, dependent on their opposites/doubles/twins/fetters; as we know, all attempts to assert the Self by denying the Other are problematized as unstable in the multipleness of the *Wake*, a point underscored by the doubleness of everything in the book, the omnipresence of Twins for example. The peculiar language of Joyce's *Wakean* text defies the possibility of a 'correct' reading in order to demonstrate how impoverishingly

reductive and ‘authoritative’ interpretation is. However, woven into the very texture and fabric of Joyce’s works are the discourses and issues of British imperialism and of colonial resistance in every specific detail; in *Ulysses*, for instance, Joyce had already made the relation between race and nationhood the subtext of the ‘Aeolus’ episode – nationalism and the struggle for Irish autonomy from English usurpation, form very much the underlying fabric of the language in the newspaper office. An episode about rhetoric, ‘Aeolus’ is in a sense a dialogic and rhetorical discussion about Nation (and its corollaries, nationality and nationalism), setting up the issues that will erupt later in ‘Cyclops:’

- A recently discovered fragment of Cicero, professor MacHugh answered with pomp of tone. *Our lovely land.*
- Whose land? Mr. Bloom said simply.
- Most pertinent question, the professor said between his chews. With an accent on the whose (*U7. 270-74*).

We argue that Joyce’s reason for rejecting Stephen in favour of Bloom is that unlike Stephen, Bloom represents possibilities, possible change, even a possible future – Bloom’s position as both insider and outsider is a principal source of his sanity, openness, moderation, and psychological resilience. For Joyce, in the Dublin of 1904, as Jew and ‘anythingarian’ Bloom is as close as it is possible to get to a truly independent mind. Bloom’s conflicts reveal how European discourse about ‘the Jew’ subverted the mythic, ahistorical humanism at the centre of Modernist aesthetics and he functions partly as a corrective to what Joyce takes to be certain limitations to Irish culture that are the legacy of the colonial past. Chief among these is the logic of the new nationalist anti-Semitism. Griffith argued on Saturday 23 April 1904 in *The United Irishman*, for instance, that Jews were people who came to live amongst the Irish, but who never became Irish: the Jew, he claimed, ‘remains among us, always and ever an alien.’ Thinking in terms of polar opposites or fixed categories is a habit that O’Grady, Griffith and Joyce’s Citizen all have in common, ‘- Sinn Fein! says the citizen. Sinn fein amhaim! The friends we love are by our side and the foes we hate before

us' (*U12.523-4*). This latter sentence is a startlingly stark and clear statement of binary opposition and essentialising; of the need to demarcate the self and the other as polar enemies marked by absolute difference. Ironically, the sentence is not Cusack's but a quotation from a sentimental Thomas Moore's song, which goes to show to what extent the Irish nationalist logic of a binary opposition had been already systematically internalized into the popular culture discourse. Bloom's worst offence by far is thus his Jewish otherness – he is not included in 'Ourselves alone,' and his mere existence in Ireland challenges the cut-of-nation fantasy. Throughout the day, and above all, in 'Cyclops,' in the Catholic community, Bloom encounters the contemporary betrayal of the Irish-Jewish analogy. He comes up repeatedly against the anti-Semitism of the new nationalism, '-Those are nice things, says the citizen, coming over here to Ireland filling the country with bugs.' (*U12.1141-42*). He likewise confronts the nationalist identification of the Jew with the colonial invader or the colonial exploiter evident in the writings of Griffith, Moran and others since the Citizen's one-eyed logic is unable to distinguish the English invaders from Bloom, an Irishman born in Ireland, '-The strangers, says the citizen. Our own fault. We let them come in, we brought them in. the adulteress and her paramount brought the Saxon robbers here.' (*U12. 1156-58*). The Citizen has only one type for the incoming arrival or alien intruder, and it is colonial. It is thus no accident that the two principal objects of the Citizen's vituperations in 'Cyclops' are Jews on the one hand, and British imperialism on the other. Even more ironic is the fact that they themselves are all foreigners, having been descended from Celts, Danes, Saxons and others who each in their turn had once been 'strangers in our house.' This is exactly the same logic as that of the Ulsterman Deasy's attack on women:

-I am happier than you are, he said. We have committed many errors and many sins. A woman brought sin into the world. For a woman who was no better than she should be, Helen, the runaway wife of Menelaus, ten years the Greeks made war on Troy. A faithless wife first brought the strangers to our shore here, MacMurrough's wife and her leman, O'Rourke, prince of Breffni. A woman too brought Parnell low. Many errors, many failures but not the one sin. I am a struggler now at the end of my days. But I will fight for the right till the end (*U2. 389-97*).

In its combination of racism, xenophobia and misogyny – for all these are binary, totalizing structures which mirror each other, whether espoused by Celticist radicals like Cusack or by pro-English Ulstermen like Deasy, all of these binary structures get focused in the person of the Citizen and his ideology – and Bloom like Joyce refuses to be sucked into their trap. On the one hand, the Irishmen with their nationalistic fervor are able to view themselves in solidarity with Zulu and Congolese blacks under similar colonial servitude to European powers; on the other hand, the irony is that, under the binary trap of a mirrored system of racist hierarchies and ethnocentrism, these same Dubliners nevertheless can slur Bloom with derogatory racist remarks, just as Griffith could approve of black slavery. As we can see, the ability to imagine otherness here is a very limited imagining. The Dubliners are doing to Bloom precisely what the English had done to them: the dreadful irony of such a blind and mirrored binarity of nationalistic ethnocentrism is precisely Joyce's point. Joyce's dramatic irony is that these Irishmen can only appropriate this notion of an Irish/Jewish analogy with conviction only insofar as it serves their own narrow purposes, which are those of ethnocentric and nationalistic hierarchy mirroring that of their oppressors, a binary trap in which they wish simply to replace the English conquerors with themselves in the privileged position – for, even as they repeatedly invoke the Judaic/ Irish analogy, they continue to mistreat and derogate the actual Jewish 'other' in their midst with the same old pejorative, ethnocentric and xenophobic categories of racial impurity and absolute difference. Whereas the empowering analogy should allow the possibility of mutual learning from the experience of a shared servitude among different peoples, instead the Nationalist agenda erases that experience from the national consciousness only to replace it with another imperium that would again occlude or write out ethnic and cultural difference.

In this section we argue that although it is commonly accepted that nations require plurality, plurality dilutes all strict standards of differentiation. For instance, the more successful the

British Empire became, the less it was racially and linguistically pure ‘British.’ Indeed, we show that from almost any starting point, national definitions include more than they exclude, precisely because of the internal contradictions of the term ‘nation’ itself, which, as H.G. Wells quote ‘one’s true nationality is mankind’ shows, can sustain an almost self-annulling level of generality. As a result, the concept of ‘nation’ finds its meaning on the broadest, rather than on the most detailed level, even as it pretends to furnish us with the most specific segregations. In his essay ‘*What is a Nation?*’ Ernest Renan argues that brutality is the means to unity:

The essence of a nation is that all individuals have many things in common, and also that they have forgotten many things. As forgetting, I would even go so far as to say historical error, is a crucial factor in the formation of a nation, which is why progress in historical studies often constitutes a danger for [the principle of] nationalities. Indeed, historical enquiry brings to light deeds of violence which took place at the origin of all political formations, even of those whose consequences have been altogether beneficial. Unity is always effected by means of brutality (Renan 1990, 12).

As we know, the art of ‘Cyclops’ in the Linati schema<sup>74</sup> is ‘surgery,’ and, in *Ulysses*, Bloom gets into both the Citizen’s wrath and his own identity crisis. The Citizen can only answer Bloom’s

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<sup>74</sup> This schema was drawn up by Joyce around 1920 and sent to Carlo Linati, a friend and translator into Italian of Joyce’s *Exiles*, for his personal use, though Joyce soon found himself being badgered by many others who had heard of the plan’s existence. In his letter of September 21, 1920 enclosing the plan, Joyce wrote to Linati:

‘As to Mr Deasy’s suggestion I think that in view of the enormous bulk and the more than enormous complexity of my damned monster-novel it would be better to send him a sort of summary - key - skeleton - scheme (for home use only)...I have given only ‘Schlagworte’ [catchwords] in my scheme but I think you will understand it all the same. It is the epic of two races (Israel-Ireland) and at the same time the cycle of the human body as well as a little story of a day (life). The character of Ulysses has fascinated me ever since boyhood. I started writing a short story for *Dubliners* fifteen years ago but gave it up. For seven years I have been working at this book - blast it! It is also a kind of encyclopaedia. My intention is not only to render the myth *sub specie temporis nostri* [in the light of our own times] but also to allow each adventure (that is, every hour, every organ, every art being interconnected and interrelated in the somatic scheme of the whole) to condition and even to create its own technique. Each adventure is so to speak one person although it is composed of persons - as Aquinas relates of the heavenly hosts’ (Joyce 1975, 271).

Telemachus-Scene: The Tower-Hour: 8 am- Organ: - Art: Theology-Colour: White, gold-Symbol: Hair-Technic: Narrative (young)-Correspondences: Stephen - Telemachus, Hamlet; Buck Mulligan - Antinous; Milkwoman - Mentor/Nestor-Scene: The School-Hour: 10 am-Organ - Art: History-Colour: Brown-Symbol: Horse-Technic: Catechism (personal)-Correspondences: Deasy -Mentor; Sargent - Pisistratus; Mrs O’Shea - Helen -Proteus-Scene: The Strand-Hour: 11 am-Organ -Art: Philology-Colour: Green-Symbol: Tide- Technic: Monologue (male)-Correspondences: Proteus - Primal Matter; Kevin Egan: Menelaus; Cocklepicker: Megapenthus Calypso-Scene: The House-Hour: 8 am-Organ: Kidney-Art: Economics-Colour: Orange-Symbol: Nymph-Technic: Narrative (mature)-Correspondences: Calypso - The Nymph; Duglacz: The Recall; Zion - Ithaca- Lotuseaters-Scene: The Bath-Hour: 10 am-Organ: Genitals-Art: Botany, Chemistry-Colour: -Symbol: Eucharist-Technic: Narcissism-Correspondences: Lotuseaters - The Cabhorses, Communicants, Soldiers, Eunuchs, Bather, Watchers of Cricket- Hades-Scene: The Graveyard-Hour: 11 am-Organ: Heart-Art: Religion-Colour: White, Black-Symbol: Caretaker-Technic: Incubism-Correspondences: Dodder, Grand and Royal Canals, Liffey - The 4 Rivers; Cunningham - Sisyphus; Father Coffey - Cerberus; Caretaker - Hades; Daniel O’Connell - Hercules; Dignam - Elpenor; Parnell - Agamemnon; Menton - Ajax- Aeolus-Scene: The Newspaper-Hour: 12 noon-Organ: Lungs-Art: Rhetoric-Colour: Red-Symbol: Editor-Technic: Enthymemic-Correspondences: Crawford - Aeolus; Incest - Journalism; Floating Island - Press- Lestrygonians-Scene: The Lunch-Hour: 1 pm-Organ: Esophagus-Art: Architecture-Colour: --Symbol: Constables-Technic: Peristaltic-Correspondences: Antiphates - Hunger; The Decoy - Food; Lestrygonians - Teeth- Scylla and Charybdis-Scene: The Library-Hour: 2 pm-Organ: The Brain-Art: Literature-Colour: --Symbol: Stratford, London-Technic: Dialectic-Correspondences: The Rocks - Aristotle, Dogma, Stratford; The Whirlpool - Plato, Mysticism, London; Ulysses - Socrates, Jesus, Shakespeare-Wandering Rocks-Scene: The Streets-Hour: 3 pm-Organ: Blood-Art: Mechanics-Colour: --Symbol: Citizens-Technic: Labyrinth-Correspondences: Bosphorus - Liffey; European Bank - Viceroy; Asiatic Bank - Conmee; Symplegades - Groups of Citizens- Sirens-Scene: The Concert Room-Hour: 4 pm-Organ: Ear-Art: Music-Colour: --Symbol: Barmaids-Technic: Fuga per canonem-Correspondences: Sirens - Barmaids; Isle - Bar-Cyclops-Scene: The Tavern-Hour: 5 pm-Organ: Muscle-Art: Politics-Colour: --Symbol: Fenian-Technic: Gigantism-Correspondences: Noman - I; Stake - Cigar; Challenge - Apotheosis- Nausicaa-Scene: The

reasoned arguments by resorting to chants and slogans, -‘A nation? says Bloom. A nation is the same people living in the same place’ (U12.1422-23). Bloom’s confused attempts to answer the question of what precisely defines a ‘nation’ emphasizes the idea that a nation is an ideology; and, in his case, the implication in turn, presents a central tension of the era’s Jewish question, an issue which we will develop further in the next point.

### 2.5. Independence movements and racism.

In this section we show that Joyce was born into the liberal 19<sup>th</sup> century atmosphere in which the subject of ‘the Jew’ pervaded Christian doctrine as well as cultural, scientific, and political discourse. Shortly after becoming an apostate from Catholicism, Joyce encountered fully the Continent’s racialist/scientific discourse about biologically inherited ‘Jewish nature.’ By the time he began to compose *Ulysses*, his knowledge of culturally sanctioned myths about ‘the Jew’ had reached a boiling point and in manipulating Bloom’s conflicts, Joyce acknowledged that such stereotypes were based on and fuelled by the dominant ideologies of his world: pseudo-scientific racism, Christian theologies, Church politics, aggressive nationalism, liberal culture-worship, and imperialist economic doctrine.

On the other hand, we also see that nineteenth-century scholarly discussions of Judaism were often set in the context of the broader ‘verities’ of Orientalism and one result of this placement was a bifurcated version of ‘the Jew.’ On one level, Judaism as religion found a new popularity as a means to study ancient ‘Hebraism,’ now cast as the foundation of one pole of ‘European culture.’

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Rocks-Hour: 8 pm-Organ: Eye, Nose-Art: Painting-Colour: Grey, Blue-Symbol: Virgin-Technic: Tumescence, Detumescence-Correspondences: Phaeacia - Star of the Sea; Gerty – Nausicaa- Oxen of the Sun-Scene: The Hospital-Hour: 10 pm-Organ: Womb-Art: Medicine-Colour: White-Symbol: Mothers-Technic: Embryonic development-Correspondences: Hospital - Trinacria; Nurses - Lampethe, Phaethusa; Horne – Helios- Circe-Scene: The Brothel-Hour: 12 midnight-Organ: Locomotor Apparatus-Art: Magic-Colour: --Symbol: Whore-Technic: Hallucination-Correspondences: Circe – Bella –Eumaeus-Scene: The Shelter-Hour: 1 am-Organ: Nerves-Art: Navigation-Colour: --Symbol: Sailors-Technic: Narrative (old)-Correspondences: Skin the Goat - Eumaeus; Sailor - Ulysses Pseudangelos; Corley - Melanthius-Ithaca-Scene: The House-Hour: 2 am-Organ: Skeleton-Art: Science-Colour: --Symbol: Comets-Technic: Catechism (impersonal)-Correspondences: Eurymachus - Boylan; Suitors - Scruples; Bow – ReasonPenelope-Scene: The Bed-Hour: - -Organ: Flesh-Art: --Colour: --Symbol: Earth-Technic: Monologue (female)-Correspondences: Penelope - Earth; Web - Movement

On another level, ‘the Jew’ was positioned as an inferior racial type and economic subversive, untrustworthy as a citizen. More decisively than the first, the second representation drew its strength solely from stereotype and of course fostered prejudice in both the educated and working classes throughout Europe; in truth, some of the determinant factors for European anti-Semitism stem from the Romantic literary current which gave rise to the Independentist movements. As we have seen, this Romantic current showed an interest in the characteristics specific to people and gave way to an interest in race and in tracing the roots of the past.

The Independentist movements followed one another incessantly during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Balkans and Central Europe. As a result of this situation, the Jewish question also appeared in the works of many European intellectuals who projected an image of the Jew as enemy of the national essence – writers such as Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Gogol or Lermontov can serve as examples. Nevertheless, this is better appreciated in German literature where the image of the Jew as enemy of the German essence appeared at the time the Great Prussia was being conceived; Wagner published the essay *Richard Wagner, das Judentum in Musik, eine Abwehr* in 1869 and Nietzsche dealt with the question in several of his works, such as *Beyond Good and Evil: Prelude to a Philosophy of the Future*; *Daybreak: Thoughts on the Prejudices of Morality* and *Human, All Too Human: A Book for Free Spirits*. Furthermore, the German History Movement – defenders of the unification of Germany – also produced abundant anti-Semitic literature: Wilhelm Marr published *The Victory of Judaism over Germanism* in 1872, and some years earlier, in 1854, *Traité sur la inégalité des races humaines*, written by the Count of Gobineau, had had enormous impact on German universities, in 1900 Houston Stewart Chamberlain published *The Foundations of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, where he identified the Aryan race with the German people and blamed the Jews for all the

miseries in Occident; in short, Treiscke's celebrated statement '*Die Juden Sind Uncler Ungluck*' can summarize the general feeling of the time.

Obviously, Spain faced the Jewish issue conditioned by the historical memory that pervaded the Spanish mind. Although prior to this moment they had just felt attracted to the issue in a sporadic way – mainly through travel books like Borrow's in 1837 – the evolution of the Jewish question worried the Spanish intellectuals (Borrow 2006, 115-32). It is in 1869 that the Jewish question presented to them all the characteristics of a historical controversy and they followed the same three currents of thought that were also appreciated in the Spanish public opinion: some claimed for a new vision of Spanish history and of the Jewish past and started a Revisionist movement, making harsh criticism of European anti-Semitism at the same time – their main figure was Emilio Castelar, but other writers such as Galdós were deeply influenced by him and by the situation the Jews were living and depicted the situation in some of his works, among which *Aita Tettauen*<sup>75</sup> can serve as an example; others defended partial aspects of the Jewish question, while condemning European anti-Semitism and the contribution of the Jews to the Spanish culture. These intellectuals justified the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and the Inquisition stating that they were the result of the historical context of the time – their main figures were Valera, M. Pelayo, E. Pardo Bazán and Cánovas. Finally, some artists linked to Fundamentalist Catholic sectors and to Absolutist trends justified anti-Semitism, defended the Inquisition and the expulsion of the Jews from a National-Catholic point of view – the most outstanding figures in this group were Ortí y Lara, Tineo de Heredia, Casabó y Pagés.

Which of these groups did Baroja belong to? It is difficult to state; Baroja was the eternal non-conformist, the out-and-out anarchist, and as a result, we find enormous difficulty in linking him

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<sup>75</sup> *Episodios Nacionales*, 1905.

to any ideology. Nevertheless, as we have seen, this does not mean that he did not have clear opinions on isolated issues. Quite the contrary, he took his stand and kept to it at all costs. In short, Baroja was the wandering individualist who can't be categorized anywhere but who pigeonholes everybody. He destroyed everything but keeping a clear and concise stand, and, what's more, he wrote to put it on record. The Basque novelist constantly vented his spleen on Christianity, launching his attacks mainly at the Catholic Church and the Jesuits:

ARBELAIZ

*La verdad es que esos cristianos son hábiles. Se apoderan de todo y tienen cada vez más importancia. ¡Qué iglesias! ¡Qué conventos! ¡Qué copas de oro! ¡Qué ropas! En cambio, nosotros, los que permanecemos fieles a Urtzi, nos contentamos con una capa de lana y una corona de muérdago*<sup>76</sup> (Baroja 1986, 52).

or at Communism:

*Yo creo que mucha de la intransigencia, de la crueldad y de la pedantería de los jóvenes actuales procede de la campaña de los maestros de escuela que han propagado el comunismo*<sup>77</sup> (Baroja 1939, 153).

although he criticized even more harshly the Socialist beginnings of Karl Marx and the way this doctrine was accomplished in Russia:

*Karl Marx es el enemigo de la cultura, de la religión y del arte, de todo lo que es noble y bello en la civilización*<sup>78</sup> (Baroja 1939, 125).

He maintained an especially hard line against Judaism, the only race he systematically attacked in his novels and articles:

*Se ve entre los judíos una facultad señalada para la economía y la banca. ¿Puede ser eso sólo cultura? No lo sabemos. Yo creo que no. Que ha debido impregnar ya el organismo y modificar células nerviosas cerebrales y medulares*<sup>79</sup> (Baroja 1939, 202).

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<sup>76</sup> The truth is that these Christians are good. They take over everything and have become increasingly important What churches! What convents! What golden chalices! What garments! Instead, those of us who remain faithful to Urtzi are content with a woollen cloak and a crown of mistletoe (Translation mine).

<sup>77</sup> I believe that a lot of the intransigence, cruelty and pedantry of today's youth comes from the campaigning school teachers spreading communism (Translation mine).

<sup>78</sup> Karl Marx is the enemy of culture, religion and art, of all that is noble and beautiful in civilisation (Translation mine).

<sup>79</sup> Amongst the Jews one observes a notable faculty for economics and banking. Is it only culture? We do not know. I think not. Their organisms must have been impregnated, the nerve cells in their brains and spines must have been altered (Translation mine).

It is undeniable that Baroja's work is full of anti-Semitic references. Furthermore, we might argue that he is the Spanish writer who has so far shown a deeper and more significant aversion to Jews and Judaism. Nevertheless and in spite of the fact that Sender pointed out that Baroja was in all probability, the only writer in his day who had racist interests, the Basque writer was not an exception as the concept of race had gained enormous prestige in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century:

*Racismo, en sentido restringido, es una doctrina 'científica' que afirma la determinación biológica hereditaria de las capacidades intelectuales y morales del individuo, y la división de los grupos humanos en razas, diferenciadas por caracteres físicos asociados a los intelectuales y morales, hereditarios e inmutables. Afirma también la superioridad intelectual y moral de unas razas sobre otras, superioridad que se mantiene con la pureza racial y se arruina con el mestizaje. Este tipo de racismo, cuyo modelo es el nazi, conduce a defender el derecho natural de las razas superiores a imponerse sobre las inferiores. Pero también podemos considerar el racismo de un modo más amplio, como hace Juan Aranzadi siguiendo a Taguieff, definiéndolo como toda actitud sociocéntrica que separa el grupo propio del ajeno, y que considera que ambos están constituidos por esencias hereditarias e inmutables que hacen de los otros, de los ajenos, seres inasimilables y amenazadores. Esta concepción de los demás conduce a su segregación, discriminación, persecución, expulsión o exterminio. El racismo sería así una actitud, que puede apoyarse en ideas científicas, pero también en ideas religiosas, o en meras leyendas o sentimientos tradicionales. Se distinguirían así tres etapas en la historia del racismo occidental: la precientífica, la racialista (basada en la concepción científica de la raza), que abarca el siglo XIX y el XX hasta Hitler, y la actual posracialista, que se justifica en las doctrinas genéticas y en las diferencias étnico-culturales<sup>80</sup> (Alvarez Chillida 2002, 216).*

In this section we maintain that the tradition of scientific racism – Thierry, Edwards, Renan, Gobineau, Michelet, and other scholars, scientists, historians and explorers – created a tradition of fascination with primitive peoples and savage societies in which, whether the treatise was one of pure fantasy or of conscientious study, repeatedly ‘white races were, needless to say, far superior to the others, especially in intelligence and the instinct of order’ (Curtis 1968, 38). This research

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<sup>80</sup> Racism, in a narrow sense, is a “scientific” doctrine which affirms the hereditary, biological determiners of the intellectual and moral capacities of the individual, and the division of human groups into races, differentiated by the physical characteristics associated with the intellect and morality which are themselves hereditary and immutable. It also claims the intellectual and moral superiority of some races over others, a superiority which is maintained with racial purity and is ruined by crossbreeding. This type of racism, on the Nazi model, leads to a defence of the natural right of superior races to prevail upon those of lower races. However, we can also consider racism in a wider fashion, as does Juan Aranzadi after Taguieff, defining it as any socio-centric attitude which separates this group from that group, and which believes that both groups are composed of hereditary and immutable essences which make that group, the others, a group of unassimilable, threatening beings. This view of others leads to their segregation, discrimination, persecution, expulsion or extermination. This racism is thus an attitude which can find support in scientific ideas, and also religious ideas, mere legends or traditional feelings. We can distinguish then three stages in the history of Western racism: the pre-scientific; the racialist (based on the scientific concept of race) which covers the nineteenth and twentieth centuries until Hitler; and the current post-racialism stage which justifies its stance with genetic doctrines and ethno-cultural differences (Translation mine).

aroused an interest in scientists and artists alike, and we can state that Joyce had read both Ernest Renan and Michelet, [...] ‘About the nature of women he read in Michelet’ (*U3*. 167).

Benjamin Disraeli’s *Theses on the Philosophy of History* which might be summarized in the formula: ‘All is race; there is no other truth,’ resonated throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century and a good part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and historians such as Michael Banton, Bauman and Malik have proved that there is a very real sense in saying that for much of the modern period, ‘to think racially was to be modern and scientific’ (Banton 1998, 4). However, – quoting Renan – we must state that the study of race has no applications in politics:

Discussions of race are interminable, because philologically-minded historians and physiologically-minded anthropologists interpret the term in two totally different ways. For the anthropologists, race has the same meaning as in zoology; it serves to indicate real descent, a blood relation. However, the study of language and of history does not lead to the same divisions as does physiology. [...] Race, as we historians understand it, is therefore something which is made and unmade. The study of race is of crucial importance for the scholar concerned with the history of humanity. It has no applications, however, in politics. The instinctive consciousness which presided over the construction of the map of Europe took no account of race, and the leading nations of Europe are nations of essentially mixed blood (Renan 1990, 14-15).

Who qualifies as Irish? What is Ireland? What does it mean to be Irish? What is a nation? These were crucial questions which Bloom’s mental observations about himself and the ‘Italian’ Nannetti invoke. They form a subtext of *Ulysses* evoking the controversy then raging in Ireland regarding who would qualify as being ‘truly’ Irish. This was an issue frequently discussed in Arthur Griffith’s *United Irishman*, articulating the Celticist debate in the Nationalist revival – in which the racial purists argued that ‘only Gaels’ were truly Irish, as opposed to the more liberal viewpoint that any ‘Irish-born man’ should be considered Irish:

It is interesting that the purist position would deny the distinction ‘Irish’ to many outstanding Irish-born people, including Swift, Sheridan, and Burke, Grattan and the members of his Parliament, Wolfe Tone and most of the United Irishmen, Parnell, Yeats and Synge, the Irish-born Italian Nannetti, and, of course, the Irish-born Bloom (Gifford 1989, 130).

Joyce found such arguments for racial purity ridiculous; he had written to his brother Stanislaus from Trieste that he would consider himself a Nationalist if it weren't for the Celticist insistence on the Irish language – and if Griffith's newspaper weren't – in Joyce's words – 'educating the people of Ireland on the old pap of racial hatred' (Joyce 1966, 187).

Unfortunately, not only Griffith was educating people on racial hatred, from the early 30s onwards the idea of usury had provided Pound with a master key, capable of unveiling all history and exposing all fraud. It had given him an instant understanding of capitalism, imperialism and international finance, and enabled him to unmask their primary Jewish masters. It had also enabled him to understand at a glance how all the parts of Europe had been in steady decline since the Middle Ages, and how the decline was directly attributable to the Jews:

The sartorial tenor of Pound's political writing is, by contrast, aggressively suggestive of belts and toe-caps. Some of it, in prose and verse, seems to have been written with a knuckle-duster. His language often smells of the gang and the gutter. When he disagreed with someone he was not above simply dismissing his opponent as a Jew, yid, or kike. There was no need actually to be Jewish to come in for his treatment. There were non-Jewish kikes too, like Roosevelt. He even suspected Eliot's Christianity as being a Jewish infection, and indeed Milton's too (Witcombe 108).

As a young poet, Pound had sought to generate an avant-garde which would resist the lethal amnesia of contemporary mass culture. But as his radical aesthetics increasingly gave way to authoritarian politics, an admonitory tale was revealed. It appeared to critics, especially after the Second World War, that Pound's later writing had become fatally involved in the very 'national phrases and public emotionalities' (Pound 1971, 91) which he had earlier identified as hostile to intelligent, responsible art. Pound's final, humiliating incarceration would seem to offer a fitting rebuke to modernist hubris, which – according to Emer Nolan in *James Joyce and Nationalism* – seems to have been assimilated by James Joyce:

For Joyce was certainly his match in erudition and craftsmanship, and his vast allusive range suggested an equivalent respect for traditional high culture. Yet he did not mourn for a lost organic order, nor allow himself to be seduced by the charisma of totalitarian authority; instead, his texts could read as

celebrating urban life, happily raiding the resources of modern technology both for subject matter and stylistic or typographical play. Here, then, was a modernism which did not protest against the conditions which made it possible, nor brood anxiously about its own significance and necessity. [...] Joyce seemed to prove that exciting, experimental art did not necessarily raise difficult political questions, even in modern age (Nolan 1994, 1-2).

As for Baroja, in this section we argue that in his novels, the appearance of a Jew also became an unmistakable sign of either manifest or suggested wickedness. To Baroja's mind, no Jew was good and he even used the term Jewish to refer to any kind of evil; looking like a Jew was indeed an ignominy, a repulsive sign of the fact that the character was not as good as he seemed. His obsession was such that he even took the trouble to explain step by step why the Jews felt such hatred against anything which was not Semitic – according to Baroja the Jew bears historical malice toward Europe:

*El judío tiene un fondo de rencor contra Europa, considera que el europeo le ha ofendido, y entra con placer en todo lo que pueda desacreditar nuestro continente. Así se le ve figurar en el teatro, en la novela y en el cine erótico, en el cubismo, en las falsificaciones y en la legitimación del homosexualismo con Freud y sus discípulos*<sup>81</sup> (Baroja 1993, 54).

this happens because they are not so religious as they used to be, '*El judío actual no es ya el antiguo israelita practicante y escrupuloso; es, en parte, escéptico de muchas cosas menos de su raza*<sup>82</sup>' (Baroja 1993, 54), what's more, the Jew sees in Marxism their revenge on history: '*El sentimiento de la raza hace que los judíos vean en el comunismo su venganza y la posibilidad de su triunfo*<sup>83</sup>' (Baroja 1993, 54). Furthermore, the Jews have also let Marxism control and dominate Russia:

*Este fondo de odio semítico contra Europa, y el deseo de que se hunda, ha dado un carácter de continuidad al marxismo y ha hecho que no se descomponga ni se degenere. De ahí esas consignas de*

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<sup>81</sup> The Jew holds a deep grudge against Europe and believes that Europe has offended him and takes great pleasure in all which might discredit our continent. This is why he is portrayed as he is in the theatre and in novels, in erotic cinema and in Cubism, in forgeries and in the legitimization of homosexuality by Freud and his disciples (Translation mine).

<sup>82</sup> The Jew today is no longer the ancient Israelite and scrupulous practitioner; he is now, in part, sceptical of many things, much less his race (Translation mine).

<sup>83</sup> The feeling of race makes the Jews look to Communism for their revenge and the possibility of their triumph (Translation mine).

*crueledad brutal que ha mandado Rusia a los rojos de España. El comunista ruso, casi siempre judío, ha querido comprometer a sus camaradas españoles incitándoles al crimen para que de esta manera no se puedan volver atrás. El jefe o jefecillo sociales o comunista de España, aleccionado por la predicación del rencor ha ido seguramente donde pensaba ir*<sup>84</sup>(Baroja 1993, 54).

Even more, Tsar Nicolas, who was a kind ruler, was assassinated by a Jew, ‘*Los judíos provocaron la muerte horrorosa del zar Nicolás (un hombre tímido, bondadoso y débil), y de su familia y el director de la matanza fue un judío*<sup>85</sup>’ (Baroja 1993, 55). In short, the Jews want to conquer Europe:

*El comunismo es hoy la gran cruzada que la raza judía hace contra el mundo europeo, y su cultura con un fin de conquista. En Francia, en Suiza y en Alemania se ve en los judíos, aún más entre los más ricos, una simpatía manifiesta por el comunismo y el Frente Popular*<sup>86</sup> (Baroja 1993, 55).

Baroja, like Pound, felt aversion for the Jewish people, whom he always depicted as a people of rogues, swindlers, second-hand-clothes dealers, bankers, usurers and so on. Although Baroja had been showing his anti-Semitism from the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it is in the years of the Republic when we find more articles reflecting on the issue, which is not surprising since it is then that anti-Semitism became more popular in Spain, coinciding with the anti-Semitic wave in Europe. His most polemic book, *Comunistas, judíos y demás ralea*, first appeared in Valladolid in 1938, when the Spanish Civil War was at its height, and there was a second and last edition in 1939. Baroja set in this book many of the guidelines that would later be put into practice by the Fascist movement and the German National Socialism. Does this mean that Baroja was a fascist or a Nazi?

As we know, English Modernist literature became connected with the politics of the extreme right, being Eliot and Pound the main figures involved. In spite of the fact that Pound’s political views were less sophisticated and more openly expressed than Eliot’s, both artists held

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<sup>84</sup> This background of Semitic hatred against Europe, and the desire for it to flounder, has lent a character of continuity to Marxism, not allowing it to rot or go sour. Hence the brutally cruel propaganda the Russians have sent the reds in Spain. The Russian communist, who is almost always a Jew, wants to implicate his Spanish comrades and incite them to commit crimes so that there will be no backing out. The boss, or puppet-boss, of the Spanish socialists or communists, schooled in the preaching of hatred, has surely got to where he planned to go (Translation mine).

<sup>85</sup> The Jews caused the horrific death of Tzar Nicolas (a shy, kind, weak man) and his family; and the director of the massacre was a Jew (Translation mine).

<sup>86</sup> Communism is today the great crusade waged by the Jewish race against the European world and culture in order to conquer it. In France, Switzerland and Germany, even among the richest Jews, a manifest sympathy for communism and the Popular Front can be seen (Translation mine).

political views which are now difficult to countenance, and they elaborated social and cultural theories which are sometimes challenging in their radical conservatism: ‘As with Eliot, so with Pound, the political opinions are closely bound up with the trials and harassments of his personality. Cause and effect are again hard to determine. In Pound’s case the personality looks most gravely injured, and from the injuries come political views of an extremity, violence, and vulgarity unequalled in any other writer of comparable stature. [...]Eliot was apt to be feline in his antipathies (‘a spirit of excessive tolerance is to be deprecated’; ‘it would appear to be for the best that the great majority of human beings should go on living in the place in which they were born’) and guardedly insinuating about his few concrete commitments (‘the development of fascism in Italy may produce very interesting results in ten or twenty years’; ‘I believe that the fascist form of unreason is less remote from my own than is that of the communists’)(Long 1988, 107-08).

On the other hand, Baroja criticised Mussolini and Hitler on occasion, although it is also true that this did not happen frequently. However, he never criticised Fascism or National Socialism and when he did so, it was in a veiled way, which can be easily understood if we bear in mind the situation the country was living at the time –Kessel Schwartz describes the situation:

Among the Spanish contributors to the *A. B. C.* were J. López Prudencio, Luis de Galinsoga who used the pseudonym SIUL, W. Fernández Flórez, Manuel Machado, José María Salaverría, Julio Camba, Eduardo Marquina, E. Giménez caballero, Concha Espina and José María Pemán. Its foreign correspondents were César González Ruano in Rome, Mariano Daranas in Paris and El Bachiller Alcañices in Chile. Their articles were filled with virulent attacks against the Jews, the Loyalists, the United States, and the Russians, and with profuse praise for Hitler and Mussolini. If one was not with them, one was a ‘masón, rojo, o hereje’ (Schwartz 1965, 559).

However, when considering the possibility of Baroja’s being a Fascist as has been claimed by many, we must bear in mind that according to Ernesto Giménez Caballero, ‘*Fascismo para España no es fascismo, sino Catolicismo*’<sup>87</sup>(Giménez Caballero 1934). In this section we maintain

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<sup>87</sup> Fascism for Spain is not facism but Catholicism (Translation mine).

that even though Baroja may have admired and longed for the strength of a dictator, yet he was the first writer to admit to being an agnostic in modern Spain and we must not forget that Catholicism was one of the main features of Spanish Fascism. Furthermore, he was not a hesitant agnostic longing to believe like Unamuno but an imperturbable agnostic; in short, Baroja behaved like an atheist – on his return in Spain after the Civil War when asked about his religious feelings by a Guardia Civil and risking being imprisoned he did not deny his lack of faith:

*Esta vez se trata de una visita a Itzea durante la cual el brigada de la Guardia Civil que lleva la voz cantante, satisfecho del examen de los papeles, se permite el lujo de preguntarle a Baroja:*

- *¿Y qué tal andamos de religión?*
- *Pues bastante medianamente – le contesta Baroja*<sup>88</sup> (Sánchez-Ostiz 2006, 409).

Nevertheless, it is also true that although Baroja did not write for the *A. B. C.*, Franco's organ of propaganda, its contributors considered him one of their own; Ignacio Ramos, in an article on those who '*integran la médula de nuestro Movimiento*<sup>89</sup>,' even names him as a partisan of the Movement:

The *A. B. C.* contributors, unlike their German counterparts, offered no so-called new philosophy of life, although they all constantly echoed the anti-Semitic and anti-Communist themes of the Nazis. Instead, the *A. B. C.* brought into sharpest focus the age-old conflict in Spain between the real and the ideal, the traditional and the progressive, the native and the foreign, themes so apparent in all Spanish literary works and movements from their very beginnings (Schwartz 1965, 559).

Furthermore, the enormous controversy there exists so as to the authorship of *Comunistas, judíos y demás ralea* does not help bring light into Baroja's politics; nobody agrees and everybody blames somebody else as it seems difficult to assume responsibilities for the book. According to Javier Nicolás, four people played an important role in its creation: Pío Baroja, Giménez Caballero, the editor of the book Ruiz Castillo and last but not least, Julio Caro Baroja – Pío Baroja's nephew.

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<sup>88</sup> This time it is during a visit to Itzea when the Civil Guard official in charge, satisfied after examining the papers, indulges his power by asking Baroja,

'How are we doing for religion?'

'Pretty middling', replied Baroja (Translation mine).

<sup>89</sup> Make up the backbone of our movement (Translation mine).

Ernesto Giménez Caballero was a well-known and highly coveted public figure during the Spanish pre-Fascism and on the early days of the Spanish Falange. He contributed to several magazines, mainly to JONS which belonged to the aforementioned movement. In this magazine he wrote an article based on the study of Baroja's novel *César o Nada* in 1933, which he titled, '*Pío Baroja, precursor español del fascismo*'.<sup>90</sup> Five years later this article became the prologue to *Comunistas...* As it seems – and I quote Javier Nicolás – Giménez Caballero did not know that his article had been used as a prologue to Baroja's book:

*Según él, se enteró por terceros que habían visto un libro de Baroja prologado por él, cosa que le dejó asombrado: 'Un día, estando yo en Cataluña con la IV División de Navarra, con el General Camilo Alonso, me dijeron que habían visto un libro de Baroja prologado por mí. Yo les dije que no tenía idea de haber prologado ningún libro de Baroja, pero parecía ser que era así. Lo busqué, lo encontré y descubrí que había sido obra de Baroja el poner ese ensayo mío de 1933, sin duda para facilitar la entrada en España con el aval mío...'*<sup>91</sup> (Baroja 1993, 8)

Here Giménez Caballero, claims that Baroja used his prologue in order to make his return to Spain easier, but he also blames Baroja's nephew, Julio Caro Baroja: '*Después ese falso prólogo valió para atribuirme a mí el libro y zafarse Julito*'. Indigno<sup>92</sup>' (Baroja 1993, 8). In turn, Julio Caro Baroja claims that the idea for the book came from the editor but he also maintains that Giménez Caballero was the person who selected the texts. However, as Javier Nicolás points out, it seems that in truth it was really the editor who was to blame:

*La segunda prueba es otra carta del mismo editor, Ruiz Castillo, esta vez enviada al propio Baroja, y que transcribe íntegramente: 'Mi querido Baroja: Ahí va un nuevo título de gran éxito, que se me ha ocurrido después de cerrada mi carta: 'Comunistas, judíos y demás ralea'. No sé qué le parecerá. A mí me gusta tanto que, si no le llena de todo, me atrevo a pedirle que transija y me lo apruebe. Creo que da idea del contenido del libro, y que sería difícil encontrar otro más de editorial, más de público. Lo*

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<sup>90</sup> 'Pío Baroja forerunner of the Spanish Fascism' (Translation mine).

<sup>91</sup> According to him, he found out about it via a third party who had seen a book of Baroja's containing a prologue he had written. He was amazed: 'One day, in Catalonia with the IV Navarre Division, accompanying General Camilo Alonso, someone told me they had seen a book of Baroja's with the prologue written by me. I told him I had no idea that I'd prologued any book by Baroja, but it seemed to be so. I sought it out, found the book and discovered that it had been Baroja who had printed an essay of mine from 1933, doubtlessly in order to smooth his own entry into Spain on the back of my name...' (Translation mine)

<sup>92</sup> Later that false prologue was enough to ascribe the book to me and Julito wriggled out of it. Shameful (Translation mine).

*que se dice un hallazgo, y... perdone la inmodestia. Le abraza su siempre amigo, Castillo*<sup>93</sup> (Baroja 1993, 8).

Even though it could be assumed that Baroja did not really have anything to do with this book, as the official sources want us to believe, then he would immediately have stopped criticising all the people of the sort, Communists, Jews... Quite the contrary, that was never his intention; Baroja launched his hardest criticism at everything and everybody in the 40s, during the Communist commotion in Russia. He stood his ground until the end, even in his last work, *Decadencia de la cortesía y otros ensayos*. Furthermore, Pío Baroja never disowned *Comunistas, judíos y demás ralea*. In fact, a year before his death and in two of his novels, *Paseos de un solitario* and *Aquí París*, he spoke concisely about it:

*Con motivo de haberse publicado en Valladolid, zona nacional, un libro mío, en el que mi editor había reunido algunos artículos periodísticos aparecidos hacía tiempo, antes de la Guerra, y al que puso el título circunstancial y llamativo de 'Comunistas, judíos y demás ralea'*<sup>94</sup>...( Baroja 1998, 87)

In *Aquí París* he remarked:

*Algunos me achacan como si yo hubiera hecho algo terrible, el que se publicara un libro mío con el título de 'Comunistas, judíos y demás ralea', en tiempos de la guerra civil. Este libro no es más que una recopilación de artículos y de trozos de libros míos. El título de la obra es lo que resulta algo detonante, pero no lo puse yo, sino el editor en Valladolid, en 1938*<sup>95</sup> (Baroja 1998, 88).

Clearly, like Pound and Eliot, Baroja was never far from the politics of the extreme right. For Eliot and for Pound the horror of the Great War was clearly the biggest factor in driving the creative mind on to the defensive as it strove with the diagnoses of WASTE. Due to their politics, both Eliot and Pound give us cause to consider some of the difficulties involved in reading the

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<sup>93</sup> The second piece of evidence is another letter from the same editor, Ruiz Castillo, this time sent to Baroja himself, which he transcribes in full: 'My dear Baroja, How about this for a best-selling title, which occurred to me after sealing my letter – 'Communists, Jews and that ilk.' I don't know what you'll think. I like it so much that if you are not 100% behind it I beg you to reconsider and take it on. I think it gives an idea of the book's contents and we'd be hard set to find another publisher with something like this, and moreover for the public. A title and a half...if you'll forgive the immodesty. With great affection, your friend, Castillo' (Translation mine).

<sup>94</sup> By reason of a book of mine being published in Valladolid, in the Nationalist zone, where my editor had collected together some newspaper articles I had written long ago, before the War, and he had given them the circumstantial, striking title of *Communists, Jews and that ilk...* (Translation mine).

<sup>95</sup> Some blame me as though I had done something terrible by publishing a book with the title 'Communists, Jews and that ilk' in times of war. This book is nothing more than a recompilation of articles and sections of others of my books. The title of the book has caused quite a stir, though I didn't come up with it, but the editor I had in Valladolid in 1938 (Translation mine).

literature of the great Modernist ‘reactionaries.’ We then turn to Joyce, the other great presence in English literary Modernism who is, however, completely different, remote from the politics of the extreme right, and who provides a salutary point of contrasting reference.

On the other hand, in this dissertation we deal with one of the most obscure aspects of the Basque novelist: his relation with Spanish Fascism and the impact his right-wing ideas had on his work; we see that Baroja as a young man believed loosely in anarchistic ideals, as other members of the ‘98 Generation, however, later this derives into simple admiration for men of action, somehow similar to Nietzsche’s superman. We also see how his vitalistic vision of life – although pessimistic – led his novels, his ideas and his figure to be considered somehow a precursor of a kind of Spanish fascism in spite of the fact that his life was at risk during the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) and that he was not loved either by Catholic or by traditionalist ideologists. In any case, nobody has expressed Baroja’s feelings on this as well as the novelist himself.<sup>96</sup>

*Yo he sido siempre un liberal radical, individualista y anarquista. Primero, enemigo de la Iglesia; después, enemigo del Estado; mientras estos dos grandes poderes estén en lucha, partidario del Estado contra la Iglesia; el día que el Estado prepondere, enemigo del Estado*<sup>97</sup>(Baroja 1939, 95).

As for Joyce, in this dissertation we also prove that he was not as apolitical as his early biographer, Richard Ellmann, painted him. As we have seen, James Joyce had graduated from University College Dublin in September 1902 and was in Paris from December 3<sup>rd</sup> to 22<sup>nd</sup> that year, on the risible pretext of studying medicine at the Sorbonne. After an extended Christmas in Dublin,

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<sup>96</sup> Julio Caro Baroja interprets Baroja’s statement:

*Aborrecía las instituciones fundadas con intención de intervenir en la conciencia individual, o de someterla, fueran los que fuesen sus signos: lo mismo los del partido socialista que los de la extrema derecha. Sentía también antipatía profunda por las personas bien situadas dentro de una sociedad organizada burocráticamente y su simpatía por el Anarquismo se fundó en este rasgo de su temperamento. Soñaba con lo imposible: con una sociedad en que los méritos individuales fueran los únicos reconocidos. Y por eso siendo liberal y hasta anarquista de temperamento profesaba el culto a los grandes hombres* (Caro Baroja 1962, 35-37). \*

\* He detested any institution founded with the intention of intervening in or subjecting the individual conscience, under whatever name or sign: whether it be the socialist party or the far right. He also felt a profound hatred of high-ranking people in any bureaucratically organised society and his Anarchist sympathies were based on this feature of his temperament. He dreamed the impossible: of a society in which individual merit was the only important factor. Thus, being liberal or even anarchist in temperament, he professed to worshipping great men (Translation mine).

<sup>97</sup> I have always been a radical, individualist, anarchistic liberal. Firstly, an enemy of the Church, then, an enemy of the State –whilst those two great powers are fighting each other I am on the side of the State against the Church; the day the State wins, I shall be an enemy of the State (Translation mine).

Joyce was back in Paris, impecunious and undernourished, from January 17<sup>th</sup> to April 10<sup>th</sup> 1903. His sudden return to Dublin was brought about, as previously mentioned, by the last illness of his mother who lingered, dying on August 13<sup>th</sup> 1903. Joyce thereafter remained in Dublin until leaving on October 8<sup>th</sup> 1904, with Nora Barnacle to commence what transpired to be a lifelong exile from Ireland.

A fleeting glimpse of Joyce as a nationalist intellectual as well as an artist, engaged with contemporary Irish political and cultural controversy – as Manganiello has convincingly documented – shifts the conventional biographical paradigm of the Joyce of 1902-04 to that of a somewhat dissolute bohemian aesthete:

Joyce's work as an Italian journalist bears witness to the contrary. Not only did he keep abreast of the Irish political scene, but Joyce staunchly defended Griffith's line of argument on key issues (Manganiello 1980, 139).

It is well known that Joyce was reading the *United Irishman* at the time he was in Paris and that he was not drawn to the paper solely by reason of its political content. It bears out the recollection of Joyce's brother Stanislaus<sup>98</sup> that Joyce had declared that 'the United Irishman was the only paper in Dublin worth reading, and in fact he read it every week' (Ellmann 1982, 237). What was distinctive in the conception of the United Irishman was that its content was not exclusively political. It engaged with the literary revival, and the paper was crammed with literary, mythological, antiquarian and historical material relating to Ireland. Although, as we will see, Joyce had no interest in revivalism or contemporary writing in Irish, he had a considerable interest in the older works in the Irish language, principally the Irish myths, lives of saints and poetry, together with Geoffrey

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<sup>98</sup> In November 1906 Joyce wrote to his brother Stanislaus about the Irish Ireland movement as it manifested itself in a new political power in the land: You ask me what I would substitute for parliamentary agitation in Ireland. I think the Sinn Féin policy would be more effective. Nevertheless, he added: If the Irish programme did not insist on the Irish language I suppose I could call myself a nationalist. As it is, I am content to recognise myself an exile: and, prophetically, a repudiated one (Joyce 1966, 187)

Keating's *History of Ireland*, the *Annals of the Four Masters* and *The Ancient Laws of Ireland*. The lists written out laboriously in the Paris notebook reflect a scoping exercise on Joyce's part, a sizing-up and textual mapping of the subject of Ireland. His reading of the paper in Paris set the practice for the first decade of exile from October 1904, when the paper and its successor from 1906, *Sinn Féin*, sent from Dublin, became his main continuous journalistic source of intelligence on contemporary Ireland. In this dissertation we thus argue that Joyce's memories of Dublin were not topographically abstract but reflected a life fully lived, characterized by a preternatural sentience that extended to contemporary political and cultural controversy.

We will devote the next section to the study of Language, described by Benedict Anderson – among others – as one of the main assets of nationalism:

The general growth in literacy, commerce, industry, communications and state machinerie that marked the nineteenth century created powerful new impulses for vernacular linguistic unification within each dynastic realm. Latin hung on as a language-of-state in Austro-Hungary as late as the early 1840s, but it disappeared almost immediately thereafter. Language-of-state it might be, but it could not, in the nineteenth century, be the language of business, of the sciences, of the press, or of literature, especially in a world in which these languages continuously interpenetrated one another.

Meantime, vernacular languages-of-state assumed ever greater power and status in a process which, at least at the start, was largely unplanned. Thus English elbowed Gaelic out of most of Ireland, French pushed Breton to the wall, and Castilian reduced Catalan to marginality (Anderson 2006, 77-8).

### 2.6. Nationalism and Language.

In Joyce's essay 'The Study of Languages' written during his matriculation course at UCD (1898-99), he defends Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary* on the grounds that the history of words reflects the history of men:

[...] in the history of words there is much that indicates the history of men, and in comparing the speech of today with that of years ago, we have a useful illustration of the effect of external influences on the very words of a race (Joyce 2002, 168).

The political importance attached to languages derives from their being regarded as signs of race. However, according to Anderson, nothing could be more false since languages are historical formations which say very little about the blood of those who speak them:

It is always a mistake to treat languages in the way that certain nationalist ideologues treat them – as emblems of nation-ness, like flags, costumes, folk-dances, and the rest. Much the most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect *particular* solidarities. After all, imperial languages are still vernaculars, and thus particular vernaculars among many. [...] Language is not an instrument of exclusion: in principle, anyone can learn any language. On the contrary, it is fundamentally inclusive, limited only by the fatality of Babel: no one lives long enough to learn *all* languages. Print-language is what invents nationalism, not a particular language per se (Anderson 2006, 133-34).

In fact, discussions of race are interminable because philologically-minded historians and physiologically-minded anthropologists interpret the term in two totally different ways. For the anthropologists, race has the same meaning as in zoology; it serves to indicate real descent, a blood relation. However, the study of language and of history does not lead to the same division as does physiology. In other words, the zoological origins of humanity are massively prior to the origins of culture, civilization and language.

Samuel Johnson's idea of language as a nation's 'pedigree' does not so much define 'nation' in the present as call upon the already existing aura of other concepts such as 'history' and 'race' to produce the sense that there are now lost, but recoverable, distinctions between disparate races of people. The full quote comes from Johnson's 173 journey to the Hebrides, and it reads:

What can a nation that has no letters tell of its original? [...] There is no tracing ancient nations but by language, and therefore I'm always sorry when language is lost, because languages are the pedigree of nations (Boswell 2010, 54).

Such a use of linguistic traits to recover a 'lost' national identity is contemporaneous with the enunciation of a German nationalist ideology by Herder and Novalis which Fichte and Schleiermacher later heightened to a frankly metaphysical level: language and nation express aspects

of ‘divine truth.’ A ‘nation’ was an irreducible and original quality, an almost transcendent reality, which we could best grasp through ‘mother tongue’ and national literature.

Like the other Irish writers of the turn of the century, Joyce learned the advantages of incorporating into his writing the various dialects or versions of English spoken in Ireland. He incorporated into his writing several modes of language and, in doing so, exploited the complex linguistic situation in Ireland to serve his goal. The chief features of that situation included a still-living oral tradition which had begun to influence the writing of fiction in writers like Gerald Griffin, the Banim Brothers and William Carleton more than half a century earlier.

The English spoken by the mass of the Irish people and partly recorded in the works of these writers was oral-formulaic in its compositional principle and closely related to Irish. Much misunderstanding of this language and its supposed misconstructions was created by the application to it of the conventions of a literate print-culture. Certainly, the English language, as spoken in nineteenth – and early twentieth – century Ireland, was profoundly altered in its syntax, grammar and vocabulary by the migration of Irish speakers from a predominantly oral culture. The linguistic collisions and confusions which were an inevitable consequence were often taken to be characteristic of a particularly ‘Irish’ cast of mind. This could lead, especially in times of political crisis, to a malign stereotyping of the Irish; equally, it often led to a benign view of Irish ‘eloquence’, quick-wittedness and linguistic self-consciousness (Bliss 1979, 255-74) – Joyce’s work is, unquestionably, part of the history of Ireland’s complicated linguistic condition:

I’d like a language which is above all languages... I cannot express myself in English without closing myself in a tradition (Zweig 1964, 275).

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Hohann Gottfried von Herder had declared that: *‘Denn jedes Volk ist Volk; es hat seine National Bildung wie seine Sprache’* (Kemiläinen 1964, 42).

This conception of nation-ness as linked to a private property had wide influence in nineteenth-century Europe and, more narrowly, on subsequent theorizing about the nature of nationalism. Furthermore, discovery and conquest also caused a revolution in European ideas about language. However, as Said points out, it was only in the later eighteenth century that the scientific comparative study of languages really got under way:

Language became less of a continuity between an outside power and the human speaker than an international field created and accomplished by language users among themselves (Said 1979, 136).

There appeared philology, with its studies of comparative grammar, classification of languages into families, and reconstructions by scientific reasoning. As Seton-Watson shows, the nineteenth century was a golden age of vernacularizing grammarians, philologists, lexicographers and litterateurs:

Just because the history of language is usually in our time kept so rigidly apart from conventional political, economic and social history, it has seemed to me desirable to bring it together with these, even at the cost of less expertise (Seton-Watson 1977, 11).

Clearly, according to Anderson, the energetic activities of these professional intellectuals were central to the shaping of nineteenth-century European nationalism:

[...] everywhere, in fact, as literacy increased, it became easier to arouse popular support, with the masses discovering a new glory in the print elevation of languages they had humbly spoken all along (Anderson 2006, 80).

On the other hand, this lexicographic revolution in Europe created the conviction that languages were the personal property of specific groups –their daily speakers and readers – and that these groups were entitled to their autonomous place in a fraternity of equals. It has been argued that from about the middle of the nineteenth-century there developed what Seton-Watson terms ‘official nationalisms’ inside Europe:

These nationalisms were historically ‘impossible’ until after the appearance of popular linguistic-nationalisms, for, at bottom, they were *responses* by power-groups primarily, but not exclusively, dynastic and aristocratic – threatened with exclusion from, or marginalization in, popular imagined communities (Anderson 2006, 109-10).

Both James Joyce and Pío Baroja were concerned with the language issue and its links to nationalism. As we have said, in the Basque Country the motley map of political culture was given preference over the culture of origin – in its anthropological sense – of its inhabitants and merged with the official culture of the estate, which was taught at public schools. From 1900 onwards we also observe the existence of a modern mass culture. The absence of an element of social cohesion had a paradoxical outcome: whereas in modern societies culture, or to be more exact loyalty to culture, becomes the main key to the balance and success of the political systems, in the Basque Country the opposing cultural loyalties worked as a continuous incentive to social desegregation and confrontation. Culture became thus an agent of anarchy; F. S. L. Lyons' description of the Irish cultural conflict between 1890 and 1939 could be applied to the situation observed in the Basque Country over the same period:

I need first to clarify that the connection is not what it seems implicit in my title, which I borrowed shamelessly from Matthew Arnold. On the contrary, where Arnold saw culture as a unifying force in a fragmented society and as a barrier against anarchy, my thesis is that, in Ireland, culture – or rather, the diversity of cultures – has been a force which has acted against the evolution of a homogenous society and, in doing so, has been an agent of anarchy rather than of unity [...] The coexistence of various cultures, interrelated but distinct, has made it difficult, if not impossible, for the Irish to have a consistent view of themselves in relation to each other and the outside world (Lyons 1982, 12).

In the last decade of the century, the autochthonous Basques felt anguished by the massive influx of immigrants from other regions and reacted by attributing to them the social unrest they observed:

*Ninguna otra ciudad española experimentó en la transición del siglo XIX al XX unas transformaciones tan rápidas y convulsivas como las que sufrió Bilbao, que vio triplicarse su población en la segunda mitad de la pasada centuria y crecer en su alfoz rural un conglomerado de grandes fábricas y ciudades satélite. A los bilbainos nacidos antes de la revolución de 1868, el final de siglo pareció arrebatárles definitivamente sus recuerdos más queridos, los del pequeño mundo amable en que había transcurrido su infancia, paraíso degradado a la condición de infierno por la hybris industrial. Tanto Unamuno como Sabino Arana Goiri vieron en Bilbao la más lograda expresión de la modernidad, si bien el juicio que les mereció ésta fue distinto: ambiguo en el primero, claramente negativo y condenatorio en*

*Arana. Sus reacciones, con todo, no fueron muy distintas de las de otros intelectuales europeos de la época alarmados ante la aparición de la sociedad de masas*<sup>99</sup> (Juaristi 1999, 34).

As if cultural fragmentation was not controversial enough, the impressive demographic growth contributed to inflame the antagonisms. Cultural plurality implied an abundance of codes, of languages; immigration did also provide a mosaic of dialects as most of the families that settled down in The Basque Country came from Castile, Andalusia and Galicia. The xenophobic reaction of the bourgeoisie led them to coin the scornful term ‘*maqueto*’ to mark their difference. ‘*Anti-maquetismo*’ or the fight to expel the ‘*maquetos*’ from The Basque Country became a common feature of bourgeoisie culture in The Basque Country at the turn-of-the-century until it eventually turned into the ideological root of Basque nationalism:

*La sociedad vasca de fin de siglo, y por ende la bilbaina, era una sociedad plural en la que el pluralismo estaba ausente. En tal situación, la dialéctica – que no el diálogo – de las subculturas tuvo unas consecuencias deletéreas, estimulando los antagonismos violentos y propiciando el repliegue de cada uno de los segmentos políticos sobre sus mitos fundacionales, ya fueran éstos la sagrada unidad de España, la soberanía originaria de los vascos o el internacionalismo proletario*<sup>100</sup> (Juaristi 1999, 25).

Even though at first sight, this reaction against the immigrants presents some similarities with the hatred of the masses appreciated in the European intellectual circles of the *time*, we argue that the differences are blatant:

*La ideología del antimaquetismo, en comparación con las ideologías ‘intelectuales’, resulta de una simpleza extrema. Reproduce, con una pequeña variante, el horror mítico a Babel; es decir, a la ciudad pluralista que tolera la existencia del Otro y de las otras lenguas. Como en Babel – y esto lo veremos repetido hasta la saciedad en la literatura costumbrista bilbaína, – en Bilbao la causa de la confusión de las lenguas ha sido un pecado de hybris, de desmesura. Si en Babel fue la soberbia de Nemrod, en Bilbao lo ha sido la desordenada codicia de los mineros. La secuencia narrativa, sin embargo, difiere*

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<sup>99</sup> No other Spanish city experienced, during the transition from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, such rapid, convulsive transitions than those suffered by Bilbao. It saw its population triple in the second half of the last century, and its rural outlying districts grew a conglomerate of massive factories and satellite towns. For Bilbainos born before the revolution of 1868, the end of the century appeared to definitively rob them of their most precious memories; those of the small, friendly world of their childhood, a paradise made hell by the new industrial hubris. Both Unamuno and Sabino Arana Goiri saw in Bilbao the utmost expression of modernity, although their judgement of this was different – the former ambiguous, the latter, Arana, clearly negative and condemnatory. Their reactions were not, however, very different to those of other European intellectuals of the time, alarmed as they were by this emergence of a society of the masses (Translation mine).

<sup>100</sup> Basque society, and more specifically Bilbao society, at the end of the century, was a plural society without the plurality. In this situation, the dialectic – as opposed to the dialogue – of the subcultures had harmful consequences, stimulating violent antagonism and encouraging the redeployment of each of the political segments over their founding myths, whether they be the sacred unity of Spain, the original sovereignty of the Basques or proletarian internationalism (Translation mine).

*un tanto entre el mito babélico y el mito antimaqueto. En el primero, el castigo del pecado es la confusión de las lenguas, y la consecuencia del castigo, la dispersión de los pueblos. En el segundo, la invasión maqueta (el castigo) precede a la heteroglosia, su consecuencia. [...] Es evidente que, en ambos, el mito consiste en el relato de una pérdida: la desaparición de un vínculo social basado en la posibilidad de una comunicación inmediata y transparente. Lo peculiar del mito antimaqueto radica en que la restauración del orden o recuperación del estado de cosas anterior a la Caída (la edad dorada o paradisíaca que precedió a la confusión de las lenguas) requiere un ahondamiento en la heteroglosia hasta que ésta produzca su efecto lógico, es decir, una nueva dispersión de los pueblos. En ambos mitos, el horizonte utópico se halla en la construcción de una comunidad ideal de lengua, de una sociedad homoglósica y reconciliada consigo misma. Pero los medios para alcanzarla son opuestos: reunión de los pueblos en el mito babélico, dispersión y diáspora en el antimaquetismo<sup>101</sup> (Juaristi 1999, 32-33).*

As John Carey has highlighted, the hostility of the intellectuals to the masses was based on their rejection to the possibility of making inferior classes literate, as by doing so they would put their privileges at a risk (Carey 1939, 84-88). It is not teaching people to read and write but their ability to express themselves orally that frightens the ‘*anti-maquetos*.’ The wide range of linguistic codes and subcodes that burst into the public sphere made them panic. Even though it is true that there exists in the works of the ‘*anti-maqueto*’ writers an abundance of apocalyptic and scornful references to the masses and symbols of the new culture, any similarity to the elitist attitude of the intellectuals is difficult to find; Modernist literature and culture were based on the exclusion of the masses, the destruction of their power and, in short, the denial of their humanity. As Modernists expressed their fear of the malleability and passivity of the crowd, Joyce, on the other hand, tried to produce a more imaginative, participating kind of reader. The more uncertain the world became the more abstract the arts were, but Joyce kept everything real:

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<sup>101</sup> The ideology of *antimaquetismo* (anti-outsiders), compared with ‘intellectual’ ideologies, appears simple in the extreme. It reproduces, with only a small change, the mythical horror towards Babel, that is to say, a pluralist city tolerant of the existence of the Other and of other languages. As in Babel – and this is something to be reproduced ad nauseam in the folk literature of Bilbao – the confusion of tongues in Bilbao was due to a sin of hubris and excess. What Nemrod’s pride was to Babel, so the disorganised greed of the miners was to Bilbao. The narrative sequence however, differs somewhat between the myth of Babel and the *antimaqueto* myth. In the former, the punishment for the sin is the *confusion of languages* and, as a consequence, the *scattering of the peoples*. In the latter, the *invasion of the outsiders* (the punishment) precedes the *heteroglossia*, the consequence. It is evident that in both cases the myth consists of a lost tale: the disappearance of a social link based on the possibility of immediate, transparent communication. The odd feature of the *antimaqueto* myth is to be found in the fact that restoration of order or recuperation by the State of the previous status quo from before the fall (the golden age or paradise before the confusion of tongues) requires a strengthening of the heteroglossia to its logical end, that is to say, a new dispersion of peoples. In both myths the utopic horizon is to be found in the construction of an ideal language community - a *homoglossic* society – which is reconciled with itself. However, the means to attaining this are at opposite poles: reuniting the peoples in the myth of Babel, but dispersion and diáspora in the *antimaquetismo* myth (Translation mine).

The more snobbish Modernists resorted to difficult techniques in order to protect their ideas against appropriation by the newly literate masses; but Joyce foresaw that the real need would be to defend his book and those masses against the newly illiterate specialists and technocratic elites. Whereas other Modernists feared the hydra-headed mob, Joyce used interior monologue to show how lovable, complex and affirmative was the mind of the ordinary citizen. *Ulysses* gives such persons the sort of ceremonial treatment once reserved for aristocrats. While other writers followed Nietzsche in attacking mass culture ('The rabble spit forth their bile once a day and call the results a newspaper'), Joyce offered *Ulysses* as a counter-newspaper, which would capture even more acutely the events of a single day (Kiberd 2009, 11-12).

In this section we argue that in examples of clashes of cultures pertinent to the crisis of 1898, issues of mastery and authority are central, and, of particular interest, we find subdivisions which centre on class and class-territory on the one hand, and use of language on the other:

The notion of a crisis of language is not something entirely modern. Many poets have experienced, at one time or another, a sense of the inadequacy of established poetic idiom, and felt, for personal or broader cultural reasons, the urgent need to develop fresh means of harnessing the resources of language. So, for example, Holderlin's *Empedocles*, Hume's *Letter to a Physician*, Wordsworth's *The Prelude* all explore the poet's experience of spiritual death and rebirth, linguistic aridity and plenitude. [...] At first sight, the modern sense of literary language seems to contain, recurrently, this familiar dialectic of death, and of inevitable rebirth into a new form (Sheppard 1991, 314).

This use of language and authority is also a key point in Stephen's conversation with the Dean of Studies:

The language in which we are speaking is his before it is mine. How different are the words *home*, *Christ*, *ale*, *master*, on his lips and on mine! I cannot speak or write these words without unrest of spirit. His language, so familiar and so foreign will always be for me an acquired speech. I have not made or accepted its words. My voice holds them at bay. My soul frets in the shadow of his language (Joyce 1965, 215).

According to Jennifer Levine, in her essay on *Ulysses*, even in the first chapter of his masterpiece, Joyce makes us feel that English was an acquired language for any Irishman, who felt this speech to be both familiar and foreign at the same time (Levine 2007, 128-3). From the initial 'halted' to the postponed 'gravely', the sentences do not feel natural but forced:

- Halted, he peered down the dark winding stairs and called out coarsely:
  - Come up, Kinch! Come up, your fearful jesuit!
  - Solemnly he came forward and mounted the round gunrest. He faced about and blessed gravely thrice the tower, the surrounding land and the awaking mountains (*U1.6-11*).

Following Katie Wales's study on the language of James Joyce<sup>102</sup>, we can state that the history of Gaelic and English in Ireland presents a fascinating picture of the effects of colonial expansion, linguistically as well as socially and politically. The French philosopher and historian Foucault had already alerted us to the controlling force of language; according to Foucault, language is that mechanism by which I define myself as different from you and thereby, introduce the possibility of a power relationship (Foucault 1982, 35-43). In a strong passage Cortázar describes an audience about to listen to a concert, '*Ahora se apagan las luces, nos miramos todavía con ese ligero temblor de despedida que nos gana siempre al empezar un concierto (cruzaremos un río, habrá otro tiempo, el óbolo está listo)*'<sup>103</sup> (Cortázar 1967, 23). At the excitement of something new about to happen, the image invoked is one of death, but it is death as the transition to a new realm, and in which one has to give the ferryman his due. For river we can read 'Turn of the Century', the figure of the ferryman signals our sense that some power needs to be appeased in order to make sure that the transition is a safe one. A detail of the myth is significant; the way Charon the ferryman was paid was by a coin, placed in the mouth of the corpse. In the light of the emphasis placed by writings of crisis or transition on language, this juncture in the myth of payment and tongue highlights the fact that our search for the correct language, the discourse that will ensure that we are recognised as valid passengers and that we arrive on the other side safely, is no new phenomenon:

[...] the chimera that pursues both Bloom and Stephen throughout the day: the idea of a mystical relationship between words and the things they signify. Language, for Stephen, is tainted by the fall: a Babel sets in his description of the cocklepicker who is Eve after the expulsion: 'She trudges, schlepps, trains, drags, trascines her load.' Bloom later notes the redundancy of languages: '... there being more languages to start with than were absolutely necessary...' For Stephen's symbolist soul, this is a serious issue, for with the link between word and thing broken, language becomes matter, subject to time and history (Hollington 1991, 441).

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<sup>102</sup> For further discussion of language in James Joyce, see Milesi, Laurent (ed.). *James Joyce and the Difference of Language*, Cardiff University, Cardiff, 2003.

<sup>103</sup> The lights go out and we look at each other with that slight tremor of farewell which overcomes us at the start of every concert (we'll cross the river, there's be another opportunity, the obol is ready (Translation mine).

It is common knowledge that during Joyce's lifetime (1882-1941) there occurred in Ireland dramatic events which had considerable impact, not only on the political and social scene, but also on the cultural and linguistic:

[...] linear and progressive notions of history are rendered dubious. Institutions inherited from the past (including the institutions of language) are felt to be magnificent but hollowed-out shells which give some semblance of continuity with the past but which in fact provide a beautiful surface for a repressive and pernicious reality. Writing from this sense, the Existentialist philosopher Martin Heidegger claimed that language had undergone 'a process of deformation and decay', and put forward a diagnosis of historical decline to which not a few modern writers could have given their assent: The spiritual decline of the earth is so advanced that the nations are in danger of losing the last bit of spiritual energy that makes it possible to see the decline... The darkening of the world, the flight of the gods, the destruction of the earth, the transformation of men into a mass, the hatred and suspicion of everything free and creative, have assumed such proportions throughout the earth that such childish categories as pessimism and optimism have long become absurd (Sheppard 1991, 327).

As we have seen, at the time of Joyce's birth, Ireland was ruled from Westminster, and English was the language not only of government, but of the vast majority of the population, with the original native Irish or Gaelic language fast in decline. At the time of Joyce's death, Ireland had become independent of English political rule, at least in Éire, following the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1921; and while English remained the mother-tongue of its inhabitants, Gaelic was to become the 'national' and 'official' language of the new republic. The restoration of Gaelic in this way was largely the result of the efforts of foundations like the Gaelic League whose leader Douglas Hyde later became the first president of the Republic. As a result, the revival of Gaelic was inextricably associated with questions of national and cultural identity; and it was precisely these questions which were central issues at the time that Joyce as student and aspiring writer was trying to establish his own literary identity:

Language invites people to unite, but it does not force them to do so. [...] The political importance attaching to languages derives from their being regarded as signs of race. Nothing could be more false. [...] Languages are historical formations, which tell us very little about the blood of those who speak them and which, in any case, could not shackle human liberty when it is a matter of deciding the family with which one unites oneself for life or for death (Renan 1990, 16-17).

Joyce's own works reflect not only his continuing interest in the contemporary linguistic and political debates, but also in the whole sweep of Irish history from its beginnings. By the 16<sup>th</sup> century Irish was once more the dominant language, but not for much longer; it was during this century that the Tudor monarchs set their eyes on the reconquest and 'conversion' of the country, much to the annoyance of the Catholic Irish. It is from this period, then, that we see the birth of the strong association between religion and language that underlay much of the political discussions of the nationalist movements of the late nineteenth century: Irish associated with the 'native' religion of Roman Catholicism. At first English was associated with the 'foreign' Protestantism of the new wave of English settlers until the language became established in the country. So the variety of English spoken in modern Ireland is directly descended from 'Planter' English of the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century, and it has retained many features of the English of the time that are either obsolete in Standard English or considered archaic. The English of Ireland, separated from the English of England ceased to evolve along the same lines as Standard English. But Irish English or Hiberno-English was considerably influenced by Gaelic, as the power and prestige of English increased. While monoglot Gaelic speakers remained, particularly in the West of Ireland, more and more people switched to English after 1700, or became bilingual, absorbing Gaelicisms into their speech as a result. By 1800 half the population of Ireland was speaking English, either as a first or second language. The move towards the increasing use of English was due not only to oppressive English authority and official policy, but also, as a consequence, to the desire of the Irish themselves, from economic and social motivation. Even in the 17<sup>th</sup> century 90 per cent of the population were simply tenants, and Irish became increasingly identified with deprivation and low status.

Once Ireland was officially annexed to England by the Act of Union in 1800 to stifle political unrest in the colony, the use of English accelerated. Pitt abolished the Irish Parliament and brought the MPs to Westminster. To maintain political stability the Catholics, who had been

prohibited by penal laws from holding influential positions, eventually received emancipation in 1829. It is interesting, however, that until the 19<sup>th</sup> century the clergy of the Catholic Church had not resisted the influence of English but rather encouraged it. With the introduction of a system of primary education in 1831, English became the sole language of teaching. Not surprisingly, there was considerable unrest amongst the people as the 19<sup>th</sup> century progressed, and English became the lingua franca of political oratory and journalism, and eventually the language of the movement for independence – a situation common in the process of decolonization elsewhere in the world today. In short, English was the language of literacy.

As we can see, in the time of Joyce English in Ireland was well established, but precisely because of the historical situation there was no single variety of Irish English: as today, a broad division can be made between ‘northern’ and southern’ varieties, i.e. Northern Hiberno-English and Southern Hiberno-English. Linguistically, the differences between NHE and SHE are not as significant as the political and religious differences between the speakers. In Joyce’s writings, however, the distinction between northern and southern speech is noted, chiefly in prosodic features. Interestingly there is just a hint of antagonism between north and south, reflected in non-flattering descriptions. A striking example is found in *A Portrait*, in an account of the undergraduate lectures at University College:

A sharp Ulster voice said from the bench below Stephen:  
-Are we likely to be asked questions on applied science?  
... Stephen looked down coldly... The voice, the accent, the mind of the questioner offended him, and he allowed the offence to carry him towards wilful unkindness, bidding his mind think that the student’s father would have done better had he sent his son to Belfast to study and have saved something on the train fare by so doing...  
It is probably in his character [he thought] to ask such a question at such a moment in such a tone and to pronounce the word *science* as a monosyllable... (Joyce 1965, 220)

Significantly, Hiberno-English features most obviously and significantly in the speech and thought processes of the characters of Joyce’s fiction. In general, characters of low social status or

little education tend to use dialectisms more than those of higher status or ‘better’ education; but even a character like Stephen or Mulligan is a typical Dubliner – occasional idiosyncracies in Stephen’s speech and thought betray his origins. The Hiberno-English idiomatic use of prepositions, in part influenced by Gaelic is one of the most pervasive features of Joyce’s dialectal representation in this novel, ‘- Irish, Buck Mulligan said. Is there Gaelic on you?’ (U1.428).

In comparison with Stephen’s idiolect, the presence of Southern-Hiberno English is much more marked in Bloom’s, reflecting their differences in education. One distinctive HE syntactic construction common to Bloom and his Dublin fellow-citizens is the omission of the relative pronoun in subject position. The construction may have been influenced by Gaelic, or it may be a survival of archaic English syntax or both. The omission of the subject-relative is particularly appropriate in Bloom’s interior monologue, characterised as it is, in general, by ellipsis of all kinds. Nonetheless, it pervades the speech-habits of many of the Dubliners as well. The construction is common with another HE syntactic feature, probably influenced by Gaelic, namely, the ‘cleft’ construction /IT+ BE/, which allows focus to fall on the complement:

His garden Major Gamble calls Mount Jerome. Well, so it is. Ought to be flowers of sleep. Chinese cemeteries with giant poppies growing produce the best opium Mastiansky told me. The Botanic Gardens are just over there. It’s the blood sinking in the earth gives new life. Same idea those jews they said killed the Christian boy. Every man his price. Well preserved fat corpse, gentleman, epicure, invaluable for fruit garden. A bargain. By carcass of William Wilkinsin, auditor and accountant, lately deceased, three pounds thirteen and six. With thanks (U6.768-75).

There are two particular constructions in the verb phrase which seem to be associated with ‘popular’ Dublin speech in rural Ireland. It is interesting that when they are found in Bloom’s thoughts, they are in quotation, as it were, as he remembers or evokes the speeches of his friends or Dublin citizens, etc, one is the /AFTER+ING/; this is a loan translation, the equivalent of the perfect aspect lacking in Gaelic. The other construction is the /DO+BE/ – in particular – to indicate habitual action, ‘And who is the gentleman does be visiting there?’ (U8.447-48) However, Joyce’s Irish

origins are revealed even in the ‘neutral’ voice of the narrator by occasional Hiberno-English features. One of the most common occurs in passages of indirect speech and thought, namely, the retention of verb-subject word-order of the direct mode after the speech-act verb of speaking, thinking, etc in indirect questions, this has most probably been influenced by the equivalent Irish construction, ‘Wonder how is she feeling in that region.’ (U13.997). In *Ulysses* the construction occurs in the interior monologues of Bloom and Molly after [wonder], appropriate to their pragmatic speculations on the mysteries of life. One particular syntactic construction that recurs in Molly’s dialogue seems to be a characteristic feature of colloquial Irish story-telling and description. This is the use of the /and+NP+ing/ to indicate simultaneous actions, and again influenced by Gaelic. In British English the use of a subordinate clause with /when/ or /while/ is the usual equivalent, ‘...I noticed he was always talking to her lately at the table explaining things in the paper and she pretending to understand sly of course that comes from his side of the...’ (U18.1017-19).

In this section we highlight that Joyce, like all educated writers in search of a wide readership, wrote his narrative in Standard English and followed the novel tradition in his early works at least in representing the main character’s thoughts and speech as well as actions mainly in Standard English:

As a literary language also, Irish declined, since from the mid-seventeenth century onwards the Irish lost their right to be educated in their native language, and Gaelic culture was seen as ‘barbarous’. But outside Ulster, the Protestant religion never really established a firm foothold, even though the ruling classes in Dublin (the ‘Ascendancy’) were mostly Protestant, and educated at Trinity College founded by Elizabeth I. Dublin became an important centre for Anglo-Irish literature and philosophy: the work of Swift, Berkeley, Goldsmith, Sheridan and Burke, for example (Wales 1992, 5).

In ‘Scylla and Charybdis’, Stephen expresses his contempt for Best’s scholarship – and for all Irish studies – when he remarks on Best’s empty notebook, ‘His private papers in the original. *Ta an bad ar an tir. Taim in mo shagart.*’ (U9. 366-67) ‘The boat is on the land’, Stephen recalls from Father O’Growney’s simple lessons in Irish which he had briefly studied in *Stephen Hero*: ‘Put

beurla on it, littlejohn' (U9.367) The teacher of the Irish class which Stephen attended with Emma said that 'beurla – the English language – was the language of commerce and Irish the speech of the soul' (Joyce 1991, 59). In a work that parodies classical epic pseudo-Homeric compound epithets occur which also mock the translations of the myths and legends anglicised in the Irish Revival:

*(Ben Jumbo Dollard, rubicund, musclebound, hairynostrilled, hugebearded, cabbageeared, shaggychested, shockmaned, fapapped, stands forth, his loins and genitals tightened into a pair of black bathing bagslops)(U15. 2604-07).*

However, Joyce unlike the young Stephen, is unlikely to have been entirely unsympathetic to rural HE as a dialect, especially after he left Ireland; his wife Nora came from Galway in the far west and Joyce is reputed to have been amused by certain turns of phrase and recorded them in his notebooks:

To any other writer of the time, Nora Barnacle would have seemed ordinary; Joyce, with his need to seek the remarkable in the commonplace, decided she was nothing of the sort. She had only a grammar school education; she had no understanding of literature, and no power of or interest in introspection. But she had considerable wit and spirit, a capacity for terse utterance as good in its kind as Stephen Dedalus's (Ellmann 1982, 156-57).

One of the lines of thought followed in this thesis is that when prose becomes overwrought and overwritten – which was the case at the end of the 19th C. – some writers tend to recreate the colloquial speech of their fellow country people in their works. In Baroja this is not only appreciated in his syntax or in the vocabulary he uses but also in the way he structures his books. His descriptions are neither slow nor very detailed, the psychological analysis of the protagonist is always superficial, and the story-structure and plot are unclear presenting flashbacks and foreshadowing, clarifying digressions, loose ends... In short, Baroja, like Joyce, tried to free the genre from 19thC conventions, and approach it to the more natural colloquial speech. Hence dialogues in his novels are scarce and sometimes outlined. Baroja tried to find a language of narration which would resemble colloquial speech both lexically and syntactically and would at the

same time express his thoughts and ideas in an effective manner. In truth, his use of the free syntax of colloquial speech caused the grammar problems that can be appreciated in his works:

*Esta 'reputación antigramatical' proviene sobre todo de la famosa anécdota, contada por Ortega en El Espectador, sobre las dudas de Baroja acerca de si se debe decir 'bajar en, con o de zapatillas,' anécdota apócrifa, o al menos falseada por Ortega 'para que algunos majaderos, cuya irritación tanto le divierte, se sintieran ofendidos en su honor gramatical.' Sin embargo, como nota E. G. De Nora (ob. cit., I, 119), Baroja no estaba realmente muy fuerte en el régimen de las preposiciones<sup>104</sup> (Marañón 1962, 213).*

Baroja's anacoluthic structures: '*esta maldad del hombre que sin querer le entristecen las alegrías de los demás*'<sup>105</sup> (Baroja 1946, 627), the lack of subject-verb agreement in number and some other anomalies which have been criticized are also common spoken language features. Baroja admitted the colloquial origin of his stylistic peculiarities, alluding to the importance of having been born and brought up in a non-Spanish speaking environment:

*Desde un punto de vista psicológico, la sintaxis que emplea cada uno es una consecuencia de su raza y de su cultura. No puede ser lo mismo proceder de un país en que se haya hablado durante siglos un idioma, que ser hijo de unos extranjeros. En este sentido, los más pobres en castellanidad y en latinidad de España y de Hispanoamérica tenemos que ser los vascos<sup>106</sup> (Baroja 1946-67, 1063).*

and he already complained about his poor syntax in his early articles, where he claimed he tended to use too many gerund forms and /ques/:

*Yo, como todo escritor que quiere mejorar su obra, he probado varias veces a emplear el adorno conocido por todos. He hecho el ensayo, he suprimido 'ques', he quitado gerundios, he perseguido los asonantes, he puesto donde estaba escrito 'había nacido' 'naciera', y al final no he hecho más que comprobar que esa especie de perfección, que no es perfección, sino habilidad colectiva y mostrenca, no vale nada<sup>107</sup> (Baroja 1946-67, 475).*

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<sup>104</sup> This 'anti-grammatical reputation' comes mainly from the famous anecdote, related by Ortega in *El Espectador*, about Baroja's doubts as to whether he should say 'go down in, or with slippers.' An apocryphal anecdote, or at the very least made up by Ortega 'so that a handful of fools, who he so loved to irritate, be offended in his grammatical honour.' Nevertheless, as noted by E.G. De Nora (ob. Cit., I, 119), prepositions were not really Baroja's forte (Translation mine).

<sup>105</sup> The sin of the man was to unwittingly sadden the joy of others (Translation mine).

<sup>106</sup> From a psychological point of view, the syntax we use is a consequence of our race and culture. It cannot be the same to hail from a country where the language has been spoken for centuries, as being the son of foreigners. In this argument, the poorest users of Castilian and Latinized language in all of Spain and Latin-America must be the Basques (Translation mine).

<sup>107</sup> As a writer who wishes to improve his writing, I have attempted on various occasions to use the adornment so well known to all. I have done the test, I have suppressed the 'ques' (*whiches*), I have taken out gerunds, I have chased assonants, I have replaced 'had been born' with 'was born,' and finally all I have proven is that this kind of perfection, which is not perfection but collective, ownerless ability, if of no use whatsoever (Translation mine).

Baroja, like many other Basques, preferred to use the indicative where either Castilians or Andalusians would have used the subjunctive: '*Quizá Zuloaga...creía que los hombres de la llamada Generación del 98 eran los causantes de todos los males de España*<sup>108</sup>', (Baroja 1946-67, 897). Furthermore, his use of the unnecessary Spanish proclitic /le/: '*Durante la comida, Maintoni le miraba mucho a Elizabide*<sup>109</sup>', (Baroja 1946-67, 627) is also attributable to Basque dialectism. As he says, and Jon Juaristi corroborates, some of his syntactic peculiarities can be put down to Basque dialectism:

*Desde el Renacimiento, las mal trabadas razones de los vascongados han constituido uno de los más socorridos motivos cómicos de las letras españolas. ¿Cómo olvidar, por ejemplo, la airada perorata del escudero vizcaíno de El Quijote? En cancioneros quinientistas, facecias del Siglo de Oro y villancicos dieciochescos, vizcainos y guipuzcoanos han hablado su torpe castellano para deleite de los lectores hispánicos*<sup>110</sup> (Juaristi 1999, 42).

Although Baroja does not explain where or when he learnt Basque:

*Luego, ya de adulto, dirá que lo habla mal, pero que lo habla, y que las mozas de Cestona le reprochan que lo hace como el cura en los sermones. No dirá si lo habla su familia en casa, salvo en el caso de su abuela. Y es extraño, porque ese dato, para alguien que se siente vasco, es tal vez el más importante, el que establece el nosotros y el ellos que, a modo de conflicto dialéctico, aparecerá en su obra cada vez que de la vitalidad del País Vasco y de sus habitantes se trate.*

*En otro lugar hace una protesta de vasquismo que es por completo desmesurada: 'por ser vasco y no haber hablado mis ascendentes ni yo castellano,' dirá en el prólogo a La Dama Errante.*

*Como puesta en escena del vasquismo y hasta como provocativo exabrupto personal, bien. Otra cosa es si esa afirmación se ajusta, con un mínimo de rigor, a la realidad vivida, no a la que en ese momento le hubiese gustado vivir, no a cómo se veía o cómo quería proyectarse en la escena de papel*<sup>111</sup> (Sánchez-Ostiz 2006, 68).

Baroja spoke Basque, which is surprising in a person who claims to find it difficult to learn a new language:

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<sup>108</sup> Perhaps Zuloaga...believed that the men of the so-called Generation '98 were the cause of all the ills of Spain (Translation mine).

<sup>109</sup> During the meal, Maintoni looked often at Elizabide (Translation mine).

<sup>110</sup> Since the Renaissance the Basques *disjointed reasons* have constituted one of the most-used comic motifs in Spanish literature. Who can forget, for example, the angry rant of the Biscayan squire in *El Quijote*? In sixteenth-century song, Golden Age quips or nineteenth-century carols, Biscayans and Guipuzcoans have stumbled through their clumsy Spanish, to the delight of the Hispanic reader (Translation mine).

<sup>111</sup> Later, already an adult, he'd say he spoke it badly, but he did speak it, and the girls in Cestona would reproach him for speaking it just as the priest did in his sermons. He wouldn't say if his family spoke it at home, except for his grandmother. And it is curious, because this information, for somebody who feels themselves to be Basque, is possibly the most important – the thing which differentiates *us* and *them*, and something which, in the guise of a dialectical conflict, would appear in his work each time he touched on the vitality of the Basque Country and its inhabitants.

Elsewhere he makes a completely disproportionate protest against Basque: take his prologue to *La Dama Errante* (The wandering lady) 'because I'm Basque and neither my ancestors nor I speak Spanish.'

As Basque stage-managing, and even as a provocative personal outburst, this is fine. Another thing altogether is if this affirmation is even slightly true to the reality of his life, as opposed to what he would liked to have lived or how he saw life and wanted to the scene projected on paper (Translation mine).

*Para los torpes de memoria, aprender una lengua es un verdadero suplicio. Yo intenté, hace años, aprender inglés para leer a Dickens; pero comprendí que no tenía paciencia ni condiciones, y que no llegaría nunca a entenderlo como en una traducción... en francés mismo, en el que he leído mucho, no creo que entiendo las cosas tan bien como en castellano. Yo necesito entender las cosas rápidamente, porque si no me aburren*<sup>112</sup>(Baroja 1946-51, 431).

To sum up, we must say that one of the ideas aparent in this section is that despite the fact that Pío Baroja rejected the Basque nationalist ideals and thought that the Basque Country should make an effort to join Spain, not to separate from it, his writings are strongly impregnated with the history and the language of his country; likewise, James Joyce was primarily an Irish writer, conscious of Irish culture and writing in an Irish, even Gaelic tradition, which can be felt not only in his ideas but also in the language he used to express them.

In the introduction to this dissertation we have argued that both Joyce and Baroja tried to dodge the nets of nationalism, religion and language in order to gain the perspective needed in order to create and revolutionize the novel. So far we have seen that even though they felt an extraordinary attachment to their motherlands, they felt the solution to their counties' situation was not to be found in the past, in a language which coloured the way they expressed themselves but which would not let their work become European. On the other hand, they felt that being a nationalist did not imply being a patriot. Thus, they expressed their feelings and were misunderstood by many who criticized their lack of love for their countries. At the same time, we have seen that Baroja had already become entangled in the nets of the political right, and we have seen that Baroja's racism is one of the many differences we find between him and the liberal Joyce. Furthermore, it is politics that will make Baroja flee to France during the war, becoming thus an exile likewise Joyce. This aspect of our writers will be covered in the next point.

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<sup>112</sup> For those of us with a bad memory, learning a language is truly torture. I tried, years ago, to learn English in order to read Dickens, but I understood that I did not have either the patience or the conditions necessary, and that I would never be able to read it as I could in translation. ...in French too, a language I have read much in, I believe I do not understand things as well as in Spanish. I need to understand things quickly, because if not I get bored (Translation mine).

### 2.7. Flying over the Nets.

Both Joyce and Baroja were exiles at some point in their lives. However, we argue that there was an enormous difference between both situations: Baroja found himself reluctantly forced to go into exile by the political situation in his country, whereas Joyce decided on his own Exodus under the belief that his going forth would free him to create and to revolutionise the nature of the novel. In this section we will elaborate on this idea which represents one of the main differences between our writers.

It is well known that due to the condition of provincialism and nationalism that the country was passing through, a young Joyce made his own attempt to establish himself as an artist in Paris, and it is also well known among readers of Joyce that at the end of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, exile comes as the natural result of Stephen's artistic alienation and his longing for personal and artistic independence:

[...] that I may learn in my own life and away from home and friends what the heart is and what it feels. Amen. So be it. Welcome, O life! I go to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race (Joyce 1965, 288).

Consequently, one of the ideas apparent in this section is that Joyce focuses on the theme of exile at the level of existential search, in which he puts art as salvation and the ideal excuse to escape from an absurd world, where there is no chance of being understood. However, the distinction between Exile and Exodus requires clarification; exile entails dislocation and rupture, a sending away, a withdrawal or banishment with no goal or purpose to pursue, expelled, the exile considers his displacement as only temporary, and incessantly recalls his earlier home – a feeling described by Baroja in *Las inquietudes de Shanti Andía*:

*No sé por qué parecen llenas de magia melancólica las cosas pasadas; no se lo explica uno bien; se recuerda claramente que en aquellos días no era uno feliz, que tenía uno sus inquietudes y sus penas, y, sin embargo, parece que el sol de entonces debía brillar más, y el cielo tener un azul más puro y más espléndido*<sup>113</sup> (Baroja 1999, 159).

What is more, exile is draining and stressful, as homelessness dominates the separation of the figure from its origin. Even though it can on occasion provide imaginative stimulation, exile is clearly, on the whole, a negative experience of longing. By contrast, exodus brings emancipation as it is an act of freedom and has a purpose, often of self-fulfilment, as well as a stimulating quality, ‘[...] Much Modernist art has taken its stance from, gained its perspectives out of, a certain kind of distance, an exiled posture – a distance from local origins, class allegiances, the specific obligations and duties of those with an assigned role in a cohesive culture’ (Bradbury 1991, 100).

As we have seen, both Joyce and Baroja were exiles at some point in their lives. However, we argue that there was an enormous difference between both situations; Baroja found himself reluctantly forced to go into exile by the political situation in his country, whereas in spite of Richard Ellman’s argumentation:

[...]Joyce needed exile as a reproach to others and a justification of himself. His feeling of ostracism from Dublin lacked, as he was well aware, the moral decisiveness of his hero Dante’s exile from Florence, in that he kept the keys to the gate. He was neither bidden to leave nor forbidden to return, and after this first departure he was in fact to go back five times. But, like other revolutionaries, he fattened on opposition and grew thin and pale when treated with indulgence. Whenever his relations with his native land was in danger of improving, he was to find a new incident to solidify his intransigence and to reaffirm the rightness of his voluntary absence. In later life he even showed some grand resentment at the possibility of Irish independence on the grounds that it would change the relationship he had so carefully established between himself and his country. ‘Tell me,’ he said to a friend, ‘why you think I ought to wish to change the conditions that gave Ireland and me a shape and a destiny.’ That Joyce could not have written his books in Ireland is likely enough, but he felt the need for maintaining his intimacy with his country by continually renewing the quarrel with her which was now prompting him to leave for the first time (Ellmann 1982, 108).

Joyce believed his own Exodus would free him to create and to revolutionise the nature of the novel:

‘You talk to me of nationality, language, religion. I shall try to fly by those nets’ (Joyce 1965, 231).

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<sup>113</sup> The worries of Shanti Andía – I do not know why past things seem so full of magic melancholy; it’s hard to say why; you clearly recall that you were not happy then, that you had your worries and sorrows, yet it seems too that the sun shone more fiercely, that the sky was a purer and more splendid blue (Translation mine).

We highlight the fact that the adult Joyce had given up any hope that politics could be walled off. After his move to the Continent, the history of his country's subjection to England seemed to him to parallel more and more often other colonial experiences of oppression and rebellion and all his work documents and bears witness to the situation of his fellow citizens as inhabitants of a subject nation. As we have already mentioned, one of the lines of thought followed in this dissertation is that in spite of having been accused of being apolitical, Joyce repeatedly displayed concern over contemporary events, whether it be the development of fascism in France or a world war, conflicts in Ethiopia, Spain or China or dislike of Mussolini, Hitler or English politics; as we have seen, Manganiello reminds us that, 'The first work Joyce ever wrote was political. This was the poem 'Et tu Healy,' which was composed at the age of nine shortly after Parnell's death' (Manganiello 1980, 3). In fact, we state that we might even refer to Joyce as a political writer if we take on the meaning of the word 'political' in its broader sense, 'The whole of human relations in their real, social structure, in the power of making the world' (Ellmann 1977, 73) as Roland Barthes defines the word, or in Robert Dahl's standard definition, 'any pattern of human relationships that involves, to a significant extent, power, rule, or authority' (Manganiello 1980, 8). There is in Joyce's work a tendency to correlate and analogize similar forms of particular 'politics' and the exercises of power; we can find examples of this as early as in *A Portrait*, where Stephen refuses to sign the universal peace petition and MacCann accuses him of being an irresponsible reactionary who spurns the dignity of altruism:

MacCann began to speak with fluent energy of the Tsar's rescript, of Stead, of general disarmament, arbitration in cases of international disputes, of the signs of the times, of the new humanity and the new gospel of life which would make it the business of the community to secure as cheaply as possible the greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number.

The gipsy student responded to the close of the period by crying:

- Three cheers for universal brotherhood!

(Joyce 1965, 223-24)

Stephen's enigmatic posture mirrors Joyce's own as he seems to be curiously unaffected by pressing world problems. Eventually the accusation proves to be unjust. Like MacCann, Stephen is a pacifist

and not a practical anarchist who condones violence. His sense of Realpolitik, i.e. of politics based on practical and material factors rather than on theoretical or ethical objectives, however, enables him to detect a warmonger in disguise, to foresee that Tsar Nicholas's crusade for peace would result in war – the Russo-Japanese war to be more exact. His informed refusal, therefore, punctures mock-idealism based on political naiveté. To Joyce's mind and to his alter-ego's, if altruism fosters one kind of inauthentic future community, then nationalism just fosters another.

As we have said, in this work it becomes apparent that contrary to some people's belief, Joyce did not become blinded by his own genius and lock himself up in his library for the rest of his life – as is well documented –, even in his exile, he kept up to date with the news from his motherland and from the world:

Joyce's political awareness was based on considerable reading. His library in Trieste included especially books by socialists and anarchists. He had, for example, the first 173 Fabian tracts bound in one volume. Among other writers who interested him were notably the two anarchists, Kropotkin and Bakunin, and the social reformer, Proudhon (Ellmann 1977, 82).

Another line of thought of the utmost importance in this dissertation is that the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War marked the beginning of one of the most confusing and contradictory periods in Pío Baroja's life and had enormous repercussion to the content and character of his work. Nevertheless, for a better understanding of the writer's situation and decisions at the time, we must bear in mind that any transition or change entails loss, a loss which may be tempting to disguise; in fact, two features of the period of 1898 can be interpreted as reactions of this type: the experience of crisis, and the phenomenon of conflict, with a third reaction being the lack of reaction. We could think of the despair of Andrés Hurtado in *El Árbol de la Ciencia* at his compatriots' lack of reaction to the loss of Cuba – '*A Andrés le indignó la indiferencia de la gente al saber la noticia*'<sup>114</sup>, (Baroja 1995, 81).

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<sup>114</sup> Andrés was indignant at people's indifference on hearing the news (Translation mine).

In July 1936, at the time of the assassination of José Calvo Sotelo, the leader of the terrorist rightist elements, the Barojas were staying in Itzea – Baroja's house in Bera de Bidasoa – where there was great agitation in the streets, as by July 21<sup>st</sup> the first trucks loaded with Carlist militiamen had already arrived in Bera. Their leader was Beorlegui, whom Baroja had depicted in *El Cabo de las Tormentas*. However, unaware of the danger involved, Baroja approached the *Círculo de la Unión Republicana*, where they had built bonfires to burn encyclopaedias, books by Salgary and some of his own books. Baroja seemed to have forgotten all the pages he had written against Catholicism, the priests and the Carlists themselves; he appeared to think the war had nothing to do with him, it was just the natural and logical consequence of the unstable situation of the country.

Three days after this episode Baroja together with some friends drove to Almandoz and on their way back they were stopped by some Carlist militiamen. They were then forced to get out of their car and ordered to stand next to a wall; Baroja thought they were going to be executed, but claimed not to be afraid, surprising, indeed, as he had always admitted to not being a hero, '*Nos van a matar aquí – pensé yo con cierta indiferencia –. Yo gritaré '¡ Viva la República!'*<sup>115</sup>' (Baroja, *Frente Popular* 1936). At that moment a car driven by some officers pulled up and on recognising Baroja they declared the arrested men to be under military jurisdiction. Baroja and his friends were then ordered to return to Bera but once there they were arrested and forced to go back again. Eventually they decided to head for Santesteban just to be arrested again and taken to prison where they spent long hours full of anxiety until they were freed. Once home, Baroja phoned the Town Hall to ensure his safety but he was curtly told nobody was safe under such circumstances. Consequently, worried about his personal situation, Baroja became a reluctant exile in France where he arrived on July 23<sup>rd</sup> 1936.

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<sup>115</sup> 'They are going to kill us here and now,' I thought, not without a certain indifference. I would shout out 'Long live the Republic!' (Translation mine).

We thus state that unlike Joyce, whose *Exodus* provided him with the freedom he needed to create, Baroja's exile meant a traumatic loss of identity; to prove this we must mark out a group of narrations in Baroja's work after 1936, the narrations that make up the group are novels and short stories, which have in common the civil war as background, or more specifically, the revolutionary scenery of the Republicans. The characters in these narrations feel out of place in the conflict and all of them, in different ways, mirror Baroja's personal experience during his exile in Paris and depict the desolation the writer felt when on his arrival in his motherland he encountered a destroyed and separated country whose people were struggling to survive in the harsh post-war period. We know that part of this work was written during Baroja's stay in France and, as a result, it collects the writer's personal experiences during his expatriation; the rest of the novels, where *Susana* serves as example, were written after his return in 1940 and are the fruits of the memories of an exile. *Susana*, for instance, tells us the story of a man who travels to France on business finding it impossible to return to his country as the civil war has broken out in his absence. Thus he finds himself forced to stay in Paris and to work as a translator so as to survive and send money to the family who have been left behind. Miguel Salazar, the main protagonist of the story, can be seen as Baroja's literary alter ego for three main reasons. Firstly, due to the relation both of them have with medicine; as we have already mentioned, Baroja was a doctor of medicine and worked as such in Madrid and Valencia, while in the novel Salazar runs a pharmacy and translates information about different new drugs into other languages:

*Me llamo Miguel Salazar, y soy hijo de un boticario de un pueblo de la Mancha. He estudiado la carrera de farmacia con muy buenas notas. No considero esto como una gran cosa, pero así es. Antes de terminarla, murió mi padre en la aldea. La familia tuvo que vender la botica. No había en la casa dinero guardado, y me faltaban meses para licenciarme*<sup>116</sup> (Baroja 1981, 7).

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<sup>116</sup> My name is Miguel Salazar and I am the son of a chemist from a town in La Mancha. I have studied a degree in pharmacy and got good marks. I do not consider this to be very important, but that's the way it is. Before I finished my degree my father, back home, died. My family had to sell the chemist's. There was no money to keep it going, and I was graduating in just a few months (Translation mine).

Furthermore, event time coincides as the story is set in Paris at the time when Baroja was an exile and it comes to an end just with the protagonist's arrival in Spain. Accordingly, Paris lost any interest for the author in 1940, when he returned to Madrid to spend his last years during which showing his people their reality became clearer than ever the main reason for his writing and for his literature. As we have seen, placed between two periods in history, with the cultural heritage of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as background, Baroja, who faced a world free of veneer and poetry, could not but choose to convey reality and the possibility of change to his fellow citizens. To his mind, his people deserved and needed to be shown the reality he perceived to help them revive and get rid of that total apathy that kept them paralysed. Unfortunately, as a result of expressing his ideas, Baroja was accused of not loving his country. Similarly, in his work Joyce raised wider issues about nationalism, language, religion and history than many other writers who claimed to be nationalists. What is more, he went even further than them as he did not use abstract terms, 'those big words [...] which make us so unhappy' (*U* 2.264). He understood these issues as the forces that form or deform the individual and consequently dealt with them as such. In accordance with Baroja, setting his work in an Irish atmosphere enabled him to outline and identify betrayal and paralysis without needing to use the 'phrases of the platform' (Joyce 1991, 60). It is well-known that Joyce refused to use his art as a political tool and he did not change his mind when his refusal came to be understood by his people as apathy, even though, in truth, it was just the opposite; Stephen/Joyce loved Ireland, and at the end of *A Portrait* he exiled himself to become the 'conscience of his race' (Joyce 1965, 288).

Something similar happened to Baroja who was attacked by both Republicans and Nationals, i.e. he was misunderstood by the numerous crowds of fanatics that inhabited the so-called two Spains. Nevertheless, his was not the only case in Spain as he shared his fate with all those analytic free-thinkers who refused to follow the ideological limitations imposed by either of the two factions; with the triumph of Franco the *A. B. C.* – a conservative royalist daily journal which had

been publishing since 1<sup>st</sup> June 1905 – became one of the semi-official organs of Franco propaganda, adopting a historical approach to spread and further both contemporary and future aims. Kessel Schwartz depicts the situation in her article ‘Culture and the Spanish Civil War – A Fascist View: 1936-1939’:

It tried to justify Franco’s revolt intellectually, and its contributors sought to provide the moral base, which they saw in Menéndez y Pelayo and other classic conservatives of the past, for future writers. The latter, in their turn, would be the heirs of Ramiro de Maeztu, José María Pemán and other contemporary conservatives. These authors, it was hoped, would emancipate that section of the reading public enslaved by the radical and revolutionary doctrines of the Spanish Republic and aggressively reaffirm the spiritual qualities of their right wing revolt. Not since the time of the Inquisition in Spain was such a deliberate attempt made in that country to determine the future course of Spanish literature (Schwartz 1965, 558).

However, in this section we also point out that there existed an undeniable bond between Pío Baroja and the winners of the civil war which dates from the beginning of the struggle. The relation of Baroja as a writer with the Nationals is clearly seen in the articles he wrote for them and in the two books he edited; his appearance, as member of the *Academia de la Lengua*, at the opening act of the ‘*Instituto de España*’ and the implicit consent he received to publish in 1938 his book *Comunistas, Judíos y demás Ralea* and to edit, the following year, a book of articles under the title *Ayer y Hoy*, leave no room for doubt. Nevertheless, we also defend that Baroja’s behaviour was influenced by the situation of his relatives during and after the war. Offering support to those relatives who had taken shelter in Bera de Bidasoa and avoiding the search and likely havoc of the library of ‘Itzea’ were his main preoccupations; likewise, it is also a fact that acting out of self-interest the Nationals had spread the idea, favourable to their politics, of course, that the Generation of ‘98 were to blame for many of the ills afflicting the country which had led to the civil war:

The Generation of 98 and their presumed followers also shared responsibility for Spain’s literary and political tragedy, according to the Fascists. Capitán Nemo attacked those who signed intellectual manifestoes out of vanity, exhibitionism, or frivolous incomprehension. Men of letters might reach a great elevation in critical investigation of ideas and philosophy, ‘y luego se equivoca como un analfabeto en cuestiones políticas.’ Valle Inclán especially was characterised as a coward and a fool (May 23, 1937). José María Salaverria recalled with sorrow the attempts of the members of the generation to decree the literary death of José Echegaray by attacking him in ‘una especie de manifiesto irreverente y cruel. A la cabeza de los protestantes figuraba el primero Valle-Inclán, maestro en

arbitrariedades, en vanidades, en celos. Firmaron el manifiesto todos los que quisieron.' To Salaverría this represented the most vicious side of Spanish character, for Echegaray, for all his defects, had filled the Spanish stage for many years with his powerful dramas (Schwartz 1965, 564-65).

Baroja's situation was even more dangerous than that of his colleagues as to the general accusation he added that of being anti-clerical and an atheist although, according to Azorín, '*ninguno de los escritores ha sentido con más hondura a España. Nadie más profundamente español que Pío Baroja*<sup>117</sup>' (Azorín 1969, 1921).

One of the ideas emphasised in this section is that critics were not fair with either Joyce or Baroja, especially when it came to their ideologies – according to Richard Ellmann:

Few writers have achieved acknowledgement as geniuses and yet aroused so much discontent and reproach as Joyce. To his Irish countrymen he is still obscene and very likely mad; they were the last of nations to lift the ban on *Ulysses*. To the English he is eccentric and 'Irish', an epithet which, considering the variety of the literature produced by the Irishmen during the last seventy years, sounds dangerously 'English.' To the Americans, who have received him most kindly (although he could not bear their country), he is a great experimentalist, a great city man, but possibly too hard of heart; while to the French, among whom Joyce lived for twenty years, he lacks the refined rationalism which would prove him incontestably a man of letters. As a result of these reservations, Joyce holds his place of eminence under fire; he is much more assailed than writers who are evidently his inferiors (Ellmann 1982, 3-4).

Clichés turned against them. Telling the truth about their people, attacking the political system, the army and the schemes of the clergy, their aggressive attitude towards those they considered responsible for the decadence of their countries, whoever they were, were the main reasons for the critics' distortion of the personalities and intentions of our writers.

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<sup>117</sup> No writer has felt so deeply for Spain. Nobody is more profoundly Spanish than Pío Baroja (Translation mine).



### **III. Breaking away from established religion.**

As we have just mentioned, the Modernist artist was often cut off from family, race and religion. In this section we argue that, at the time, literature replaced religion as an authoritative and validating source of moral principles and values at just that point when religion, specifically Christianity, was weakened by the forces of rationality. We state that Christianity, while no longer powerful in itself, remained a particular locus of values within the now dominant category of culture. Nevertheless we also show that the newly secularized culture could no longer credit its values to Christianity, which, as we have already mentioned, now had no greater status than that of myth.

On the other hand, we also highlight the fact that the inclusion of Catholic elements in Joyce's fiction was motivated by repulsion as well as attraction. In spite of the fact that whenever a church is Joyce's setting – or any aspect of the church his focus – his intent is subversive, his expressions of anti-Catholicism are never un-Catholic as he was resentful enough to attack it and sufficiently initiated to fight it close. In his 'secret war' with the Church, Joyce first practised a kind of passive resistance, and later he employed another familiar tactic, one often favoured by the hostile unbeliever: he became sacrilegious – although his acts of sacrilege were confined to his fiction. We also state that Joyce's continual reference to Catholicism should cause no surprise as he had been raised in the Church and sent to schools run by Jesuits. In truth, if Catholicism was a major part of Joyce's subject, the artist's loss of faith was another circumstance that accounted for Catholicism's imprint upon Joyce's art. We stress the fact that even though his faithlessness allowed him to use what he was already familiar with, i.e. Catholicism's apparatus of ritual and doctrine, Catholicism also provided him with a system of parallels that enabled him to avoid exposition and to indicate meaning and value in images alone. Furthermore, we maintain that Joyce began to undermine

## Breaking away from established religion

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Catholicism as soon as he started to write fiction and that when the young man became the artist his relationship with Catholicism<sup>118</sup> entered its final and most significant stage – its God became raw material for his art and he proceeded to sacrifice Him to what was now a higher purpose – his art.

As for Pío Baroja, we state that having been a medical student and then a physician for a short while, he was familiar with the sciences of his time. He certainly found his way around the theories of Lamarck, Linnaeus, and Darwin, and had no qualms about making pronouncements about heredity, environment, and human behaviour obeying simple biological laws such as the survival of the fittest. However, Baroja was also a moralist and chronicler of his epoch – as well as a curious spirit – so he incorporated disciplines such as history and anthropology into his cultural baggage, and certainly took from them what he could when creating his characters. In short, a familiarity with the sciences, particularly medicine and biology, was instrumental in Baroja's career as a writer.<sup>119</sup> In this dissertation we show that such a lifelong and steady connection to Science, and a constant application of the Sciences, implies a theory of knowledge, an epistemology. In Baroja's case this simply suggests that the Basque novelist reflected on the sciences, and then used some sciences in an effort to comprehend the nature of the world and human psyche.

Baroja's youth coincided with an epochal enthusiasm for Science – at the time there was widespread belief that Science would be a cure-all for humanity. As a result, like Hurtado in *El árbol de la ciencia*, Baroja went to medical school full of illusions, hoping to find, '[...] *una disciplina fuerte y al mismo tiempo afectuosa, y se encontraba con una clase grotesca*' (Baroja 1995, 43). In

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<sup>118</sup> For further discussion on James Joyce and Catholicism see, Sullivan, Kevin. *Joyce among the Jesuits*, Greenwood Press, Westport, 1985 and Lernout, Geert. *Help my Unbelief: James Joyce and Religion*, Continuum, New York, 2010.

<sup>119</sup> Carmen Iglesias believes that medicine allowed him to delve deeper into his knowledge of human nature and to see mankind '[...] *como sólo un médico puede, desde el punto de vista biológico y moral*' (Iglesias 1963, 124).

## Breaking away from established religion

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spite of the fact that Baroja apparently pursued his medical studies without much enthusiasm, Beatrice Patt believes that this experience left a deep impression:

An abiding if not wholly unqualified admiration for science and the scientific method persists in his works until his last years; the number of physicians appearing on the pages of his collected works has been estimated at more than two hundred. For Baroja, at any rate, if literature was his wife, medicine was his mistress (Patt 1971, 15).

For Baroja the point of departure was medicine – studying medicine, going to classes, hating the textbooks and the praxis – and so he expressed it in *El Arbol de la Ciencia*, where his alter ego, Andrés Hurtado, tells us about his experiences in Medical School:

*Otra cosa desagradable para Andrés era el ver, después de hechas todas las disecciones, cómo metían todos los pedazos sobrantes en unas calderas cilíndricas pintadas de rojo, en donde aparecía una mano entre un hígado y un trozo de masa encefálica, y un ojo opaco y turbio en medio del tejido pulmonar*<sup>120</sup> (Baroja 1995, 57).

In *El Árbol de la Ciencia* we learn Hurtado's hope that perhaps physiology will be interesting, more interesting than a novel, because it studies the functions of life, but he is soon proven wrong:

*Tenía Andrés cierta ilusión por el nuevo curso, iba a estudiar Fisiología y creía que el estudio de las funciones de la vida le interesaría tanto o más que una novela; pero se engañó, no fue así. Primeramente el libro de texto era un libro estúpido, hecho con recortes de obras francesas y escrito sin claridad y sin entusiasmo; leyéndolo no se podía formar una idea clara del mecanismo de la vida; el hombre aparecía, según el autor, como un armario con una serie de aparatos dentro, completamente separados los unos de los otros como los negociados de un ministerio*<sup>121</sup> (Baroja 1995, 64).

In this section we intend to delve further into the relation between our writers and the Catholic Church, showing that both considered the church as a force that contributed to the paralysis

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<sup>120</sup> Another unpleasant thing for Andrés was the see how, after the dissections were done, all the leftovers were put into some red-painted cylindrical boilers, where you could find a hand between a liver and a lump of brain, and a murky opaque eye in among the lung tissue (Translation mine).

<sup>121</sup> Andrés was quite enthusiastic about the new course; he was going to study Physiology and he believed that the study of life's function would be as, or more, interesting as a novel. But he was wrong, it was not. First off the text book was stupid, made up of scraps taken from French works, and written without clarity or enthusiasm. Reading it gave no clear idea of the mechanism of life; according to the author, man was simply a cabinet with a series of gadgets inside, as separate from one another as business from politics (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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and even decadence of their countries, on the one hand, and deprived them of their independence and freedom as artists, on the other.

### **3.1. The church and society.**

Literature in 18th Century Ireland, whether in Gaelic or in English, was the fruit of insecurity. The century began with revolution and conquest, a settlement which guaranteed power to a Protestant minority through the political dispossession of the Catholic majority – writing and literature for the rest of the century was usually an argument over the terms and consequences of that settlement. Literary culture in these circumstances was a deeply precarious activity, almost threatened with extinction – Protestant, English-speaking Ireland looked to London for both political security and cultural assurance whereas Catholic, Gaelic-speaking Ireland, in its traumatic condition of loss, did not have such focus for support. Ireland in this period had two, legally-separate, linguistically-distinct cultures, denominated, above all else, by religious affiliation – for 18th Century writers, religion was not a chosen subject or a casual allegiance – for the minority it legitimized colonial rule, while for the majority it explained exclusion from the State. The social, legal, even technological conditions under which authors in both cultures produced their work were worlds apart.

Most Anglo-Irish writers in the period came from middle-class, clerical backgrounds; with such a close identification between the authority of the Church of Ireland and the State, religious values would necessarily and quite naturally inform matters of political controversy. Religion could also offer figures like Swift, the only visible form of tradition, in a country which offered no other forms of security. In fact, classification by religious affiliation was a sharp binary division in 19th Century Anglo-Irish fiction; it split into two irreconcilable opposing forces – if one was not Catholic,

## Breaking away from established religion

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one was Protestant. In fiction, characters were seen as good or bad depending on whether or not their religious denomination was that of their author and underlying all this was a further assumption about class:

It was comforting for some Englishmen to believe – on the basis of the best scientific authority in the Anthropological Society of London – that their own facial angles and orthognathous features were as far removed from those of apes, Irishmen, and Negroes as humanly possible... The simonizing of Paddy in the 1860s thus emanated from the convergence of deep, powerful emotions about the nature of man, the security of property, and the preservation of privilege ... Englishmen who celebrated the genius of the Anglo-Saxon race tended to see themselves as modern Athenians, endowed with Grecian noses and facial angles ... these men thought that the common Catholic Irishman was the antithesis of all these desirable qualities: Paddy was a wild, melancholic, indolent, unstable and prognathous Caliban ... After the outbreak of Fenian violence in the mid-1860s, Paddy descended further to find himself a niche somewhere between the ‘white Negro’ and the anthropoid apes (Curtis 1971,107).

In this section we highlight the fact that the nature of the constitutional relationship between Britain and Ireland and the civil rights of the Catholics were the two issues that dominated Irish high politics in the first half of the 19th Century, both things were interconnected and had already assumed a recognizable shape in the 1780s and 1790s. On 1<sup>st</sup> August 1800, Royal assent was given to the new Act of Union, whose 8 articles defined the relationship between Britain and Ireland in a manner which, with slight modifications, lasted until 1920. The first four articles determined the political aspects of the British-Irish relationship, stressing the level of Irish representation in the new United Parliament; the 5<sup>th</sup> article of the Act created a United Church of England and Ireland, and the 8<sup>th</sup> article formalised the legal and judicial aspects of the New Union, confirming the existing legislation of the Irish Parliament and the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords of the new United Kingdom. The 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> articles of the Union dealt with commerce and finance, and were to prove, next to the principle of Union itself, the most controversial aspects of the measure.

The Union itself and its mode of passage were a focus of controversy throughout the 19th Century, with many of Ireland’s later political, social and economic ills being traced back to this great failure. The short-term political fall-out from the Union was in certain aspects profound: an

## Breaking away from established religion

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independent parliamentary tradition dating back to the Middle Ages was interrupted, while the broader political culture of the island was temporarily subdued. However, Irish parliamentary life did not die, but instead, was transplanted to Westminster where the leading figures of Irish Parliament found new seats and a renewed prominence. The Union was designed to address a number of pressing political issues and to reinforce an unstable Irish constitution – one source of instability lay with the Catholic community and with its uniform exclusion from representative politics. Even though O’Connell and the Catholic Association had clearly impressed a growing body of British parliamentary opinion, it was equally clear that Westminster would not grant emancipation unprompted. The success of the Catholic Association between 1823 and 1825 had fired some – insufficient – parliamentary enthusiasm, but O’Connell and his lieutenants had to turn to Irish electoral politics to provide the necessary further stimulus. The general election of 1826 offered the New Catholic Association an opportunity to test its electoral strength. The outcome was the victory of an emancipationist, a member of the Catholic Association, over Ascendancy Toryism. The Clare election in 1828 stimulated further Catholic organization and the emancipation of 1829 opened the way to Catholic participation in Parliament and public office, but of course, these boons affected only small educated and propertied elite.

The Emancipation Act opened the way to Catholic domination of Irish representative politics, but the Emancipation movement determined the nature of this domination. However, if the emancipationists looked forward to the Home Rule movement, then equally they looked back to a long tradition of Catholic activism. Thus, emancipation is significant not just as the foundation of constitutional nationalist politics but as the culmination of 70 years of organised Catholic agitation: it is significant, therefore, as a historical intersection. Emancipation was not of course the economic

## Breaking away from established religion

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liberation of Irish Catholics; it was the measure by which the prosperity of Catholics began to be converted into social and political recognition.

Back in Spain, the period between the early years of the 19th Century and the Spanish Civil War in 1936 was characterised by the struggle for the secularisation of the Spanish institutions. Even though this process was certainly analogous to that undergone in most Catholic European countries at the time, it also presented some specific characteristics, mainly its length and violence resulting in frequent civil wars and the obvious lack of a train of thought which could be defined as Catholic-liberal. We must wait until the years leading up to the First World War to find a set of secular measures imposed on the Church not by the government but by Spanish society. On the one hand, the Spanish Church was intellectually unprepared to fight the measures promoted by Spanish intellectuals; on the other, there was an increase in public demonstrations of cult and devotion at the same time. This situation not only caused a stir in Spanish society but also in Ireland, as the often underestimated sway over Irish Catholicism held by the 19th Century Spanish Church must not be forgotten – as historian Paul Blanshard asserts ‘Irish Catholicism has always acknowledged a great debt to Spain and a great affinity with its outlook’(Blanshard 1954, 167).

With the setting up of the censorship board, the subsequent banning of the best works produced by Irish writers and the establishment of a new ‘murder-machine’ in Irish education, the influence of the Catholic Church on the Irish Free State proved to be a major obstacle to the cultural development of the country.

Language, nationalism and religion were the three big issues of the time, the nets from which Joyce fled to Europe; of the three, we argue that religion was the least discussed and the most divisive. The political face of Protestantism was as familiar to Irish Catholics as its spiritual one was

## Breaking away from established religion

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unknown to them; most Catholics were aware only of the spiritual side of their own religion and unaware of its political aspect. They failed to understand the deep-seated reserve which even the most nationally-minded Irish Protestants bore towards Catholicism, the Church of the Inquisition, of anti-Semitism and Papal infallibility, the authoritarian enemy of liberalism, secularism and science; and they took Anglo-Irish distaste for it to be a relic of the old contempt of Ascendancy for the religion of its serfs. Contrary to Ernest Renan's statement, as the Irish language declined, Catholicism became the main distinctive feature of the Irish as a nation:

Religion cannot supply an adequate basis for the constitution of a modern nationality either. Originally, religion had to do with the very existence of the social group, which was itself an extension of the family. Religion and rites were family rites. [...] Religion has become an individual matter; it concerns the conscience of each person (Renan 1990, 17-18).

Back in Spain, the main characteristic of society during the time of the Old Regime was its Theocracy, the union between Church and Crown, which had as a result the extension of the clergy in Spanish society; their principal mottos of dignity, honour, obedience and resignation in the face of poverty – in short, Nietzsche's slave-morality. However, in spite of the situation, it is not until the 18th Century that we come to appreciate the clash between the politicians who were in favour of the Europeanization of Spain and the defenders of tradition and a policy of isolation. This clash gave birth to the legend of the two Spains – on the one hand, cultivated and illustrated, and on the other dark and reactionary – a situation depicted by Machado in his poems:

*Ya hay un español que quiere  
vivir y a vivir empieza,  
entre una España que muere  
y otra España que bosteza.  
Españolito que vienes  
al mundo, te guarde Dios.  
Una de las dos Españas  
ha de helarte el corazón*<sup>122</sup> (Machado 2006, 120).

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<sup>122</sup> There is now a Spaniard who wants

## Breaking away from established religion

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Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and into the beginning of the 20th Century the Church as a whole faced a series of crises and challenges arising from the increasingly powerful secular movements. The reality of the Church's difficulty on the Continent was felt in different ways by the Irish Church. Precisely because of its ambivalent placing between State and Nation, its struggle was not to retain power and privileges but to gain and consolidate them. In order to do this, the Irish Church had to negotiate with the State, but could not afford to compromise itself for fear of losing to the nation the intangible but important privileges it held; as to the specific challenges of Modernism from within and socialism from without, these too had to be dealt with on the Irish Church's own terms. The Irish Church could enforce its opinions and teachings either by direct force or by the indirect pressure available to it as an inescapable fact of Irish experience and it was helped by Rome's difficulties in maintaining its independence. With regard to both the British State and the Vatican, the Irish Church displayed a mixture of conformity and defiance. Its major project during Joyce's childhood and early manhood was the attempt to establish De Jure denominational education in Ireland and to found a Catholic University; in pursuing this aim the Church was following its own supranational interests as well as attending to the needs of Ireland. However, the means by which the aim was pursued were controlled by national considerations.

Growing up in the Catholic Irish society James Joyce felt the Church deprived him of his individuality; furthermore, he thought this deprivation aided in the creation of what he viewed as a decadent society.

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To live and begin to live  
Between one Spain dying  
And the other Spain yawning.  
Little Spaniard who comes  
Into the world, God protect you.  
One of the two Spains  
Must freeze your heart (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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As we have seen, the Church of Joyce's day demanded absolute obedience and total subjection of self to the powers above, both spiritual and temporal, and frowned on any acts of overt individuality within its massive community and Joyce was determined to fight against their demands.

As for Baroja, we must bear in mind that he was a thinker of few sympathies and strong antipathies. However, among his aversions the Catholic Church is one of the most evident. In fact, there is scarcely a novel which does not include bitter or satirical remarks about Catholicism and its adherents. Baroja's primary objections to Catholicism were based on his own agnosticism and materialism: *'Esta posición agnóstica es la más decente que puede tomar una persona. Ya no sólo las ideas religiosas están descompuestas, sino que lo está lo más sólido y lo más indivisible. [...] El átomo, la unidad del alma y de la conciencia, la certidumbre de conocer, todo es sospechoso hoy'*<sup>123</sup>(Baroja 1985, 26). In truth, his materialism was not so much a dogma or a philosophic system as a manner of thought: *'No porque creamos que la material exista tal como la vemos, sino porque es la manera de negar las estúpidas fantasías, los misterios que empiezan con mucho recato y acaban por sacarnos el dinero del bolsillo'*<sup>124</sup> (Baroja 1985, 26). Eventually, his agnostic attitude naturally made him an enemy of the Church as a repository of absolute truth, in *Divagaciones Apasionadas*, for instance, he opposes those who believe that the Church is the truth and that truth should be backed by force to those who believe that truth is almost inaccessible, and he defends the fact that even though it were accessible it need never be backed by force (Baroja 1985, 181). Following a nineteenth-century tradition, exemplified in Herbert Spencer and Thomas Huxley, Baroja later states that science has undermined the foundations of religion. Even in rural Spain, where Catholicism is so

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<sup>123</sup>This agnostic position is the most decent stand one can take. Not only are religious ideas now coming apart, but also everything that was solid and indivisible. [...] The atom, the unity of soul and conscience, the certainty of knowledge – everything is suspect today (Translation mine).

<sup>124</sup> It is not because we believe that substance exists the way we see it, but because of the way these stupid fantasies are denied. Mysteries appear with great modesty and end up leaving us out of pocket (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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strong, he contends that half the believers would desert the Church if scientific theories were to be popularized among them (Baroja 1982, 274-75); to his mind, whereas science is clear, confident, and constructive religion is mysterious and obscure (Baroja 2006, 180-81).

As for Joyce, he saw the parish priests as the primary catalysts in the deterioration of Irish society. By binding their minds to the edicts of their Church, by becoming essentially passive creatures, Joyce thought they had degraded themselves and so were inadequate for the tasks they had to perform. He found, as Baroja did, that by limiting themselves to a Church-oriented view of the world, the priests had betrayed a large part of the Irish populace since lacking real direction and living in untested virtue, the Irish fell easily prey to sin.

Similarly, another phase of religion which provoked Baroja's ire was its morality, both theoretical and practical. The idea of innate sin appeared to him an incentive to vice, he claimed that sin is like the husk of pleasure – the black mask which veils the face of vice and promises greater voluptuous pleasure (Baroja 2009, 20). In *Las Horas Solitarias*, Baroja claims that vice is really ridiculous and had the Church not set an aura about it everyone would simply scoff at it (Baroja 1982, 384) and in *La Sensualidad Pervertida*, he presents a man, José Mari, who leads a free, vicious life and who is notwithstanding a firm Catholic. Baroja's character justifies his actions on the grounds that the Church teaches that man is naturally sinful and that the flesh is weak. Therefore he feels that the natural procedure is to sin, repent, and be absolved (Baroja 2006, 218-19). Hence, the unpardonable defect in Catholic morality – according to Baroja – is its hypocrisy and insincerity; as a consequence, nearly all the basic doctrines of Catholic Christianity receive their share of abuse in his works; in regard to many aspects of the ritual of the Catholic Church Baroja displays not only disapproval but also considerable irreverence; he claims that God should have created the world by verbal fiat, for instance, is a belief, in his eyes, worthy only of savages and Catholics (Baroja 1982,

## Breaking away from established religion

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207); confession and Holy communion –especially as practiced among devout Spanish women – are described as farcical nonsense and many of the familiar practices of Spanish Catholicism, such as the adoration of exceedingly realistic Christs, or the petitions to saints for rich sweethearts, give occasion for bits of sardonic humour on Baroja’s part (Baroja 2006, 83).

However, it is also important to always bear in mind that part of Baroja’s rancor against Catholicism was linked with his ubiquitous prejudice against the Jews. The Semites, he said, were the real inventors of religion because they are a visionary, unbalanced, feverish people (Baroja 1976, 175-77).

On the other hand, Joyce perceived that it was not just himself, but all of Ireland that was being stifled by the inanities of an outdated church, and he was well aware of the methods utilized by the Church to keep their ‘sheep’ in line. The hierarchy packed a strong political punch, and the priests, who were perhaps some of the most powerful men in the country held a devastating control over the general populace.

Clearly, the power that the Catholic Church wielded in Ireland was not to be underestimated – this was the body that had demolished Parnell in a fraction of the time it had taken him to build up his devoted following. It was an establishment that closely controlled the lives of Irish Catholics with an iron hand, stating that it had ‘no confidence in the general conscience of mankind,’ (Blanshard 1954, 73) and insisted that not only the simple folk, but educated men should also bend to its will. Its grip was so strong that the Jesuits preached: ‘We ought always to hold that we believe what seems to us white to be black, if the Hierarchical Church so defines it’ (Morse 1959, 78). In short, the Church demanded obedience and submission as it took dead aim for the ‘world’s conversion’ (Cuthbert 1914, 289-300) – as Father Cuthbert aptly stated, the Church aimed at making saints:

## Breaking away from established religion

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The main purpose of the Church [...] is to make saints, to teach the redeeming Gospel of Jesus Christ, to warn men against the evils of the world, and to bear witness to the truths which come not from the natural intelligence and life of man, but from the supernatural revelation of God in Christ (Cuthbert 1914, 290).

Lacking any faith in human nature, thereby placing all faith in the hands of the Creator, was the focal point of Catholic Christianity and what repelled Joyce was: ‘not God, not any possible absurdity of dogma, but the institutional coercion of the individual mind’ (Morse 1959, 4). Since Joyce could not and would not allow his spirit to be fettered, he chose to pursue art instead, to pursue a life ideal (Brennan 1964, 12).

Although it was a fact that the parish priest was a figure of enormous power in Ireland, since he controlled social as well as religious functions (Adams 1966, 24-25), it appeared to Joyce that ‘by mortifying their wills they degraded themselves and damaged or destroyed their soul’ (Morse 1959, 60-70); Joyce saw the priest as an opportunistic, hypocritical and incompetent creature who had both betrayed his religion and his country<sup>125</sup>. It was his opinion that the priests had forsaken a large part of the Irish populace in order to serve their own selfish needs. In this sense, they had betrayed their people by denying them the guidance they needed. As a result of this lack of direction, the Irish developed into a decadent, lifeless society. However, the clergy and the people both were proud of the fact that theirs was purportedly the most morally chaste of all societies. Amenable and tolerant as they were, the Irish were adamant concerning this theory (Murphy M., 426). Besides exploding the falsity of this purity myth, Joyce depicts this Catholic controlled environment as being cursed by its controllers:

[...] an island [...] the inhabitants of which entrust their wills and minds to others that they may ensure for themselves a life of spiritual paralysis (Joyce 1991, 146).

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<sup>125</sup> As Stanislaus Joyce recounts in *My Brother's Keeper*: ‘This attitude gained force when, shortly after the death of his younger brother George the local priest came to visit Mrs. Joyce. At this time of grief the priest tried to convince her that she should cast out the two eldest, James and Stanislaus, because of the evil influence they passed to the rest of the family’ (Joyce S. 2003, 190).

## Breaking away from established religion

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In truth, many of the qualities of the Irish Church were derived not from Catholicism per se but from the fact that Catholicism was the medium through which Irishness was often expressed. In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, as Cheng argues, Stephen thinks of Emma as a representation of Ireland, unable to recognise in her his own personal alternative and liberation – and so it is she who finally embodies for Stephen the seductive, batlike, bloodsucking soul of Ireland and its race:

perhaps the secret of her race lay behind those dark eyes ... a batlike soul waking to the consciousness of itself ... [with] a priested peasant, with a brother a policeman in Dublin ... To him she would unveil her soul's shy nakedness, to one who was but schooled in the discharging of a formal rite rather than to him, a priest of eternal imagination, transmuting the daily bread of experience into the radiant body of everliving life (Joyce 1965, 221).

Emma's familiarity with the young priest (Father Moran) and with her policeman brother suggests to Stephen an emblematic collusion of the Irish race with the religious and secular institutions that constitute the authorities and hierarchies that oppress it – and him; as Ireland embodied, Emma seems to him more willing to unveil her body and sell her soul to those authorities and strangers who would exploit her, than to recognise in Stephen the artist/priest of her imagination seeking to liberate her – favouring, like the milkwoman, her exploiters rather than her artists. Stephen's belief that Emma flirted with Father Moran leads to the fusion of representations of the Virgin and the prostitute in a fragmented image he forms of Emma, 'on all sides distorted reflections of her image started from his memory' (Joyce 1965, 239), as the protagonist creates a false opposition between the youthfully innocent Emma, and the sexually alluring 'temptress of the villanelle'. Paradoxically, Stephen's readings of women are contained, even towards the end of the novel, by the conventional morality and legacies of Catholicism from which he asserts a desire to free himself. In a similar way, in Baroja's *Camino de Perfección*, Ossorio transforms the '*mujer de*

## Breaking away from established religion

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*luto* ' into an unreal image which is characteristic of his failure to connect the intellectual/spiritual to the physical in his relationship with women.

As we have said, Joyce saw that the Irish people's intellectual meekness was a fatal flaw and he rebelled (Morse 1957). In his drive for the ideal, not the actual, and for the exemplary rather than the common, in his desire to break from the childish, self-deceptive faith of the common people and to forge a faith of his own, he attacked what he termed 'Irish moral hypocrisy' (O'Brien 1968, 51). To achieve such a conception, though, he had to break free from the faith that bound him. And as he went to say in a letter to Lady Gregory:

I want to achieve myself – little or great as I may be – for I know that there is no heresy or no philosophy which is so abhorrent to my church as a human being (Gilbert 1955, 53).

This passage summarizes and defines the facets of Catholicism Joyce opposes: the denial of the individual which leads to a loss of motivation thereby creating the relatively easy subjugation of society – this extract from 'The Sisters' describes the Reverend James Flynn as viewed by a young boy:

Had he not been dead I would have gone into the little dark room behind the shop to find him sitting in his armchair by the fire, nearly smothered in his great-coat. Perhaps my aunt would have given me a packet of High Toast for him and this present would have roused him from his stupefied doze. It was always I who emptied the packet into his black snuff-box for his hands trembled too much to allow him to do this without spilling half the snuff about the floor. Even as he raised his large trembling hand to his nose little clouds of smoke dribbled through his fingers over the front of his coat. It may have been these constant showers of snuff which gave his ancient priestly garments their green faded look for the red handkerchief, blackened, as it always was, with the snuff stains of a week, with which he tried to brush away the fallen grains, was quite inefficacious (Joyce 1988, 10-11).

Contained within this portrayal are Joyce's two main protestations, the loss of individuality and putrefaction of society, both exemplified in the priest, similarly, it is usual to find in Baroja's works unsavoury portrayals of the priesthood. Although Baroja claimed that he did not attack the clergy immoderately he described them as hypocritical, ignorant, clownish and eager for authority

## Breaking away from established religion

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and he claimed that their defects arose from the dogmas which they defended (Baroja 1982, 273). For instance, in *El Mayorazgo de Labraz*, his treatment of the townspeople of Labraz shows an astute awareness of the problems of contemporary Spanish society. The pettiness and cruelty of the town provide a backdrop of social criticism for the conflict in the foreground of the hero with Ramiro, social conditions, and his own atrophied will. Baroja's characterization of the townspeople contradicts somehow his criticism of Nietzsche for his lack of sympathy for ordinary people:

*Como la gente del pueblo no leía ni pensaba, todas sus energías eran únicamente vengativas. La única ocupación moral que tenían era el denunciarse y el armar pleitos. Los instintos brutales, a medias contenidos por el miedo al infierno, a medias irritados por el resquicio que la hipocresía deja a todos los vicios, habían hecho a los habitantes de Labraz de una inaudita ferocidad (Baroja 1998, 123)<sup>126</sup>.*

The narrator assumes a morally superior stance in describing the people of Labraz as mindless, brutal and bestial. His social criticism appears most strikingly, however, in the funeral banquet following Cesárea's burial. The clergy and *hidalgos* (lords) present at the dinner indicate that Labraz has maintained the traditional strong link between the nobility and the Church. The seating arrangement at the table suggests a hierarchic, archaic sense of social order; Baroja focuses especially on a member of the clergy, a dean who he transforms into a grotesque, gigantic stomach. He classifies him as '*clericus anducatoris*' or '*digestivus*:'

*Más que hombre, era un estómago; todos los demás órganos de su cuerpo se habían debido de atrofiar por falta de uso (Baroja 1998, 160).<sup>127</sup>*

However, there is another aspect to Baroja's ideas about the Jesuits. Especially in certain books – like *El Árbol de la Ciencia* or *César o Nada* –, he asserted emphatically his sincere

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<sup>126</sup>As the people of the town neither read nor thought, all their energies were directed solely towards ideas of revenge. The only moral business they pursued was to complain and sue. The baser instincts, half contained by their fear of Hell, and half irritated by the after taste of hypocrisy which every vice leaves behind, had made the inhabitants of Labraz unusually fierce (Translation mine).

<sup>127</sup>More than a man he was a stomach; all of the other organs in his body appeared to have atrophied through lack of use (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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admiration for the order and its work before the nineteenth century. Their founder, Ignacio de Loyola, was a Basque, as was Baroja, and his compatriot did not hesitate to recognize the strength and genius of St. Ignatius; Baroja stated that Loyola had had the zeal and persistence of a modern anarchist, and had been an amazing organizer (Baroja 2006, 170-71). What's more, he claimed that the Church would have died long ago had it not been for the impetus of Loyola's organization. According to Baroja, St. Ignatius and St. Javier impressed on the order a strong and heroic spirit and later the Jesuits developed a tradition of subtlety and mental keenness which resulted in a flourishing and original school of theologians and moralists. Baroja considered the Jesuits' ethics to be forthright and sincere as the aim of the moral code of the Jesuits was to furnish a practical morality for imperfect human beings. He saw in the old Jesuit authors a pragmatic attitude toward human weakness which was akin to his own, and he consequently gave them credit.

Likewise, Joyce's admiration for the Jesuits is reflected by Richard Ellmann:

If Joyce retained anything from his education, it was a conviction of the skill of his Jesuit masters, the more remarkable because he rejected their teaching. 'I don't think you will easily find anyone to equal them,' he said long afterwards to the composer Philipp Jarnach, and he corrected his friend Frank Budgen's book on him by remarking, 'You allude to me as a Catholic. Now for the sake of precision and to get the correct contour on me, you ought to allude to me as a Jesuit.' To the sculptor August Suter, who asked him what he retained from his Jesuit education, Joyce replied, 'I have learnt to arrange things in such a way that they become easy to survey and to judge' (Ellmann 1982, 27).

In this section we have described the union Altar-Throne apparent in Spanish and Irish societies and the strong grip the Church had on both societies. As we have seen, both Joyce and Baroja felt that the clergy's hypocritical attitudes were suffocating their societies and reacted against them. Unlike Joyce, Baroja's opinions were influenced by his racist attitude against the Jews and Judaism but, however, their opinions against the stifling influence of the Church over their fellow-countrypeople were similar at the core. Likewise, both looked up to the Jesuits and separated them

## Breaking away from established religion

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from the rest of the clergy. In the next point we will see how our writers tried to escape the nets of religion and Catholicism and to find a substitute for religion in their art.

### **3.2. Europeanism and secularization.**

As we have seen, Joyce's apostasy was motivated by his desire for freedom of expression and sexuality, as well as by his anger toward the Church's intrusion into nationalist politics. As early as *Stephen Hero*, Joyce expresses his frustration with the Church's repression when his alter-ego, Stephen, is subjected to specific spiritual tyranny by having his paper on Ibsen censored by Dr. Dillen, the president of the college. Dr. Dillen, as a figure of hierarchical tyranny and suppression, is appropriately both an Englishman and a Catholic priest. Indeed, to Stephen, the Jesuit monastery resembles the military mentality associated with conquest and empire, 'He recognised at once the martial mind of the Irish Church in the style of this ecclesiastical barracks' (Joyce 1991, 73).

In this section we maintain that Joyce's expanding literary taste from 1897 onward also evinces his growing obsession with the idea of 'Europeanism.' Throughout the year 1898-99 Joyce was reading about the Dreyfus Affair in several Dublin journals; the discourse about 'the Jew' in these articles affected even further his ill-feelings toward the Church. In 1894, Captain Alfred Dreyfus, an officer of the French general staff, was accused of spying for Germany, France's opponent in the last war. Papers were discovered in a waste-paper basket in the office of a German military attaché, which made it appear that a French military officer was providing secret information to the German government. Dreyfus came under suspicion, probably because he was a Jew and also because he had access to the type of information that had been supplied to the German agent. As a result, the army authorities declared that Dreyfus's handwriting was similar to that on the papers. Despite his protestations of innocence he was found guilty of treason in a secret military court-

## Breaking away from established religion

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martial, during which he was denied the right to examine the evidence against him. The army stripped him of his rank in a humiliating ceremony and shipped him off to life imprisonment on Devil's Island, a penal colony located off the coast of South America. The political Right, whose strength was steadily increasing, cited Dreyfus's alleged espionage as further evidence of the failures of the Republic. Édouard Drumont's right-wing newspaper *La Libre Parole* intensified its attacks on the Jews, portraying this incident as further evidence of Jewish treachery. Dreyfus seemed destined to die in disgrace. However, an unlikely defender came to his rescue, motivated not by sympathy for Dreyfus but by the evidence that he had been railroaded and that the officer who had actually committed espionage remained in a position to do further damage. Such person was Lieutenant Colonel Georges Picquart, an unapologetic anti-Semite, who had been appointed chief of army intelligence two years after Dreyfus was convicted. After examining the evidence and investigating the affair in greater detail, he concluded that the guilty officer was a Major named Walsin Esterhazy. Nevertheless, Picquart soon discovered that the army was more concerned about preserving its image than about rectifying its error, and when he persisted in attempting to reopen the case the army transferred him to Tunisia. A military court then acquitted Esterhazy, ignoring the convincing evidence of his guilt. 'The Affair' might have ended then but for the determined intervention of the novelist Émile Zola, who published his denunciation '*J'accuse!*' of the army cover-up in a daily newspaper. Zola was found guilty of libelling the army and sentenced to imprisonment – he fled to England where he remained until being granted amnesty. At this point public passion became more aroused than ever, as the political Right and the leadership of the Catholic Church –both of which were openly hostile to the Republic – declared the Dreyfus case to be a conspiracy of Jews and Freemasons designed to damage the prestige of the army and thereby destroy France. Some time later another military officer discovered that additional documents had been added to the Dreyfus

## Breaking away from established religion

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file. He determined that Lieutenant Colonel Hubert Henry had forged the documents, which seemed to strengthen the case against Dreyfus, in anticipation that Dreyfus would be given a new trial. Immediately after the interrogation, Hubert Henry committed suicide. In 1899 the army did, in fact, conduct a new court-martial which again found Dreyfus guilty and condemned him to ten years detention, although it was observed that there were ‘extenuating circumstances.’ In September 1899, the President of France pardoned Dreyfus, thereby making it possible for him to return to Paris, but he had to wait until 1906 to be exonerated of the charges, after which he was restored to his former military rank. In 1905, the Radical party, emphasizing the role of the Catholic leadership in the Dreyfus case, succeeded in passing legislation separating Church and State. Joyce viewed the Church’s anti-Dreyfusard position as another abuse of its institutional power – an abuse that perpetuated stereotypes of ‘the Jew’ as conspirator against the Christian state. While the controversies of the Affair were confusing, the Church’s role in the scandal served only to galvanise Joyce’s rebellion. Directly after reading about Dreyfus, Joyce experienced the scandal raised over Yeats’s *The Countess Cathleen*, and his belief in himself as a ‘voice of reform’ trapped in a wilderness of provincial minds was further reinforced. Even though the seeds of Joyce’s anger had of course been planted years before, as far back as 1891 and Parnell’s fall, in this point we make it apparent that during his year at University College his apostasy was reinforced by his reading of avant-garde literature issuing from the Continent.

Likewise, the Trials of Montjuic which followed a terrorist attack in June 1896, where those arrested were subjected to torture, caused a great stir in turn-of-the-century Spanish society and worked as a unifying force for progressive intellectuals. Twelve people died in the attack and casualties numbered 35; the repression that followed mainly affected Catalan anarchism. Four hundred people were arrested and locked in Montjuic Castle and eventually 87 of those arrested were

## Breaking away from established religion

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prosecuted by military commissions. The judicial procedures were not performed with due diligence and confessions were obtained through torture. A military court-martial was first held in the Castle in December 1896 but the verdict was not passed until April 1897 in Madrid; five people were sentenced to death, several were sentenced to 18 years imprisonment and 63 were acquitted but forced to live in exile. In this dissertation we argue that in Spain, this trial played a similar role to that of the Dreyfus affair in France – both proceedings brought about the discredit of the parliamentary system together with a criticism and a rejection of the power held by both the army and the church, and of the way they enforced it. It became the practical realization of the role of the ‘intellectual’ as creator of a train of thought needed to analyze and diagnose social reality and as a herald who would take whatever steps necessary to make public opinion aware of the situation:

As is a tendency of ‘isms’, Modernism was an intensifying atmosphere of aesthetic, cultural and political differentiations with a certain common psychology, sociology and formalism. As in all sects, religious or political – and it was on such analogues that the movements formed and acted – ‘ism’ tended towards schism, denominationalism. So they appropriately rallied followers, mounted displays, enacted themselves in public. Hence of considerable importance to their history are the manifestos they presented and the magazines they promoted or published (Bradbury-McFarlane 1991, 202).

Both the Dreyfus Affair and the Montjuic Trials put several crucial matters up for discussion: the role of intellectuals and science, the breakdown of the State, the separation of Church and State, and, especially, the appearance of a concept and feeling that had serious consequences for European democracies: military nationalism.

In this section we argue that the ‘*cómodo remanso*’ of Spanish life which had followed the attempted restoration and the last Carlist war (1880 to 1895) just at the time when Spanish intellectuals were still finding their feet – created in them a deep feeling of void, decadence and falsehood. However, they were not the first or only ones to feel this way – Matthew Arnold had already depicted this situation, which is distinctively echoed in Joyce, in his 1863 essay on Heine:

## Breaking away from established religion

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Modern times find themselves with an immense system of institutions, established facts, accredited dogmas, customs, rules, which have come to them from times not modern. In this system their life has to be carried forward, yet they have a sense that this system is not of their own creation, that it by no means corresponds exactly with the wants of their actual life, that for them, it is customary, not rational. The awakening of this sense is the awakening of the modern spirit (Arnold 1962, 109).

We argue that, until then, Spanish intellectuals had observed real Spanish history from a distance; however, it soon became a war zone for them, a place for personal expression and individual assertion. They theorized on both history and land in order to de-theorize themselves. As a result, they placed the individual counter to traditional and collective history, a history which had apparently come to an end. Through literature their souls sought out ‘modern’ Europe and they discovered the blinding, terrible adventure towards the complete secularization of life, undertaken by Europeans since the 18th Century and even earlier. Together with Joyce, they would probably have agreed with Wilde’s comment, ‘It is enough that our fathers believed. They have exhausted the faith-faculty of the species. Their legacy to us is the scepticism of which they were afraid’ (Wilde 1997, 1039-40).

In this section we defend that the pages read –Shakespeare and Montaigne, Hegel and Balzac, Leopardi and Stendhal – showed or suggested the alarming gigantomachy of modern Europe in relation with the autarchy of the human spirit. *‘El tiempo y yo, contra todos’*<sup>128</sup>, Spanish folklore said ironically; whilst European man proudly claimed after the 16<sup>th</sup> Century *‘mi naturaleza y yo, contra todo’*<sup>129</sup>. The eager contact of the Spanish youth who had first been educated in a Catholicism that can be described as:

*más consuetudinario que realmente vivido, carentes del apoyo que presta una religiosidad socialmente vigorosa, acaban por separarse de la pasiva creencia infantil y aún de toda práctica católica regular*<sup>130</sup> (Laín Entralgo 1968,71).

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<sup>128</sup> Time and I, against all things (Translation mine).

<sup>129</sup> My nature and I, against all things (Translation mine).

<sup>130</sup> More of a custom than a life choice, lacking the support of a socially vigorous religiosity, they end up pererating from the passive childlike beliefs and even from any regular Catholic practices (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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with the written testimony of that gigantomachy – in its second stage, the anti- or trans-rational – and their bitter relationship with the Spain of their day, acted together on their souls and had as a result a similar reaction: a clear separation from Catholic orthodoxy:

*Una religión decadente, virtualmente practicada por un clero demasiado metido en política, sin vigor apostólico y con mucha ignorancia del credo que debía enseñar. Lo clerical y lo eclesiástico estorbábanles más que los mismos dogmas. No fue la corrupción de costumbres lo que movió a los jóvenes intelectuales a abandonar el dogma católico, como suele decirse por ahí muchas veces por pereza intelectual o por simplificar la historia, sino una verdadera indignación intelectual que se ha dejado sentir demasiado en el catolicismo español de estos últimos siglos*<sup>131</sup> (Oromí 1943, 48).

We argue that it could be true that the cause of this rejection of religion was, as Entralgo suggests, the lack of historical example in the Spanish Catholicism of their day since these men felt as foreign in Spanish Catholicism as they did in the landscape of Castile or in the Spain of the 16th and 17th Centuries. Unamuno rejected the idea, the dogma and the human reason; Baroja, on the other hand, was characterised by his anti-clerical and blasphemous tirade – in his words, ‘*con la mentira vive la religión*<sup>132</sup>’; in his work, the reason for Baroja’s certain uprooting was clearer than in other members of his generation: education, character and the general circumstances shaped his rejection, which did not vary over the years, ‘*Un periódico tradicionalista la emprendió conmigo y me llamó ateo, plagiaro, borracho y jumento. Eso de ateo, yo no lo consideré como un insulto, sino más bien como un honor*<sup>133</sup>’ (Baroja 1985, 68). In truth, Baroja longed for social reform and a society free from the restrictions imposed by the hieratic attitude of the Spanish Catholic Church, and wanted to play an active role in this change; but he also wished for a rebirth of the pagan, individualistic and cosmic feeling of the first inhabitants of The Basque Country:

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<sup>131</sup> A religion in decline, only virtually practised by a clergy overly dedicated to politics, with no apostolic vigour and much ignorance of the Credo they are supposed to be teaching. All things clerical and ecclesiastic got in the way, more so even that the dogma. It was not the corruption of morals which moved the young intellectuals to abandon Catholic dogma, as is often misquoted because of intellectual laziness or in order to simplify the story, but a real poverty of intellect which has become more and more apparent in Spanish Catholicism in recent centuries (Translation mine).

<sup>132</sup> ‘religion survives thanks to lies’ (Translation mine).

<sup>133</sup> A traditionalist newspaper lashed out at me and called me atheist, plagiarist and a drunk donkey. I do not consider that calling someone an atheist is an insult – rather an honour (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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*La verdad es que nuestras ideas y nuestras costumbres vascas corren ya un gran peligro. El cristianismo avanza por todas partes. Todo nos quieren quitar esos cristianos, esos cultores, para substituir nuestras prácticas. ¿Y por qué? Por discursos en latín que no entendemos*<sup>134</sup> (Baroja 1986, 51).

In this section we highlight the fact that Revivalism, conceived of as cultural nationalism, predated Yeats' birth by about a century, and evolved not from a national consensus but, ironically enough, partly out of Catholic demands for social and political parity with Protestant Ireland. Although initially, Anglo-Ireland was unimpressed by Catholic claims on a Gaelic past, as early as the 1820s it was becoming apparent that England's loyalty to Anglo-Ireland, already badly compromised by the Rebellion of the 1770s, was provisional and entirely dependent on political expediency. The process of Catholic political and social emancipation was a fundamental threat to Ascendancy as Revivalism was created by an intellectual elite determined to identify a declining Anglo-Ireland with an 'authentic' Irish culture. Anglo-Irish Revivalism was determined to identify Protestantism with authentic Irish cultural traditions; thus Catholicism was represented as a foreign import which had tamed the wild Celtic spirit.

We argue that Joyce's Trieste Lectures, for all their contradictions and limitations, together constitute the one non-fictional account of Irish history that Joyce produced – although we must bear in mind that Joyce gave this lecture at a time when he was feeling more positive towards Ireland than usual<sup>135</sup>. In addition, Trieste was an Italian-speaking Catholic city under Austrian rule whose parallels with Ireland were obvious and Joyce knew his audience would welcome nationalist sentiments:

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<sup>134</sup> The truth is that our Basque ideas and customs are in great danger. Christianity is advancing on all flanks. Everyone wants to take these Christians, these cultists, to substitute our practices. And why? Because of discourses in Latin which we don't understand (Translation mine).

<sup>135</sup> Having decided that the stories in *Dubliners* presented an overtly harsh portrait of Ireland, he had just written 'The Dead' in a mood of reconciliation and affection: 'To write the second story, 'The Dead,' Joyce had to come to a more indulgent view of Ireland, and there are signs of this in his letters. In one letter he suddenly and surprisingly announced that the Irish, because they are the least bureaucratic, are the most civilized people in Europe. And on September 25 he questioned the implications of the other stories of *Dubliners*' (Ellmann 1982, 230).

## Breaking away from established religion

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Joyce did not suspect he would change in this way in Trieste. Although for the moment he did not like the city much, he saw in it certain resemblances to Dublin and felt he understood it. Like Dublin, Trieste had a large population but remained a small town. Everyone looked familiar; the same people went to the same cafés, to the opera and to the theatre. Joyce was particularly taken with the dialect; if Dublin speech is distinctive, Triestine speech is much more so, having its own spellings and verb forms and an infusion of Slovene and other words. Not only was *Triestino* a special dialect, but the residents of Trieste, who had congregated there from Greece, Austria, Hungary and Italy, all spoke the dialect with special pronunciations. The puns and international jokes that resulted delighted Joyce.

Trieste resembled Dublin, too, in its Irredentist movement; the similarity here was so striking that Joyce found he could interest his Italian friends in Irish political parallels, though no doubt he would have compelled them to listen in any case (Elmann 1982, 196).

These speeches constitute an attack on what Joyce regards as Anglo-Ireland's cultural pretensions to articulate an alternative account of Ireland's cultural history:

It seems undeniable that Ireland at that time was an immense seminary, where scholars gathered from the different countries of Europe, so great was its renown for mastery of spiritual matters. Although assertions of this kind must be taken with great reservations, it is more than likely (in view of the religious fervour that still prevails in Ireland, of which you, who have been nourished on the food of scepticism in recent years, can hardly form a correct idea) that this glorious past is not a fiction based on the spirit of self-glorification (Joyce 1959, 155).

We would like to highlight the point that although these lectures always contain the implicit charge that the indifference of the literary Revival to the achievements of the early Irish Church produces a false history – a thoroughly ideological construction –, Joyce's lectures challenge the Revival's cultural historiography on three main grounds. We also point out that it is significant that Joyce's opening lines analyse different forms of politics, personal and international politics; the lecture begins with ancient Irish history stating that 'the island was a true focus of sanctity and intellect', going on to say that 'under the foreign occupation [...] Ireland ceased to be an intellectual force in Europe' (Joyce 1959, 168). Furthermore, Joyce makes a clear distinction between national culture and Anglo-Irish culture, thus refuting the literary Revival's enunciation of its own ancestry. Finally, and perhaps most radically, Joyce challenges the view that an authentic national literary culture, protected and cultivated by the Anglo-Irish intelligentsia, had managed to survive and even

## Breaking away from established religion

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flourish in adversity beyond the 18th Century – the Gael was dead and beyond resurrection, except on his own highly idiosyncratic terms:

One thing alone seems clear to me. It is well past time for Ireland to have done once and for all with failure. If she is truly capable of reviving, let her awake, or let her cover up her head and lie down decently in her grave forever (Joyce 1959, 174).

Moreover, Joyce claims ‘It would be interesting, [...] to see what might be the effects on our civilisation of a revival of this race’ – having characterised British Rule as tyranny, Joyce goes on to offer this further thought. Although the essay begins by outlining the glories of Ancient Ireland, he concludes by rejecting the notion, put forth by members of the Irish Literary Revival, that contemporary Ireland could lay claims to cultural superiority and political independence based on those glories:

But in anticipation of such a revival, I confess that I do not see what good it does to fulminate against the English tyranny while the Roman tyranny occupies the palace of the soul (Joyce 1959, 173).

In insisting on the civilising influence of the early Church in Ireland, Joyce implicitly recognised the literary Revival as an attempted proselytizing of Irish culture. This insistence is a useful pointer to the actual complexity of Joyce’s response to Catholicism and has an obvious bearing on his treatment of the Church in his work. Both Stephen’s interest in the old schoolmen and his sense of being usurped – a dispossessed bard – also operate within this historical context:

*April 14.* John Alphonsus Mulrennan has just returned from the west of Ireland. European and Asiatic papers please copy. He told us he met an old man there in a mountain cabin. Old man had red eyes and short pipe. Old man spoke Irish. Mulrennan spoke Irish. Then old man and Mulrennan spoke English. Mulrennan spoke to him about universe and stars. Old man sat, listened, smoked, spat. Then said: -Ah, there must be terrible queer creatures at the latter end of the world. I fear him. I fear his redrimmed horny eyes. It is with him I must struggle all through this night till day come, till he or I lie dead, gripping him by the sinewy throat till... Till what? Till he yield to me? No. I mean no harm (Joyce 1965, 287).

As in *Stephen Hero*, here Stephen is rejecting Irish peasantry, but in a much more dramatic way. Coming, as the anecdote does, at the end of the novel, it symbolises the young Stephen’s final

## Breaking away from established religion

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struggle to escape from Ireland and its values. Stephen, as an artist seeking to create the ‘uncreated conscience’ of the Irish race, realises that it is with this old man, the figure of Irish provincial narrowness personified, that he must battle in seeking a spiritual liberation for Ireland that looks to a wider internationalist perspective.

We argue that Stephen’s phrases ‘I will not serve’ and ‘I am a servant’ do not only form a great dialectic of denial and assent but also represent the poles of Joyce’s attitude to Catholicism, where ‘I will not serve’ represents intellectual history and ‘I am a servant’ represents the social determinants. Stephen tries to explain his struggle to Haines in *Ulysses*:

-After all, I should think you are able to free yourself. You are your own master, it seems to me.

-I am a servant of two masters, Stephen said, an English and an Italian.

-Italian? Haines said.

A crazy queen, old and jealous. Kneel down before me.

-And a third, Stephen said, there is who wants me for odd jobs.

-Italian? Haines said again. What do you mean?

-The Imperial British State, Stephen answered, his colour rising, and the Holy Roman catholic and apostolic church (*U* 1. 17, 636-44).

As we have previously mentioned, the newly secularised culture could no longer credit its values to Christianity, which now had no greater status than that of myth; a major tradition in social theory from Max Weber to Ernest Gellner concedes the connection between the disenchantment or demystification of ecclesiastical authority, the rise of democratic hermeneutics, and the advent of nationalism – according to Gellner:

Equal access to a scripturalist God paved the way to equal access to his culture [...] society can and does worship its own culture directly and not, as Durkheim taught, through the opaque medium of religion. The transition from one kind of high culture to the other is visibly outwardly as the coming of nationalism (Gellner 1983, 142).

Joyce was partly a product of the intellectual processes which constituted his history. On the one hand, his image of the artist as a priest of the imagination chimes with details of this history of secularisation and is explained as much by this secularisation as by Joyce’s own personal history. On

## Breaking away from established religion

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the other hand, Joyce was also a product of a society which resisted the process of secularisation. As a result, he was the product of more than one set of determinants and he was keenly aware of religion, specifically Catholicism, as a still-vital force in regard to both society and culture.

An analysis of religion as an ideology yields an unholy trinity when following Lyke Thompson's reasons for the success of it: The Church Terrorist, The Church Populist and The Church Opiate (Thompson 1973, 5-8). In this work we argue that this analysis can be easily adapted to an examination of Joyce and Catholicism: the sermons of *A Portrait* are indoctrination, Stephen's sense of loneliness at the end of *A Portrait* and at the beginning of *Ulysses* is set against the community offered by Catholicism, and when Bloom passes through mass in the 'Lotus-Eaters' he and Joyce both regard religion as an opiate. But however easily this mode can be adapted to Joyce, it does not exhaust the possibilities of Catholicism in his work; in part this is because it fails to account for the international aspects of Catholicism as a religion which transcended States and Nations and, more importantly, viewing Catholicism as a religious ideology runs into difficulties on the issue of it being shared by exploited and exploiter. The Church was both subversive of the ideology of the British State and a source of political cohesion in the Irish nation. As we have already mentioned, the moment which is usually taken as the source of the Joycean 'Non Serviam,' is the Christmas dinner in *A Portrait*, as it represents the moment in which the young Stephen sees the distinction between the priest-ridden and the free. Here Joyce tips the scales against the Catholic Church by placing it in the position of Parnell's betrayer. Unfortunately, Stephen is not faced with a simple choice between politics and religion, but has to confront their symbiosis in Irish experience; faith and freedom are the extreme forms of assent and denial but neither is possible to Joyce because for him they exist in a dialectical relationship, a relation in which all the controlling terms are Catholic.

## Breaking away from established religion

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In the next section we will compare Baroja's *Camino de Perfección* and James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in order to appreciate the writers' quest for freedom. In both Baroja's *Camino de Perfección* and Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, the autobiographical protagonists – Ossorio and Stephen – define themselves, or are defined, through their difference, and undergo a process of 'shedding' as they reject family, church and homeland. On the one hand, in the Irish writer's work Stephen's leaving Ireland for Europe not only parallels his rejection of Emma, but in a sense they are the very same act, since she has grown to represent to Stephen the very Irish Nationalist mind-set he must put aside:

- Then be one of us, said Davin. Why don't you learn Irish? Why did you drop out of the league class after the first lesson?
- You know one reason why, answered Stephen. Davin tossed his head and laughed.
- Oh, come now, he said. Is it on account of that certain young lady and Father Moran? But that's all in your mind Stevie. They were only talking and laughing (Joyce 1965, 230).

On the other hand, in Baroja's *Camino de Perfección*:

*Ossorio strives to make himself free not just of his psychological inheritance but of time, place and history. This is an essential part of the Modernists' rebellion against, and search for emancipation from, the prevailing forms and beliefs, an extremely common theme in Modernist fiction (Longhurst 1992, 193).*

Baroja's protagonist, Ossorio, reaches the end of his pseudo-mystical journey finding 'perfection' in nature and in his wife rather than in God, in a Nietzschean exaltation of life:

Even before *Buddenbrooks*, in several of his earliest stories, Thomas Mann had been fascinated by Nietzsche's etiology of the artist in an age of decadence. In this perspective the aesthetic attitude appears as *Schlechtweggekommene* – a compensation for their inability to come to terms with the social world. Art, the product of this attitude, stands for a consciousness that is the enemy of life (Stern 1991, 427).

Yet, we show in the next point that the end of the protagonist's journey is tinged with menace. His determination to protect his son from the oppressing and controlling hand of religion is

## Breaking away from established religion

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undermined by a description of Dolores' mother sewing 'una hoja doblada del evangelio'<sup>136</sup> in the child's sash. Similarly, in the next section we argue that at the end of *A Portrait* Joyce's protagonist has yet to achieve his artistic potential feeling constraint by the conflicting voices which assail him, his father and teachers telling him to be a good Catholic and a gentleman and the movement for national revival telling him to be true to his country:

- Look here, Cranly, he said. You have asked me what I would do and what I would not do. I will tell you what I will do and what I will not do. I will not serve that in which I no longer believe, whether it call itself my home, my fatherland, or my church: and I will try to express myself in some mode of life or art as freely as I can and as wholly as I can, using for my defence the only arms I allow myself to use – silence, exile, and cunning (Joyce 1965, 281).

### 3.3. Quest for freedom.

In this point we argue that the Catholic Church was in great part responsible for Baroja and Joyce's attacks on Spain and Ireland respectively; we state that in spite of the fact that in *Camino de Perfección* Baroja showed a vague and Unamunian kind of religion:

- ¡Oh! Ya estoy purificado de mis dudas – se decía a sí mismo –. Ha venido la fe a mi alma.  
Pero al salir de la iglesia a la calle se encontraba sin un átomo de fe en la cabeza. La religión producía en él el mismo efecto que la música: le hacía llorar, le emocionaba con los altares espléndidamente iluminados, con los rumores del órgano, con el silencio lleno de misterio, con los borbotones de humo perfumado que sale de los incensarios<sup>137</sup> (Baroja 1994, 158).

unlike Unamuno, Baroja used this religious theme in *Camino de Perfección* in connection with the quest for freedom of the protagonist just as Joyce did in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. We maintain that the underlying criticism of the Catholic Church in *Camino de Perfección* is represented by the psychological quest for faith followed by Ossorio, as he heads for an eventual rejection of

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<sup>136</sup> A folded page from the Gospel (Translation mine).

<sup>137</sup> 'Oh! I am cleansed of my doubts' he said to himself, 'Faith has found my soul.'

But as he left the church for the street he found not one atom of faith in his head. Religion produced the same effect as music in him: it made him cry, he was in awe over splendidly illuminated altars, with the murmurings of the organ, with the silence filled with mystery and the wreathes of perfumed smoke coming from the censers (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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religion in orthodox terms. For much of the novel he vacillates between disgust for the Catholic Church and demonstrations of an ‘*exaltación religiosa grande*<sup>138</sup>’; it is in Toledo, the historical seat of the Spanish Inquisition, that Ossorio asserts he has found faith, ‘*ha venido la fe a mi alma*<sup>139</sup>.’ Yet, it is obvious that, in truth, he has just been attracted by the aesthetic rituals of the Church, as the narrator implies:

*El hubiese querido que aquella religión tan grandiosa, tan artística, hubiera ocultado sus dogmas, sus creencias y no se hubiera manifestado en el lenguaje vulgar y frío de los hombres, sino en perfumes de incienso, en murmullos de órgano, en soledad, en poesía, en silencio*<sup>140</sup> (Baroja 1994, 157).

Here Baroja evokes the pantheistic idea of feeling religion in one’s soul and rejects the need for dogmas and restrictions, just as Joyce makes Bloom question the concept of ‘the true religion’ in *Ulysses* – by making him step outside the entrenched monotheism of his culture, Joyce allows Bloom to imagine the other’s perspective:

Same notice on the door. Sermon by the very reverend John Conmee S.J. on saint Peter Claver S.J. and the African Mission. Prayers for the conversion of Gladstone they had too when he was almost unconscious. The protestants are the same. Convert Dr. William J. Walsh D.D. to the true religion. Save China’s millions. Wonder how they explain it to the heathen Chinees. Prefer an ounce of opium. Celestials. Rank heresy for them. Buddha their god lying on his side in the museum (*U5*. 322-28).

Bloom is remote from the Church with which nationalism was so closely allied. Thus, in *Ulysses* he becomes a powerful satirical tool, exposing the ideological effects of contemporary Irish Catholicism and providing a comically down-to-earth account of its political complicities, remarking on its cultural power and insidious efficiency, noting its rhetorical force and persuasiveness, ‘Lulls all pain’(*U5*. 367-68). Hence, in Joyce’s hands Bloom becomes a paradigm for resistance to and freedom from the culture at issue and a means of destabilizing and, indeed, promoting a radically

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<sup>138</sup> Great religious exaltation (Translation mine).

<sup>139</sup> Faith has found my soul (Translation mine).

<sup>140</sup> He would have loved religion, which was so grandiose and so artistic, to have kept its dogma and its beliefs hidden, and to not have manifested itself in the cold, vulgar language of man, but in perfumed incense, in the organ’s murmurings, in solitude, poetry and silence (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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secular view of Irish culture, ‘They are not going to get me this innings’ (*U6*. 1004). We argue that at the same time, Baroja makes religion into an aesthetic experience for Ossorio who declares a mystical belief that he has sensed God’s presence, thus hinting at the possibility of union with the deity simply through contemplation.

The path followed by Ossorio in terms of religious conviction is quite similar to that of Stephen’s; the two protagonists experience the contradictory ideologies of childhood and the consuming legacy of their religious schooling – through staunch variations linked to their mystical and aesthetic tendencies, they march towards a rejection of their faith. Eventually Ossorio embraces nature and finds some stability in his relationship with Dolores, in whom he finds a substitute for faith, ‘*Llegaba a sentir respeto por Dolores como ante un misterio sagrado*<sup>141</sup>’ (Baroja 1994, 321). Similarly, Stephen’s revolt against bourgeois morality and the religious teachings to which he has been subjected are implied in his surrender to the sexual realm in the second chapter of *A Portrait*. Significantly, Joyce employs religious imagery to evoke Stephen’s visit to the prostitute; the yellow gas flames burn against the sky ‘as if before an altar’ and on the beach, the vision of the ‘bird girl’ provokes Stephen’s perception that his choice of life over religion is vindicated. This ‘strange and beautiful seabird’ incites Stephen’s ‘outburst of profane joy’ as he longs for the advent of a new life which will allow both error and fulfilment – the underlying implication is that the protagonist interprets what he sees in order to validate his choice:

Her eyes had called him and his soul had leaped at the call. To live, to err, to fall, to triumph, to recreate life out of life! A wild angel had appeared to him, the angel of mortal youth and beauty, an envoy from the fair courts of life, to throw open before him in an instant of ecstasy the gates of all the ways of error and glory. On and on and on and on! (Joyce 1965, 186).

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<sup>141</sup> He came to feel respect for Dolores as if before a holy mystery (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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In a similar, but rather more explicit way, when Ossorio declares his pious stance in Toledo, the narrator clearly indicates that the protagonist is engaging in a repeated form of self-deception – partially cured of his neurosis Ossorio loses his artistic talent. When his portrait of Dolores ends in failure and he resorts to photography, the only artistic activity he pursues is sketching the natural world in which he finds ‘*algo de tranquilidad*<sup>142</sup>.’ We argue that his adaptation to the external world signifies the death of the artist; thus the process towards the formation of the artist – a trajectory left unresolved at the end of *A Portrait* – is inverted in *Camino de Perfección* through Ossorio’s renunciation of art; eventually becoming a farmer Ossorio rejects Art in favour of Nature.

In this section it becomes apparent that Ossorio and Stephen manifest an essentially aesthetic or linguistic reaction to religion, reacting to language or art as if it were a physical reality. Stephen’s attacks on the Catholic Church are associated with his use of religious vocabulary, such as the concept of ‘epiphany’; his violent reaction to the rhetoric of the sermons given during the retreat is an even clearer example of his hypersensitivity to language: ‘the hoarse voice of the preacher blew death into his soul. He suffered its agony’ (Joyce 1965, 120). The language of the preacher touches Stephen so profoundly that he believes he can feel the fires of hell sweeping through his body, a vision which leads to physical symptoms of weariness and vomiting. This amalgamation of the secular and the religious gives us some clues to the nature of both protagonists’ oscillating approach to religion – according to Macklin:

Ossorio’s need is not to outgrow or reject religion in its widest sense, but to accommodate himself to it in a way which is personally meaningful. [...] Ossorio wishes to experience the divinity through art and sensation without reference to dogma or belief. Intuition of the transcendent is shown to be more potent than faith (Macklin 1983, 548-52).

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<sup>142</sup> Some kind of peace (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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In this section we contend that Ossorio does not reject religion itself but looks for the transcendent in art, nature, and finally in his relationship with Dolores, all of which are closely linked to religion. On the other hand, in the opening chapter of *A Portrait* Stephen's religious upbringing and education at Clongowes make him accept religious doctrine unquestioningly; as a child he believes that 'The day of your holy communion was the happiest day of your life' (Joyce 1965, 47). However, by the second chapter he is beginning to avow a wider independence in his approach to belief. Yet, just as Ossorio suffers the psychological consequences of having kissed Laura in church, Stephen cannot get rid of the belief that the desire of his 'sin-loving soul' (Joyce 1965, 109) for prostitutes positions him in mortal sin. We argue that like Stephen, Ossorio, with his religious upbringing can never be entirely free from the religion he rejects. The legacies of Catholicism are clearly at the heart of the protagonist's anxiety, but so are his artistic inclinations; the phenomenon of the '*cristo momia*<sup>143</sup>', provoked by an irreverent kiss in church, or his mind tormented by '*ideas que no llegaban a ser ideas*<sup>144</sup>', can serve as examples. We state that the permeating legacy of Catholicism is patent in the psychology of both protagonists. Moreover, for Stephen, religion holds the same sensuous appeal as it does for Ossorio, 'The glories of Mary held his soul captive: spikenard and myrrh and frankincense' (Joyce 1965, 112). Stephen's response to the aesthetic writing of Saint Alphonsus Liguori proves that art has a profound effect on his approach to faith and his discussion with Cranly in Chapter 5 also suggests an ever more predominant ambivalence towards his religious beliefs. Indeed, by the end of *A Portrait*, Stephen has embraced the alienating vocation of art, 'Crossing Stephen's, that is, my green, remembered that his countrymen and not mine had invented what Cranly the other night called our religion' (Joyce 1965, 284).

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<sup>143</sup> Mummy Christ (Translation mine).

<sup>144</sup> Ideas which were never really ideas (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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In *Camino de Perfección*, Ossorio decides to quit medical school in order to devote himself to his art. Thus, we state that both protagonists reach the end of their spiritual journey liberating themselves from constricting beliefs and devoting themselves to their art or their fate. In short, they are devoting themselves to the Romantic notion of the artist ‘cursed’ by superior sensitivity.

The process undergone by both Stephen and Ossorio mirror the historical process in which their creators were immersed as the process of liberation undergone by the protagonists of *Camino de Perfección* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* is not only psychological but also historical, and therefore linked closely to the rejection of homeland. Baroja presents a damning indictment of his country which shares common features with Reichert’s identification in Joyce’s early writings of a ‘scathing and uncompromising reaction against the totality of [the] values’ associated with ‘Catholicism, [an authoritarian and intolerant] nationalism, and bourgeois morality’ (Reichert 1990, 55). The ‘revaluation’ or ‘transvaluation of all values’ (Nietzsche) that permeates *A Portrait* is also clearly relevant to *Camino de Perfección* in which Ossorio’s personal degeneracy is meant to be symbolic of a degenerate Spain:

It is not hard to see why Nietzsche’s paradoxical model of creation, of form and formlessness, optimism and tragic pessimism, should have appealed to the transitional sensibility of men at the turn of the century. Nor can we fail to see how his model could become the basis for a critique of culture and civilization as such. Belief in the satyr, the union of gods and goat, the ‘Dionysiac reveller’ or the ‘primary man’, is belief in ‘authentic man’. Forms of the Nietzschean hero populated the evolutionary thought of the period, and before him the cultured man dwindles to a false cartoon. [...] Nietzsche fed the sense of confrontation with anarchistic forces; beneath the surface of modern life, dominated by knowledge and science, he discerned vital energies which were wild, primitive and completely merciless. At the appropriate hour, man, he proposed, would raise himself to titanic proportions and conquer his own civilization; the vital forces will be released in revenge, and produce a new barbarism (Kuna 1991, 446).

Baroja starts his scathing attack on an unthinking, censorious Spain in the very first chapters of *Camino de Perfección*; as firstly the characters Ossorio meets in Madrid personify the corrupt society of the capital, and then his stay in Toledo destroys his hopes of finding a truly mystical city:

## Breaking away from established religion

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*Pensaba en aquella ciudad de sus sueños, llena de recuerdos y de tradiciones, poblada por la burguesía estúpida, gobernada espiritualmente por un cardenal baudeleresco y un gobernador volteriano*<sup>145</sup> (Baroja 1994, 176).

Nevertheless, we also maintain that Baroja's criticism of society in *Camino* emerges not as a demand for the renovation of Spain, typical of the so-called Generation of '98, but as part of the fundamental and European challenge to social, ethical and artistic values which accompanied the emergence of European Modernism. As we have already seen, Baroja and Joyce's lives span a period in history in which material conditions, political structures, and intellectual life throughout the world were profoundly shaken by the growth and decline of European Empires and the flourishing of various nationalisms, both imperialist and anti-imperialist. Colonialism and nationalism were among the period's most visible and important sources of conflict and change, and were the subjects of much discussion and debate.

The Spanish national identity crisis was part of the generalised crisis of modernity in the Western world, engaged in the process of developing a secular, urbanised, industrialised, anonymous mass society and a global capitalist market. Questions of nationalism-internationalism, science-occultism, naturalism-symbolism and tradition-innovation formed part of the dialectic of Modernism in Spain as it did elsewhere:

Despite the manifest and impressive achievements of science, interest in what the Society for Physical Research (founded in 1882) primly called 'debatable phenomena' grew rapidly during the last quarter of the century. With the creation of the Theosophical Society in America in 1875, the beginnings of a switch of emphasis from social to individual preoccupations received an early measure of formal recognition. Not only did the newly formed society institutionalize the growing interest in the nature and development of the individual personality or ego; it also stimulated the serious and systematic investigation of 'occultism' – all those mystic, anti-positivist and irrational potencies of life and matter which now, progressively as the century moved towards its turn, occupied the attention of thinkers and writers. Deriving many of its articles of faith from Oriental sources, especially Vedic and Buddhist, but also from Greek and Cabbalistic ideas, theosophy was concerned to effect *individual* rather than social change as the key to human advancement, to achieve a radical revision of the aims and motives of the

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<sup>145</sup> He thought about that of his dreams, filled with memories and traditions, inhabited by a stupid bourgeoisie, spiritually governed by a Baudelaire-like cardinal and a Voltaire-like governor (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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person, to transform not merely the everyday conduct of the common man but also his very thought and speech habits (McFarlane 1991, 76).

However, the debate on the relationship between Art (Pure) and Politics (Impure) took place in the historical context of a readjustment to the loss of an Imperial role at the high-water mark of Western Imperialism when – according to Balfour – the possession of an Empire was considered a symbol of national virility. Thus Politics and Literature, social Regeneration and artistic decadence were complementary, and not necessarily contradictory facets in the work of up-and-coming individual authors and collective journalistic enterprises published in Madrid at the turn-of-the-century, where spiritual renewal and economic revival were the two main projects in the national enquiry.

In many of the novels of Baroja's early period we can clearly appreciate the writer's concern about what it meant to be an artist, and his profound interest in the relationship between the artist and his work. With the scientific approach to life presented and destroyed along with Andrés Hurtado – the proponent of rationalism in *El árbol de la Ciencia* (1911) – Baroja explored the question of Art in *El Mundo es Ansí*; in these two works he thus novelised two fundamental – and at times paradoxical – aspects of his vision and identity. Ever concerned with the contrasting values of Art and Science, Baroja shared the character's view that science has a human relevance and was perhaps even troubled by the suspicion that Arcelu's views of art could contain a degree of truth. In contrast to artists such as Henry James, who considered the novel as a deliberately aesthetic construct, Baroja did not view Art as an end in itself, but believed that it should be of relevance to the human situation.

Likewise, the role of the artist in society is also a major concern in *Ulysses*; the theme is taken up after *Portrait* and developed in a very different way. Stephen's experiences during what

## Breaking away from established religion

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was to have been a glorious flight have left him a disillusioned lapwing and have darkened his vision of his own destiny. The priest of the eternal imagination has fused with the Dio Boia to become creator and destroyer – Nietzsche’s announcement that God is dead is a fictionalist statement, in that it makes man both creator and destroyer:

[...] Nietzschean sense of the tragic base of life – the essence of what Nietzsche called ‘the Janus face, at once Dionysiac and Apollinian, of the Aeschlyean Prometheus’, and which he expressed in the following formula: ‘Whatever exists is both just and unjust, and equally justified in both.’ What a world!’ Nietzsche adds, and it seems safe to say that the paradoxical world has been the world of much modern art. [...] It is the modern novel which has embodied most eagerly Nietzsche’s formula of the ‘Janus face’ of modern man, who is doomed to exist tragically. The attempt to absorb and distil such a view of human existence as tended to make the modern novel itself Janus-faced and paradoxical, and to make many modern writers employ tragic, or tragic-comic, myths as the underlying patterns or plots in their work (Kuna 1991, 444).

Stephen does not quite understand the change in himself but he no longer proclaims the bright miracles he will perform:

You have spoken of the past and its phantoms, Stephen said. Why think of them? If I call them into life across the waters of Lethe will not the poor ghosts troop to my call? Who supposes it? I, Bous Stephanoumenos, bullockbefriending bard, am lord and giver of their life. [...] That answer and those leaves, Vincent said to him, will adorn you more fitly when something more, and greatly more, than a capful of light odes can call our genius father (*U14.1112-19*).

Unless Stephen, the artist, chooses to immortalise these odes they will be lost forever in the ruins of time; even this mild claim – mild for Stephen – does not pass unchallenged. Lynch, who in the *Portrait* was content to listen to and accept Stephen’s boasting, now reminds him that his claim and the vile leaves will fit him better when he writes a piece of work – according to Thomas Mann in *Tristan and Tonio Kröger* (1903):

Literature is not a calling, it is a curse, believe me! When does one begin to feel the curse? Early, horribly early. At a time when one ought by rights still to be living in peace and harmony with God and the world. It begins by your feeling yourself set apart, in a curious sort of opposition to the nice, regular people; There is a gulf of ironic sensibility, of knowledge, scepticism, disagreement, between you and the others it grows deeper and deeper, you realise that you are alone; and from then on any rapprochement is simply hopeless! What a fate! (Mann 1955, 153-54).

## Breaking away from established religion

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Thus the Stephen we encounter in *Ulysses* is alone and when he walks away, enveloped by the night, it is the darkness of his self-imposed isolation that truly swallows his departing figure:

*Liliata rutilantium. Turma circumdet.*

*Iubilantium te virginum. Chorus excipiat (U 17. 1230-31).*

Stephen exits the novel as he entered it, emphasising his ‘victory’ over Catholicism by mocking a prayer for the dying. He thus maintains the illusion that in leaving his religion he has left his problems as an Irishman; in the next point we will see that, on the contrary, Baroja found in philosophy a substitute for religion.

### **3.4. Philosophy and literature.**

In this point we argue that one of the traditional contexts for the concept of authority is in relation to knowledge; until the advent of Galileo, who adopted the disturbing method of observation as the method to establish the ‘truth’ factor, the traditional way of ‘knowing’ the world was to adhere to the vision of the world that authority told us we should have. But the issue of whether we are to take the word of a certain authority as the basis of our knowledge of the world, or whether we are to experience it at first hand, was central to debate at the end of the 19th Century, especially in relation to observation, deduction and prediction (the world of Science) on the one hand, and to representation, perception and the world of subjectivity and experience on the other (the world of Art):

Both authority and authenticity have their origins in the concept of the author, the one who originates or gives existence to anything, derived from the Latin *auctor/aucere*, to make to grow, originate, promote, increase. Hence the idea of God as the author of our being, in the sense that God is the force that causes us to be.

Central to the notion of authority, however, is not that creative streak that we can detect in the author, but rather power. The OED gives as its first meaning the ‘power to enforce obedience,’ something

## Breaking away from established religion

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which, with the clash of cultures, is a primacy which has to be established, although in a sense authority should have nothing to do with clashes: the whole notion of authority rests in its right to the influence that it exercises. If, however, authority is not recognised by others there arises the need to put out signs, to flag through discourse the identity of the authoritative speaker (Sinclair 2000, 135).

All these features of authority and authenticity which become apparent in the literature of existentialism lend themselves to being reviewed in the literature of the Crisis of '98, as in a further division along another pair of axes. First, the domain of authority can be thought of as the domain of Apollo, of civilisation and order, whereas what is authentic might be thought of as the domain of Dionysus, with its associations of individuality, life, desire, disruption. Secondly, we can consider that authority is the domain of Science, whereas authenticity could be seen as the space of Art:

It has often been noted of *The Birth of Tragedy* (1871) that Nietzsche could discuss tragedy in terms either of its origin (i.e. from the standpoint of the God Dionysus) or of its effect (i.e. from the standpoint of the spectator).[...] Thus, as a systematic aesthetic theory, Nietzsche's book had only limited influence; but as a philosophy of life, a notion of myth and ritual, as 'radical counterdoctrine... to oppose the Christian libel on life' it exercised the profoundest influence possible. Its ideas spread through the turn-of-the-century mind; its insights seem essential to the ideas of modern poets and novelists; and the dialectical scheme that Nietzsche offered seemed to become a blueprint, an aesthetic prototype, for nearly every major twentieth-century novel (Kuna 1991, 443).

In an area of his work, Baroja aligned himself with scientific discourse and the young Stephen of *Stephen Hero* –whose inspiration lay in Science –defined his sense of the modern to his friend Cranly as an anti-traditional seeing of things as they really are – however, Stephen may not be referring to the science that we might expect:

The modern spirit is viviseptive. Vivisection itself is the most modern process one can conceive. The ancient spirit accepted phenomena with a bad grace. The ancient method investigated law with the lantern of justice, morality with the lantern of revelation, art with the lantern of tradition. But all these lanterns have magical properties: they transform and disfigure. The modern method examines its territory by the light of day (Joyce 1991, 190).

On the other hand, when referring to science Baroja declared himself pro-European but drew back from recommending that a pro-European move should take place on all fronts: '*Creo que*

## Breaking away from established religion

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*España debe aspirar a incorporar su trabajo científico al trabajo universal*<sup>146</sup>, – he says, and adds – ‘*pero que debe aspirar a diferenciarse en lo artístico y literario de los demás países y a independizarse en la esfera de lo moral*<sup>147</sup>, (Baroja 1904, 48-9).

Baroja disarmingly equates science and philosophy, declaring that ‘*La obra científica o filosófica es, por su caracter, universal, y no puede suponérsele nacional o regional*<sup>148</sup>, (Baroja 1904, 48-9). Puzzlingly, however, he tries to separate art from culture, in order to say that ‘*El hombre de ciencia marca el tanto de cultura de un país; el artista, no; el artista desde hace tiempo, no es una medida de cultura, es más una medida de humanidad*<sup>149</sup>, (Baroja 1904, 48-9). Eventually, in *Divagaciones sobre la cultura* (1920) Baroja takes up and treats at greater length the demarcations of science and art, now placed under the headings of civilization and culture.

In this dissertation we argue that like Joyce’s, Baroja’s extraordinary fidelity to past time means that the ideas present in his books are not those of the Modernist avant-garde, as Christopher Butler points out in his essay *Joyce the Modernist*:

...as Stephen walks to the university (P147) he is attended by the ghosts of writers not very different from those available to Hardy’s Jude in Christminster Meadow: Hauptmann, Newman, Guido, Cavalcanti, Ibsen, Ben Jonson, Aristotle, Aquinas. [...] It is through his style that Modernism is implied. And so it is the stylistic innovations of the opening and closing pages of *A Portrait* which launch Joyce into an original Modernist experimentalism which is almost wholly unpredictable in terms of these earlier influences (Butler 1990, 73).

As far as the culture/civilisation divide is concerned, Baroja asserts that culture ‘*se refiere más al conocimiento puro*<sup>150</sup>,’ going on to add that it is ‘*el contenido de la ciencia en su valor*

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<sup>146</sup> I believe that Spain should aspire to incorporate its scientific research into the universal scientific research (Translation mine).

<sup>147</sup> But it must aspire to differentiate itself artistically and literarily from other countries, and to become independent in the moral sphere (Translation mine).

<sup>148</sup> Scientific or philosophical work is, by its very nature, universal, and cannot be understood as national or regional (Translation mine).

<sup>149</sup> The man of science marks the rhythm of the culture of his country, the artist does not. For a long time now, the artist has not been a measure of culture, but is more a measure of humanity (Translation mine).

<sup>150</sup> Refers more to pure knowledge (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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*intelectual*<sup>151</sup>, – that is, science is international, or universal in nature; civilisation, meanwhile, ‘*se relaciona más con el conocimiento práctico*<sup>152</sup>,’ derives from culture being ‘*más penetrada en la esfera ética, artística y en la vida social*<sup>153</sup>,’ (Baroja 1920, 61). He later states that culture ‘*se refiere, principalmente, a la ciencia, al saber*<sup>154</sup>,’ while civilisation relates to ‘*la ética, y el buen gusto, a la estética*<sup>155</sup>, (64):

The one inevitable unifying force in the modern world is that of natural science; and since the poet is concerned with areas of experience that natural science does not touch, he is left to make his own myth, or to select one by an arbitrary existentialist choice, from the vast uncodified museum, the limitless junk-shop of the past (Hough 1991, 316).

In broad terms, philosophy permeated every aspect of Baroja’s work, especially his novel *El árbol de la ciencia*, where we find long philosophical discussions between the protagonist Andrés and his uncle Iturrioz:

[...] La Antigua filosofía nos da la magnífica fachada de un palacio; detrás de aquella magnificencia no había salas espléndidas ni lugares de delicias, sino mazmorras oscuras. Ese es el mérito sobresaliente de Kant; él vio que todas las maravillas descritas por los filósofos eran fantasías, espejismos; vio que las galerías magníficas no llevaban a ninguna parte.  
- ¡Vaya un mérito! – murmuró Iturrioz.  
- Enorme. Kant prueba que son indemostrables los dos postulados más trascendentales de las religiones y de los sistemas filosóficos: Dios y la libertad. Y lo terrible es que prueba que son indemostrables a pesar suyo<sup>156</sup> (Baroja 1995,168).

Due to the enormous recognition of Nietzsche’s philosophy and its special influence on anarchism at the turn of the century, the German philosopher has often been claimed to have shaped the works of the best-known writers of the Generation of ‘98. Even though it is beyond doubt that

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<sup>151</sup> The contents of science in its intellectual value (Translation mine).

<sup>152</sup> That which is related more to practical knowledge (Translation mine).

<sup>153</sup> More deeply rooted in the ethical and artistic sphere, and in the life of society (Translation mine).

<sup>154</sup> Mainly refers to science, to knowledge (Translation mine).

<sup>155</sup> Ethics and good taste, to aesthetics (Translation mine).

<sup>156</sup> The old philosophy gives us the magnificent façade of a palace; behind that magnificence there were no splendid rooms, nor places of delight, but dark dungeons. This is Kant’s outstanding merit; he saw that the marvels described by the philosophers were fantasies, illusions; he saw that the magnificent galleries led nowhere.

‘Some merit!’ murmured Iturrioz.

‘Huge. Kant proves that the two most momentous postulates of religions and philosophical systems are unprovable: God and freedom. And the terrible thing is that he proves they are unprovable despite himself (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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they read him and that they were deeply interested in the problem of the Will, we argue that it is also true that Nietzsche's affirmative philosophy did not correspond with the pessimistic spirit of the fin-de-siècle Spaniards – whose mood is clearly appreciated in the countless aboulie heroes that inhabit the worlds they created:

Certain Nietzschean ideas, particularly those bearing on current attitudes towards unreason and anarchy, acted 'like a potent wine in the minds of a good many people' and deeply affected the mood of the *fin de siècle*. If we strip his early philosophy of life, as *The Birth of Tragedy* expressed it, of all metaphysical extravagances, we arrive at a view of life as a dark, blind and chaotic force – a destructive stream of passion tending to sweep away everything in its path, including man's rational cosmologies and the fossilised structure of civilization itself. In his commitment to the 'tragic view of life', Nietzsche was following Schopenhauer, but he arrived at exactly opposite conclusions. Schopenhauer emphasised the need to negate life, or the Will, because the Will was a terrible and absurd force; but the general drift of Nietzsche's thought was in fact towards its affirmation, because this 'ever-suffering and contradictory force' of which the figure of Dionysus stands as the supreme symbol, demonstrates its capacity for, and its constant need of, 'rapt vision and delightful illusion to redeem itself'. It needs, in fact, the 'Apollonian principle of individuation'. But as soon as Dionysus, 'the primordial one', has manifested himself concretely, the manifested world, which includes man, becomes aware of the illusory nature of its existence; it sees the Janus face (Kuna 1991, 444-45).

Most members of the fin-de-siècle generation in Spain saw in Don Quixote the national archetype of the man of action, the hero that personified all the ideal qualities of a race, just as Ulysses did for the Greeks. Even in Joyce's epic, we read, 'They remind one of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. Our national epic has yet to be written, Dr. Sigerson says.' (U9. 308-309) In Ganivet's opinion Spanish society had just to get started, as they already had the most important thing, the hero they needed: '*Tenemos lo principal; el hombre, el tipo; nos falta sólo decidirle a que ponga manos a la obra*'<sup>157</sup>, (Ganivet 1998, 84). In this work we contend that here we find the revealing truth of the tragedy of '98 Spain: capable men don't exist – victims of an apathy similar to the paralysis that affected Joyce's people, the Spanish men slumbered in a routine that did not offer any expectations; as a result of the situation, in some ways, action for Baroja took precedence over character, so the man of action attracted him most. The accent on heroism placed him among the romanticists, both as

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<sup>157</sup> We have the most important thing: the man, the type; now all we have to do is to tell him to get to work (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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regarded his use of heroic characters and his sources, however, when he attempted to plant his man of action in the middle of modern society, something invariably happened to his heroics.

The rhetorical association of modern Spain with decadence, impotence, and implicit feminization was particularly powerful in that it served as a kind of explanation for the ‘Disaster of 1898.’ Furthermore, the question of women’s place in modernity was very much part of the discussions about Spain, the identity and its future, in 1898 and its aftermath. We see that late 19<sup>th</sup> Century tended to make both women’s supposedly natural mental weakness and their attempts to engage in intellectual activity pathological, to the extent that some essays develop a Modernist aesthetic that is based on hyper-intellectuality, consequently, artistic expression of the modern would presumably be an exclusively masculine enterprise.

Clearly, national identity preoccupied Spanish intellectuals at the time and they associated women with the past, with the incapacity to reproduce past glory or to mature in a competent modern society. In myth and literature the ritual killing or replacement of fathers by sons impregnated legend as well as social progress – the son had to challenge the father to become a man; what daughters had to do in order to become women was more gruesome. We would highlight the fact that even the more radical thinkers of the modern age defined the revolt of women in terms of the attempt by wives and daughters to break free of the restrictive images of the female devised by men; in Ireland these images were devised as often by men of national resistance movements as by men of the occupying power. A common claim by imperial administrators was that women, so often repressed by traditional national cultures, would be better under the Pax Britannica. Across the world, those women who committed themselves to the programme for the decolonization found, in the very conditions of that struggle, the lineaments of their own freedom. The constant risk of arrest and incarceration run by nationalist males made it imperative that their partners could earn a living or

## Breaking away from established religion

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support a family, their families took on the contours of resistance – becoming in effect ‘alternative modes of human organization’ – and many of the women in such families assumed equality with men as a natural right.

When Parnell and the leaders of the Land League were arrested in 1882, the Ladies’ Land League, under his sister Anna, took over the campaign; Parnell was unnerved by the militancy of the women and feared that he might be mocked for ‘sheltering’ behind them. His sister encouraged her followers to become self-sufficient, to develop their powers of organization and oratory and she was soon being denounced as a fanatic and harridan by dismayed nationalists as well as by enemy imperialists. Her movement ignored her brother’s command to drop its no-rent policy and was consequently dissolved, but many of her followers, having had a sense of their political power went on to use it in challenging new ways – they felt they had every right to disobey laws which they had no part in framing. However and in consequence, Ireland became a society pervaded by male values.

Back in Spain, many of Emilia Pardo Bazán’s contemporaries agreed with her that modernising Spain required the modernisation of Spanish women. Others, by railing against the new woman as an example of modernity gone awry and departing from the course of nature, corroborated her observations about Spanish resistance to changing roles for women; in an article published under the title ‘*Impresiones Literarias*’ in the influential *La España Moderna* in August 1892, the critic Fdez. Villegas (‘Zeda’) described the literary climate of his time in these terms:

*Las mujeres son neuróticas, los hombres desequilibrados, la acción una historia médico-legal o una casa de locura o de obstetricia y el desenlace, casi sin excepciones, el suicidio. La sociedad que este arte... nos presenta, seméjase a un hospital enorme, a un manicomio colosal o a un presidio suelto*<sup>158</sup>  
(Fdez. Villegas 1892, 202).

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<sup>158</sup> The women are neurotic, the men unbalanced, action is a medico-legal story or a madhouse or an obstetrics ward, and the outcome, almost without exception, is suicide. The society that is art...presents us with something akin to an enormous hospital, a colossal lunatic asylum or a prisoner on the loose (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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Psychology, medicine, madness, morals, prisons, the law and, of course, the literary context in which he finds these observations, apparently signify the principle discourses of the age at a time when questions concerning mental and degenerative diseases, their impact on criminal behaviour and the consequent need to address penal reform all pressed upon the consciousness of the educated public. These themes of mental aberrations, criminality and the penal code were given special public relevance in the 1890s with the outbreak of terrorism – the bombings of Barcelona and the assassination of Cánovas, the Chief Minister, are the most obvious instances. In this dissertation we argue that coincident with the rise of the naturalist novel in Spain was the growing intellectual concern with penal and social reform which was to achieve expression in Azorín's *La Sociología Criminal de 1899*, Constancio Bernaldo de Quirós's *Las Nuevas Teorías de la Criminalidad* (1898) Llanas Aguilaniedo's *La Mala Vida en Madrid* and *Estudio Psicológico* of 1901, the latter complete with illustrations by Ricardo Baroja (Broto Salanova, 1997); the discourses of medicine, law, criminology, moral and political sciences interpenetrated and nourished one another within the new professional circles – this was in fact the intellectual background shared by Azorín and Baroja, among many. In response to the moderate Reformist programme of Eduardo Dato at the turn of the century, the aim was to awaken a new attitude to criminality, and to reform the prison system underpinned by the most modern advances in psychological medicine and enlightened legislation, an initiative in which Llanas was deeply involved. But, more importantly in the present context, these disciplines – mirroring the European Modernism of the time – also permeated literary creativity.

Clearly, the conviction that behavioural phenomena were reducible to the same kind of general laws as were seen to apply in the physical world – using similar methods of observation and verification – became deeply rooted in 19th-Century social thought. For Comte and for those who took their cue from him, the study of society took on the characteristics of a science. The cultural

## Breaking away from established religion

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forces of the fin-de-siècle, which sought a convergent theory for the sciences, religion, philosophical speculation and artistic endeavour, brought about a strange fusion of disciplines. This new literary style, this hybrid combination of the medical sciences, degenerative theory, displaced theology, spiritual disquiet and an inner search for an aesthetic ideal was termed Modernism by Spanish critics though it was, in effect, the Spanish version of European Symbolist Decadence. However, this trend is not found only in Spain – quoting Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane:

In short, Modernism was in most countries an extraordinary compound of the futuristic and the nihilistic, the revolutionary and the conservative, the naturalistic and the symbolistic, the romantic and the classical. It was a celebration of a technological age and a condemnation of it; an excited acceptance of the belief that the old regimes of culture were over, and a deep despairing in the face of that fear; a mixture of convictions that the new forms were escapes from historicism and the pressures of the time with convictions that they were precisely the living expressions of these things. And in most of these countries the fermenting decade was the eighteen nineties (McFarlane-Bradbury 1991, 46).

In this thesis we argue that the study of the novel by less well-known writers within the canon of a so-called Generation of '98 would demonstrate that it might be more proper to speak of the fin-de-siècle novel or the novel of the Symbolist Decadence, an artistic form which grew out of the '*Novela Médico-Social*' of the 1880s and the Naturalism of the 1890s. Clearly each writer will incline more to one of the types of writing available in that crucial moment (Romanticism, Realism, Naturalism, Decadence, Symbolism...), while, in some cases, becoming aware of the new forms of European writing, namely Modernism. Nevertheless, whatever the differences of the mixtures of styles and strategies, the underlying discourses and supplementary themes were common to all: Pathology, Psychopathology and Psychology. These, in turn, were very often intimately related with theories of degeneration, the study of criminal types and, thus, with penal concerns, as well as with the exploration of the inner world of the mind and of desire. In this dissertation it becomes apparent that the transgressions of the accepted values of late Restoration society by the youth (be they so-called Modernists or members of the '98 Generation) were soon subsumed into a single obsessive

## Breaking away from established religion

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ideal, an ideal which transgressed all the presuppositions and norms of fin-de-siècle Spanish society and one which became vocal as the new century dawned; that literature and aesthetics, rather than science, religion or politics, could bring about the spiritual regeneration of society in Spain they all earnestly desired.

In all likelihood, Nietzsche's ideology granted some answers to the problems which intellectuals could appreciate in Spanish society, but he did not provide them with the cosmological or metaphysical definitions that explained the causes of Spanish decadence. As a result, Schopenhauer, the German pessimist, became identified with the main trends of Spanish intellectualism – a parallel can be observed between Baroja's aesthetic position and Schopenhauer's view of art; for Longhurst, Schopenhauer implies that:

The artist must become pure perception, must cut his emotive links with the world he is representing, must stand back and contemplate. We can see at once where this leads: to ironic detachment (Baroja 1993, 91-3).

According to Schopenhauer, contrary to scientific and commonsense knowledge, which are linked to the world of phenomena, a deeper perception (knowledge of the 'thing-in-itself') is found in:

[...] art, the work of genius. It repeats the eternal Ideas apprehended through pure contemplation, the essential and abiding element in all the phenomena of the world. According to the material in which it does this, it is sculpture, painting, poetry or music. Its only source is knowledge of the Ideas; its sole aim is communication of this knowledge (Schopenhauer 1969, 113).

Hence – observes Bryan Mager – 'Art is essentially cognitive. It is not, for instance, expression of emotion. What the artist is attempting to convey is a form of knowledge, an insight into the true nature of things' (Mager 1983, 187). Even though the novel is in essence the creation of the artist's mind, the artist who withdraws himself from the world of phenomena is able to transmit a perception of the 'Ideas' beneath that world. We argue that Baroja's efforts to detach himself from

## Breaking away from established religion

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his often autobiographical early work, through ironic distance, are related to this Schopenhauerian view of art; the description – striking because of its emotional poverty – of Lulú's tragic death in *El árbol de la ciencia* might serve as an example of the existing distance between the author and the characters which had been previously highlighted by Biruté Ciplijauskaitė:

*Tal vez no sea equivocado sugerir que es técnica que aprendiera leyendo a Stendhal, quien siempre mantenía una actitud irónica frente a sus personajes, no se encariñaba de veras con ellos. Actitud que Baroja transplanta a sus personajes: tampoco ellos se entusiasman de veras por nada, entran en contacto con otros a través de un distanciamiento crítico. Es una característica estilística que se hace mucho más notable en algunos escritores posteriores como Cela<sup>159</sup> (Ciplijauskaitė 1971, 58).*

Admittedly, – as we have already mentioned – Baroja's is the story of a profound dissatisfaction. He created an ideal society in his mind and his celebrated solitude came from not being able to adapt himself to the reality in which he lived. As a consequence, loneliness became one of the most recurrent motifs in his works. Eventually, Baroja evolved in the direction of Nietzschean thought, with whom the Basque novelist shared among other things his hatred of Christianity.

As for Joyce, we appreciate a similar evolution in his work where 'Proteus' is clearly resonant of the scenes in *A Portrait* where Stephen also walks along the beach, and reveals most strikingly Stephen's dialogue with his surroundings, its sounds as well as its sights. As we know, Proteus was the God of change and the episode is concerned with the ways in which matter is constantly transformed. In the chapter, Stephen uses Schopenhauer's terms *nebeneinander* (beside each other) and *nacheinander* (after each other) to designate the aprioristic forms which condition sensitivity, '[...] Five, six: the Nacheneinder. Exactly: and that is the ineluctable modality of the audible. Open or eyes. No. Jesus! If I fell over a cliff that beetles o'er his base fell through the Nebeneinder ineluctably! I am getting on nicely in the dark.' (U3.12-15) Following Schopenhauer's

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<sup>159</sup> It may not be wrong to suggest that it is a technique that he learnt reading Stendhal, who always maintained an ironic attitude when faced with his characters, he never really liked them. This is the attitude which Baroja transplanted in his characters: they never really got excited about anything either, coming into contact with each other from a critical distance. It is a stylistic feature that is much more noticeable in later writers, such as Cela (Translation mine).

## Breaking away from established religion

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train of thought, Joyce also deals with the principle of causality and the cause and effect chain; furthermore, his hero tries to penetrate the triple veil of space (*nebeneinander*), time (*nacheneinander*) and cause-effect (*satz von grunde*) to reach the Father:

[...] Will you be as gods? Gaze in your *omphalos*. Hello? Kinch here. put me on to Edenville. Aleph, alpha: nought, nought, one.  
Spouse and helpmate of Adam Kadmon: Heva, naked Eve. She had no navel. [...] (U3.38-42).

Stephen is very much like Hamlet – Shakespeare’s protagonist –, in his knowledge that the world is out of joint; both the outer world and his own inner world. He feels that his country is ruled by usurpers, just as Hamlet does, and declares to himself that he, as poet should be the ‘ruler’ of Ireland. Stephen’s inner life is, if anything, more in turmoil than his outer life. His inner life swirls around his constant feeling of guilt for his refusal to pray at his mother’s bedside; in fact, his Pyrrhic victory is threatening to paralyse his poetic gift, making the whole sacrifice useless. Stephen attempts to give form to his inner and outer life by philosophical meditation, just as Hamlet does. Hence, the ‘Proteus’ monologue is the equivalent in Joyce of the ‘To be or not to be’ soliloquy in *Hamlet*, and, just as in that soliloquy, Stephen’s meditations on the world as it is presented to the senses cover a growing despair. When Stephen experiments with visual perception by closing his eyes and walking onwards he says, ‘Has all vanished since? If I open and am for ever in the black adaphane’ (U2. 31). Here it is possible to detect a yearning for annihilation, as there is in Hamlet’s soliloquy. ‘Ineluctable modality of the visible: at least that if no more, thought through my eyes.’ At least that if no more; the desperation is palpable. Stephen is attempting to find in the phenomenal world that which has vanished from his moral universe – a centre for the soul. Immersion in sense perception, in the phenomenal world, simply emphasises your own individuality, an individuality indistinguishable from sterile isolation. Feeling for others – compassion, love – is only found in the numeral world. A part must not reject the world of moral sympathy. However, in his attempt to get ‘thought through

## Breaking away from established religion

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my eyes', this is what Stephen in his despair is attempting. The last of the Telemachus chapters, 'Proteus,' presents the key to Stephen's problem, for it is here that he realises his problem is not to escape from Ireland, but to escape from his own ego; out beyond the rising of the waves is a boat, in which some men are waiting to fish up the body of a drowned man, whom Stephen associates with the void or substance he is trying to apprehend:

Five fathoms out there. Full fathom five thy father lies. At one, he said. Found drowned. High water at Dublin bar. Driving before it a loose drift of rubble, fanshoals of fishes, silly shells. A corpse rising saltwhite from the undertow, bobbing a pace a pace a porpoise landward. There he is. Hook it quick. Pull. Sunk though he be beneath the watery floor. We have him. Easy now (*U3*. 470-75).

The theme of the man drowned in the sea evokes the alchemical motif of the king drowned in the ocean who asks for his son to rescue him. It reflects the Gnostic idea of the spirit, descended into matter and now lost there, that must be rescued by the son of the spirit, the son of man. The waves represent modalities, and beneath them is the mystery of the one who is drowned. In this section we argue that the drowned man is thus a symbol for God, drowned in the world, in the ocean of street noises, in the ocean of our lives – the divine is there and can be personified as God. So when we look at forms all around us we are looking at God, but we do not see Him; we only see forms, modalities of the visible world. For all his interiority Stephen will soon have to learn about that world. The daredevil artist, depositing snot on a rock, affects indifference but he glances behind himself in some embarrassment to ensure that nobody has spotted his dirty little deed: 'Behind. Perhaps there is someone' (*U3*. 502). This last sentence is the beginning of wisdom, the moment when Stephen starts to open a relationship to the world. Almost at once he is ratified in this by the sight of a sailing ship homeward bound into Dublin port. The lesson is clear. In order to find the self, one must first agree to lose it. If individuals, like nations, have their egos, then these must at some point be surrendered, so that a transformation may occur. Richard Ellmann argues that Joyce's books depict several kinds of separation:

## Breaking away from established religion

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Joyce's books were to describe various kinds of separation, and he was busy gathering material for them. His heroes were to seek freedom, which is also exile, by will and by compulsion. To some extent they were society's victims, but Joyce was not so masochistic as to identify himself completely with the helpless quarry; at the very moment that he attacked society most bitterly as his oppressor, he did not completely deny the authorship of his own despair. Like the boy in the ballad of the Jew's daughter, he was immolated, *consenting*. On the other hand he was not so possessed with self as to adopt utterly the part of the anarchic individual. Those of his heroes who triumphed in their self-righteousness were unhappy, as if they had gone too far (Ellmann 1982, 110).

The ideas Nietzsche postulates in his work *On the Genealogy of Morality* also have much to do with Joyce's *Ulysses* where the Irish writer criticizes the norms of early 20th Century Dublin by continually questioning the modern concept of morality:

[...]They encouraged him in his feeling that socialism should come, for how else should he be fed? He needed a redistribution of wealth if he was to be a spendthrift, and attended occasional meetings of a socialist group in Henry Street, where prophets of the new day milder than Marx were discussed. The anarchist theories of the American Benjamin Tucker also attracted him for a time. Finally, he came to know the writings of Nietzsche, 'that strong enchanter' whom Yeats and other Dubliners were also discovering, and it was probably upon Nietzsche that Joyce drew when he expounded to his friends a neo-paganism that glorified selfishness, licentiousness, and pitilessness, and denounced gratitude and other 'domestic virtues.' At heart Joyce can scarcely have been a Nietzschean any more than he was a socialist; his interest was in the ordinary even more than in the extraordinary; but for the moment, in the year's doldrums, his expectations everywhere checked, it was emollient to think of himself as a superman, and he meditated a descent from the mountain to bring his gospel of churchless freedom to the unreceptive rabblement (Ellmann 1982, 142).

Even though Joyce engages Nietzsche's ideas about morality, most notably in the 'Nausicaa' and 'Circe' chapters of *Ulysses*, there is an apparent contradiction with Nietzschean thought if we take into consideration Joyce's hero – Bloom. Bearing in mind the Irish writer's admiration for Nietzsche, Leopold Bloom – a Jewish Dubliner – is strikingly imbued with characteristics of what Nietzsche termed the creature of *ressentiment*. Such ascetic individuals as Bloom are the complete opposite of Nietzsche's noble aristocratic ideal. Beings of *ressentiment* – Nietzsche says – internalize their problems and turn away from confrontations and, by doing so, they are able to gain a sort of false revenge over their opponents. This description reminds us of the final scene in the 'Circe' chapter where after having been abused by the Citizen, Bloom responds by criticizing injustice and advocating love until he is finally depicted as a modern Messiah ascending to Heaven:

## Breaking away from established religion

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When, lo, there came about them all a great brightness and they beheld the chariot wherein He stood ascend to heaven. And they beheld Him in the chariot, clothed upon in the glory of the brightness, having raiment as of the sun, fair as the moon and terrible that for awe they durst not look upon Him. And there came a voice out of heaven, calling: *Elijah! Elijah!* And He answered with a main cry: *Abba! Adonai!* And they beheld Him even Him, ben Bloom Elijah, amid clouds of angels ascend to the glory of the brightness at an angle of fortyfive degrees over Donohoe's in Little Green street like a shot off a shovel (*U12*. 1910-18).

### 3.5. Summary: religion versus philosophy.

As we have seen, James Joyce's continual reference to Catholicism should cause no surprise, as not only had he been raised in the Church and sent to schools run by Jesuits but Catholicism was also a major part of his subject. Joyce's loss of faith as a young man allowed him to use what he was already familiar with: Catholicism's apparatus of ritual and doctrine. In fact, Joyce began to undermine Catholicism as soon as he started to write fiction – the first three stories in *Dubliners* imply the Spirit's absence from Dublin's churches. However, in his 'war' with the Church, Joyce confined his acts of sacrilege to his fiction. Baroja, on the other hand, often expressed his sceptical views on the clergy and on Spanish Catholicism.

Through the comparison of Joyce's Stephen and Baroja's Ossorio's quest for independence of thought we have been able to get a clear impression of the firm grip both Irish and Spanish Catholicism held on their peers. Following their characters we have also seen that these artists tried to find the answer to their questions in Philosophy; eventually, Baroja sought shelter in the world of Science whereas Joyce never really abandoned his path.

In the next section we will look into the different literary trends found in turn-of-the-century Europe and we will see our writers' reactions to them and their evolution.



### IV. Breaking Boundaries: Joyce and Baroja facing Modernism.

As we have already seen in this dissertation, Baroja and Joyce's lives span 'a period in history in which material conditions, political structures, and intellectual life throughout the world were profoundly shaped by the growth and decline of European empires and the flourishing of various nationalisms [...]' (Howes 2004, 254). In the case of Spain, we have shown that the literary controversy between tradition and innovation profoundly affected the turn-of-the-century literary discourse, and that as a result of the country's progressive loss of power, the Spanish society began experiencing a defensive nationalist reaction on the part of its intellectuals. We have contended that Pío Baroja, well aware of Spain's marginal status in the European sphere attempted to create an art which would help Europeanise his country. As for Joyce, we have seen that his apocalypse took place in the struggle between the acceptance of the nightmare of history as the only possible reality and his desire for a future different from the past – as Riquelme points out:

The mixture of styles that begins developing in *A Portrait* renders memory in ways that engage readers in a process of looking back critically and also looking forward. [...] The shift is from aestheticism, which appears apolitical in its emphasis on beauty, toward an aesthetics politics, an art that recognizes its embodiment and its responsibilities within history (Riquelme 2004, 106).

Although Joyce's texts frequently give the lie to his pose of indifference to any history or politics not directly concerned with the picture of the Dublin of his youth and in spite of the fact that we have just begun to learn the extent of Joyce's pacifism and anarchism thanks to Dominic Manganiello's important research, we know that Joyce at the time had a lively if ironic interest in current events and political developments.

Indeed, as we have already pointed out, one major concern of Modernism had to do with the problem that authors at the time faced in evaluating the relationship between the present and the past; so pervasive was this preoccupation that it could be taken to constitute part of the definition of Modernism itself – according to T. E. Hulme:

One of the main achievements of the nineteenth century was the elaboration and universal application of *continuity*. The destruction of this conception is, on the contrary, an urgent necessity of the present. [...] Our principal concern then at the present moment should be the re-establishment of the temper or disposition of mind which can look at a *gap* or chasm without shuddering (Hulme 1987, 1-2).

A sense of historical divorce between present and past gave rise to the image of spatial fissure or chasm. Continuity, for the modernist writer faced with overwhelming discontinuities, amounted, it would seem, to no more than a synonym for nostalgia – or, at best, a residual possibility of transcendence.

At the time, T.S. Eliot – who claimed Joyce’s ‘mythic method’ to provide a way ‘of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and a significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history’ (Spoo 1994, 150) – became the most famous, the most discussed and the most successful poet of the Anglophone world. Yet Eliot’s poetic achievement stood in the shadow of Ezra Pound, whose tragic history seems to underwrite the suspicion that the discursive convoy for the poetics of modernism secretes an unlikeable politics which human power cannot remove and which makes the description of Joyce as a Modernist imprecise.

Even though the influence of *Ulysses* as an experimental achievement seems to have been undoubted from the beginning; and its influence on writers like Virginia Woolf, William Faulkner, John Dos Passos, Alfred Döblin, Hermann Broch, Vladimir Nabokov, and others has been ably demonstrated by R. M. Adams (Adams 1962, 25-32), its relationship to the Modernist movement which surrounded its making is much more doubtful. The critic Ellen Carol Jones, for instance, has defined Joyce’s relation to modernism as inherently ambiguous, asserting that:

Joyce constructs a contra-modernity bordering on – contingent to, discontinuous with, in contention with – the modernity of Western European imperial powers. He does not posit the postcolonial as other to modernity in an absolute binary. His works use the cultural hybridity of Irish borderline conditions to translate – reinscribe and thus reclaim – the social imaginary of both metropolis and modernity (Jones 1998, 7).

Furthermore, with reference to Joyce, Fredric Jameson, has linked modernism with imperialism through a similar notion of lack and a consequent drive towards totalising narrative, concluding that Joyce's writing portrays simultaneously 'the two incommensurable realities ... of the metropolis and the colony' (Jameson 1990, 60); the argument here being not that Joyce's works occupies a liminal position on the fringes of modernist writing, but rather that it occupies two different, incommensurable positions simultaneously, having a kind of dual perspective. What's more, Maria Tymoczko has claimed that Joyce was a writer in the Irish literary tradition:

Although literary studies have turned increasingly to issues of inter-textuality during the past decades, with the theoretical dictum being that literary works are as much about literature as about life, Joyce's Irish literary discourse has never been systematically delineated. [...] to investigate at length Joyce's debt to Irish literature in *Ulysses* and to reclaim Joyce as an *Irish* writer who has much in common with other writers of the Irish literary revival and who is, in fact, in some ways preeminent among them as a writer in the Irish literary tradition (Tymoczko 1994, 2).

All these different approaches to Joyce's work make us wonder whether literary labels such as Modernism aren't self-limiting. In this work we have already argued that writers must find ways to overleap the expectations of their literary tradition – if they have one – because those expectations are themselves debilitating – the truth being that the best works of art will always defy category.

We have stated in the introduction to this work that Baroja remained trapped in a Hispanic definition which did not correspond to the constant evolution apparent in his work:

Pío Baroja has often appeared as something of an anomaly among his Spanish contemporaries. Whereas novelists like Azorín, Ramón del Valle-Inclán, Miguel de Unamuno and Ramón de Ayala are unmistakably experimental novelists who invert or completely reject the conventions of nineteenth-century Realism, Baroja has been seen as a novelist who continues to write in the Realist tradition. Many critics have regarded him as the natural successor of Galdós, and have consequently been slow to recognise the modernity of his work (Macklin 1983, 540).

Virginia Woolf's statement 'In or about December 1910 human nature changed' (Woolf 1966, 321) is the most celebrated expression of the widespread awareness that man's understanding had undergone a radical change in the modern period, and that this change manifested itself in the art

that we call Modernist and which spread throughout Europe, affecting every single country, including Spain:

The age of Modernism in all countries broadly corresponds to the period after 1890, and in Spain the early decades of the twentieth century produced the richest, densest and most diverse literature since the Golden Age. *Camino de Perfección* and the other novels of 1902 marked a movement away from the conventions and techniques of Realism and Naturalism and presented themselves as a conscious and deliberate reaction to the older fictional tradition. This much is generally recognised, but what is not acknowledged are the affinities between early twentieth-century Spanish fiction and the Modernist novel in Europe, affinities which are obscured by the continued allegiance of critics to the purely Hispanic notion of the Generation of 1898 (Macklin 1983, 541).

Baroja himself, writing in 1900, stated that the literary generation to which he belonged manifested a ‘*gran aspiración hacia lo infinito,*’ an ‘*ansia indeterminada de idealidad*’ (Cardwell 1977, 33). Hence, in this last section we question – as we did in the introduction to this work – the value of labels which we consider to be restrictive in themselves and we argue that neither was Joyce merely a Modernist nor did Baroja simply belong to the Hispanic notion of the ‘Generation of ‘98’.

So far, we have seen our writers’ relation and reactions to nationalism and language, religion and philosophy and the general socio-political context of their day. Throughout this work we have seen that James Joyce and Pío Baroja followed a similar path in the way they rebelled against their societies in their attempt to escape from the boundaries imposed by their social nets and to find their place among the greatest figures of universal literature. However, we have also found some differences which mainly regard the politics of our authors; whereas Joyce’s aim was interinvolvement, Baroja got entwined with the right-wing politics of their time.

Nevertheless, regardless of the strengths and weaknesses of Baroja’s various experiments his novels advanced a category of realism in which increasingly innovative uses of tradition, ideology, character and authorial presence undermined the boundaries between fiction and non-fiction. And, as a result of his innovations, Baroja opened the novel to multiple perspectives heretofore unknown in Spanish fiction.

At the same time, however, he discovered that one could not create a fiction that had its roots in realism and its branches in anarchy, patriotism and mysticism without opening the novel to questions regarding the validity of the truths expressed therein: hence, in spite of his efforts to fuse politics, religion, history and art, in the end – as we will see in this last section– he found that he could not create a literary form that would effect change.

By the time Baroja had reached the final stages of his evolution, he had defied the traditional division between imaginative and non-imaginative literature only to settle for a formless, shapeless discussion in which opinion and belief, appearance and reality were difficult to separate. Furthermore, whereas, as we will develop in the next points, thanks to his freedom of thought Joyce – always prone to novelty – had gone further in his innovation and tried to advance consciousness, attempting to provide an independent and futuristic point of view for his own and for future generations, Baroja, whose definition of his art as history seen through the eyes of one individual, or as one person’s organization of everyday occurrences, common utterances and rapid associations of ideas and feelings (Baroja 1946, 315-325) did not justify the various devices which had been developed to further in his aesthetics, was unable to explain those instances, in the latter part of his career, in which his analysis – like those of Eliot or Pound – took on the tone of an editorial sermon.

As we said in the introduction to this work, we consider that labels are limits to a full understanding of the artistic production of the writers under consideration and we argue against James Joyce being defined as a Modernist, just as we disagree with the Hispanic notion of *noventaiochista* being strictly applied to Pío Baroja. Hence, in the next point, we will try to demonstrate not only that labels are restrictive but that they are also – at times – inaccurate.

### 4.1. A 'revaluation' or 'transvaluation' of values: Names are not final guides to styles.

As we have previously said, in this dissertation we argue that although the fact that the 20<sup>th</sup> Century brought about a new art is undeniable, it is also undeniable that one of the main features of the age is its remarkable historicism and prevailing tendency towards apocalyptic, crisis-centred views of history. Among the crucial elements of this new style we can number the violation of expected continuities and the element of crisis and de-creation. In 1933 Herbert Read argued about the catastrophic character in the revolution of their day:

There have been revolutions in the history of art before today. There is a revolution with every new generation, and periodically, every century or so, we get a wider or deeper change of sensibility which is recognised as a period – the Trecento, the Quattro Cento, the Baroque, the Rococo, the Romantic, the Impressionist and so on. But I do think we can already discern a difference in kind in the contemporary revolution: it is not so much a revolution, which implies a turning over, even a turning back, but rather a break-up, a devolution, some would say a dissolution. Its character is catastrophic (Read 1960, 53).

We contend that the world of criticism has unanimously agreed on some variant or collocation of the word 'modern' to identify the arts of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century – or at least part of them. Thus we deal with terms such as the Modern Movement; the Modern Tradition; the Modern Age; the Modern Century; the Modern Temper; Modernism or simply The Modern. However, applying such a semantically mobile term to a historical phenomenon seems unbecoming; in its natural usage, Modernity is something that develops along with and at the pace of the years, so, as Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane argue in their analysis on Modernism, last year's Modern is not this year's:

Modernity is a crucial word for us, but it is tied up with definitions of our situation which are subject to change. The notion of the 'modern' undergoes semantic shift much faster than similar terms of comparable function, like 'romantic' or 'neo-classical' (Bradbury & McFarlane 1991, 22).

Indeed, from time to time, Modernism has been used to convey the common temper of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century arts in a similar way to Romanticism; likewise it has also been appropriated by those

## Breaking boundaries: Joyce and Baroja facing Modernism

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willing to differentiate and single out one current at one particular time – a strong, international movement that spread through western culture. Gertrude Stein defined Modernism as the only ‘composition’ appropriate to the new composition in which they lived, the new dispositions of space and time whereas Marxist critics like Lukács, saw it as a form of late bourgeois aestheticism:

Lukács, a critic hostile to Modernism, yet more illuminating than many of its admirers, regards the absence of perspective as a quintessential feature of the modern. Perspective, he argues, issues from the standpoint of the end of affairs; it is, in the phrase that haunts *Ulysses*, a ‘retrospective arrangement’ (Hollington 1991, 437).

In fact, the term has been used to cover a wide range of movements subversive of romanticism or realism and prone to abstraction, such as Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, Expressionism, Cubism, Futurism, Symbolism, Imagism, Vorticism, Dadaism or Surrealism – some of which appear as radical reactions against others:

Any attempt to put that change of consciousness and feeling into a single form of words seems to me inadequate. It is as full of cross-currents, shifting moods and contradictions as any of the other great cultural shifts, those complex movements which for convenience’s sake we label the Renaissance, the Enlightenment or the Romantic Movement (Bullock 1991, 69).

One of the points highlighted in this dissertation is that Modernism has undoubtedly existed, but that it is still to be stated on what scale, at what time, and with what character. Many 20<sup>th</sup> Century artists have rejected the label and the associated aesthetics, i.e. the modes of abstraction, shock and discontinuity. Writing in 1892, M. G. Conrad could not repress the scorn and bitterness he felt for the spirit of transgression that was overcoming the Modern and its representatives:

The only true poetry now is the virtuoso art of the nerves, that which feeds us with the most outrageous sensations, which titillates us with techniques gathered from literary clinics all over the world, all tested for refinement; and it is with these that we are to march at the head of the cultural movements in Europe, we immoralists by the grace of Nietzsche, we magicians of the hypererotic sporting world, we mystics of the international passing show, we raging Rolands blessed by impotence and foolishness... For the healthy-minded man of today it is a matter of complete indifference what alien cuckoo’s eggs the more extreme specialists of the Modern hatch out in their little *fin-de-siècle* chapels and brothels, wagging their little ‘isms’ like tails behind them: symbolism, Satanism, neo-idealism, hallucinism... Give things a few years, and no cocks will crow for any of this ultra-modern charlatanism practised by this comic turns of literature and art (Conrad 1962, 254-56).

Virginia Woolf believed that the modern stylistic revolution sprang from the historical opportunity for change in human relationships and character. Therefore, she held that modern art had an epistemological and social *raison-d'être* which set the artist free to be himself (Woolf 1925, 98-120). Whereas Matthew Arnold was among those Victorians who had an active sense of modernity and change, and felt Modernism generated new claims upon mind and art. The connotations of the term 'modern' were central to Arnold; but they were substantially classical connotations – totally different from those of our day. To Arnold's mind, the modern element meant repose, confidence, and the free activity of the mind winning new ideas in conditions of material well-being – it involved the willingness to judge by reason and search for the law in things (Arnold 1962, 54-65). Yet, as Lionel Trilling stated in his essay of 1961 'On the Modern Element in Modern Literature,' the modern element to the new generations meant almost the opposite of what Arnold saw – it was nihilism, a 'bitter line of hostility to civilization,' a 'disenchantment with culture itself' (Trilling 1966, 56). Trilling noted the importance of Nietzsche, Freud, Conrad and Sir James Frazer's anthropology – a radical alteration had taken place to give us the intellectual conventions of Plight, Alienation and Nihilism – the idea of the modern was thus bound up with consciousness of disorder, despair, and anarchy. In 1893 Hugo von Hofmannsthal claimed that to be 'modern' implied at that time two separate and distinct things: 'Modern,' he argued, could mean analysis, reflection, a mirrored image or it could mean escape, fantasy, a dream image:

*Heute scheinen zwei Dinge modern zu sein: die Analyse des Lebens und die Flucht aus dem Leben... Man treibt Anatomie des eigenen Seelenlebens, oder man träumt. Reflexion oder Phantasie, Spiegelbild oder Traumbild. Modern sind alte Möbel und junge Nervositäten... Modern ist Paul Bourget und Buddha; das Zerchneiden von Atomen und das Ballspielen mit dem All; modern ist die Zergliederung einer Laune, eines Seufzers, eines Skrupels; und modern ist die instinktmässige, fast sonnambule Hingabe an jede Offenbarung des Schönen, an einen Farbenakkord, eine funkelnde Metapher, eine wundervolle Allegorie (Von Hofmannsthal 1956, 149).*

Modernism may thus be defined as the point at which the experimental, technical and aesthetic ideal that had grown forward from Romanticism reached its formal crisis – in which myth, structure and organization foundered, and not only for formal reasons. This crisis was a crisis of culture which often implied an unhappy view of history – so an artist was not just the artist set free, as stated by Woolf, but the artist creating under circumstantial historical strain. Admittedly, Modernism was also the art of a speedily modernizing world, a world of frenzy industrial development, advanced technology, urbanization, secularization and mass forms of social life. However, it was also the art of a world from which many traditional certainties had disappeared, and a certain type of Victorian reliance, not only on the continuous progress of mankind but on the stability and visibility of reality itself, had vanished. It contained within itself that tendency, so manifest at the end of the 19th Century, for knowledge to become both pluralistic and ambiguous, for surface certainties no longer to be taken for granted, for experience to outrun the orderly control of the mind:

As we consider the new introversion that came into the novel in the later years of the 19th Century, and effected a radical change in the form, we might therefore see in that development two somewhat contrary impulses. One is the desire to free the novel from its earlier limitations – its flat, external realism, its dependence on the material world and the loose contingencies of prose – and to probe more freely and intensely the fact of life and the orders of modern consciousness. [...]

This is one vein in the Modernist novel, but beside it we can see the evolution of another: the novel fleeing from material realism not in order to convey consciousness or the feel of life more intensely, but in order to explore the poverty of reality and the powers of art, of perspective and form which lie in the spaces between the data and the creative object (Fletcher-Bradbury 1991, 408-09).

Modernism was the art of the destruction of civilization in the First World War, of the different reinterpretations of the world offered by Freud, Darwin and Marx, of capitalism and industrial acceleration, of existential exposure to absurdity and it was also the literature of technology. In short, Modernism did not mean freedom for art, but, as Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane have asserted, necessity of art:

## Breaking boundaries: Joyce and Baroja facing Modernism

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The paradox of Modernism lies in the relationship between these two very different explanations of and justifications for it; indeed one can distinguish, in the difference between (say) Symbolism and Surrealism, *two* Modernisms. On the one hand, modernism has been an arcane and a private art: as Ortega y Gasset says in *The Dehumanization of Art*, it tends to divide its audience aristocratically into two groups – those who understand and those who do not, those trained in and acquiescent to its techniques and premises, and those who find it not only incomprehensible but hostile. Thus its main qualities – which Ortega sees as a view of art as ‘play’ or ‘delightful fraud’; an aversion to the traditional; a tendency towards self-hate or irony; a self-diminishing quality, or belief that art has few consequences other than that of being itself – are not simply *avant-garde* but represent a privation and a hoarding of the artistic powers against the populace and the claims of time and history. On the other hand, specialism and experimentalism can be held to have great social meaning; the arts are *avant-garde* because they are revolutionary probes into future modern consciousness (Bradbury & McFarlane 1991, 27-8).

Similarly to Romanticism, Modernism developed around the beginning of the century, at a time of profound intellectual scepticism and social and intellectual unrest, and grew to influence the aesthetics, sensibility and mind of the vast majority of the most reputed artists of the time. Like Romanticism, it was a revolutionary movement which benefited from this intellectual unrest and deep disappointment in the artistic past; Modernism was felt to be a historical evolution coupled with a notion of crisis and a notion of culmination. At the same time, Modernism was an international movement marked by the flow of ideas, values and forms from country to country which eventually developed into the main trend of western tradition:

In short, Modernism was in most countries an extraordinary compound of the futuristic and the nihilistic, the revolutionary and the conservative, the naturalistic and the symbolistic, the romantic and the classical. It was a celebration of a technological age and a condemnation of it; an excited acceptance of the belief that the old regimes of culture were over, and a deep despairing in the face of that fear; a mixture of convictions that the new forms were escapes from historicism and the pressures of the time with convictions that these were precisely the living expressions of these things. And in most of these countries the fermenting decade was the eighteen nineties (Bradbury-McFarlane 1991, 46).

As we will develop in the next point, even though one of the main characteristics of Modernism is its internationalism, it is also true that it did not develop in all the countries at the same time and in the same way.

### 4.1.1. Phases of Modernism.

As we have argued in the previous point, Modernism was undeniably an international movement; however, it is also true that it reached its peak in different countries at different times. In some countries it stayed; in others it did not have major repercussions. In some it affected the received tradition in a virulent way and in others it was nothing but the logical consequence of that tradition. In short, we can claim that internationalism was the essence of Modernism whose period of highest intensity is considered the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century within which there were two peaks: the years immediately preceding, and the years immediately following the First World War. As a result, there exist many kinds of Modernism as, broadly speaking, becoming ‘Modernist’ just meant moving beyond their 19<sup>th</sup> Century predecessors. Nevertheless, we can appreciate three main phases in its evolution, which had been developing during the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Initially, these were innovative groups, which sought to protect their practices within the growing dominance of the art market and against the indifference of the formal academics. They then developed into alternative, more radically innovative writers – seeking to provide their own facilities for production, distribution and publicity – and finally into fully oppositional formations, determined not only to promote their own work but to attack its enemies in the cultural establishment and, beyond this, the whole social order in which these enemies had won and now exercised and reproduced their power.

Hence, we argue that it is not easy to make simple distinctions between ‘Modernism’ and the ‘Avant-garde,’ especially as many uses of these labels are retrospective. But it can be taken as a working hypothesis that Modernism can be said to begin with the second group – the alternative, radically innovating experimental artists and writers – while the Avant-garde begins with groups of the third, fully oppositional type.

## Breaking boundaries: Joyce and Baroja facing Modernism

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Modernism proposed a new kind of art for a new kind of social and perceptual world, whereas the Avant-garde –aggressive from the beginning – saw itself as the breakthrough to the future: its members were not the bearers of a progress already repetitiously defined, but the militants of a creativity which would revive and liberate humanity.

In short, whereas realism consisted in revealing the surprising things that habit keeps hidden, in removing the veil that covers the truth so that we achieve complete understanding of the story, Modernist writing was either based on a lack of information or on untrustworthy knowledge:

*In The Dehumanization of Art*, Ortega y Gasset remarks that one consequence of the modern novel's shift away from realism and humanized representation is that art tends to become a game or a delightful fraud. And indeed it is the case that the grand thrust of the modern novel towards its fulfilment as art – its stress on the power of form and technique, on the drama of the artist's consciousness, on the musicalities of composition, on the disposition of thematic and spatial aesthetic blocks, which stitch a novel together from inside, and appeal not to the reader's sense of history but his sense of aesthetic harmony – has also been part of an intense questioning of art, and a sense of the existence of a difficult divergence between art and reality. Awareness of the ephemerality and discontinuity of modern reality, of the evanescence of character, the disorderly sequence of time, invades the Modernist novel. And indeed once the artist has succeeded in making his reader, in Max Ernst's phrase, 'a spectator at the birth of his work', as so many modern novelists have, then what the reader comes to share is a knowledge not only of the power and the potential transcendence of the creative energy, but also of its paradoxical unreality. The novel becomes for the reader a creation, 'something aesthetically compact,' as Foster puts it; but the creation is itself a fiction, a pattern or grid placed over reality, a God-like intervention. It is a forging, but also a faking; it partakes of orders discerned in reality, but discovers its own orders which are orders of art (Fletcher-Bradbury 1991, 410-11).

Modernist writers at the beginning of the century were, to a large degree, moved to this unprecedented freedom and confidence in stylistic experiment by what they saw as radically new ideas, current in the period, concerning consciousness, time and the nature of knowledge, which were found in the works of Nietzsche, Bergson, Freud, Einstein, Croce, Weber and others. As we will develop further in the next point, these new ideas contested in a dramatic manner the beliefs of the older generation and thinkers like Nietzsche, who helped to sustain their opposition to those totalising religious and philosophical frameworks characteristic of the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century bourgeoisie:

Nietzsche's letters to Brandes and Strindberg in the autumn of 1888, despite the clearly megalomaniac tone, have a strangely prophetic quality. Announcing in November the impending promulgation of his 'revaluation of all values', he declared: 'I swear that in two years time the whole world will be in convulsions. I am sheer destiny.' The following month he wrote to Strindberg that he now felt possessed of the strength 'to cleave the history of mankind in two.'

His apocalyptic vision, his profound conviction that the history of man had arrived at a point of destiny, at the terminus of a long era of civilization, and that all human values must be subjected to total revision found a reverberant echo in the aspirations of western man in these years. By his violent assault on the tenets of Christianity, his advocacy of what Brandes (to Nietzsche's own declared pleasure) defined as his 'aristocratic radicalism', his ruthless questioning of the 19th Century's *idées reçues*, his total repudiation of traditional morality, he won a response from the generations of the *fin-de-siècle* and the First World War which gave him a uniquely influential role in the Modernist period (McFarlane 1991, 79).

Nietzsche's 'conviction that the history of man had arrived at a point of destiny' impregnated the thoughts of European intellectuals who – as we will see in the next point – found themselves in the need to play an active role in the destinies of their nations.

### **4.1.2. Modernism and the role of the intellectual.**

Clearly, the thought-provoking question, '*Global perspective: What is to be done?*' title of a pamphlet by Lenin published in 1902, echoed through the work of European intellectuals of the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The outbreak of war in 1914 troubled even the academics and aesthetes out of their attitude of cultivated scorn for politics. For the first time there was a feeling of collective participation in the destinies of the nations. Preeminent writers in every war-ridden country began to define the war, not simply in political terms, but as a cultural crusade. This ideological endeavour evolved into a sharper political focus in 1917, after America's entry into the war and the outbreak of revolution in Russia. At both extremes, political intentions now began to be defined not by statesmen but by intellectuals who showed an unprecedented interest in changing the world, and not only in reinterpreting it; Lenin, whose understanding of the 'Algebra of Revolution' had enabled him to seize political power; Trotsky, both literary theorist and military genius of the Russian Revolution; Woodrow Wilson, the university professor who had led the United States into the war in order to

make the world 'safe for democracy' and Thomas Marsaryk, the philosopher who created the democratic Republic of Czechoslovakia out of the remains of the Austro-Hungarian Empire can serve as examples. But, could the intellectuals succeed – where the statesmen had failed – in rendering a more coherent blueprint for European politics? In this thesis we argue that this was the hope that encouraged the artists and writers who were immersed in the political struggles resulting from the collapse of the old order in 1918:

Conspicuous in the early nineties is a growing sense of impatience; frustration becomes one of the more usual motivating forces; anti-movements reveal themselves often as those with the greatest driving force, and the desire to remove, to supplant, to replace becomes the overriding consideration. The cultural situation, most markedly perhaps in Germany, was revolutionary. The assault on the old guard in literature – and the new became the old with a speed which to some was astounding – was no mere stylistic swing but a vociferous demand for fundamental change: new attitudes, new areas of exploration, new values. Irreverence became a cult; ruthlessness was admired. Unexpectedly – as Samuel Lublinski commented in his *Die Bilanz der Moderne (The Balance Sheet of the Modern)* – it was the artist and intellectuals who provided the greatest revolutionary passion, the real sense of *Ekstase*; the more committedly political activists, sustained by their Marxist faith in the historical inevitability of change, often seemed content to work for limited or partial or sometimes prosaic objectives (McFarlane 1991, 78).

At the time, Europe dominated the world politically as well as economically with only two nations outside Europe enjoying real independence – America and Japan. This was the great age of imperialism, based not only on economic superiority but – as the vast majority believed – on the cultural and racial superiority of the white races of European stock. Not only was imperialism a system of economic exploitation and power politics, it was also a faith, a belief, an ideology which fascinated intellectuals, businessmen, clergymen, soldiers, writers and politicians alike. However, the transformation of Europe by industry and empire during the latter part of the 19th Century produced far-reaching social and political changes. At the top, the traditional European elite, based on birth and land ownership, survived by conforming to the upward thrust of new groups deriving from industry, banking and the professions – the great estates of the European aristocracy, all the way from Spain to Russia, from Scotland to Hungary, were still intact. But ancient families kept strange company now, a hybrid society with wealth as its single common denominator, arrogant and

ostentatious in the vulgarity of its taste. Below the top, Europe remained a society governed by class distinction, with obvious inequality between rich and poor. By 1900 the workers had begun to organize and protest; social questions began to figure more and more prominently on the agenda of politics. However, even though well before 1914 Europe was divided into two hostile camps, with France and Russia on the one hand, the Central Powers on the other, and the British following their own naval arms race with the Germans, there was no serious revolt against the existing order until 1914. Few believed the War would last beyond Christmas; none guessed that, when it was finally over, the Europe of 1914 would be gone forever.

The electoral defeat of Wilson, together with the vindictory terms imposed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles, dissipated any hope that the peace settlement would make the world a safer place. During the 1920s the triumph of Mussolini in Italy, together with the growing domination of Stalin in the Soviet Union, established a crude choice between political extremes. These developments, so threatening in hindsight, wielded a noteworthy fascination on leading European writers of this period. So deep was the sense of disappointment with capitalism and democratic politics, which were blamed not only for the horrors of the war but also for the post-war economic malaise, that many beautiful minds were pulled towards ideologies which assured more radical solutions – communism at one extreme, fascism at the other; Baroja, for instance, stated in *Comunistas, judíos y demás ralea*, ‘*El parlamentarismo es una hoguera que lo consume todo. A su lado, la Dictadura puede ser una salvación*<sup>160</sup>’ (Baroja 1993, 69). For intellectuals with a restless conscience about their own privileged backgrounds, these new systems seemed glamorous and dynamic, providing visions of fraternal solidarity and connective action. As a consequence, there was

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<sup>160</sup> Parliamentarism is like a bonfire that burns everything down. Compared to it, a dictatorship might be salvation (Translation mine).

a polarisation of attitudes with the advocates of communism or fascism considering themselves not as fellow travellers but as devoted apostles of a new creed.

The Nazis seizing power in 1933, followed by the outbreak of Civil War in Spain three years later, left in no doubt – even to writers who had previously avoided political engagement – as to the necessity of taking sides. But, by aligning themselves with ideological factions, the writers of this generation ran the risk of losing that critical independence which had traditionally been the source of their authority. In a situation of unprecedented crisis the question was not only: ‘What is to be done?’ but also ‘How can political commitment be reconciled with intellectual integrity and artistic vision?’ In this dissertation we emphasise the fact that the writers, artists and thinkers of the 1900s were responsive to the trends and conflicts – moral, social, intellectual and spiritual – which were already beginning to appear, and, as we will see in the next point, sought out new forms and language in which to project these in advance of their time:

What these radical developments – in art, thought, literature, science – have in common is their awareness of the future. What they had to say was listened to and understood by only a minority at the time; only later, when the War had swept away the old order of European society and finally destroyed its values in a way which everyone could see, was it recognised that the imagination of the painters and poets, the scientists and the thinkers of the 1900s had reached out to see in advance the world (which they were helping to create), that improbable, disturbing, fragmented world in which we still live (Bullock 1991, 70).

As we have previously argued, we agree with David Trotter that ‘Apocalypse was one of the things modernist writers imagined most fondly. They saw themselves as inhabitants of a social and cultural system which had stagnated to the point where it was no longer susceptible to reform, but could only be renewed through total collapse or violent overthrow’ (Trotter 1999, 77). This crisis was a crisis of culture which often implied an unhappy view of history – so an artist was not just the artist set free, as stated by Woolf, but the artist creating under circumstantial, historical strain which – as we will develop in the next point – grew to influence their aesthetics.

### 4.1.3. The vision of art in Modernism.

As we have seen in the previous point, the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century intellectuals in many fields in the period around the turn of the century were conscious of being trapped ‘in-between’ historical periods. As a consequence, many of their works were designed to subvert the idea of beginning, middle and end. Literature thus became self-referential, calling attention to itself as language, to words as words instead of words as signifiers. This self-referentiality in art was clearly a rejection of dualism, a collapse of the object into the subject; one of the major Modernist works, *The Waste Land*, can serve as an example here. In T.S.Eliot’s poem we find a continuous instability in which images dissolve, re-form, melt and overlap. Related to this multiplication and destabilization of perspectives lies an assumption that any glimpse of the object is partial – thus the traditional assumption of wholeness is abandoned:

With my own eyes, I saw the Sibyl at Cumae hanging in a bottle; and when  
The boys said to her: ‘Sibyl, what do you want’ she would always respond, ‘I  
Want to die’ (Eliot 1922).

This passage occurs in chapter 48 of the *Satyricon* by Petronius. The words Eliot quotes are from a section usually called ‘Trimalchio’s Feast’, for they are his contribution to a boasting contest. Trimalchio’s boast is that with his own eyes he has seen the Sibyl of Cumae, who like Tiresias is an ancient seer and a gatekeeper of the underworld. His story turns out to be incredible for he says that the Sibyl, having eternal life without eternal youth, has shrunk to the size of an insect and is confined in a bottle. The episode reveals that she is on display for the amusement and the sport of drunken boys; an incarnation of the logos, she has been reduced to the level of a character in a circus freak show.

Commentators on *The Waste Land* customarily note that the Sibyl exists in Eliot’s poem as a symbol of death-in-life and life-in-death or as an example of prolonged depression. However, we

argue that a mythical seer, like the Sibyl or Tiresias, differs from ordinary human beings in not being restricted to a single perspective at a single moment – they are mythical creatures, with experience in several realms of knowing and being. Traditionally, mythical seers have had a binary perspective; that is, they enjoy both a mythical and a relational mode of knowing and being and, moreover, they enjoy both at once. In Trimalchio's story, the Sibyl has been deprived of her binary perspective, maimed in her visionary powers. Like finite beings, she has been reduced to a single perspective and deprived of her ability to see systems, eras and situations from both inside and outside. She is trapped within the dualisms of relational knowledge and that entrapment seems to be the reason she wants to die.

In *The Waste Land*, Tiresias defines a binary perspective that serves as the point of view of the poem. A figure of mythological proportions, he is, nevertheless, spying on the sordidly historical typist and clerk. From a position inside the modern world, the characters are distinct and separate, but from the Tiresias or mythical position, the characters 'melt' into each other. Through him we receive the suggestion that the reader must try to imagine *The Waste Land* as a phenomenon to be viewed from a more comprehensive perspective. Thus, Tiresias functions as Eliot's 'higher' viewpoint which includes and transmutes the figures in the poem and also, perhaps, includes and transmutes the reader as subject and the text as object. The pivotal importance to the poem of the lines:

I Tiresias, though blind, throbbing between two lives,  
Old man with wrinkled female breasts, can see  
At the violet hour... (Eliot 1922).

is something that Eliot himself has highlighted – his remarks, in the 'Notes to the Waste Land' have often been quoted:

Tiresias, although a mere spectator and not indeed a 'character,' is yet the most important personage in the poem, uniting all the rest. Just as the one-eyed merchant, seller of currants, melts into the

## Breaking boundaries: Joyce and Baroja facing Modernism

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Phoenician Sailor, and the latter is not wholly distinct from Ferdinand Prince of Naples, so all the women are one woman, and the two sexes meet in Tiresias. What Tiresias *sees*, in fact, is the substance of the poem (Eliot 1922).

From this viewpoint, all men – although individually identified – are one man. Like Bloom in *Ulysses*, they are ‘Noman’ and ‘Everyman’ at the same time and this point specifies the kind of collaboration readers are asked for in Modernism; we, as readers, are obliged to experience the poem in two ways at once: from a perspective in our own time where its lack of clear order is its distinguishing characteristic and from a synthetic or imagined perspective from which it has a metaphysical substance:

To depict realistically is not to portray or copy but rather to build rigorously, to construct objects that exist in the world in their particular primordial shape. The old Aristotelian idea of imitation had already gained a spiritual quality. For the new art, it is a question of representing before our eyes, in an intuitive way, the fact, the interior figure of the exterior world (Roh 1995, 23-4).

Although Ferdinand de Saussure’s course in general linguistics – published in Paris in 1910 – appears to have gone unnoticed by contemporary writers, we find in Joyce’s *Finnegans Wake* just such an intellectual shift which locates meaning in relationships and structure rather than in content – a shift formalized by Saussure’s recognition of the arbitrary nature of the linguistic sign and his focus on the synchronic laws of language. Following one of the central aims of early Modernism, which was to attract an audience willing to attempt to decode the relationships between stylistic medium and message, Joyce, indeed, wanted to be interpreted:

Part and parcel of the modern crisis of language is the disjunction between social discourse and literary discourse. [...] the Modernist poet rejects all notions of art as description or mimesis; because the ‘real’ world is felt to be ‘fallen’ to questionable ends, the task of art cannot be to reproduce this fallen world or manufacture a beautiful ‘surface’ for it with a language in which, as André Breton put it in *The Disdainful Confession* (1924), ‘something fundamental’ is given back to form and in which the loss dimension of language and the human psyche is rediscovered or preserved. He abstracts words from their conventionalized place in speech and recombines them in such a way that their forgotten secondary potential – connotative properties, rhythmic and aural possibilities, similarities with other words, forgotten meanings – becomes primary. The traditional role of the adjective becomes suspect; the modern poet becomes disposed to use it not so much to describe the surface ‘look’ or ‘feel’ of a noun as to bring out its latent metaphorical dimensions. [...] The Modernist crisis of language is thus located not in the impotence of the creative individual or a literary style within a language which is

assumed to be living and potentiated, but in the ‘de-potentialization’ of an entire language as such (Sheppard 1991, 329).

Either knowingly or unknowingly, Joyce participated in those intellectual currents of early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Europe, whose destructive impact depended on a profound revision of the understanding of language. Hence, Joyce rendered ‘Eumaeus’ into a self-conscious playground of linguistic deconstruction, revealing the inherent instability of words as mere language and constructed essences; thus, the language of the episode becomes a thick jungle of self-conscious qualifications, such as, ‘specimen of bun, or so it seemed’ or ‘the cup of what was temporarily supposed to be called coffee’ (*U16*. 356-60).

In this section we argue that perhaps one reason that ‘Eumaeus’ is so ridden with euphemistic clichés and linguistic qualifiers – as commentators have often noted – is precisely because the narrative language (constantly qualifying and questioning identity and essence) mirrors the episode’s ongoing discussion about the very problematic (and imprecision) of language, the presumed ability of cultures to name and control accurately through discursive and verbal typing of essences and differences:

Around 1850 ... classical writing therefore disintegrated, and the whole of literature, from Flaubert to the present day, became the problematics of language (Barthes 1977, 9).

Together with Pound and most Modernist figures, Eliot saw interpretative activity as a never-ending process, yet a process that had to be subjected to the limitations imposed by knowledge of the text’s origins and of the intertextual relations. As for Baroja, he claimed: ‘*A mí, al menos, la palabra me ha interesado principalmente como signo*<sup>161</sup>’ (Baroja 946-51, 863); he could have also added that he was interested in words as arbitrary signs although this does not imply that Baroja renounced the

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<sup>161</sup> To me at least, the word is of interest principally as a sign (Translation mine).

expressive value certain terms or phrases acquire when used in a given context. Furthermore, Rilke asserted that practice was essential, as the intellect required exercise so as to meet the strain of comprehension: *'Deine ausgeübten Kräfte spanne bis sie reichen zwischen zwein Widersprüchen'* (Rilke 1938, 364).

In fact, the defining characteristic of Modernism was its insistence that the mind be subjected to a wholly new kind of stress; thus, poetry became an 'intolerable wrestle with words and meanings' (Eliot 1975, 120). Hence, like several other Modernist texts, *The Waste Land*, calls attention to itself as a text about reading which can usefully be read as a set of guidelines, analogous to a musical score, on how to read or actually perform, the complete artistic experience.

Contrary to Eliot, Hermann Hesse was one of the few Modernists, who tried to define in plain terms what he meant to do with words – as McFarlane points out:

[...] If he were a musician, he wrote, he could without difficulty write a two-part melody in which the two lines of notes and sounds would complement, combat, determine and correspond to each other, which would at every point be mutually and reciprocally related in the most vital and intimate way: and yet anyone able to read music would always be able to see and hear each separate note along with its contrary and complementary note, its brother, its enemy, its antipode. It was precisely this two-part melody, this antithetical progression, this double line which he wanted to express in words (McFarlane 1991, 88-8).

Thus – quoting Hesse's analysis of his own *Kurgast*:

Beständig möchte ich mit Entzücken auf die selige Buntheit der Welt hinweisen und ebenso beständig daran erinnern, dass dieser Buntheit eine Einheit zugrunde liegt; beständig möchte ich zeigen, dass Schön und Hässlich, Hell und Dunkel, Sünde und Heiligkeit immer nur für einen Moment Gegensätze sind, dass sie immerzu ineinander übergehen. Für mich sind die höchsten Worte der Menschheit jene paar, in denen diese Doppeltheit in magischen Zeichen ausgesprochen ward, jene wenigen eheimnisvollen Sprüche und Gleichnisse, in welchen die grossen Weltgegensätze zugleich als Ntwendigkei und als Illusion erkannt warden (Matzig 1947, 13).

we conclude that the chief concern of Modernism is the problematic of language:

These 'magic symbols' of Hesse's thus form a kind of meta-language in which things kept apart by conventional language are brought together within a new universe of discourse which allows workaday contraries to have at one and the same time a separate and a shared identity, to be indifferently both 'same' and 'different.' There is, in this, massive support for the view of Roland Barthes that the chief

## Breaking boundaries: Joyce and Baroja facing Modernism

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concern of modern literature – in his estimate since as far back as Flaubert – has been with the problematic of language (McFarlane 1991, 89).

However, this is not the only one; Eliot aspired to writing books which would fix the great vision of moral decline once and for all. As we read through the poetry he wrote in the 20s and 30s we realise that the hesitations and comedy of the earlier works have disappeared, leaving the dramatic representation of life free for faultfinding and symptomatic criticism.

In *Ulysses* we are told that, while in Paris, Stephen Dedalus receives a telegram from his father that says, ‘Mother dying come home father,’ (U3. 199), and so he returns to Dublin, and it is in Dublin, on June 16<sup>th</sup> 1904, that the novel unfolds. Stephen has returned to the land of death, the Irish wasteland. As we know, T. S. Eliot’s *The Waste Land* came out the same year as *Ulysses* and in the poem we find constant echoes of themes and images from the novel – the drowned man or the voice of thunder can be cited among the main ones. Furthermore, *Ulysses* takes place mainly on Thursday, the day of Thunder – and in the exact middle of the book, a thunderclap wakes Stephen’s heart, ‘A black crack of noise in the street here, alack, bawled back. Loud on left Thor thundered: in anger awful the hammerhurler. Came now the storm that hist his heart.’ (U14. 408-10). The thunder in the middle of *Ulysses* marks the instant of transition from Stephen’s fixed, sterile, self-protective pose of spiritual pride to the commencement of a purgatorial process. Similarly, Eliot used the voice of thunder to awake the dead souls of his fellow country people, the Londoners. However, we argue that, in spite of the similarities, Eliot’s verse shows the same drive towards a prevailing vision and explanation of the demise of Christian Europe’s traditional culture as can be found in the critical/philosophical research of this period. We assert that, on the contrary, Joyce did not preach. His writing was implicitly liberal, democratic and tolerant in exactly the way that brought about Eliot’s and Pound’s rage:

In 1934 Pound became excited about E. E. Cummings's book about Russia; because Cummings had seen something new and had therefore '*presented a subject*,' *Eimi* was a live book. On the contrary, Pound grew impatient with '*the snobbism that has steamed up around Joyce's writings in regress*,' he doubted that Joyce or Gertrude Stein '*have said anything that will be of any interest in itself, apart from their varieties of galimatias*.' In his opinion, Joyce knew very little of life, '*Three decades of life have been lived since he began writing, of the last two he has learned almost nothing. Of the dominant cleaving and ideas of the last decade he is nearly unconscious*' (Pound 1971, 254).

In the next point we will delve further into the fact that to Pound's despair, the development of Joyce's prose revealed nothing but a continuous search for an ever more open and plural medium:

As Pound's advocacy of the future grew more shrill and his expressions of support for extreme political forces in a disintegrating Europe began to harden into slogans, Joyce became uncomfortable about Pound's increasing hostility to his work and about their disagreement over the importance of economics and politics. Hemingway has recorded that the last time he saw Pound, in Paris in 1934, it was at Joyce's request. Joyce asked Hemingway to come along to dinner with Pound because Joyce was convinced that Pound was 'mad' and was 'genuinely frightened of him' (Pound 1971, 257).

And we will argue together with Butler that Joyce's Modernism is displayed in his continuous search for a new language in which to express himself:

The complete recreative and parodic mastery of previous tradition: the early Modernists [...] work through Symbolism and its derivatives; and then go significantly beyond it, by inventing radically new languages for art (Butler 1990, 259-82).

#### **4.1.4. Joyce and Modernism.**

Following Butler, in this point we argue that Joyce entered the experimental mainstream of Modernism by an extraordinary display of technique and not by a previous commitment to some avant-gardist doctrine whose ideology Joyce found irrelevant to his purposes. In Pound's words:

His style has the hard clarity of a Stendhal or Flaubert [...] He has also the richness of erudition which differentiates him from certain ale and vigorous but rather overloaded impressionist writers. He is able, in the course of a novel, to introduce a serious conversation, or even a stray conversation on style or philosophy without being ridiculous (Pound 1971, 359).

Furthermore, the range of languages and codes within which *Ulysses* is inscribed also has a great deal to do with Joyce's sense of himself as a citizen – and not only as a Dubliner, but as a European:

[...] the idea of a fruitful symbiosis of the cosmopolitan and the nativist becomes a profoundly important aspect of the aesthetics of the entire period from the 1880s through to the First World War; it takes on especially complex forms in the work of Henry James in the novels, and Yeats and Eliot in poetry (Bradbury 1991, 175).

Hence, Joyce's work has to be placed within the Modernist tradition by critical comparison rather than through the study of its direct influence – it is his synthesis of past and present rather than a merely ironic juxtaposition of the 'classical' and the modern (as in Eliot), that is one of his biggest achievements. We also argue that Joycean Modernism is usually understood as an attempt to escape from the past into a truly contemporary moment by means of a wilful Nietzschean forgetting of history – a repudiation of the legacy of dead generations. To quote from Joyce's essay on James Clarence Mangan:

No doubt they are only men of letters who insist on the succession of the ages, and history or the denial of reality, for they are two names for one thing, may be said to be that which deceives the whole world (Joyce 1959, 81).

On the contrary, in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent,' T.S. Eliot recommended, as appropriate for the creative writer, a sense of history which 'involves the perception not only of the pastness of the past, but also of its presence; the historical sense compels a man to write 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 and composes a simultaneous order' (Eliot 1925, 38). Indeed, in Eliot's formulation, Modernism is grasped as the effort to overcome cultural fragmentation and discontinuity, to remember the past and make it meaningful for the present. On the contrary, to Joyce, history is nothing but a consciously constructed limit of possibilities and, as narrative history, may be, at best, a metaphor.

Joyce's aim was persistently to prove that the artist can mediate the synchronic thrust of myth and the diachronic thrust of history. Consequently, he dealt extensively in his critical prose with the third period of Irish history – the era of British domination. Joyce saw the period as having several detrimental effects on the native Irish character, the foremost of which was that the assertive Irishman had become a reactionary; in his opinion, the Irish were united not for principles but against a nation. This mental dependency of the Irish on England was condemned by Joyce much more than the English political tyranny over Ireland, although he by no means condoned the latter. Concomitant with this reactionary tendency was an Irish attitude of self-pity, a love of sorrow for the sake of sorrow, a weak acceptance of Ireland's woe as eternal, and a nostalgic and sentimental wish for a return to the past. As we can see in *Ulysses*, Joyce rejected the melodramatic Irishman who vacillated between postures of fearful melancholy and self-righteous indignation:

So off they started about Irish sports and shoneen games the like of lawn tennis and about hurley and putting the stone and racy of the soil and building up a nation once again and all to that. (*U12*. 888-891)[...]Where are our missing twenty millions of Irish should be here today instead of four, our lost tribes? And our potteries and textiles, the finest in the whole world! And our wool that was sold in Rome in the time of Juvenal and our flax and our damask from the looms of Antrim [...] (*U12*. 1240-1244).

Furthermore, in constructing Bloom – whom Joyce made the embodiment of his version of the contemporary Irish nationalist ego with all its flaws, virtues and potential – Joyce drew on a complex body of representations of 'the Jew' that he had absorbed first as a Catholic child and teenager, then as a discontented liberal Irishman, and finally as a 'Europeanized,' 'Modernist' author. Thus, Bloom's argumentativeness reveals not only independence but also flexibility of thought, and an ability to see from multiple perspectives that contrasts vividly with the mental rigidity of his companions:

-Persecution, says he, all the history of the world is full of it. Perpetuating national hatred among nations.  
-But do you know what a nation means? Says John Wyse.  
-Yes, says Bloom.

- What is it? says John Wyse.
- A nation? says Bloom. A nation is the same people living in the same place.
- ...
- Or also living in different places.
- ...
- What is your nation if I may ask? says the citizen.
- Ireland, says Bloom. I was born here. Ireland. (U12. 1418-1431)

As we have already seen in this dissertation, unlike Joyce, the Revivalists identified a declining Anglo-Ireland with an ‘authentic’ Irish culture. Determined to identify Protestantism with authentic Irish cultural traditions, Catholicism was, thus, represented as a foreign import which had tamed the wild Celtic spirit. In the next point we will focus on Joyce’s relation to the Irish Literary Revival which became the dominant conservative culture against which Joyce redefined Ireland and Irishness.

#### **4.1.4.1. Joyce facing Revivalism.**

With respect to the above, we argue in this section that the demagogues of the Irish Revival drew inspiration from a variety of precursors in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Century, and were responding to a variety of social and political questions which parliamentarians had either answered inadequately or simply passed over. We state that at one level, the Revival may be explained in terms of a Weberian ‘blocked mobility’ theory; at another level, the cultural effervescence owed its origins, at least in part, to a crisis of declining expectations among Irish Protestants. The Anglo-Irish Literary Revival of the 1890s and beyond was in part the reaction of Protestant and other intellectuals to what was seen as the new, grasping rural middle class. As a response, Joyce gives an insistent, complex representation of divided class and racial identity in *The Telemachiad* – where this division lies at the heart of the tension between Mulligan and Stephen.

As we know, Stephen is an Irish Catholic whereas Mulligan is an Anglo-Irish Catholic who has the advantages of a Protestant education and feels himself to be a natural member of the

## Breaking boundaries: Joyce and Baroja facing Modernism

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Ascendancy, which in historical reality was no longer exclusively Protestant but was still upper class – the articulation of class consciousness is very much in the foreground of the episode:

- How long is Haines going to stay in this tower?  
Buck Mulligan showed a shaven cheek over his right shoulder.
- God, isn't he dreadful? he said frankly. A ponderous Saxon. He thinks you're not a gentleman. God, these bloody English! Bursting with money and indigestion. Because he comes from Oxford. You know, Dedalus, you have the real Oxford manner. He can't make you out. O, my name for you is the best: Kinch, the knifeblade (*U1.49-55*).

Indeed, Stephen's first words in *Ulysses* resonate with the Home Rule question and the longing for Irish autonomy from English occupation. The antagonism Stephen expresses here – the antagonism with which *Ulysses* begins and which Stephen feels towards Haines, and towards Mulligan for his willingness to pander to the Englishman – is the novel's starting point. At the same time, the antagonism in question is not exactly simple, not least because Haines himself is a somehow contradictory figure but also because Joyce places him in a contradictory position relative to Ireland, and this partly reflects the contradictory attitudes to Ireland evident in English politics and culture during the ten years of the Unionist government; at a time when Joyce's Anglo-Irish contemporaries were formulating a syncretic view of Irish culture and society – of the 'Unity of Culture' – Joyce insisted on conflict and bifurcation. In fact, the refusal to serve, and the apparently contradictory sense of being predetermined by history to serve, echoes through the first three chapters in *Ulysses*:

- I get paid this morning, Stephen said.
- The school kip? Buck Mulligan said. How much? Four quid? Lend us one.
- If you want it, Stephen said.
- Four shining sovereigns, Buck Mulligan cried with delight. We'll have a glorious drunk to astonish the druidy druids. Four omnipotent sovereigns (*U1.292-96*).

The slang meaning of 'Kip' as brothel is quite appropriately functional here, given that Stephen is prostituted to a job he doesn't like. Buck's repeated word here underscores the reality that Stephen is literally a servant to an omnipotent master – a colonial subject to an imperial sovereign

and thus himself a sovereign subject, paid in a currency that is linguistically the metonymic coin for Royal English power.

Yet, we argue that the Literary Revival and, indeed, Irish Irelandism were not merely expressions of profound social resentment. The leaders of the Irish Revival were interested in the role of the artist within the national movement and they were concerned to promote a national literature in the English language; but they were also a group of Protestants who were seeking to explore their Irishness and so define a workable relationship with the national tradition. Thus, Revivalism was crucially a Protestant Anglo-Irish culture and it was understood as such by Joyce who made the Literary Revival his main target in *Ulysses*.

According to Joyce, it was through the agency of the late Revivalists, Yeats, Synge, Lady Gregory and so on, that Anglo-Ireland continued to stake its monopolizing claim on Irish culture, to define the national culture as it had done since the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. As a result, Revivalism became the dominant conservative culture against which Joyce redefined Ireland and Irishness; against the Literary Revival's celebration of an aristocratic culture of heroism is Joyce's celebration of the culture of Dublin's streets, his mock-heroic; against the neo-Platonic aesthetic of Yeats and Russell is Joyce's concoction of Aristotle and Aquinas; against their mysticism, his realism; against the Revival's vegetarianism is Leopold Bloom who eats 'with relish the inner organs of beasts and fowls' and against its evocations of a timeless idyllic rurality are Joyce's excessively time-specific urban fictions.

Indeed, the poetry and plays of Yeats – one of the main figures of Irish Revivalism – often take subject matter from national Celtic folklore and myth. By incorporating into his work the stories and characters of Celtic origin, Yeats endeavoured to encapsulate something of the national character of his beloved Ireland. The reasons and motivations for Yeats' use of Celtic themes can be

understood in terms of the author's own sense of nationalism as well as an overriding personal interest in mythology and the oral traditions of folklore. Immersing himself in the rich and varied world of Celtic myth and folklore, Yeats contributed to the literary world poems and plays that embrace his native legends while promoting his own sense of nationalism. However, Seamus Deane shows how the leading nineteenth-century Irish authors tried repeatedly to imagine 'imagined communities' which they defined as the Irish nation and race, with all the desired 'national character' and radical uniqueness which each one fantasized and endowed their writing with (Deane 1985, 85-120). This is very much part of the process that Bhabha calls 'writing the nation':

The scraps, patches, and rags of daily life must be repeatedly turned into the signs of a national culture, while the very act of the narrative performance interpellates a growing circle of national subjects... It is through this process of splitting that the conceptual ambivalence of modern society becomes the site of writing the nation (Bhabha 1990, 297).

As Cheng points out, in such a process, the ambivalence involves a discursive occlusion of the internal cultural differences which exist in any large and heterogeneous contact zone. The result is essentialized stereotypes constantly driven by a nostalgia for pure origins in an 'attempt to hark back to a 'true' national past, which is often represented in the reified forms of realism and stereotype' (Bhabha 1990, 303). As Vincent Cheng argues, Celticism or Irish Nationalism tried to do for the 'Irish race' what Anglo-Saxonist racism had done for the 'English race,' by exalting the Self's proclaimed racial and cultural superiority in comparison to all other races or cultures (Cheng 1995, 45-57). Thus, as Curtis points out, Irish scholars involved in the Celtic Revival during the latter decades of the nineteenth century argued that they were 'the direct descendants of a pure and holy race, composed of Firbolgs, Tuatha de Dananns, and Milesians, whose ancient institutions, veneration for learning, and religious zeal made Saxon culture...look nothing less barbarian'; as Curtis concludes, 'ethnocentric Irish men and women sought to combat heavy doses of Anglo-Saxonist venom with a Celticist serum of their own making' (Curtis 1968, 15). In fact, the notion that

there was still a pure and distinct Celtic race living in Ireland was an essentialist construction that was equally acceptable to both the Irish nationalist and to the Anglo-Saxon imperialist, for both depended on the notion of themselves as a race pure and distinct from others – as Curtis points out:

There was a good deal of ancestor worship and racial mythology in Celticism, just as much, in fact, as in Anglo-Saxonism. Rare was the meeting of a branch of the Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic Association, or the Ancient Order of Hibernians at which there was no allusion to the purity and the antiquity of the Irish race. Whether labelled Celtic, Gaelic, Goidelic, Milesian, or plain Irish, that race possessed qualities far superior to those of Anglo-Saxons (Curtis 1968, 109).

Such Celtic ethnocentrism was most fervently embraced by the Fenians who espoused an ancient mythology that seemed to justify war, bloodshed and heroic death. Hence, Joyce refused to be involved in the Revival as it is well documented that he would have none of this Celtic ethnocentrism, blood cult and originary nostalgia.

In truth, Joyce's critique of Anglo-Irish revivalist historiography begins with *The Telemachiad* where Stephen recasts and reinterprets the role of the bard. He devises an eerie poem about the invader as vampire that echoes Hyde's translation of 'My Grief on the Sea'. Here, Stephen is concerned both with a different Irish history to that of the Revival, and with giving episodes from that history in a different form:

*On swift sail flaming  
From storm and south  
He comes, pale vampire,  
Mouth to my mouth (U7. 522-25).*

By incorporating vampire imagery within a reconfigured citation of a Gaelic folk song, Joyce draws attention to the Protestant mysticism or Gothicism latent in the Revivalist project. It might be ventured that mystical religious practice reflected dissatisfaction with conventional religion and that mysticism may have been partly about social and religious insecurity as there was a remarkable upsurge in mystical thought and practice in late 19<sup>th</sup> Century Ireland and Britain which helped to energize the ideologues of the Revival and share their thoughts. Indeed, both Revivalist plays and

Joycean texts are concerned with the cult of the hero, messianic traditions and apocalyptic visions; hallucinations, dreams, masking and fantasy are also common to Joyce's massive extravaganza and to the Revivalist texts which he dubbed 'dwarf dramas.'

In this work we assert that Joyce worked not only with the fabric of Revivalist theatre, but with the whole neo-Platonic paraphernalia that served as Revivalist underpinning – as far as Joyce was concerned, Revivalist theatre had the audacity to speak for Ireland, and more than this, claimed to represent its very soul. Even though the opening of 'Circe' may not allude to any specific Revivalist text, it is a transposing of a mode of beginning that was virtually traditional in Revivalist theatre. Hence we state that if 'Circe' is allowed the status of an Irish play, then the fact that the play is set in Nighttown becomes an announcement of Joyce's intention to confront a national theatre which dramatized love as something at the centre of the Irish spirit and proclaimed sex to be an English contamination. We argue that the opening of 'Circe' uses landscape just as Yeats used it, as a natural symbol for the collective unconscious, but with the vital distinction that Joyce's landscape is an urban red-light district as opposed to an Irish wilderness and the psychological states it evokes are concerned with shame, guilt and survivalism, as opposed to Yeats's romance of dispossession:

*\*(The Mabbot street entrance of nighttown, before which stretches an uncobbled tram siding set with skeleton tracks, red and green will-o'-the-wisps and danger signals. Rows of grimy houses with gaping doors. Rare lamps with faint rainbow fans. Round Rabaiotti's halted ice gondola stunted men and women squabble. They grab wafers between which are wedged lumps of coral and copper snow. Sucking, they scatter slowly, children. The swancomb of the gondola, highreared, forges on through the murk, white and blue under a lighthouse. Whistles call and answer) (U15.1-10).*

The fact that characters in 'Circe' are frequently in possession of information and language registers that they either cannot or do not possess establishes 'Circe' as Joyce's comic version of Yeats's collective unconscious. However, perhaps the most obvious and compelling structural linkage between Joyce's play and Revivalist theatre is the fundamental importance that ritual has in both; there is no doubt that 'Circe' is structured around ritual, to the extent that Charles Peake has read the

chapter itself as constituting a Mass (Peake 1977, 265-268-276). However, we argue that although Joyce uses rituals from all kinds of contexts and cultures, those most frequently commandeered are the rituals of the Catholic Church, representing a particularly significant divergence from Revivalism because Revivalist theatre almost entirely ignored Catholicism as ritual<sup>162</sup>. Hence, it is the structural usage of the rituals of Catholicism which, above all, establishes a sense of Joyce anatomizing the contours of a collective unconscious:

### THE GRAMOPHONE

Jerusalem!  
Open your gates and sing  
Hosanna... (U15.2170-73)

Nevertheless, there is no characteristic of Revivalism that is not victimized somewhere in 'Circe' which does not simply allude to Revivalist theatre, or parody Revivalist styles, but which is also – as it were – formulated by Revivalism.<sup>163</sup> Clearly, the 'tragic' struggle between 'reality' and 'nobility' which lies at the very centre of Yeats's dramatic conception becomes, in Joyce's version, no tragedy at all but a hugely comic farce, a pseudo-struggle inflicted on Bloom to a great extent. The inflation of Joyce's hero in 'Circe' is an exact negation of those markers of the heroic that were so heavily prescribed in revivalist culture; Bloom is Jewish, urban, bourgeois, thoroughly Anglicized and modern when he should be Irish, rural, aristocratic, Celtic and displaced in a mythical past. Ironically, Bloom's frantically shifting status in the phantasmagoria of 'Circe' means that at various times he seems to represent just about the whole cast-list of Revivalist drama:

### BLOOM

*(in caubeen with clay pipe stuck in the band, dusty brogues, an emigrant's red handkerchief bundle in his hand, leading a black bogoak pig by a sugaun, with a smile in his eye)* Let me be going now, woman of the house, for by all the goats in Connemara I'm after having the father and mother of a

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<sup>162</sup> The priest was visualised as suppressing, or even oppressing, the Celtic spirit.

<sup>163</sup> In a further example we can see that in a work that parodies a classical epic, pseudo-homeric compound epithets occur which also mock the 'translationese' of the myths and legends anglicised in the Irish Revival:  
*(Ben Jumbo Dollard, rubicund, musclebound, hairynostrilled, hugebearded, cabbageeared, shaggychested, shockmaned, fatpapped, stands forth, his loins and genitals tightened into a pair of black bathing bagslops)(U15.2604-07).*

## Breaking boundaries: Joyce and Baroja facing Modernism

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bating. (*with a tear in his eye*) All insanity. Patriotism, sorrow for the dead, music, future of the race. To be or not to be. Life's dream is o'er. End it peacefully. They can live on. (*he gazes far away mournfully*) I am ruined. A few pastilles of aconite. The blinds drawn. A letter. Then lie back to rest. (*he breathes softly*) No more. I have lived. Fare. Farewell (*U15*. 1959-68).

As we have seen before, the resurgence of Anglo-Irish revivalism in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century was synchronous with the defeat of a powerful middle-class nationalist movement. The defeat of Parnellism left a gap which conservative forces of various kinds, Church, State and Irish Protestants, – the ‘nets’ from which Joyce wanted to escape – were quick to exploit. ‘Aeolus’ is a further example of Stephen facing and overcoming those ‘nets’ which threaten his artistic vocation and one paradigmatic instance of major importance to ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ is the Irish literary controversy of the 1890s. Various such controversies lie just beneath its surface. The controversy of 1898 between Yeats and Eglinton over the use of heroic legends in poetry helps to elucidate the Wordsworth references, since Eglinton argued for a Wordsworthian model in poetry. The essential difference between ‘Aeolus’ and ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ is that whereas in ‘Scylla and Charybdis’, Stephen encounters the Anglo-Irish intelligentsia who are in the process of formulating what they see as a dynamic, new cultural nationalism which will culminate in the Protestant production of ‘our national epic’ in ‘Aeolus’ the social context concerns the failure of Catholic, middle-class, constitutional nationalism – a context which Joyce apparently understands and identifies with at a level which is deeper than the intellectual. For all his wariness, Stephen seems emphatically drawn to the group of men in ‘Aeolus’, he understands them, and there is some evidence to suggest that they understand him. The origin of this empathy is in both a shared social status and a shared historical consciousness. On the contrary, in the library scene Stephen is excluded. He is bitter and on the attack. His ideas are disdained, unappreciated and even openly ridiculed, especially by A.E.:

- But this prying into the family life of a great man, Russell began impatiently.  
Art thou there, truepenny? (*U9*. 181-83)

Even though John Eglinton's is the approbation Stephen is seeking, no doubt AE's approval would be welcomed too; but AE shows little interest. On two occasions he oracles his sentiments from the shadows, but he is so far out of this conversation that Stephen is surprised by the second interruption and repeats to himself the question Hamlet addressed to the unexpected voice from the cellarage.<sup>164</sup>

As we have already argued in this work, for the pacifist, exiled Joyce, the 'spiritual liberation' of his country and the creation of the 'conscience of my race' involved getting out of the binary structure of nationalism and Revivalism and into an internationalist, multilingual and multiculturalist perspective; in the next point we will deal with Joyce's attachment to fact as opposed to Revivalists' use of myth in his argument that the Irish should look beyond their narrow provincialism and develop a more international consciousness.

#### 4.1.4.2. Joyce's Realism.

Contrary to the main figures of Revivalism Joyce favoured that relativist opposition to the beliefs of the past – one of the chief legacies of Pater and William James – whose symptoms were pragmatism, pluralism, and that most typical of Modernist strategies, a sceptical irony. Joyce's rejection of religion and nationalism is not the most important part of the story concerning his turn-of-the-century scepticism, as it also resides, paradoxically enough, in his extraordinary attachment to fact. It is his realism which perpetually combats larger ideological commitments; extremely

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<sup>164</sup> The pages of 'Scylla and Charybdis' make it clear that Stephen has read the two books Eglinton has published; Eglinton insisted that it was no more absurd to ascribe all the woes of Ireland to the use of the English tongue than it was to reject the accumulated riches of English cultural development in favour of a new culture in a rude and undisciplined language and he pointed out that it had been the Anglo-Irish who had consistently led the nation in the fight for spiritual and intellectual independence. His real concern was with the individual, especially, the individual thinker, the man who forced himself to put aside facile solutions and popular dogmas in order to confront fundamental issues without compromise:

Lean, he lay back. Shy, deny thy kindred, the unco guid. Shy, supping with the godless, he sneaks the cup. A Sire in Ultonian Antrim bade it him. Visits him here on quarter days. Mr. Magee, sir, there's a gentleman to see you. Me? Says he's your father, sir. Give me my Wordsworth. Enter Magee Mor Matthew, a rugged rough rugheaded kern, in strossers with a buttoned codpiece, his nether stocks bemired with clauber of ten forests, a wand of wilding in his hand. (*U9*. 817-23)

significant from this point of view is a remark he made to Arthur Power which expresses an attitude which underlies his work through to the completion of *Ulysses*:

In realism you get down to the facts on which the world is based; that sudden reality which smashes romanticism into a pulp. What makes most people's lives unhappy is some disappointed romanticism, some unrealisable misconceived ideal. In fact you may say that idealism is the ruin of man, and if we lived down to fact, as primitive man had to do, we would be better off. That is what we were made for. Nature is quite unromantic. It is we who put romance into her, which is a false attitude, an egotism, absurd like all egotism. In *Ulysses* I tried to keep close to fact (Power 1974, 98).

As we know, Joyce devoted himself to the study of the different literary styles and delivered a lecture on Defoe in Italy at the Università Popolare Triestina in 1911-12 where he clearly expressed his admiration of Defoe for inventing the new 18th-Century genre – the novel:

The first English author to write without imitating or adapting foreign works, to create without literary models and to infuse into the creatures of his pen a truly national spirit, to devise for himself an artistic form which is perhaps without precedent is Daniel Defoe, father of the English novel (Joyce 1959, 7).

After spending much of the essay on 'Daniel Defoe', Joyce proceeds to discuss *Robinson Crusoe* as a whole, focusing very particularly on the tension between facts and realism, a tension which is not very overt but which is, nevertheless, there. We get a sense of this in Joyce's paradoxical claim that errors of fact and the many unrealistic coincidences in *Robinson Crusoe* are insignificant because they are washed away in the 'flood' of Defoe's 'new realism'. As we can infer from Joyce's implied contrast between facts and 'realism,' that term does not imply an exact correspondence between text and world, or an accurate portrayal of the way things 'really' are. Rather, we assert that 'realism' refers to a particular style of literature that Defoe is often credited with inventing and which, just like histories and journals, involves an account of the concrete details of everyday life but which shapes them in such a way as to give us insight into the significance of those details in the lives of the people and societies represented in and through them – as opposed to the less selective account of events and details reported in journals and histories. Thus, Joyce does not seem worried

about the tension between pattern and experience in the remark about Defoe because that very tension had in fact become one of the principal characteristics of a form of writing that Defoe helped initiate in the 18th Century – the novel:

A PREOCCUPATION with fictions has been one of the distinguishing marks of Modernist literature. The philosophers' interest in fictions goes back at least as far as David Hume, in the 18th Century; but, in literary terms, they will be here considered in a perspective taken from Romanticism, from which Modernism was not so much a break as a complex continuity. Romantic thought gives a new status to subjectivity: in literature as elsewhere, the highest claims are made of creative imagination; the writer, particularly the poet, takes it upon himself to reveal truths and values to which his vision gives access. The hazards of subjectivity, the privacy and contingency of single vision, are countered by the romantic interchange with a natural environment from which many of its pieties are drawn. Since the values are 'natural', only an unnatural corruption can prevent their endorsement; and since they are in some sense present in the environment, to elicit them is to participate, to belong to a potentially regenerative world in organic community, and thus to achieve salvation in a secular myth (Crasnow 1991, 369).

The novel combined the detailed events of a journal or eyewitness account with the formal rigor of a spiritual autobiography. This shaping resulted in a formal structure that was derived from the traditions of allegory and romance. However, the structure of the novel differed from those predecessors in one very important way that helped avoid conflict between pattern and experience. The significance of experience that was revealed by the shaping of the novelistic narrative was usually based upon the lives of individuals, who were normally associated with what we would think of today as a middle-class culture, and whose actions were driven by motivations that were usually economic, social, and psychological. The new novelistic narrative was not therefore based on transcendental sources of divine inspiration, grace, or Providence; the novel was thus associated with an increasingly secular outlook that valued empirical observation and experimentation over revelation; looking to social, economic, and psychological causes rather than to Providence to explain events and elevating the authority of the individual observer over that of the scholar, minister, or Scriptural text:

It was the *novel* that historically accompanied the rise of nations by objectifying the 'one, yet many' of national life, and by mimicking the structure of the nation, a clearly bordered jumble of languages and styles. Socially, the novel joined the newspaper as the major vehicle of the national print media, helping to standardize language, encourage literacy, and remove mutual incomprehensibility. But it did much

more than that. Its manner of presentation allowed people to imagine the special community that was the nation.[...] It was in the novel that previously foreign languages met each other on the same terrain, forming an unsettled mixture of ideas and styles, themselves representing previously distinct peoples now forced to create the rationale for a common life (Brennan 1964, 50).

Altogether, these features made up the ‘flood’ of ‘new realism’ that Joyce praised for turning *Robinson Crusoe* into an ideal representative of British colonialism despite the many factual inaccuracies and preposterous coincidences that make this novel ‘unrealistic’ in the sense of an accurate portrayal of real life. They constituted a brand new kind of writing, one that would quickly be labelled ‘the novel’ – *Robinson Crusoe* often being cited as one of the earliest examples of this genre:

[...] the novel, because of its prose character, especially raises problems in the representation of reality and logical sequential structure. The Modernist novel has shown, perhaps, four great preoccupations: with the complexities of its own form, with the representation of inward states of consciousness, with a sense of the nihilistic disorder behind the ordered surface of life and reality, and with the freeing of narrative art from the determination of an onerous plot. In all of these areas what is being questioned is linear narrative, logical and progressive order, the establishing of a stable surface of reality (McFarlane-Bradbury 1991, 393).

Indeed, Joyce’s own *Odyssey* is, on the surface, the realistic detailed description of the wanderings of both Bloom and Stephen throughout Dublin on just one particular day, as well as the rendering of their thoughts and reflections. As many authors have pointed out, Joyce’s project of recounting ‘the dailiest day possible’ takes on a radical significance in that context. Firstly we argue he wished to reassert the dignity of the quotidian, to reclaim the everyday as a primary aspect of experience. Secondly we argue that in *Ulysses* Joyce aimed at releasing a plurality of voices which would together make the move beyond nationalism to liberation. Like his earlier books, *Ulysses* held a mirror up to the colonial capital that was Dublin in 1904. But unlike them, this was also a book of utopian epiphanies, which hinted at a golden future that might be made over in terms of those utopian moments. Thus, we encounter Joyce’s move ahead of his contemporaries in his attempt to break his boundaries which we will compare with Baroja’s evolution in the next point.

### 4.1.5. Modernism and Noventayochism.

In this dissertation we have argued together with Butt that the division between Modernism and '98ism is not clear: 'the idea of two separate *modernista* and *noventa y ocho* movements is an invention of later criticism which does not reflect the real complexities of the literature of the period' (Butt 1980, 137). We argue that such a division is mainly rooted in the discourses and ideologies of power; principally of the Franco regime after 1940, and widely accepted thereafter within and without Spain (Cardwell 1977, 132-54). We contend that *Finisecular* literature, filled as it was with pessimism, doubt and expressions of despair, was, in effect, considered by the Franco regime a blow against the Spanish moral and politics – a statement of immoral intent:

Yet even before 1914 the dominant attitude in poetry is the 'sense of an ending'. The notion of the *fin de siècle* has a more than chronological significance; and though it was linked with a self-conscious modernity, as far as poetry is concerned the awareness of what is passing is far more acute than the awareness of what is to come (Hough 1991, 317).

Indeed, it seems difficult to draw a dividing line between *Modernism* and *Noventayochism*:

The invention of a 'Generation of 98' 'movement' was no doubt partly a response to interesting but little studied changes in the meaning of the word *modernism* itself. Just as 'Generation of 98' initially meant what it seems to mean – a *generation* – *modernism* was at first a description of what was distinctive and original in the work of the new generation (Butt 1980, 138).

Both movements shared common negative metaphysical concerns and while accepting a common *Finisecular* mood of scepticism and loss of faith, we pose that we might more profitably consider the new generation of writers as belonging to the larger frame of the fall of European Symbolism:

*Todo lo que propenda a deprimir la vida, a desesperanzar, a cortar la serie del esfuerzo, a matar la evolución, a disminuir la personalidad, a rebajar el impulso humano, a hacer aceptable el sufrimiento, es malsano, criminal y punible, por delito de lesa humanidad...sépanlo los escritores y artistas; el que produce una impresión deprimente, es un envenenador y, por tanto, un asesino*<sup>165</sup> (Gener 1899, 381).

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<sup>165</sup> Everything that tends to depress life, desperation, to cut effort, to kill evolution, to diminish personality, to reduce human impulse and make suffering acceptable is unhealthy, criminal, punishable, as an offence against humanity...artists and writers must know this: he who produces a depressing imprint is a poisoner and therefore a murderer (Translation mine).

In truth, preoccupations with mental and spiritual conditions and with pathologies were far from uncommon in the Spanish fin-de-siècle. The canonical novels of the so-called *Generación del 98* form a related category and derive, in part, from Naturalist literature and the ‘*Novela médico-social*’; they share these pathological themes and combine them with new spiritual preoccupations and experimental narrative structures – a central protagonist who, preoccupied with his inner mind and perceptions, undergoes a loss of faith and ideals, and oscillates between sensuality and aestheticism in the search for a guiding principle in a society which marginalizes the aesthetically sensitive. The narrative is driven by this desire for an ideal, one always beyond reach; a desire expressed metaphorically through the travels of the protagonist and the people he meets. Love and marriage, components of the Realist and Traditional novel, if not rejected, are held as unsatisfactory so that the solitary protagonist is left bereft of emotional support and a place in society, whilst seeking – inevitably without success – the aesthetic and spiritual fulfilment and goals – the two are not easily separated in the fin-de-siècle – he earnestly desires. There is also present an overriding concern with the pathological self which further shapes the actions of the protagonist and the outcome of the novel – many novels written in this period end in physical suicide or some symbolic form of self-annihilation. On the other hand, the study of the mind also involved questions of the soul, so that medical discourses began to invade the domain of the religious and the spiritual – in short, as Butt points out:

Critics of the day had not been aware of any clear polarization between ‘aestheticism’ and ‘commitment’ or social moral concern. The phenomena nowadays conflated under the headings *modernism* and *noventa y ocho* were then described by a wide range of terms including *decadentismo*, *psicologismo*, *neo-misticismo*, *regeneracionismo*, *positivismo*, *anti-realismo*, *parnasianismo*, *simbolismo* and so on. No-one seems to have thought all these words mean or imply two things, although such a reduction of sensitive critical vocabulary has been the effect of the later invention of a dichotomous terminology. This replacement of a range of terms susceptible of development into a sophisticated battery of critical tools is an indication of the impoverishment Hispanism has suffered as a result of the popularity of the theories here under review (Butt 1980, 138).

If, like Paul Valéry, we believe that a literary current or trend is nothing but a reaction, we must also accept that the new fin-de-siècle literature, which can be either called Modernism or, in Spain, '98ism was a reaction against Realism, Naturalism and their philosophical comrades, Positivism and Determinism. Spain produced neither a defender of Philosophical Positivism nor a worthy practitioner of Zola's Scientific Naturalism. In fact, Zola's Materialistic Determinism did not put down roots in Spain and the abundant representations of poverty, sex and crime in Spanish literature did not show any particular theoretical approach. Even after 1900 and the appearance of the writers of the Generation of '98, Spanish narrative was still dominated by the main figures of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Realism: Galdós, Pardo Bazán, Palacio Valdés, Blasco Ibáñez, and many other lesser known writers. However, the style of several of these writers showed some important variations along the years; for instance – as Baroja points out – the novels written by Galdós in the last years of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century are distinctly different from his previous work:

*Pérez Galdós, el único de nuestros escritores verdaderamente grande y abierto, ha logrado dar un impulso a la literatura española dirigiéndola a nuevos principios, como lo prueban las obras de evolución reciente hacia un misticismo realista*<sup>166</sup> (Baroja 1980, 56).

In truth, *Misericordia*, one of Galdós's best-known novels, can be regarded as an experiment in storytelling; this is felt in the writer's use of free indirect speech, in the highly imaginative behaviour of the characters and in the way in which Galdós reflects Benina's astonishment at seeing Don Romualdo in the flesh. Furthermore in this work we can also feel the preoccupation with the relation between art and reality intra-textually which is so typical in European Modernism and in the Spanish Generation of '98:

*[...] la miseria despertaba en ella el misterio de las cosas inverosímiles y maravillosas, y aunque no había visto ningún milagro, esperaba verlo el mejor día... ¡Qué consuelo para los miserables poder creer tan lindos cuentos!*<sup>167</sup> (Galdós 2001, XII).

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<sup>166</sup> Pérez Galdós, the only one of our truly great, open writers, has managed to boost Spanish literature by leading it towards new beginnings, as seen in the recent works which are evolving towards a realistic mysticism (Translation mine).

In turn-of-the-century Spain, the dominant literary, musical and artistic taste, not to speak of the scientific outlook, of the 1900s was founded upon 19th Century, not 20th Century models: a cultural time-lag which is characteristic of every age of innovation. This is particularly true in literature where the Modern movement has roots in Baudelaire, Flaubert and Dostoyevsky, as indeed in Nietzsche, Ibsen and the 20th Century's own discovery, Kierkegaard, who died in 1855. In short, the work of individuals and groups marked a change in Spain in sensibility and consciousness comparable with the impact of the Romantic Movement, the scientific revolution of the 17th Century, or the Renaissance:

Modernism was very much a movement of movements; the broad tendency divides into a sequence of phases, theories, social groupings, occurring in different places at different times, yet having sufficient in common to make up a controlling set of aesthetics and tempers. Some of the movements were social groups; others were broad intellectual and aesthetic theories that passed from country to country; yet others were small groups of activists. The movements were often the behavioural dimension of Modernist writing; they helped sustain its image as a neo-political force, a true *avant-garde*. [...] what should be kept in mind is that many of the major writers of Modernism did not specifically align themselves with these movements; they worked in their ambience, and picked up their ideas, while the movements themselves were very often the main work of more minor figures whose achievement was, in the end, the movements, the manifestos, the displays that they created (Bradbury-McFarlane 1991, 191).

As for Baroja – as we have already argued – in this second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century both the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ generations of Spanish writers were receiving the same influences:

The description of Rimbaud's lyrics would serve equally well to characterize large areas of the Modernist lyric all over Europe, for the spirit of modern poetry soon became international, and for the most part took its inspiration from France. It would be deficient however, in one particular. In its emphasis on the novel and the unpredictable it fails to notice the immense mass and weight of inherited culture – of belief, myth, legend and poetic habit. Newly invented codes are superimposed on the code of shared knowledge (Hough 1991, 95).

Consequently, Baroja started his career writing articles on Dostoyevsky and the Russian novelists and in his early works we appreciate not only Dostoyevsky's influence but also the influence of French psychologists of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century such as Théodule Ribot. However, in

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<sup>167</sup> Misery aroused in her the mystery of unlikely and wonderful things, and although she had never witnessed a miracle, she hoped to see one one day...What a comfort to the wretched to believe such sweet stories! (Translation mine).

Baroja's first novels – *La Casa de Aizgorri* and *Camino de Perfección* – we can appreciate several Modernist features; as we have seen, Modernists faced a fragmented world subjected to the inexorable march of time so they were only just able to capture the instant, the soul of things in the belief that those souls would eventually overcome fragmentation; and Baroja writes:

*La loca de Elisabide saluda gallardamente y se va. Águeda se queda sola, pensativa. De vez en vez interrumpe su trabajo para mirar a su alrededor, y en su cara, pálida y nerviosa, se nota el aleteo de las ideas que agitan el alma. Tan pronto sonrío dulcemente, con una sonrisa hermética, matizada a veces de ligero tinte de ironía, como clava los ojos en la ermita lejana del pueblo, que se ve por la ventana, con los contornos borrados por la humedad del aire*<sup>168</sup> (Baroja 1991, 45).

Another of the ideological obsessions of the intellectuals of Modernity in the first years of the century which is reflected by Baroja, is a condemnation of the paralysis of the will, appreciated in all spheres:

*Don Julián – (A Águeda.) Hoy está abatido. Se comprende. (A Luis.) Ya verás, cuando reacciones de tu abatimiento, cómo te sientes fuerte, enérgico y capaz de todo.*  
*Luis. – Sí, sí. Cuando eso suceda, no lo niego.*  
*Don Julián. – Pero ¿tú, un Aizgorri sin energía? Si parece imposible.*  
*(Luis se encoge de hombros)*  
*Águeda. - ¿De manera que todo, menos trabajar?*  
*Luis. – (Con indiferencia) Sí, todo menos eso [...]*  
*Don Julián. – Este Luis ¡lástima de muchacho! ¡Qué falta de sentido moral!*<sup>169</sup> (Baroja 1991, 83).

Also present in *La Casa de Aizgorri* are nature and the modernist construction of landscape as either abstract utopian space or a representation of human cultures and their complex relation with the natural world:

*Entran en el cuarto ramas de lilas, de un morado pálido, frescas y olorosas, y en el marco de la ventana se destaca, en el ambiente gris del día húmedo de primavera, una ermita a lo lejos, sobre una*

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<sup>168</sup> Elisabide the crazy woman greets them gracefully and leaves. Águeda is left alone, deep in thought. From time to time she lays down her work and looks around her, and her face, pale and nervous, reflects the flutter of ideas which stir her soul. She smiles sweetly, with a tight smile, tinged at times with a slight hint of irony, or she stares out of the window at the shrine, far from the village, its outline indistinct in the damp air (Translation mine).

<sup>169</sup> Don Julián – (to Águeda) 'Today he is dejected. It is understandable.'

(to Luis) 'You'll see, when you react against your dejection how strong you'll feel, full of energy and ready for anything.'

Luis – 'Yes, yes. When that happens I won't stop it.'

Don Julián – 'But, you, an Aizgorri without energy? It doesn't seem possible.'

(Luis shrugs his shoulders)

Águeda – 'So he can do everything but work?'

Luis – (Indifferently) 'Yes, everything but that...'

Don Julián – 'Oh Luis, what a sorry lad. What a lack of moral sense!' (Translation mine).

*loma verde, con el verde brillante de las praderas umbrías. En el jardín resuena la lluvia al caer sobre las hojas de los árboles, y sólo de cuando en cuando, rompiendo el murmullo monótono del agua que cae, llega de fuera el chirrido de las ruedas de una carreta, el aida melancólico del Boyerizo, el cacareo lejano de algún gallo o la canción clara y alegre de los martillos del herrero sobre el yunque*<sup>170</sup> (Baroja 1991, 40).

Last but not least, we also find occultism in Baroja's work, and the liking for ghostly apparitions, so typical of Modernism:

*Águeda. – ¡Se me figura que éste es uno de los paisajes de mis sueños! Qué sinfonías más extrañas hace el agua de la presa en el silencio de la noche. (Alto) Oye, Melchora, ¿qué serán aquellas luces que corren allí en el monte? [...]*

*Melchora. – Esas luces... son espíritus, almas en pena que rondan por los montes y están purgando en el mundo los males que hicieron. [...]*

*Águeda. – Y tú, Melchora, ¿tienes miedo a esas luces..., a esos espíritus? [...]*

*Melchora. – No, eso pasa siempre. Cuando un hombre va a morir, su espíritu se escapa de su cuerpo y se aparece en el campo y en las casas*<sup>171</sup> (Baroja 1991, 112-16).

Furthermore, Valle-Inclán, one of the most celebrated figures of Spanish Modernism acclaimed Baroja's *La Casa de Aizgorri* in the press:

*Hace ya días que leí LA CASA DE AIZGORRI y ese libro humano y triste ha dejado en mi espíritu una sensación de niebla y lejanía, cual si de niño hubiese oído hablar mucho de los Aizgorri sin haberlos visto jamás. En las páginas más bellas es donde con mayor intensidad gusté esa impresión. [...] Y todo el libro es así: una lejanía de niebla por donde pasan vidas de ensueños. Algo que me hace recordar los relatos de las abuelas ¡esos relatos que tienen una indecisión y un encanto que no tiene la vida!*<sup>172</sup> (Valle- Inclán 1901).

In truth, it is difficult to articulate the fine shades of difference between such works as *Paradox Rey*, by Pío Baroja, a member of the Generation of '98, and *Divinas Palabras*, by Ramón María del Valle-Inclán a modernist; but Baroja once made a useful distinction in 'La Caverna del Humorismo,' when

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<sup>170</sup> They bring lilac branches into the room, pale purple, fresh and fragrant, and the window frames the image, through the grey of the damp spring day, of a shrine in the distance, on a green hill, the brilliant green of shady meadows. From the garden comes the sound of the rain falling on the leaves of the trees and occasionally the monotonous murmur of falling water is broken by the squeaking of cartwheels from outside, Boyero's melancholic Aida, the distant crowing of a cockerel or the clear, cheerful song of the blacksmith's hammers on the anvil (Translation mine).

<sup>171</sup> Águeda – 'It looks like a landscape from one of my dreams! The waters of the reservoir play such strange symphonies in the silence of the night. (She stops) Listen, Melchora, what are those lights that run on the mountain? [...]

Melchora – 'Those lights... are spirits, lost souls that haunt the mountains and are serving the world for the evils they committed. [...]

Águeda – 'And you, Melchora, are you afraid of those lights..., of those spirits?' [...]

Melchora – 'No, that always happens. When a man is going to die his spirit escapes from his body and reappears in the fields and homes' (Translation mine).

<sup>172</sup> Days have passed since I read *The House of Aizgorri*, and that sad human story has left a sense of mist and remoteness in my spirit, as though as a child I had heard talk of the Aizgorris without ever having met them. In the most beautiful pages I tasted this with even greater intensity. [...] And the whole book is like this: a misty remoteness where dream-lives play. Something in it reminds me of the stories told by grandmothers, those tales that have a hesitancy and charm that life does not (Translation mine).

he defined what he saw as two different types of humour (Baroja 1946, 419). According to Baroja there is a humour that refers to things that do not exist, such as dragons, gnomes and sirens and, there is a humour that magnifies one aspect of reality, such as the hump of a camel or the neck of a giraffe.

Although both Valle-Inclán – an acclaimed figure of Spanish Modernism – and Baroja made innovative use of reality, often turning their characters into figurative versions of sirens, gnomes and dragons, at the end of Valle-Inclán's *Divinas Palabras*, the sirens and gnomes march off into the sunset together. At the end of Baroja's *Paradox Rey*, on the other hand, the French invade the kingdom, Paradox is killed, and the inhabitants of Bu tata trade their quasi-mystical status for the customs and diseases (the can-can and syphilis), which are, in Baroja's point of view, the humps of the camel or the neck of the French giraffe.

Indeed, as we have already argued, for many years historical Spanish literary criticism presented Baroja as a member of the Generation of '98, a movement characterised by a commitment to the historical situation of the time, as opposed to the Modernist Generation who in spite of facing the same reality, would have opted to lock themselves up inside an Ivory tower or to seek refuge in mental flights to exotic worlds. In truth, if we define Modernism by basically taking into consideration its aesthetics, it is difficult to find in the Generation of '98 any writer who might be included in it – however, when we read Azorín's definition of the Generation of '98:

*La generación de 1898 ama los viejos pueblos y el paisaje: intenta resucitar los poetas primitivos (Berceo, Juan Ruiz, Santillana); da aire al fervor por El Greco (...); rehabilita a Góngora – uno de cuyos versos sirve de epígrafe a Verlaine, que creía conocer al poeta cordobés; se declara romántico en el banquete ofrecido a Pío Baroja (...); siente entusiasmo por Larra, y en su honor realiza una peregrinación al cementerio en que estaba enterrado, y lee un discurso ante su tumba, y en ella deposita ramos de violetas; se esfuerza, en fin, en acercarse a la realidad y en desarticular el idioma, en agudizarlo, en aportar a él viejas palabras, con el objeto de aprisionar menuda y fuertemente la realidad*<sup>173</sup> (Granjel 1960, 423).

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<sup>173</sup> The generation of 1898 loves old towns and landscapes: they try to resuscitate the primitive poets (Berceo, Juan Ruiz, Santillana), to fan the fervour for El Greco (...), to rehabilitate Góngora – one of whose verses serves as an epigraph for Verlaine who believed he knew the Cordoban poet, they become romantic at the banquet offered to Pío Baroja (...), they are enthused by Larra and in his honour make a pilgrimage to the cemetery where he is buried, to read a speech at his grave and place a bunch of violets there. They try, in short, to get close to reality and destructure the language, to sharpen it and bring back old words in order to tightly and truly imprison reality (Translation mine).

the analysis of the elements he mentions leads us to another more unifying concept: that of Modernity –Baroja himself describes the situation in Spain:

*Los escritores que hicimos algunas campañas de prensa a principios del siglo XX en España nos pusimos casi todos en una actitud contraria a los hombres de la Restauración, abominando de su espíritu y de sus procedimientos[...] Entre los que comenzamos por entonces había hombres de todas las tendencias. Unos, la mayoría, cultivaban lo que se llamaba, y creo que se sigue llamando, el Modernismo; otros se inclinaban a la política o a la sociología; pero como no había entre nosotros ideal común, cada uno marchaba por su lado*<sup>174</sup> (Baroja1945-51, 496-97).

It is usually recognized that the term ‘Generation of 1898’ was coined in the late 1910s when a group of new writers had emerged who felt they were literally members of a different generation compared to their seniors – Unamuno, Baroja, Azorín, Ganivet and Valle-Inclán – whose works became thus restricted; as Butt points out:

[...] in an age when the term ‘Generation of 98’ did not exist, the word *modernismo* could carry a much wider meaning than it normally does today. In fact it had more or less the same meaning as its counterparts in other European languages –*modernism, Modernismus, modernizm*, etc. Only later did the term become exclusively restricted to denote a certain Hispanified symbolism and/or Paranasianism full of the Gallicized language and autumnal sunsets of Latin-American *modernism* (Butt 1980, 139).

In the next point we will delve further into Baroja’s relation to the so-called Generation of ’98.

### **4.1.5.1. Baroja and the Generation of ‘98.**

The regenerationist writers became popular around 1885 and abundant in the last decade of the century. In Spain, Almirall, Picavea, Isern, Mallada, Ganivet or Costa made up a blend of radical pessimism and a tendency to arbitrariness similar to that found in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century; they showed moderate language and a dramatic attitude together with a wish to change their environment. Among

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<sup>174</sup> We writers who campaigned in the press in the early twentieth century in Spain almost all defended an attitude contrary to the men of the Restoration, loathing their spirit and their processes [...] Among those of us who began then, were men of all persuasions. Some, a majority, cultivated what was known as, and I believe is still called, Modernism; others were inclined towards politics or sociology; but as there was no ideal common to us all, we each went off on our own path (Translation mine).

these regenerationist writers, Joaquín Costa was the most representative; along with them, the Spanish turn-of-the-century writers, who came to be known as *Generación del 98*, felt they had to address and indoctrinate their people in order to regenerate their country. However, we have argued that this generational change did not bring about a radical rupture with the most immediate historical past; we can, for example, see that naturalism, in all its possible versions, continued after 1898.

Although the *Generación del 98* really did mean an aesthetic and thematic rupture with the past in the world of art, when studying the political actions of the writers of this generation we get a feeling of inconstancy if not of inconsistency; they often seemed to be anarchists, even marginal – which is the reason why their heroes were always doomed to frustration and failure. Most of them kept a liberal-minded attitude, although turn-of-the-century irrationalism drove many of them to the right – it is common to distinguish in this generation between those writers worried about form and those who used literature as a means of either philosophical or doctrinal reflection.

As we have pointed out, research into Baroja's work has always been restricted to the context of the *Generación del 98*, to a certain point of Spanish history and to a literary movement whose mere existence Baroja questioned – in fact, he based his emphatic 'no' to the reality of that generation in which he was included in five points:

*La fecha no es muy auténtica. De los incluidos en esa generación no creo que la mayoría se hubiera destacado en 1898.*

*Tampoco se sabe a punto fijo quiénes formaban parte de esa generación: unos escriben unos nombres y otros, otros.*

*En esa generación fantasma de 1898...yo no advierto la menor unidad de ideas. Había entre ellos liberales, monárquicos, reaccionarios y carlistas.*

*En el terreno de la literatura existía la misma divergencia; había quien pensaba en Shakespeare y quien en Carlyle, había quien tenía como modelo a D'Annunzio y otros que veían su maestro en Flaubert, en Dostoiewski y en Nietzsche.*

*Se ha dicho que la generación seguía la tendencia de Ganivet. Entre los escritores que conocí no había nadie que hubiese leído a Ganivet. Yo tampoco<sup>175</sup> (Baroja 1949, 174 and following).*

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<sup>175</sup> The date is not very true. Of those included in this generation I do not think that the majority would have excelled in 1898. Nor do we definitely know who formed part of this generation: some write some names, others, others. In this ghost generation of 1898...I cannot see the least unity of ideas. There were liberals, monarchists, reactionaries and Carlists.

Yet, while the Generation of '98 cannot be said to have shared the same ideas or points of view – most of them being, in fact, so contradictory that they cannot be claimed to form a system or a doctrine – there must have been something in common among these writers that led them to behave and to think as if the generation really existed; Baroja himself admits that *'el concepto venía a llenar un hueco'*<sup>176</sup>, and he even attributes to *'esa supuesta generación del 98'* *'algo nuevo y característico: un último aliento de romanticismo e individualismo'*<sup>177</sup>.

As we have argued, these writers were living through historical circumstances which they found both unpleasant and uninhabitable, and they tried to escape them by reading foreign authors:

The feeling of not quite fitting into the age, of being strangely out of tune, was a matter of considerable moral and psychological concern to the 'moderns'; and they contrasted the solid bourgeois spirits who seemed to sit so harmoniously in the world with their own situation: passive, nervous, decadent, ugly, men without qualities (Kuna 1991, 121).

Faced with the incitement of this promising European reading matter and feeling cut off from the Spain that had just been driven to political and social disaster, these intellectuals reacted by creating a secular conception of their art and lives, and escaping the Spain that was simply history; all the men that formed the Generation of '98 turned their eyes to that spiritual unity of the motherland, unable to become part of it. However, their religious uprooting was part of a wider one; all their critical work became a single effort to make Spain European or at least to make Spain more objective and immanent.

The books they read in their youth had brought them into contact with Europe and, as a result, with the immediate past and the current affairs of universal history. One mark of this new Modernism was its reliance on physical and social sciences rather than on traditional arts and

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In the field of literature there was the same divergence: some thought of Shakespeare, others of Carlyle; some held D'Annunzio for a model, others took as their master Flaubert, Dostoyevsky, Nietzsche. It has been said that the generation followed the trend of Gide. Among the writers I knew, nobody had read Gide. Neither had I (Translation mine).

<sup>176</sup> The concept filled a space (Translation mine).

<sup>177</sup> 'that supposed generation of '98' 'something new and characteristic: a last breath of romanticism and individualism' (Translation mine).

humanities as sources and sanctions for creativity. Truth – once the beacon of what was fixed and absolute – now seemed comparative, relative, and pluralistic in the light of the new anthropology, psychology and physics; even space and time, once represented in the arts from static perspectives, changed in everyday life because of the practical new technology of the motion picture, the airplane and the telephone. The old and socially-oriented aesthetic order – inherited, shared and harmonious – suddenly succumbed to a new artistic anarchy, to the craving for fresh, direct and primitive portrayals of unrefined experience. In the next point we will look further into this new crave for anarchy and autonomy in art.

### 4.2. Quest for independence in an unheroic age.

Like Joyce and many contemporary intellectuals, the so-called generation of '98 was marked by a tendency to question both the old and the modern; to illustrate this point we can say that when talking about the war – Unamuno used the romantic figures of Don Quixote and that of Robinson Crusoe to tell his people that dreaming was no longer enough and that a dramatic change was needed in their society:

*De la última guerra, ¿qué he de decirle? Pienso escribir acerca de este último encuentro de Don Quijote con Robinsón. El honrado hidalgo...fue a dar con el hombre que se ha forjado luchando con la naturaleza. Al pobre caballero le estorbaban lanza, rocín, celada y coraza de cartón. Y al primer golpe de maza de Robinsón, el industrioso, se vino al suelo invocando a Dulcinea. ¡Dios quiera que esto le cure de su desvarío y se vuelva a su aldea, y dejándose de libros de caballerías, se dedique a cuidar en paz la hacienda que heredó de sus padres, volviendo a ser Alonso Quijano, que por sus virtudes mereció el sobrenombre de bueno! Por esto he dado yo aquí un muera ¡Don Quijote! que sentó mal a muchos. Ese grito quería decir: ¡Viva Alonso el Bueno!... y hasta Alonso Quijano tiene que modificarse perdiendo el apego al terruño, el instinto de ostra, la servidumbre a la gleba, de que usted, amigo Muñoz, ha sabido sacudirse<sup>178</sup> (Unamuno1898).*

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<sup>178</sup> What have I to tell of the last war? I thought of writing about Don Quijote's last encounter with Robinson. The honourable knight...encountered a man who had built himself up fighting against nature. The poor knight was hindered by his lance, his hack, his helmet and breastplate of cardboard. At the first blow of the mace from Robinson the Industrious, he fell to the ground crying out for Dulcinea. God grant that this will cure his madness and that he return to his village, leaving behind him books of chivalry and dedicating himself to tend peaceably the farm inherited from his parents, going back to being Alonso Quijano, who, by his virtues, deserved a good nickname! This is why I cry now 'Death to Don Quijote!' He made a lot of people uncomfortable. The cry I meant was 'Long live Alonso the Good!', and even Alonso Quijano must change to lose his great attachment to his native land; the oyster instinct, servitude to the glebe – which you, friend Muñoz, have freed yourself from (Translation mine).

During the Spanish Civil War numerous men and women left the country and became ‘rebels’ or even ‘enemies’ through their exile. Along the path of a roving Cervantes or Daniel Defoe followed Unamuno the exile, Galdós the visionary and Baroja the nonconformist: all of them writers who because of their work and ideas became enemies of the new political regime that was established after the Spanish Civil War. All of them had to stay away from their motherland due to their unwillingness to renounce their right to depict the Spanish situation of the time, and risking prison or death if they dared come back.

In this work we argue that a similar flight was also felt in Ireland; in fact, Wilde believed that it would, in great part, be through contact with the art of other countries that a modern Irish culture might be reshaped. This analysis, in its political as well as its cultural implications was ratified by many other exiles that provided a major impetus for the Irish Renaissance which followed.

One of the best known Irish exiles – James Joyce – followed Wilde’s advice and for him all genres became mere scaffoldings which might permit a new text to be created, but which should be unsentimentally dismantled when the work was well done. Thus, he concealed the subversive narrative of *Ulysses* beneath the cover of one of Europe’s oldest stories, *The Odyssey*. We also assert that Baroja followed Joyce’s example in one of his best-known works, *Zalacaín el Aventurero*, where in chapter XIV the narrator tells us:

*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*<sup>179</sup> (Baroja 1987, 212).

What’s more, Francisco R. Adrados has proved that the last scene in chapter III of the Third Book in *Zalacaín*, is inspired on the parting of Héctor and Andrómaca as told in *The Iliad*. According to

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<sup>179</sup> Had Martin read *The Odyssey* he might have been pretentious enough to compare Linda to Circe, and himself to Ulysses; but as he had never read Homer’s poem, such a comparison did not occur to him (Translation mine).

Adrados, Baroja took from it the main motifs: the mother crying with the baby in her arms, her foretelling her own widowhood and the answer of the hero. Hence in this dissertation we argue that, like Joyce, Baroja also tried to find in the epics of the past the hero that his country needed.

However, Baroja and Joyce loathed any kind of complicated art which was consciously based on widely recognised works of art, that is to say, they despised rewritings of literary masterpieces or novels about writers or artists; in other words, they despised deliberate aesthetic refinement and perfection of form. For them, the main figures of literature were those who had written about experiences they themselves had lived and not about their intimate aesthetic experiences – Cervantes, Shakespeare, Dickens, Balzac, Stendhal, Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky were some of their favourites because all of them depicted real atmospheres and worlds inhabited by beings that found themselves immersed in real-life problems. Shakespeare, for instance, neither preached nor sermonized; he was not dogmatic but full of love and respectful of life, his only rule of ethics was to show respect to nature and other living things – indeed, Baroja states that ‘*A Shakespeare yo le considero como un amigo alegre, lleno de brutalidad, de talento y de gracia, que no quiere enseñar ni hacer advertencias*<sup>180</sup>’ (Baroja 1946-51, 114). In truth, Shakespeare might either be tragic or comic, miserable or full of joy, depending on the moment, just because he was at one with life and not because he held either positive or negative metaphysical views.

Yet, Eliot shared with Pound a desire to cut Shakespeare down to size on the map of English and European culture. In truth, the immense variety of human beings in Shakespearean drama unsettled the main Modernist figures who preferred Dante, finding there an articulated moral and intellectual coherence, more seamless and austere than Shakespeare’s heretically tolerant mess.

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<sup>180</sup> I consider Shakespeare to be a jolly friend, full of brutality, talent and grace, who does not want to teach or warn (Translation mine).

Indeed, it is common among sceptical men to turn away their ears from the gods they eventually abandon and to devote their faith to the men they admire. Pound's endemic hero-worship, gives evidence both of weakness and of a kind of arrogance, since the hero-worshipper is not only a man who needs a stronger man to adore, but also a talent-spotter who knows, as others do not, how to identify the great masters; Comte, for instance, praised great men to the skies and worshipped them – in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century we find an abundance of deifiers of exceptional men; Nietzsche deified the man of the future, and Carlyle introduced us to his 'heroes,' who, in spite of being emissaries of God, seemed to be more preeminent than Him – at the same time we witness the birth of the 'pathology' of genius, as it was thought that the difference between a second-rate and an exceptional individual lay in biology.

We assert that Baroja – like Pound – took part in the hero worship typical of his time, but he showed some important differences. Once the Basque novelist grew tired of the Nietzschean theories, his heroes took on a series of characteristic and well-defined contours. To Baroja's mind, the 'great man' was sometimes just a myth, and, consequently, something unreal and despicable; in this light he introduced us to Espartero, for instance, in the Aviraneta saga. The 'great man' was in Baroja's opinion, nothing but the result of the sustained use of skilful propaganda rather than of their abilities. Broadly speaking, we can say the moral values of Baroja's heroes did not necessarily tally with their achievements, but with their inner strength and their drive. Baroja praised dark and failed heroes like Aviraneta, not just because he was more interested in the action itself than in the result of that action, but also because his main interest was exceptional men in isolation, not their social role; as a result of Baroja's distrust in society, his heroes show antisocial personality types and in that flaw lay their greatness, in their quest for independence; from Zalacaín through Tristán de Aguirre to Captain Chimista, all his successful men of action belong to the romantic family. Nonetheless, Baroja was perfectly aware of this partiality and explicitly justified it – 'Ours', he said through Bothwell in *El*

*Mayorazgo de Labraz*, 'is not a heroic age.' It is, in fact, the kind of action that they take, or fail to take, in shaping the environment to their ends, which classifies Baroja's characters into heroes or hamlets. Had Baroja kept to the romantic school, his protagonists might all have been of the heroic type. Yet, when he tried to place his man of action in modern society, something happened to this heroic figure to turn him, unfailingly, into a failure. As Bolinger argues, out of this conflict between reality and imagination emerged the semi-hero, merging at the other extreme, with the botched hero, or hamlet. This type of protagonist, who is checkmated by circumstances beyond his control and has to submit himself to a softened existence thereafter, is frequent in Baroja's later books. Alongside the semi-hero there stands another intermediate figure, conceived before Baroja was completely disillusioned as to the possibility of heroes in modern-life – the regenerated hero. This type begins by being repressed in some way, socially as a rule, but finally shakes off his fetters and becomes strong again. At the opposite extreme to that of the hero is the hamlet, the failed hero. This figure did not enter Baroja's novels until 1926, with the *Agonías de Nuestro Tiempo*. Although Baroja did not draw the parallel with Shakespeare's character, the resemblances are unmistakable, and it is quite possible that he had the prototype in mind, that of the reflective man who suffers deeply and in the end accomplishes nothing (Bolinger 91-94).

As for Joyce's protagonists, Stephen clearly identifies with Hamlet from the very first pages of *Ulysses*, but Joyce enriches the character. For centuries Daedalus has represented the artist-scientist type: the abnormally disinterested, almost diabolic human phenomenon, beyond the normal bounds of social judgement, dedicated to the morals not of his time but of his art. He is the hero of the way of thought – single-hearted, courageous, and full of faith that the truth shall make us free. Joyce's Dedalus follows in the steps of his 'old father,' as we read in the last entry in his diary in *A Portrait*, 'April 27. Old father, old artificer, stand me now and ever in good stead' (Joyce 1965, 288). But those elements that created sympathy for Stephen in the *Portrait* – his struggles against

authority, against poverty, against the flesh – are silenced or completely omitted in *Ulysses*. Speaking of ‘Proteus’, Joyce once said to Budgen: ‘I haven’t let the young man off very lightly, have I?’ The qualities that were unacceptable in the Stephen of *A Portrait* – his arrogance, his personal lack of hygiene, and his lack of sympathy for others – are intensified in the Stephen of *Ulysses* and Joyce is careful to see that they strike the reader with full power in the first three chapters. The older Stephen, like Telemachus or Hamlet, is sick at heart and, like them, he seems to be trapped in a drama.

Indeed, like Stephen and most passive adventurers, Baroja considered life was – whatever happened – mediocre, grey, and, consequently, not worth living. In his peculiar school of thought, everything worth living for was set in the past, in the ‘tough days’ that would never come back again.

In this dissertation we argue that Joyce shared Baroja’s belief that theirs was not a heroic age and, against the literary revival’s celebration of an aristocratic culture of heroism, he placed his celebration of the culture of Dublin’s streets, his mock-heroic. Yet, he did not want to return to a simpler and more idyllic time, but to revive old values in a form appropriate to contemporary problems and life – at many points in his prose writings, Joyce seemed bitterer about the unworthiness of the Irish of their tradition of heroes and rebels than about the tradition itself. So Joyce created Leopold Bloom, whose argumentativeness reveals not only independence but also flexibility of thought, an ability to see from multiple perspectives that contrasts vividly with the mental rigidity of his companions and who has also inherited the peace-loving spirit of the ancient Irishman – Joyce’s portrait of the Irishman.

For Bloom, as for Joyce, the pointless spilling of blood was tragic but neither noble or heroic: the Emmet parody in ‘Cyclops’ helps to demythologise the sentimentalising, myth-making process by which – as Anderson puts it in describing the imagined community/comradeship of nation – ‘this [imagined] fraternity... makes it possible...for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as

willing to die for such limited imaginings' (Anderson 2006, 11). Thus, Bloom's national temperament is ultimately celebrated as a meaningful and potentially heroic response to life.

However, we assert that Joyce also wanted to indicate that true heroism is never conscious of itself as such; hence, Bloom's re-enactment of the wanderings of Odysseus is quite unconscious – as, according to Baroja in *El Cabo de las Tormentas*, 'the hero should be the product of a certain quality of nervous system and internal secretion... what gives him his heroic air is a stream of internal secretions of adrenalin or whatever it might be at the last moment' (Baroja 1974, 58). One of his characters, Fermín, adds that 'a strong will is the hero's first need; then comes generosity and enthusiasm for abstractions, and last of all the mental faculties' (Baroja 1974, 74-77).

As we have already seen, Joyce's main hero is clearly different from the main characters of Irish Revivalism due to Joyce's constant search for freedom of thought. Hence, we can state that Joyce flew over the nets of Irish Revivalism and in the next point we will deal with Joyce's similarities and differences with the main figures of Modernism in our attempt to prove that describing Joyce simply as one of the main figures of Modernism is restrictive in itself.

### **4.2.1. Joyce's Modernism?**

As we have seen, Joyce's Modernism is not just that of Pound or Eliot's. In *Ulysses* he juxtaposed Odyssean marvels against the Irish quotidian, employing the technique of mythical realism. Although this method was already implicit in many texts of the Irish Revival – especially in the early plays of the Abbey Theatre whose writers were among the first to grasp that fantasy – these pioneers did not understand the fact that fantasy without the influence of any sense of reality is just escapism, while reality, unquestioned by any element of fantasy, is merely literalism:

## Breaking boundaries: Joyce and Baroja facing Modernism

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The most powerful and persistent claim is that poetry itself is a kind of magic, the poet not only a seer but a magus, bringing into existence what he has seen in dreams. [...] So there arose a mysticism of poetry, openly announced and pursued by the systematic zealots, covertly underlying and supporting the work of many other poets less prone to theoretical abstractions. This faith becomes so pervasive that poets who owe allegiance to other orthodoxies have to take special pains to detach themselves from it. [...] Eliot austere remarks that the object of poetry is to amuse decent people; [...] But the world in which modern poetry grew up was neither Christian nor moral; and poetry in our age has felt little able to rely on any structure of belief outside itself (Hough 1991, 319).

Joyce did realise it and went even further; as mentioned, Modernist works frequently tend to be ordered not on the sequence of historical time or the evolving sequence of character, from history or story, as in realism or naturalism. They tend to work spatially or through layers of consciousness, working towards logic of metaphor or form. The symbol or image itself, whether romantic or classic, whether it be the translucent symbol with its epiphany beyond the veil, or the hard objective centre of energy, is distilled from multiplicity, and impersonally and linguistically integrated within it, thus helping to impose that synchronicity which is one of the staples of Modernism. The task of modernist art is therefore to redeem, essentially or existentially, the formless universe of contingency. Hence, the act of fictionality becomes the crucial act of imagining; and Modernism thus tends to have to do with the intersection of an apocalyptic and modern time, and a timeless and transcendent symbol or a node of pure linguistic energy:

One of the great themes of the Modernist novel has been, in fact, the theme of the art of the novel itself: a theme that, by forcing the reader to pass beyond the reported content of the novel, and enter into its form, has given Modernist fiction a dominantly Symbolist character. In a phrase of Ortega y Gasset's, it has made the novel today into an art of figures rather than an art of adventures – an art that does not *report* the world, but *creates* it (Fletcher-Bradbury 1991, 396).

Yet, for Joyce, Modernism did not signify a move from uni-focal realism to multi-focal hyper-reality, but from a realism which never seemed real at all, to a pluralism which tried to give scope to the many voices raised after independence (Kiberd 2008, 18-28).

Indeed, one of the principles guiding the formation of the high modernist canon was T. S. Eliot's definition of the 'mythical method' as 'a way of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape

and a significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history' (Eliot 1975, 12). This control, order, shape, and significance were to come from the author's ability to discern parallels between the chaotic present and the comprehensible past. By coordinating the contingencies of contemporary history with the unchanging patterns of myth, Eliot argued, writers like Yeats and Joyce found a formal principle that made 'the modern world possible for art' (Eliot 1975, 177-78):

For the most part then the poets have refused the great public mythologies of our time, and have evolved rival myths of their own, some grandiose and comprehensive, some esoteric and private, but some with any status in the world of organized scientific and historical knowledge by which the world conducts its business. (Homer to the Greeks was a guide to politics and generalship; we have only to mention this to see how far poetry has retreated from the world of action). Yeats elaborated a large mythological system, which claims to include history, individual psychology and the fate of the soul after death. But he attributed it to the agency of disembodied spirits, communicating by trance and automatic writing, who announced the limits of their enterprise at the start by saying 'We come to give you metaphors for poetry.' At the other extreme, the extreme of particularity, Lorca makes a myth of his own province, Andalusia, in which the gipsies represent the forces of instinctual life and the *Guardias Civiles* the forces of repressive civilization (Hough 1991, 318).

We argue that when Joyce's Stephen Dedalus remarks, 'History... is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake' (*U2*. 377), he summarizes the dilemma confronting 20<sup>th</sup> Century artists everywhere. In his introduction to *James Joyce and the Language of History*, Robert Spoo argues that:

Stephen's 'nightmare' and the text of *Ulysses* itself are distinct but related responses to what Nietzsche called '*the malady of history*,' the cultural obsession with the past and with the explanatory power of historiography, which, Nietzsche believed, was destroying intellectual and moral health in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (Spoo 1994, 6).

And he goes on to say that:

Joyce's writings – in particular *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* – are exemplary of the larger phenomenon of modernist historiography, which might be defined as the attempt to extend practices of aesthetic innovation to the representations of the past. [...] For Ezra Pound the imperative to '*make it new*' in works of art went hand in hand with a desire to reimagine the past, or as he put it in 1919, to '*build our concept of wrong, of right, of history.*' [...] *The Cantos* and *Ulysses* have in common a thoroughgoing scepticism about traditional representations of the past and a fascination with the ways in which the formal resources of art may be marshalled to challenge those representations. Both writers searched the historical record and the traditions of their art for traces of a usable past (Spoo 1994, 8).

However, if, as Stephen claims, history is a nightmare, should it be depicted as fact or as fantasy? T. S. Eliot was one of the first to claim that *Ulysses* rendered the answer. In spite of the fact that Joyce did not directly portray the violence of World War I or the Irish Revolt, in 1923 Eliot acclaimed the novel as a breakthrough in solving the artistic problem of dealing with ‘the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history’ (Eliot 1975, 175). Eliot called *Ulysses* ‘the most important expression which the present age has found; it is a book to which we are all indebted, and from which none of us can escape.’ Furthermore, he credited Joyce with the honour of ‘making the modern world possible for art’ (Eliot 1975, 175-78).

Indeed, Joyce had demonstrated how to write about history even though it was a nightmare well before Bruno Alfred Döblin wrote about the aftermath of World War I in *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, before Günter Grass wrote about World War II in *The Tin Drum*, before Gabriel García Márquez wrote about Colombian civil wars and U. S. Imperialism in *One Hundred Years of Solitude* or before Salman Rushdie wrote about the partition of India in *Midnight’s Children*. Hence, we agree with Declan Kiberd in ‘James Joyce and Mythical Realism’ that Joyce ‘was by virtue of his location, a leader of European modernism: but, by virtue of his example, he became a pioneer of mythical realism’ (Kiberd 1998, 136); keeping the term *magical realism* for later postcolonial writers. Kiberd regards Joyce’s ‘canny blend of myth and realism’ as a prototype of subversive magic realism:

He was one of the earliest writers to realise that as long as he posed his question to the west solely in the old, familiar terms of the west, he would be surrendering to the ends of its discourse, just as to resort to pure fabulism, untouched by any elements of realism, would be to submit to the intentions of the native tribe. Mythical realism, by its subversive act of combination, disrupted the hegemony of both discourses, so that neither should achieve its goals (Kiberd 1998, 153).

It has long been a truism of Joyce studies that the critique of Irish civilization in Joyce’s works centres upon its representative subjects – ‘paralyzed’ Dubliners. Craig Werner, for example, has written that ‘competing approaches to [*Dubliners*] generally center on disagreements concerning

the implications of what nearly all critics have recognised as Joyce's central theme: the paralysis permeating Irish life' (Craig 1998, 33). This paralysis is no less an issue in *Ulysses*, a novel which can be viewed as an elaborate and lengthy *Dubliners* story. Pointing to Joyce's avowed intention to 'write a chapter of the moral history of my country' (Joyce 1966, 134), critics typically view Joyce's fiction as 'an attempt to represent certain aspects of the life of one of the European capitals' (Joyce 1996, 109). While Joyce insists that the *raison d'être* of a volume like *Dubliners* is 'to betray the soul of that hemiplegia or paralysis which many consider a city' (Joyce 1996, 55) – Dublin seeming to him the very 'centre of paralysis' (Joyce 1996, 134) – there has been little scholarly attention to the psychological and the broadly cultural nature and determinants of this crippling discontent.

Indeed, in *A portrait of the Artist as a Young Artist*, Joyce speaks of paralysis not in individual terms but in terms of the 'general paralysis of an insane society' (Joyce 1965, 266) and Jeremy Hawthorn points out that 'few novels show their characters less as free, autonomous beings or more tied to their society and its history' (Hawthorn 1982, 116). Whatever else one may say of the characters who inhabit Joyce's *Dubliners*, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Exiles*, *Ulysses* or *Finnegans Wake*, none of them, it is clear, accomplish the task set by Stephen Dedalus: to 'fly by those nets' of 'nationalism, language, religion' (Joyce 1965, 203) – indeed, these fictions are among other things about this impossibility<sup>181</sup>.

In 'Modernism and Imperialism' Fredric Jameson argues that certain disruptive spatial affects afflict the work of modernist novelists. To be more precise, the imperialist moment's dependence on transglobal exploitation and dispossession ensures that the English artist writing out of that moment is unable to map his or her relation to the totality in any enabling way. Jameson's key point is that

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<sup>181</sup> See Herr, Cheryl, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture*, for the most sustained and sophisticated argument that Joyce's subjects are the products, not of their own autonomy, but of the competing discourses of their culture.

this failure is expressed symptomatically in textual aporia corresponding to the unrepresentable margins of colonial power upon which the center depends:

Pieces of the puzzle are missing, it can never be fully reconstructed; no enlargement of personal experience [...] can ever be enough to include this radical otherness of colonial life, colonial suffering and exploitation, let alone the structural connections between that and this, between absent space and daily life in the metropolis (Jameson 1988, 11-12).

Jameson cites *Howards End* as a work which invents a new spatial stylistic in an attempt to refigure, and thus figure out, the imperialist subject's relation to the world. Forster does this through what Jameson calls an 'apparatus' of modernist style, which he likens to the non-subjective yet non-objective gaze of 'cinematographic perception' (Jameson 1988, 14). A representation of space is thus established which mediates between local relativism and global objectivity to produce a new configuration which is neither one nor the other. As Jameson describes it, this configuration is a 'moment of a properly modernist style [...] in which an appearance of meaning is pressed into the service of the notation of a physical perception' (Jameson 1998, 14). That is to say, the way in which the geopolitical structures of imperialism ensure that 'daily life [...] no longer has its meaning [...] within itself' results in a deterritorialization whereby contingent physical objects of perception are made available for investment with new meanings (Jameson 1998, 14). Meaning is not so easily conscripted however, as Jameson implies here in his play on the ambiguity of the word *appearance*. Modernist style initially seems to follow the trajectory of romanticism in that it relies on the image, with meaning self-evidently revealing itself through the visual symbol. Yet, this is also an 'appearance' in a second sense of trick or lure, with the image failing to supply the longed for sense of stability or permanence.

Behind the seeming success of the image in its proximity to the Hegelian Idea there lurks another signifying structure, something closer to the contingencies of irony. Hence the modernist

subject, in an attempt to map its otherwise obscure relation with the distant colonial other, seems doomed to oscillate between symbol and allegory.

Modernist style consequently fails in its attempts to read the world that imperialism has rendered unreadable. Or, to put this in terms of postcolonial theory, the otherness of colonized, subaltern space subsists only as an absence within the imperialist writer's *Lebenswelt*, an absence that is filled out by images the meaning of which, while seemingly fixed, are also radically unstable (Carville 2008, 12-14) – in 'The Dead' we find a number of moments which correspond to such a description of formal absences and contingent contents, suggesting that for Irish writers there is too a certain difficulty in mapping:

The high colour of his cheeks pushed upwards even to his forehead, where it scattered itself in a few formless patches of pale red, and on his hairless face there scintillated restlessly the polished lenses and the bright gilt rims of the glasses which screened his delicate and restless eyes. His glossy black hair was parted in the middle and brushed in a long curve behind the ears (Joyce 1989, 202).

In 'The Dead' Gabriel is rendered as a collection of colours and surfaces. His face is little more than a collection of percepts where there is an oscillation between the real and the unreal – each individually itemized element is powerfully specific, though they fail to add up to a quantifiable whole. Joyce's image of Gabriel would thus seem to be a paradigmatic example of what Jameson calls modernist style, oscillating between the splintered and the total (Jameson 1981, 224-242).

Jameson finds in images such as these a tension between what he calls ideology and utopia, the latter in their suggestion of 'senses and forms of libidinal gratification as unimaginable to us as the possession of additional senses' (Jameson 1981, 231). It is specifically within the realm of representation that Jameson sees the utopian aspect in the ascendant:

The function of the literary representation is not to [...] perpetuate an ideological system, rather, the latter is cited to authorise and reinforce a new *representational space*. This reversal then draws ideology inside out like a glove, awakening an alien space beyond it, founding a new and strange heaven and earth upon its inverted limiting. In that stealthy struggle between ideology and representation, each secretly trying to use and appropriate the other for its own designs and purposes, the ideological allegory [...] is subverted by the unfamiliar sensorium [...] (Jameson 1981, 231)

Although modernist space signifies negatively, it is positive in that it provokes a redefinition of the structures of cognition adequate to the experience of imperial disorientation; this redefinition, in its expression of the possibility of historical change and the expansion of human perception, Jameson regards as utopian.

Indeed, Jameson's notion of a modernist style demands to be supplemented by a notion of what could be described as nationalist-modernist style. The detailed analysis of this conjuncture might provide a more precise instrument for calibrating the intricate and under-theorised relations between national, colonial and modernist space.

In his seminal article on 'Magical Realism as Postcolonial Discourse,' Stephen Slemon provides the basis for considering why magical realism has been such a central element of postcolonial literatures. He proposes that:

[...] in the language of narration in a magic realist text, a battle between two oppositional systems takes place, each working toward the creation of a different kind of fictional world from the other. Since the ground rules of these two worlds are incompatible, neither one can fully come into being, and each remains suspended, locked in a continuous dialectic with the 'other', a situation which creates disjunction within each of the separate discursive systems, rendering them with gaps, absences, and silences.' That type of 'sustained opposition' between 'two opposing discursive systems... forestalls the possibility of interpretive closure through any act of naturalizing the text to an established system of representation (Slemon 1995, 409-10).

That suspension between two discursive systems resembles the colonial subject's suspension between two – or more – cultural systems, and hence serves to reflect postcolonial situation especially well. It has therefore served a decolonizing role, one in which new voices have emerged. For whatever a realist text may say, the fact that realism purports to give an accurate picture of the world, based in fidelity to empirical evidence, have led to its being experienced by writers in colonized societies as the language of the colonizer. From this perspective, to adopt magical realism, with its irreducible elements that question the dominant discourse, constitutes a kind of liberating poetics – or in other words, of breaking boundaries. To sum up, we argue that Joyce found

Modernism restrictive and in his attempt to fly over the nets gave one step beyond and included magic realism in his texts. The contradiction embodied in Joyce's inclusion of magical elements within realism, meant that his novels questioned the political system which had engendered the confusion and lack of control felt in society. In the next point we will develop this concept further.

### **4.2.2. Escaping the boundaries of Modernism: Joyce's continuous search for independence.**

James Joyce inherited the late-19<sup>th</sup>-Century tradition of the naturalistic novel, and the motto at the opening of *A Portrait* – 'and he turns his mind to the unknown arts' – suggests that his flight was to be not only from provincial Ireland to the mainland and from Roman Catholicism to the great archetypes of myth, but also from naturalistic novel to the archetypes of mythology as well. While Joyce and Mann were descending into the mythological realm, in exactly those same years, Frazer was undertaking the same exploration in anthropology, and Freud and Jung in psychology, and all of them were interpreting mythology in psychological terms.

As we have seen, James Joyce, celebrated great modernist writer and arch-priest of high art, worked in his writing – even more than Kafka, Eliot, or Woolf – to disrupt and delegitimize the notion of a discrete and unified modern subject. However much he may have been sensitive to the inconsistencies of reason and rationality, Joyce was attached to the modern world in all kinds of ways. Indeed, by comparison with the modernist intelligentsia – hostile to city life which they find degrading –, he positively embraced urban modern life. Clearly, the Irish novelist, whose technical innovations in the art of the novel include an extensive use of interior monologue and of a complex network of symbolic parallels drawn from the mythology, history and literature which created a unique language of invented words, puns and allusions, was noted for his experimental use of language. Indeed, we have already argued that Joyce entered the experimental mainstream of

Modernism by an extraordinary display of technique and not by a previous commitment to some avant-gardist doctrine whose ideology he found irrelevant to his purposes.

Nevertheless, the modernist way of reading – however limited, like all frameworks – has been one of the main ways of reading James Joyce for nearly three quarters of a century and this dissertation aims to take a leap across those limits where an unsuspected Joyce is yet to be found. For, as we have mentioned in the previous point, whatever a realist text may say, the fact that realism purports to give an accurate picture of the world, based in fidelity to empirical evidence, has led to its being experienced by writers in colonized societies as the language of the colonizer, one of the nets Joyce wanted to fly by. From this perspective, Joyce's adopting magical realism, with its irreducible elements that question the dominant discourse, constituted a kind of liberating poetics – or in other words, of breaking boundaries. To Joyce, Modernist style failed in its attempts to read the world that imperialism had rendered unreadable. It had therefore served a decolonizing role, one in which new voices had emerged and to which Joyce wanted to give full scope in his work.

Joyceans have always been interested in historical contexts to Joyce, especially Irish contexts; just as 'The Dead' is sometimes seen as Joyce's partial reconciliation with Dublin, so *Finnegans Wake* has been realised as a kind of rapprochement with the world. It should be said, though, that this interest in historical contexts to Joyce has sometimes involved reading Joyce as an intellectual engaged with the subject of history rather than as a historical subject himself positioned in society and culture. Even critics linked to postcolonial traditions, and thus concerned with more immediate political and cultural contexts, have warmed to this idea of history in the abstract.

In 1966 Frederick Hoffman explained how if 'Joyce began his early career hating and fearful of the flux, chaos and disorder, he ended it, and *Finnegans Wake*, by making a virtue of the reality of flux'. Hence the Wake became 'an immense 'accommodation' of the many... It is not so

much that Joyce has simply ‘got over’ his rebellion, but rather that the distance ...which maturity put at his disposal helped him immeasurably in assessing the actual depth and value of the noise and vibration of human ambience’ (Hoffman 1966, 22-3). This kind of approach shaded off into the more standard view of the universalist *Wake*, positioned above the contamination of specific history and politics – as Finn Fordham points out:

One of the most enduring universal myths about *Finnegans Wake* is that it constructs a myth of enduring universals. It is not hard to trace how this myth grew in selective critical responses. Seeds of the idea were sown in *transition* by Eugene Jolas, then nurtured in Frank Budgen’s *The Making of Ulysses*, to emerge prominently in Levin’s humanist and Joseph Campbell’s mythographical responses. Ellmann drew on for his biography ... we might read the myth as a seemingly benign attempt to push Joyce’s last novel out of the shadows of its curious eccentric unreadable particularity and towards a universally absorbable relevance and importance, to make it a secular bible for a nuclear world which needs figures of the universal for its post-war transnational institutions and for the intercultural world of globalized trade. Whether in Dublin, Ga. (alluded to on *FW*, page 3) or Chechnya’s capital Grozny (alluded to on page 353), we are all supposed to identify the universal hero of this myth, rising and falling, and even identify with him as he falls and rises within us. We can therefore feel what the universally human is and what universal man is, together comprising the grail of humanist knowledge; ‘we’ being that tiny minority of people in the world who have read *Finnegans Wake*, or at least know by repute of its universal status (Fordham 2006, 171).

This did not necessarily mean that the Joyce text was taken to be non-political, but that his politics were subsumed in a wider universe where the depth of his radicalism was assured. John Bishop does indeed delineate a political dimension to the *Wake*:

Far from marking a withdrawal from a civilisation in crisis, *Finnegans Wake* in an odd way crystallizes that crisis and not least through its assault on the institution of language through which all the other institutions of a patriarchal culture are transmitted from parent to child and from generation to generation, over and over again ‘the seim anew’ (Bishop 1993, 169).

In truth, there was never much question about the radicalism of Joyce’s last work. Indeed, Derrida insisted on a transgressive *Wake* that targeted nothing less than rationality, progress and modernity (Derrida 1992, 281).

Unfortunately, as Joyce Wexler points out, the union between history and myth has nowadays been brought into disrepute for ethical and political reasons – critics initially argued that texts employing the mythical method were unconvincing or incomprehensible. Today, the objection

is that such texts are immoral. Chinua Achebe's 1975 indictment of *Heart of Darkness* as a racist work in 'An Image of Africa' might be the most influential instance of the current critique. Achebe decries European writers' use of a historical population as a symbol of their own deficiencies, and condemns the use of Africa as a symbol of the West's internal ethical and psychological conflicts:

Africa as setting and backdrop which eliminates the African as human factor. Africa as a metaphysical battlefield devoid of all recognisable humanity, into which the wandering European enters at his peril. Of course, there is a preposterous and perverse kind of arrogance in thus reducing Africa to the role of props for the breakup of one petty European mind (Achebe 1977, 782).

The alternative Achebe proposes indicates the full scope of his indictment. He wants Africans and other peoples to be portrayed realistically as complex human beings whose existence is independent of their meaning for Western readers; the West should 'look at Africa not through a haze of distortions but quite simply as a continent of people – not angels, but not rudimentary souls either – just people'(Achebe 1977, 792).

A Parenthesis may be necessary here in order to explain that our aim in retracing the path from Joyce to the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century is to argue that all these writers used similar strategies because they faced the same problem: how to depict the inconceivable violence of their times – we state that reality that surpasses imagination resembles history that is a nightmare. This was the world that all 20<sup>th</sup>-Century writers faced and it was defined by political violence. We point out that almost every critical discussion of Magic Realism begins with a defence of one of these points of origin: Europe after World War I or Latin America after World War II. In his essay '*Magic Realism: An Annotated International Chronology of the Term,*' in *Essays in Honor of Frank Dauster*, Seymour Menton labels the two points of origin, that is to say, Europe after World War I and Latin America after World War II, the internationalist and the Americanist. While internationalists emphasise the continuity of form, Americanists distinguish European Magic Realism from '*lo real maravilloso Americano,*' a form rooted in the mythological elements in its Indian and African substrata. The

stakes in this debate are political as well as literary. According to Anne C. Hegerfeldt in her book *Lies that tell the Truth: Magic Realism seen through Contemporary Fiction from Britain*, Americanists contend that Magic Realism resists the hegemony of European imperialism as expressed in realism, science, and reason and that it advances postcolonial identity as expressed in myths, indigenous traditions, and religious beliefs. This implies that stories and facts, myths and logos do not exist in every culture. However, the Americanist view has come to dominate criticism of Magic Realism. In *Mimesis, Genres and Post-Colonial Discourse*, Jean-Pierre Durix repeats Carpentier's essentialist claims about '*lo real maravilloso Americano*:'

Where, in European literature, the fantastic serves to protest against the tyranny of 'fact,' in post-colonial literature it frequently serves to incorporate the old values and beliefs into the modern man's perception. It has a social function, whereas in European literature, it more often expresses individualistic rebellion (Durix 1998, 81).

In his book *Magical Realism: Theory, History, Community*, Theo L. D'haen argues that the resemblance between Magic Realism and the mythical method of Modernism is rarely noted because most critics associate Magic Realism with Postmodernism. Furthermore, Magic Realism is hailed as an indigenous genre developed in postcolonial cultures to subvert Western aesthetic and political hegemony. In their introduction to *Magical Realism* Lois Parkinson Zamora and Wendy B. Faris summarize the characteristics of Magic Realism and identify its political value as a means of resisting 'monologic political and cultural structures, a feature that has made the mode particularly useful to writers in postcolonial cultures and, increasingly, to women' (Parkinson-Faris 1995, 6). Nevertheless, Magic Realist writers also recognize their affinity with Modernism; Gabriel García Márquez acknowledges the influence of Kafka's use of the fantastic and Joyce's technique of the interior monologue – in *Living to Tell the Tale*, García Márquez distances himself from Carpentier to name *Ulysses* the 'other Bible' of his generation of Latin American writers, explaining that it 'not only was the discovery of a genuine world that I never suspected inside me, but... also provided

invaluable technical help to me in freeing language and in handling time and structures in my books.’

According to García Márquez, Joyce taught him that a story did not have to be realistic to be credible:

It was not necessary to demonstrate facts. It was enough for the author to have written something for it to be true, with no proof other than the power of his talent and the authority of his voice. It was Scheherazade all over again, not in her millenary world where everything was possible but in another irreparable world where everything had already been lost (García-Márquez 2004, 247-48).

Salman Rushdie also relates his aims to Joyce’s:

It seems to me possible to make a synthesis between the story telling tradition and the Joycean experiment. A minor, modest project I’ve set myself (Rushdie 1985).

However, like Joyce, Rushdie feels ill at ease with the nationalism implicit in Magic Realism:

One thing that I do think is that there seems to be a spot of imperialism left over in the idea of what material a writer can legitimately use: an American can write about anywhere in the world, but an Indian writer is supposed to write only about India. African writers are supposed to write only about Africa. I do want to write at some point books which are not set in the East (Rushdie 1985).

Eliot defines Joyce’s discovery of the ‘mythical method,’ for example, as ‘a way of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and a significance’ to modern life by ‘manipulating a continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity.’ Although the mythical method is often understood as an infusion of meaning from the past into the present, Eliot describes it as a structure that accommodates innumerable meanings. The mythical method thus creates a symbolic relationship between contemporary life and something else – in fact, anything else. The absence of any stable parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity makes the mythical method fundamentally ironic as the clash of social discourses and registers in the text prevents readers from discerning a consistent narrative tone or point of view. Joyce Wexler explains it:

Extreme events generate symbolic meanings, and a superabundance of characters, information, allusions, and styles sustains myriad symbolic patterns. Not only does secular excess replace divine plenitude, but no consistent authorial voice provides a hierarchy of significance. Digressions and extraneous details frustrate the reader’s search for a narrative of cause and effect. Exaggerated correlations between individual lives and public events aggrandize the former and domesticate the latter. Terrible events are described comically, and everyday matters are treated as portents. These strategies destabilize every apparent statement of meaning (Wexler 2009, 256).

By demonstrating that a conjunction of history and myth is not inherently dehumanizing, the magic realist writers allow us to assess what is lost if we refuse to read Modernist texts symbolically. In her book *Ordinary Enchantments: Magical Realism and the Remystification of Narrative*, Wendy B. Faris claims that Magic Realism can even redeem historical violence: it ‘not only reflects history’ but ‘may also seek to change it, by addressing historical issues critically and thereby attempting to heal historical ‘wounds’’(Faris 2004, 138). Where Eliot saw an aesthetic solution to a moral crisis, contemporary critics detect an ethical problem. Reading modernist symbolism as if it were realism, critics object not only to particular symbols but to the use of extreme acts and foreign cultures as raw materials for Western fantasies. As we have seen, when this kind of political interpretation of symbolism prevails, the reputation of modernist authors suffers.

Symbolism produces responses that seem to exceed their immediate stimuli: it can evoke the unconscious, and it can project visionary and utopian alternatives to everyday experience:

What then did the Symbolist revolution achieve? Most fundamentally, it awakened an acute consciousness of language. Language was no longer treated as a natural outcrop of the person but as a material with its own laws and its own peculiar forms of life (Scott 1991, 212).

In the wake of the poststructuralist paradigm of self-referential language, realism can be defined as a set of conventions that limit meaning metonymically to a specific social milieu, whereas the conventions of symbolism invite meanings to proliferate metaphorically. Gregory L. Lucente theorises on the dichotomy:

Briefly, then, mythical components are those repeating elements of nature which approach an existence apart from the specificity of space and time, which at their core involve unified and idealized figures, and which establish and depend upon a relationship of unquestioning belief. By contrast, realistic components are made up of those elements that claim a clear and definite position in space and time (and so in culture), that involve figures whose relation to experience is not idealized, and that invite an attitude of analysis or even skepticism rather than immediate faith (Lucente 1981, 42).

## Breaking boundaries: Joyce and Baroja facing Modernism

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A poststructuralist perspective on this dichotomy is provided in *D.H. Lawrence: Aesthetics and Ideology* by Anne Fernihough, who suggests that it is more useful to compare reading strategies than textual features:

Ultimately, it makes little sense to argue that some kinds of language are logocentric where others are not; it is rather that language can be *read* logocentrically or ‘differentially.’ An illustration of this would be the fact that so-called realist art *can* be made, in practice, to yield as much polyvalence as experimental art, provided that it is *read* in a particular way (Fernihough 1993, 49).

Yet, we argue that these alternatives are asymmetrical because:

[...] there *are* ways in which the *writer* can attempt to foreground polyvalence, inviting a particular kind of reading, and it seems to me that this is what Lawrence does wherever we find the insistent repetition with variation which is such a hallmark of his style (Fernihough 1993, 49).

In the terms of Continental linguistic philosophy, Lawrence ‘foregrounds polyvalence in his work, and undermines the idea of an essential link between signifier and signified’ (Fernihough 1993, 11).

Fernihough thus associates logo-centrism with realism and polyvalence with symbolism:

For Lawrence defines art in opposition to a realist or mimetic model of language, according to which language attempts to suppress its own rhetorical status, aspiring to transparency and thereby appropriating the world as its own... In other words, the refusal to claim transparency, or one-to-one correspondence between elements of art-work and world, opens up the way to semantic complexity, making art the site of plural and conflicting meanings (Fernihough 1993, 10).

According to Whiteley, symbolism includes the realist referent but continues beyond it, accepting any number of substitutions, including visionary, prophetic or mythical meanings. It is important to examine the social consequences of literary forms, but symbolism is not inevitably exploitative. Its liberatory possibilities are evident in magic realism, a form that resembles the mythical method of Modernism and which provided Joyce with the freedom to express himself and to break boundaries that he did not find in Modernism.

Although Modernism was canonical by the time Magic Realism emerged, both forms resist conventional models of experience – both fuse history and myth to project alternatives to the contemporary social order. Despite these similarities, we argue that the modernists’ use of foreign

cultures as a source of symbols has been treated as aesthetic colonialism, while adherents of Magic Realism escape such censure. Certainly, one reason for this difference is that magic realist writers are usually members of the cultures whose myths they invoke. But another reason is that the degree of implausibility in Magic Realism exceeds the extremity in Modernism.

Hence, the prevailing critical view is that Magic Realism is a postcolonial genre. This view stems from Alejo Carpentier's claim in 1949 that Latin American writers had a natural connection to an extraordinary world that he called '*lo real maravilloso Americano*' (Carpentier 1995, 88). Although Carpentier speaks as a native of Latin America, he lived in Paris from 1928 to 1939 and he claims that only when he returned home did Latin America seem marvellous: 'The Latin American returns to his own world and begins to understand many things' (Carpentier 1995, 83). Carpentier argued that, whereas Europeans had to create the marvellous, Latin American found it ready-made throughout their history and geography: 'After all, what is the entire history of America if not a Chronicle of the marvellous real?' García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude* – the most outstanding example of magic realism so far – seems to represent Carpentier's claim; in an interview in 1973 García Márquez remarked on the indigenous roots of the novel while he claimed the story to be based on his childhood experiences:

My grandmother used to tell me stories and my grandfather took me to see things. Those were the circumstances in which my world was constructed (Guibert 1973, 323).

and in 1979 Márquez echoed Carpentier:

In Latin America and the Caribbean artists have had to invent very little, and perhaps they have had the opposite problem: to make their reality believable... the reality they encountered surpassed imagination (Márquez 1979, 4).

Likewise, departing Ireland released Joyce from aesthetic, political and family oppression, and provided him with artistic deliverance. Joyce's inability to neglect his Irish identity parallels the central paradox of Exodus: the simultaneous capacity and incapacity to forget Egypt or bondage, the

Jews seek freedom while trying to escape it – yearly they recount their bondage while promising, as Bloom remembers, ‘next year in Jerusalem.’ (*U* 7.207) For Joyce, this takes the form of his denial and acceptance of Ireland, forsaking the country but writing about it exclusively; or, as he stated in *Finnegans Wake*, becoming ‘an Irish emigrant the wrong way out’ (Joyce 1999, 36).

However, we must point out here that we are not implying here that Joyce should be considered a post-colonial writer as there are several testimonies to the efficacy of magical realist narrative in portraying heretofore hidden or silenced voices, even if they do not specifically address the issues of decolonization and history. According to Isabel Allende, ‘magic realism is a literary device or a way of seeing in which there is space for the invisible forces that move the world: dreams, legends, myths, motion, passion, history. All these forces find a place in the absurd, unexplainable aspects of magic realism... It is the capacity to see and to write about all the dimensions of reality’ (Allende 1991, 54). Much earlier, Jacques Stephen Alexis maintained that ‘the myth, the marvellous can, if they are understood in a materialistic sense, become powerful leavenings for a realistic art and literature, for the transformation of the world’ (Alexis 1956, 3). So where does that leave us in the analysis of magical realism and the critical use of the term when referred to Joyce? Slemon has formulated the issue clearly:

The critical use of the concept of magic realism can ... signify resistance to monumental theories of literary practice – a way of suggesting there is something going on in certain forms of literary writing, and in the modalities of cultural experience that underlie those forms, that confounds the capacities of the major genre systems to come to terms with them. At the same time, of course, the concept of magic realism itself threatens to become a monumentalizing category for literary practice and to offer to centralizing genre systems a single locus upon which the massive problem of *difference* in literary expression can be managed into recognizable meaning in one swift pass (Slemon 1995, 408-09)

Indeed, Joyce opted to build arbitrary relationships between realistic events and multiple symbolic patterns, thus maintaining the structure of meaning without suggesting any particular meaning. Furthermore, he introduced a kind of irony based on formal incongruities rather than on a disparity between what characters say and what they mean.

In the introduction to this dissertation we stated that the central character of James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* must grow wings so as to break into a new setting – one in which he could be free to express his thoughts – ‘When the soul of a man is born in this country there are nets flung at it to hold back from flight. You talk to me of nationality, language, religion. I shall try to fly by those nets’ (Joyce 1996, 231). We argued that the Irish writer James Joyce might have agreed in this contention with Dedalus, the artist as a young man and tried to dodge the nets of nationalism, religion and language in order to attain the perspective necessary to create and revolutionise the novel and we added that Joyce broke all boundaries and brought his revolution of the word to its final consequences. In this point we state that Joyce's adopting magical realism, with its irreducible elements that question the dominant discourse, constituted a kind of liberating poetics – or in other words, of breaking boundaries. To Joyce's mind, Modernist style had failed in its attempts to read the world that imperialism had rendered unreadable. Magic Realism therefore served a decolonizing role, one in which new voices had emerged and to which Joyce gave full scope in his work. Furthermore, we have seen that John Bishop claims that ‘*Finnegans Wake* in an odd way crystallizes that crisis and not least through its assault on the institution of language through which all the other institutions of a patriarchal culture are transmitted from parent to child and from generation to generation’ (Bishop 1993, 169) which can be summarized as Joyce's revolution of the word. Eventually, we have seen that the spiritual power that Faris attributes to Magic Realism makes it a postmodern substitute for religion, a source of positive belief. In short, we can conclude here that thanks to his continuous search for new ways of expression James Joyce ‘the priest of eternal imagination’ flew over his nets and created in his art a substitute for them.

When you open *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, the first thing you come on is a little statement in Latin, *Et Ignotas Animum Dimitit in Artes*: ‘and he turns his mind to unknown arts.’ This line has been taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Ovid Book 8, line 188), where it refers

to Daedalus, the great master craftsman who fashioned the labyrinth in Crete and is regarded in the classical tradition as the patron of the arts. King Minos, the tyrant of Crete, tried to keep Daedalus as a kind of serf, but he determined to fly from Crete with his son Icarus. So Daedalus turns his mind to the unknown arts, makes two sets of waxen wings, and they do fly. The opening motto, then, refers to Joyce's decision to make wings of art; thus this motif of flight and the bird of art is a dominant one throughout Joyce's work. However, when talking about Joyce's flight we should refer to Daedalus and not to Icarus. Icarus flew too high, the wax on his wings melted, and he fell into the ocean. Joyce's flight was from the symbolism of the Roman Catholic Church to the universals that Jung calls the 'archetypes', of which Christian imagery is an inflection. He escaped (so to speak) from his own spiritual provincialism into the total humanity, which is our deep shared heritage.

### **4.3. Baroja's quest for independence.**

In the introduction to this thesis we stated that our main aim was to demonstrate that Joyce and Baroja went on a similar quest for independence and that both attempted to break the boundaries that prevented them to be free to create. We argued that – sharing the climate of ideas that were spreading throughout Europe and feeling smothered by the narrow-mindedness of their stifling societies – they had become part of the European challenge to the social, ethical and artistic values which accompanied the emergence of European Modernism, and converted their work into an attempt to Europeanise Spain and Ireland, or at least to make the countries more objective and immanent. We pointed out that both the Basque author Pío Baroja and the Irish writer James Joyce might have agreed with Dedalus, the artist as a young man, in his contention: 'When the soul of a man is born in this country there are nets flung at it to hold back from flight. You talk to me of nationality, language, religion. I shall try to fly by those nets' (Joyce 1996, 231) for both tried to

dodge the nets of nationalism, religion and language in order to attain the perspective necessary to create and revolutionise the novel. However, we argued that only one of the two managed to do so – both of them explored similar revolutionary roads, but whereas Baroja stopped short, retraced his steps and became – by force – a repetitive writer, Joyce – as we have seen in the previous point – broke all boundaries and brought his revolution of the word to its final consequences. We also stated that in spite of the fact that both Baroja and Joyce opened their wings to escape the oppression existing in their societies, like Icarus, one of them flew too near the sun; Joyce rejected religion and nationalism in the extraordinary way he clung to reality and declared himself to be apolitical, whereas Baroja – like the main figures of English Modernist literature – got trapped in the nets he had tried to fly by and saw himself linked to the far right. This supposed a reversal in the evolution of his art which became mere political propaganda and thus Baroja lost the opportunity to belong to the realms of Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Rabelais, Cervantes or Goethe – all of whom, whilst often considered to be geniuses of their particular country, awaken, as does Joyce, an even greater interest for having been able to express universal truths.

In literary studies, a field which Wellek and Warren defined as the study of imaginative as opposed to non-imaginative literature (Wellek and Warren 1949, 15), there has always been a tendency to categorize the works of writers like Pío Baroja as propaganda, as political ideology, as second-rate history. It can be said that in most nineteenth-century novels, the idea of society has penetrated the consciousness of most of the characters to such an extent that they reject, embrace or mock some political or ideological identification. Although some of Baroja's characters do initially identify with political causes, most drift aimlessly, never coming to any particular conclusion, never attaching themselves to any particular ideology and always seeking some idea, some image, some ethic that will save them.

Baroja thought of himself as one who organised everyday occurrences, common utterances and rapid associations of ideas and feelings that were typical of the era (Baroja 1946, 315-325). In his mind they were contemporary historians and writers, not artists, whose business was to capture the mind of an era. His distinctive brand of art developed through four phases in his career. The first phase was marked by the search for a political and aesthetic direction, the second by the development of a political philosophy. The third phase was marked by imaginative uses of autobiography and history, and the fourth by the disintegration of form.

These phases, like the techniques which defined them, developed through Baroja's interaction with the political and aesthetic ideas of his period. Initially, for example, his aesthetics sprang from the same source as those of the modernists for, like his modernist contemporaries, Baroja also sought the original language, the accelerated grimace<sup>182</sup>, the language, the tone and the meter that would best articulate the age. Gradually, however, as he began to develop a conception of himself as the guardian of society's morality, based on the theory that neither the intellectuals nor the artists were producing a useful analysis of the times, his aesthetic aim became messianic. At that point in his career Baroja decided it was up to the writer to save society, and that the discovery and articulation of the truth needed to achieve this goal could only be met by a conscientious blend of art and politics.

A study of Baroja's fiction reveals that his aesthetics depended on his approach, at different phases in his career, to four techniques. First, he rejected the realist and psychological novelists' use of characterization, and instead used his characters to define the ideological forces that were threatening contemporary society. Second, he used tradition and traditional values as a means of measuring the moral change that had come over his nation. Third, he rejected certain contemporary

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<sup>182</sup> 'The age demanded an image/ Of its accelerated grimace...' (Pound 1926:185).

notions of fiction, such as Ortega y Gasset's belief that art should have no transcendental implications (Ortega y Gasset 1958-64, 210-12) and Trilling's assertion that art should not depict a desensitized man in a desensitized society (Trilling 1938, 29). And fourth, through an increasingly disruptive use of authorial intervention, he tried to combine the aesthetic purposes of imaginative and non-imaginative literature by creating an art that was both subjective and objective, one in which he could, like the moral historian, not only influence and instruct, but also, like the novelist, imagine and entertain.

Baroja experimented with these techniques to such an extent that it was difficult to categorize his methods. As a literary innovator, he simply borrowed from a myriad of notions about art and life and modified these ideas until they suited his notion of fiction. At moments, Baroja's techniques verged on the symbolic, yet he was too committed to the representation of political and social reality to be called a symbolist. In the final analysis, he was a realist who manipulated the four elements of character, tradition, ideology and authorial presence and thereby distorted reality to effect social change – Pío Baroja's first novels were consciously political, and in these and other works his concept of characterization remained the same. Early in his career, he decided that in order to represent truly the problems of contemporary society, he would have to restrict characterization to the forces that were threatening society's survival. Hence, with the exception of the character of Agueda Aizgorri in *La Casa de Aizgorri* and the Paradox of *Aventuras, inventos y mixtificaciones de Silvestre Paradox*, none of Baroja's characters was human; they had no thoughts, no feelings, no aspirations – some did not even have bodies. Although seeming to undergo development, they were not characters in the usual sense; they were ideas or instincts which advanced horizontally and vertically across society. As these characters confronted each other, Baroja measured their potential for survival in the real world allowing one character or idea to overcome another until the novel ended in a stalemate.

Although initially confused about the past, it was Baroja's –similar to Eliot's – desire for some sort of moral teaching which eventually caused him to look to tradition for a solution to the problems of contemporary society. For Baroja, the Spanish tradition, with its Catholicism and monarchism, was an iron brace for a dead and rotting society. Yet, in spite of his distrust of the past, he felt compelled to define his relationship to tradition: hence he participated in what Stephen Spender referred to as the struggle of the modern to formulate 'the vision of the whole situation' confronting the past and including this confrontation within itself as a single part of the local experience (Spender 1965, vii). In Baroja's works, this confrontation not only led to an evaluation of the strong and weak aspects of tradition, but to the use of selected traditional values as a means of measuring the change in morality that had come over modern man.

Early in his career Baroja, like many of his contemporaries, believed that there was something good, something powerful, something majestic hidden in the Spanish past. And he postulated that if he could only awaken this force, he could use it to revitalize Spain. Hence his early works were littered with specific references to strong medieval spirits, decadent nineteenth century institutions and communal ideas and values. And he used these to measure the corruption of morality in modern times.

In Baroja's works these traditional values were often battling the more contemporary political ideologies for control of society. As a result, no one ideology was ever given the depth that a serious study of politics would demand. The use of political ideologies not only chronicled the reality of the moment, but facilitated the author's search for a visible scheme of values. Thus Baroja's use of ideology was not only superficial but eclectic: socialism, anarchism and the philosophy of Nietzsche, for example, appeared in such Barojan works as *El Mayorazgo de Labraz* (1903), *Mala Hierba* (1904) and *Aurora Roja* (1904), while the Africanism of Unamuno or the

generative adaptation of Galdós found their way into later works, such as *Paradox Rey* (1906), *La Dama Errante* (1908), and *La Ciudad de la Niebla* (1909). In short, in Baroja's early works the presentation of ideology was often limited to the ways in which current theories were shaping the lives of the characters. Hence throughout his early and midcareer no one ideology dominated the narrative. Rather, all filtered through the fiction like Virginia Woolf's 'islands in the mind's sea' (Woolf 1925, 185). After his midcareer, however, Baroja's use of ideology underwent a radical change. In his latter works, ideology all but disappeared, as characters withdrew from active participation in life. Those few characters who continued to struggle failed, not because they were fighting for some doomed political belief or because their will was being stifled by some decadent institution – as in his earlier works – but because they were in the wrong place at the wrong time, or simply because they were too old.

In sum, although Baroja went through a period in his midcareer when he limited his fiction to the forces of historical determinism, he emerged with a profound fatalism. However, it is important to note that although the nature and use of ideology differed in his later novels, his use of the novel as a vehicle for political expression did not, as he continued to experiment with the novel in order to find a form that would best express his philosophical views.

Throughout his life, Baroja wrote prodigiously, producing almost a novel a year. And in all of his works the battles between non-fiction and fiction, between argument, analysis exposition and entertainment, between politics and art, were evidenced by increasingly innovative fictive structures. Baroja switched narrators, inserted fables and refused to give decisive beginnings or endings to his works.

At the end of the first six years of his career, the tension between his desire to mask his opinions in his fiction and his desire to speak directly to the audience had reached its peak, and it was

at this point that he produced his best works. But the stronger his political views became, the more he felt constrained by his fiction and eventually he abandoned writing pure fiction to write what has been commonly referred to as political novels.

The transition from the first to the second phase of Baroja's career was marked by the movement from *Paradox Rey*, a brilliant political allegory in which characters chaotically destroy one another, through *La Dama Errante* (1908), a work in which a young woman sets out to find a new life and ends up exemplifying the defeat of the Spanish race, to *El Árbol de la Ciencia* (1911), a work in which a young autobiographical Baroja commits suicide while an older, more conservative autobiographical Baroja retreats to his corner in order to observe the follies of humankind dispassionately.

Although in *El Árbol de la Ciencia* Baroja was still writing fiction, it was a fiction that was not only dominated by politics, but by the intrusion of the author. Although this intrusion had been growing for a number of years, the assertion of the authorial presence was now being prompted by an acknowledgement of the forces of historical determinism and a consequent rejection of the possibility of salvation for society. This acknowledgement was also accompanied by a shift in Baroja's politics, from the extreme political left to the extreme political right, and a loss of faith in society and art.

Throughout this period there was then a movement of the centre of consciousness of the novel from the narrator to the major character and eventually to the author. This movement was evidenced by the insertion of more and more semi-autobiographical characters until, in *Juventud, egolatría* (1917), the author took off his fictive mask. Baroja's desire to speak directly to the audience resulted in an abandonment of fiction and the exploration of the political and literary possibilities of non-fictional forms. In *Memorias de un Hombre de Acción* (1913-31) and *La*

*Sensualidad Pervertida* (1921), Baroja modified the traditional forms of history and autobiography in the hope that this would help him to discover and articulate the truth that had previously escaped him. But as with his later fictions, such as *El Hotel del Cisne* (1946), the result was the same: although he succeeded in developing a literary structure that allowed him to express his political and philosophical views, his works were not considered to be examples of either good scholarship or good art. Most critics felt that his stories were too discursive and non-factual to convey truth and most felt his autobiographies were nothing more than badly written self-satires. The constant use of contemporary political ideology and the inclusion of his own political doctrines in all forms of literature brought mixed reviews from the critics. Though some liked his innovations, others were unhappy with Baroja's disparaging approach to both life and art. Early in Baroja's career one of his critics noted that Baroja was destroying the political concepts most liberals held dear<sup>183</sup>, Baroja took offence at the criticism and said that he would rather sleep in the poorest neighbourhood than paint false visions of streets of gold (Baroja 1985, 166). The critics then responded with references to Baroja's fiction as being too hysterical or too documentary; one even called Baroja's *Camino de Perfección* a chewing of the libidinal energies (Ortega y Gasset 1915, 120). As the discussions became more heated, the artists and critics became more hostile, resulting in Baroja's infamous reference – which some say cost him the Nobel Prize – to getting rid of all the hook-nosed prophets in Spain.

In sum, there is no doubt that Baroja's works contained specific and abrasive references to politics and that the fictive exposition of his politics posed countless problems for the author and his critics. Furthermore, it is clear that at certain moments in his career, the critics were reacting to Baroja's extreme political views rather than evaluating his art. A look at the evolution of Baroja's

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<sup>183</sup> 'Este hombre niega y odia todo lo que yo quiero y afirmo...' (Maeztu 18).

fiction, however, reveals that it is not the inclusion of politics, but the use of the authorial presence which best characterizes political novels, for, in the first phase of his career, Baroja's interest in politics was certainly present, but it did not dominate his art. In the first phase of his career politics was given the value of what I. A. Richards later called pseudo statements (Richards 1965, 85-86), something which is not to be judged by its truth or falsity but by its effects in organising impulses and attitudes. And in the final phase of his career, politics just became unimportant.

There was, however, a period in his career when Baroja's politics became so pressing and fiction became so restrictive, that he not only developed new and innovative ways of articulating his vision of political reality, but he found ways of substantiating this vision through the methods of direct address and argumentative support normally associated with non-fiction. A study of the evolution of Baroja's techniques would reveal that although these techniques were modified with each successive novel, they were consistent with a revolutionary but nevertheless aesthetic view of what political art should be.

### **4.3.1. Baroja's evolution.**

By 1905 it was becoming evident that Baroja's sympathy for the present was to be reflected in his unusual subjects, narratives and styles, for Baroja had not only become increasingly nihilistic, but he had begun to develop an aesthetics that would allow him to reflect the evolution of his political concerns. Throughout the remainder of his career, as Baroja's politics became more reactionary, his approach to fiction would become more radical. Indeed, the seeds of his political and aesthetic extremism had already been planted in his early works, as he moved from the tightly structured dramatic dialogue of *La Casa de Aizgorri*, in which he proposed spiritual solutions to the

political, social and spiritual problems of the nation, to the interpolated episodes of *La Lucha por la Vida*, in which he assessed the failure of traditionalism, socialism, anarchism and republicanism.

In addition to the structural experimentation, however, there were other indications that Baroja was beginning to build an unusual approach to fiction. In the last chapter of *Aurora Roja*, for example, when El Libertario, the most philosophical representative of the anarchists, damned the ‘*pueblo*’ – the traditional soul of the people – it was the style of this damnation which troubled Baroja’s critics:

*- Aquí no hay nada – siguió diciendo burlonamente –; esto es una raza podrida; esto no es un pueblo; aquí no hay vicios, ni virtudes, ni pasiones; aquí todo es m... –y repitió la palabra dos o tres veces –. Política, religión, arte, anarquistas, m... Puede este niño abatido y triste recorrer su ciudad. Lo puede hacer y puede andar si quiere a latigazos con esa morralla. Ese rebaño de imbéciles no se incomodará*<sup>184</sup>(Baroja 1994, 320)

The damnation which consists of a series of negative statements followed by ellipses was written in such common language that some critics, such as Ortega y Gasset, considered it unsuitable for fiction:

*¿Qué quiere decir ésto? ¿Cómo es posible que un escritor manipule palabras de este linaje – canalla, estúpido, imbecil, repugnante – que tienen significado tan poco concreto, y por otro lado, tan fuertes, tan duras, tan excesivas, que no permiten claroscuro, entonación, perspectiva, ni matiz?*<sup>185</sup>(Ortega y Gasset 1958-64, 105)

Yet, the damnation was not meant to reflect some altruistic aspect of the national consciousness, but to serve as a window to Baroja’s own moods, attitudes and ideas.

This original style exemplified the ways in which Baroja attempted to make the narrative reflective of a psychological rather than an intellectual development:

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<sup>184</sup> - Here there is nothing – he continued in a playful way –; this is a rotten race; this is not a people; here there exists no vice, no virtue, no passion; here everything is c... - and he repeated the word two or three times –. Politics, religion, art, anarchism, c... This low sad child can walk around his city. He can do it and he can even whip this rabble. That herd of imbeciles will not be troubled (Translation mine).

<sup>185</sup> What does he mean by this? How come a writer uses such words? – lousy, stupid, imbecile, repulsive – words which are so ambiguous and at the same time so hard, so curt, so excessive that there is no room for ambivalence, intonation, perspective or hint? (Translation mine).

*El estilo y la composición de un libro tienen importancia, claro, pero son cosas que se pueden mejorar a fuerza de trabajo y de estudio, no dan esa impresión fuerte y sugestiva de creación fantástica*<sup>186</sup>(Baroja 1946, 313)

The ways in which he attempted to make his narratives a manifestation of his own way of thinking and being:

*En cierto modo, y desde un punto de vista psicológico, el estilo es una manifestación de la personalidad humana, como puede serlo el hablar, el sonreír y el andar*<sup>187</sup>(Baroja 1061).

This aesthetics rested upon Baroja's view of the novel as a protean genre, as something in which the philosophical, the psychological, adventuristic, utopian and epic dreams of the nation could be filtered through the consciousness of one individual:

*La novela, hoy por hoy, es un género multiforme, proteico, en formación, en fermentación; lo abarca todo: el libro filosófico, el libro psicológico, la aventura, la utopía, lo épico; todo absolutamente*<sup>188</sup>(Baroja 1946, 313).

Baroja wanted novels that told the truth, novels that distorted reality in order to capture the way in which politics affected the individual, novels in which tradition, ideology and even the authorial presence would not be sentimentalized, as they had in 19th-century fiction. During the next few years, Baroja would experiment with the ways in which he could inject more of his ideas and feelings into the narrative, thus adding an ephemeral psychological and political dimension to the epic, utopian dramas. *Paradox Rey*, a novel in which Baroja mocked all political systems while espousing the lyrical intensity of his own philosophy marked the beginning of this phase in his career, a phase which was highlighted by the increasingly innovative attempts to insert the authorial presence directly into the narrative.

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<sup>186</sup> The style and structure of a book are obviously important but these are aspects that can be improved through work and research, they do not give the strong impression of creative writing (Translation mine).

<sup>187</sup> In a way, and from a psychological point of view, style is a reflection of a person's personality, just like the way we talk, smile or walk (translation mine).

<sup>188</sup> The novel, nowadays, is a multiform, proteic genre, which is in process, in fermentation; it includes everything: philosophical books, adventure books, utopias, epics, everything (Translation mine).

*El Mundo es Así* marked the end of the second, political phase of Baroja's career and the beginning of a third, semi-autobiographical and historical phase in his career. Throughout this phase Baroja traced the ways in which the events of his youth and the events of the nineteenth century had affected his current thinking and, in effect, made it possible to imagine a solution to the problems he presented. While his semi-autobiographical minor characters were gradually converted to semi-autobiographical major characters, the major character of his historical novels would become a blood relative named Aviraneta and in keeping with his newfound skepticism towards political thought, tradition and ideology would appear only through satirical references to his former beliefs or through ironic references to his nineteenth-century characters' lack of political illusions.

This dual vision of past and present resulted in a final phase in which Baroja attempted to perfect a method of dispassionate expression – he continued to analyze the moods and ideas of the moment, but without any feeling. Indeed, in his final works, – as we have previously mentioned –, characters died, not because they could not find a direction in life – as in his earliest novels –, or because they were being strangled by some decadent institution – as in his political fiction –, but because they were too old, or they were in the wrong place at the wrong time. The fatalism in this fiction was not only heightened by the author's experimental use of himself as the major character and narrator, but by the reduction of all action, references to ideology, references to ideology or allusion to tradition or traditional values or to his own eclectic opinions on select issues. At this point, Baroja was beginning to evolve a political philosophy, to build an aesthetics that would allow him to filter his philosophy into his fiction. The result was a fiction in which he began to separate his political vision from the reality of the moment, and later, he used this reality to support his political views. In order to accomplish this purpose, he experimented with ways of speaking more directly to his audience.

As he began to look more closely at the relationship between his own philosophy, the transactions of the moment and the transactions of his national history, Baroja lost faith in society and the individual, eventually lapsing into an irrevocable fatalism – his treatment of his semi-autobiographical character in *El Mundo es Así* indicated that he had lost faith in both society's and his own political illusions. This lack of faith was carried over to the third and fourth period in Baroja's career.

The period from *El Arbol de la Ciencia* to *La Sensualidad Pervertida* was marked by Baroja's experiments with autobiography and history. In this period, Baroja reshaped the historical visions of his predecessors. He modified his use of character, tradition, ideology and authorial presence to support what by now had become rigid reactionary dogma.

During the fourth phase of his career – the movement from *Agonías de Nuestro Tiempo* to *Los Enigmáticos* – Baroja attempted to distance himself from the emotional intensity evidenced in his former narratives and to simply document the moment. He continued to experiment with the various combinations of history, autobiography and fiction and to shape increasingly chaotic impressions of the moment – he had come to believe that mankind had no control over his existence.

In 1905, however, Baroja was still looking for a direction –although he had rejected the possibility of finding a scheme of values for the '*pueblo*', he had not yet abandoned the idea of finding a scheme of values for a selected group of individuals. He still believed in the necessity of destroying the old morality, but unlike many of his contemporaries, he now saw that such destruction could only be achieved by a selected few. Thus, he revived Paradox – *Paradox Rey* became a negation of all political thought, a barbarous reflection of historical determinism; according to Joaquín Casaldueiro, this Paradox has lost his desire to communicate with mankind and talks only to the wind and the sea and the sky (Casaldueiro 1978, 295). In sum, *Paradox Rey* differs from all of Baroja's previous fictions, for it is the first work in which he allows his own political views to

dominate the narrative. This work represents the culmination of his early literary efforts, for through his innovative use of character, ideology and tradition, he managed to convey the intensity of feeling that surrounded what he saw as the lovely lyrical irrational beauty of the destructive/creative cycle.

The transition from *Paradox Rey*, the anti-utopian novel of ideas, to *La Dama Errante*, the modern psychological drama, marked the second step in Baroja's transition from the writing of political art to the writing of political fiction. Unlike his previous fiction, in *La Dama Errante* Baroja not only linked his plot to the events of the moment: '[...] *Es muy lógico que un hombre que sienta así,*' – he wrote in defence of his newfound skepticism with the eternal – '*tenga que tomar sus asuntos no de la Biblia, ni de los romanceros, ni de las leyendas, sino de los sucesos del día, de lo que ve, de lo que dicen los periódicos*'<sup>189</sup> (Baroja 1946, 231). But he punctuated his interpolated episodes with the philosophical discussions of a semi-autobiographical character, thereby reinforcing the political philosophy expressed in the action. The novel reflected the moment in which Baroja began to search for a scheme of values for the individual and the moment in which he began to assert his belief in racial and historical determinism. Hence, the tone of *La Dama Errante* was more personal, more individual and more dogmatic, for in this work, Baroja was beginning to proceed through the medium of political fiction to a third semi-autobiographical and historical phase in his career. Aside from Isidro – the humble keeper of the king's grounds who represents the writer's new attitude towards the '*pueblo*' – perhaps the most important character in *La Dama Errante* is Iturrioz, the Basque doctor, for it is through this character that Baroja buttresses his interpolated episodes with coherent expository units. Through Iturrioz, we learn that Spain must continue to create new oligarchies on the ruins of the old, in order to strengthen the individual, and through Iturrioz that we learn that the image of the decaying mummy of *Camino de Perfección* is still applicable. But

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<sup>189</sup> You have to find your subject matter not in the Bible or in epics or legends, but in our daily lives, in what you see, in what the newspapers say (Translation mine).

although Iturrioz reflects the author's philosophy, as did the semi-autobiographical doctor in *La Casa de Aizgorri*, in this work Iturrioz consistently interjects Baroja's political rather than medical views. Indeed, throughout the narrative it is obvious that Baroja has difficulty limiting Iturrioz's role to that of an observer. In fact, in the end he is forced to allow Iturrioz to participate directly in the action.

This struggle between Iturrioz – the observer –and the active fictive character merely reinforces the way in which Baroja was beginning to feel limited by his fiction. With the gradual development of his political philosophy, the old method, in which interpolated episodes exemplified the diverse political philosophies of the moment, no longer sufficed, and Iturrioz was just one example of the ways in which Baroja was seeking to insert his own political ideas directly into his fiction.

However, Baroja's continued experimentation with methods of inserting his political ideas into his fiction had made his narrative uneven: in *La Dama Errante* the mixture of adventure and philosophical discussion proved to be awkward; in *La Ciudad de la Niebla* the purpose of the interpolated episodes was twisted and obscured; and, finally, in both works, the use of a hypothetically strong character, with no facts or details to support the existence or goals of such an individual, was unrealistic.

In order to correct this weakness, in *César o Nada* Baroja once again explores the potential of a character who has a strong desire to implement an original scheme of values, only in this work he manages to construct a narrative that will directly explain why such a narrative will always fail. *César o Nada* was perhaps Baroja's best work of political fiction, for it was a narrative which not only remained true to the transactions of history, but espoused the author's own political philosophy without subjecting the reader to undue authorial intervention. This lack of authorial intervention as well as the use of a fictive hero left his hero's character open to misinterpretation. Because of Cesar's

philosophy of extra-religious individualism, many critics misinterpreted his character. Some referred to César as a frustrated Machiavellian, while others considered him to be a realistic Nietzschean. In 1938, one critic even saw César's ideas as a precursor to fascism (Sobejano 1967, 371 and Eoff 1961, 184), but at this point in Baroja's career, César was neither a Machiavelian, a Nietzschean nor a Fascist failure – César was a liberal failure. César had succumbed to the same abulia – the same lack of will – as María, and adopted what Baroja saw as the only scheme of values in Spain.

With the open exposition of this determinism, it was only a matter of time before Baroja began to explore more thoroughly the ways in which the activities of individuals in the nineteenth century both defined and restricted the activities of the twentieth century individual. As the influence of the nineteenth century became more and more dominant, the amount of authorial intervention faded from the narrative. In the end, one felt that the author had lost all ability to imagine any fiction based on the hopes or ideas of those living in modern times.

The culmination of Baroja's exploration of a simple, lyrical determinism is seen in *El Mundo es Así* which was meant to innovatively reflect the author's loss of political illusion, and perhaps the most startling innovation in the fiction was the inclusion of a new semi-autobiographical figure. With the completion of *El Mundo es Así* Baroja lost all faith in finding a scheme of values for either the individual or society and began to search for a scheme of values for himself. The search took the form of a re-evaluation of his past and present philosophy and an accompanying change in emphasis from the writing of political fiction to the writing of history and autobiography. Baroja was beginning to distance and divorce himself from the reality of the moment, and letting his imagination identify with what now he considered to be one of the most creative moments in Spanish history.

Having lost faith in either the individual or society, Baroja's only purpose was verifying the truth of his philosophy. From 1915 to 1930 Baroja worked almost exclusively on his historical

novels which together became Baroja's personal testimony to life. But by 1918, when Baroja had published the first four volumes of his history, most critics were beginning to tire of his ideas. Some complained that his ideological baggage was too familiar; others that his novels did not resolve anything. Still others disapproved of his nihilism and his fascism. Some complained of his failure to portray the reality behind his ideas; some disliked his choice of a major character; some disliked his diction (See: Valera 1962, 14; Landínez 1962, 113; de Nora 1962, 222; Ortega y Gasset 1958-64, 417 and Madariaga 1923, 120).

Baroja's response to these criticisms came in a series of autobiographical and semi-autobiographical fictions which show the transition to the final phase of his career. In *Juventud, Egoatría*, an ideological autobiography, he discussed many of the ideas which led to the creation of his most successful novels, and then confessed that he would like to evolve, but that he could not find a philosophy that would lead him in a new direction: '*A mí me gustaría evolucionar pero adónde? ¿Cómo? ¿En dónde se va a encontrar una dirección?*'<sup>190</sup> (Baroja 1946, 165).

*La Sensualidad Pervertida* formed the transition from the third, the semi-autobiographical, to the final experimental phase of his career. During this phase, he wrote three more trilogies, in each of which he experimented with ways to chronicle the events of the moment without evidencing any feeling. Although most critics treated these works with indifference, asking if the silhouettes, intrigues and vulgar successions and simple notes were not simply exposés of the diverse states of the author's soul (Nora 223), there was evidence of artistic experimentation in each of these works. However, by the end of his career, Baroja had reduced all ideology, all tradition, all thought and all feeling to simple, classic vignettes of fate. Indeed, in his final works, the very absence of references to ideology, tradition or authorial presence clearly showed how far Baroja had progressed from

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<sup>190</sup> I would like to evolve but in which direction? How? How do you find which way to follow? (Translation mine).

‘Maribelcha’, the short story in which a young Basque doctor passionately wondered what was in the soul of the young woman who –in his eyes – represented the soul of Spain. By the end of his career, Baroja had developed an anti-intellectual, anti-spiritual fiction in which he demonstrated that he did not want to know what his contemporaries were thinking or feeling.

### CONCLUSION

In this dissertation we have shown that whereas James Joyce is better known than Pío Baroja for his literary innovation, Baroja's works – in which his independence and pessimism stand out – represent one of the most genuine portrayals of history in 20<sup>th</sup>-Century literature. The fin-de-siècle witnessed a loss of identity in every nation and brought about a global change of attitude which was especially noticeable in the field of culture which showed a profound preoccupation with social matters and concluded in the resulting emergence of a new type of writer who wished to have a direct influence on the political and social events of his time.

We have also argued that both Joyce and Baroja shared a common disenchantment with their fellow citizens and a fondness for their motherlands, whilst highlighting the fact that whereas Joyce had rejected both his religion and his national heritage by the time he entered university, it was the shock of the Spanish-American war in 1898 that provoked in Baroja a reaction against the social abuses and the corrosive influence of the Catholic Church. Furthermore, as we have indicated, both Joyce and Baroja alike assumed that politics had turned hope and dreams into narcotics, concluding that their people had tried to find in politics the ethical and practical solution that religion had not been able to provide. Both writers felt politics had also failed and, as a result, they reacted not only against the clergy but also against politicians. In this dissertation we have contended that, at the time, literature replaced religion as an authoritative and validating source of moral principles and values at just that point when religion, specifically Christianity, was being weakened by the forces of rationality. While no longer powerful in itself, Christianity remained a particular locus of values within the now dominant category of culture. Nevertheless, as this dissertation shows, the newly secularized culture could no longer credit its values to Christianity, which now had no greater status than that of myth. In his rejection of religion, Baroja's starting point was the Sciences and his point

## Conclusion

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of arrival was philosophy. On the other hand, we have seen that Joyce was partly a product of the intellectual processes which constituted his history – his image of the artist as a priest of the imagination chimes with details of this history of secularisation –, but that, on the other hand, Joyce was also a product of a society which resisted that same process of secularisation. As a result, we have concluded that Joyce was the product of more than one set of determinants and that he was keenly aware of religion, specifically Catholicism, as a still-vital force in regard to both society and culture. Joyce's apostasy was motivated by his desire for freedom of expression and sexuality, as well as by his anger toward the Church's intrusion into nationalist politics.

We have also seen that Baroja felt extremely pessimistic about the situation of Spain at the time but was hopeful about the Spain to be. Baroja believed that Spanish politicians did not think about the future, but evoked the glorious past of Spain, either to cover themselves with the same nobility they praised or to make people admire a heroism which had not yet been avenged. Furthermore, as this thesis shows, something similar was happening in Ireland where the writers of the Irish Literary Revival used myths which reinforced the existing divisions in the country and helped delay Ireland's transformation into a modern country in their work. We have pointed out that there existed two groups: those who claimed a 'return to the source' which was only to be found in their ancestral language, and those who demanded a greater integration with England, arguing that only by becoming cosmopolitan would Ireland become modern. To Joyce's mind, neither nationalism nor the Literary Revival was a real option as they remained hidden in the mists of a dream world, manipulating the past they praised until that past was lost beyond redemption. In the same way, Baroja identified in his people the same feeling of desolation Joyce found in his fellow country people; like Joyce, Baroja asserted that, unlike the people who covered up the ills of their motherland with their rhetoric, thus favouring the spread of such an ailment, the real patriot was the person who dared admit the problem, the one who diagnosed and found a cure for it. Unfortunately,

## Conclusion

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we have seen that – in spite of the fact that in their work they raised wider issues about nationalism, language, religion and history than many other writers who claimed to be nationalists – as a result of expressing their ideas both writers were accused of not loving their country. Interestingly, like Baroja, Joyce refused to use his art as a political tool and he did not change his mind when his refusal came to be understood by his people as apathy, even though, in truth, it was just the opposite.

This dissertation shows that, as a developing artist, Joyce walked a tightrope between his own keen interest in Irish politics and his desire to become a respected ‘European’ author, free from the nationalism and cultural specificity that was disdained by the ideals of High Modernism. Indeed, one of the ideas apparent in our study is that Joyce focused on the theme of exile at the level of existential search, in which he put art as salvation and the ideal excuse to escape from an absurd world where there was no chance of being understood. However, we have clarified the distinction between Exile and Exodus since, unlike Joyce whose Exodus provided him with the freedom he needed in order to create, Baroja’s exile meant a traumatic loss of identity.

We have also argued that, although it is true that Joyce refused to make any overtly political public statements, this reveals less about his own private political positions than his strong desire to present himself in the role of international exile. On the other hand, this dissertation deals with one of the most obscure aspects of the Basque novelist: his relation with Spanish Fascism and the impact his right-wing ideas had on his work. Baroja’s vision of life - full of vitality yet pessimistic - led his novels, his ideas and his figure to be considered somehow a precursor of a kind of Spanish fascism. The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War marked the beginning of one of the most confusing and contradictory periods in his life and had enormous repercussion on the content and character of his work.

## Conclusion

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Like all educated writers in search of a wide readership, Joyce wrote his narrative in Standard English and followed the novel tradition – in his early works at least – in representing the main character's thoughts and speech as well as actions mainly in Standard English. This dissertation shows that Baroja, like Joyce, tried to free the genre from 19<sup>th</sup> Century conventions, and bring it closer to a more natural colloquial speech. He tried to find a language of narration which would resemble colloquial speech both lexically and syntactically and would at the same time express his thoughts and ideas in an effective manner. After seeing that Pedro Salinas ventured that Modernism was the incipient language of the Generation of '98 we have concluded that, although Baroja may have felt attracted by the cadence of Modernist prose, once his learning process was over, he wriggled out of Modernism, escaped the influence of his contemporaries and created his own unmistakable style which came from his vision of the world, from his radical scepticism and his disappointment in the world. On the other hand, when speaking about his stylistic peculiarities, Baroja alluded to the importance of having been born and brought up in a non-Spanish speaking environment; being one of the ideas apparent in this dissertation that despite the fact that Pío Baroja rejected the Basque nationalist ideals and thought that the Basque Country should make an effort to join Spain – not to separate from it – his writings are strongly impregnated with the history and the language of his country. Likewise, James Joyce was primarily an Irish writer, conscious of Irish culture and writing in an Irish, even Gaelic, tradition, which can be felt not only in his ideas but also in the language he used to express them. Furthermore, Joyce was well aware of the connections binding the emergent nationalist culture to revival culture – however, although he understood that the demands were repeatedly for purity, his reality, again and again, was inter-involvement.

In this dissertation we have stated that although it is commonly accepted that nations require plurality, this same plurality dilutes all strict standards of differentiation; the Independence movements followed one another continuously during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in the

## Conclusion

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Balkans and Central Europe resulting in the appearance of the Jewish question in the works of many European intellectuals who projected an image of the Jew as enemy of the national essence. This dissertation shows that the concept of race had gained enormous prestige in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and that Baroja maintained an especially hard line against Judaism. We have highlighted the fact that it is undeniable that English Modernist literature became connected with the politics of the extreme right and that, like Pound and Eliot, Baroja was never far from the politics of the extreme right. Indeed, whereas some of the difficulties involved in reading the literature of the great Modernist ‘reactionaries’ are to be found in their politics, Joyce – the other great presence in English literary Modernism apart from Pound and Eliot – is completely different: remote from the politics of the extreme right, Joyce provides a salutary point of contrasting reference. Modernist literature and culture were based on the exclusion of the masses, the destruction of their power and, in short, the denial of their humanity, while Modernists expressed their fear of the malleability and passivity of the crowd, Joyce, on the other hand, tried to produce a more imaginative, participatory reader - the more uncertain the world became and the more abstract the arts were, the more real Joyce kept everything.

This dissertation argues that although the fact that the 20<sup>th</sup> Century brought about a new art is undeniable, it is also undeniable that one of the main features of the age is its remarkable historicism and prevailing tendency towards apocalyptic, crisis-centred views of history. In spite of the fact that the world of criticism has unanimously agreed on some variant or collocation of the word ‘modern’ to identify the arts of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century – or at least part of them – the writers, artists and thinkers of the 1900s were responsive to the trends and conflicts – moral, social, intellectual and spiritual – which were already beginning to appear, and they sought out new forms and language in which to project these in advance of their time. The early 20<sup>th</sup> Century intellectuals in many fields in the period around the turn of the century were conscious of being caught between dispensations in

## Conclusion

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history. Literature thus became self-referential, calling attention to itself as language, to words as words instead of words as signifiers. This dissertation shows that in Baroja's early work we can appreciate several Modernist features, although for many years historical Spanish literary criticism presented Baroja as a member of the Generation of '98. This was a movement characterised by a commitment to the historical situation of the time, as opposed to the Modernist Generation who, in spite of facing the same reality, would have opted to lock themselves away inside an ivory tower or to seek refuge in mental flights to exotic worlds. Even though the *Generación del 98* really did mean an aesthetic and thematic rupture with the past in the world of art, when studying the political actions of the writers of this generation we are left with a sensation of inconstancy, if not of inconsistency; it is common to distinguish in this generation between those writers worried about form and those who used literature as a means of either philosophical or doctrinal reflection. Faced with the incitement offered by such promising European reading matter and feeling cut off from the Spain that had just been driven to political and economical disaster, Spanish writers reacted by creating a secular conception of their art and lives, thereby escaping the Spain that was simply history; all the men that formed the Generation of '98 turned their eyes to that spiritual unity of the motherland, unable to become part of it. All their critical work became a single effort to make Spain European, or at least to make Spain more objective and immanent. The books they read in their youth had brought them into contact with Europe and, as a result, with the immediate past and the current affairs of universal history. One mark of this new Modernism was its reliance on physical and social sciences rather than on traditional arts and humanities as sources and sanctions for creativity. Truth – once the beacon of what was fixed and absolute – now seemed comparative, relative, and pluralistic in the light of the new anthropology, psychology and physics; even space and time, once represented in the arts from static perspectives, were changing in everyday life through the practical new technology of the motion picture, the airplane and the telephone. The old and socially-oriented aesthetic order –

## Conclusion

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inherited, shared and harmonious – suddenly succumbed to a new artistic anarchy, to the craving for fresh, direct and primitive portrayals of unrefined experience. On the other hand, this dissertation shows that, either knowingly or unknowingly, Joyce participated in those intellectual currents of early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Europe, whose destructive impact depended on a profound revision of the understanding of language. Joyce's writing was implicitly liberal, democratic and tolerant as the development of his prose revealed nothing but a continuous search for an ever more open and plural medium. Joyce entered the experimental mainstream of Modernism through an extraordinary display of technique and not due to a previous commitment to some avant-gardist doctrine, whose ideology he found irrelevant to his purposes. This dissertation contends that the range of languages and codes within which *Ulysses* is inscribed also has a great deal to do with Joyce's sense of himself as a citizen – and not only as a Dubliner, but as a European. Furthermore, we have asserted that in constructing Bloom Joyce drew on a complex body of representations of 'the Jew' that he had absorbed first as a Catholic child and teenager, then as a discontented liberal Irishman, and finally as a 'Europeanized' 'Modernist' author. At a time when Joyce's Anglo-Irish contemporaries were formulating a syncretic view of Irish culture and society – of the 'Unity of Culture' – Joyce insisted on conflict and bifurcation. Joyce's rejection of religion and nationalism was not the most important part of the story concerning his turn-of-the-century scepticism, as it also resided, paradoxically enough, in his extraordinary attachment to fact. It is his realism which perpetually combats larger ideological commitments, firstly arguing that he wished to reassert the dignity of the quotidian, to reclaim the everyday as a primary aspect of experience. Secondly, in *Ulysses* Joyce aimed at releasing a plurality of voices which would together make the move beyond nationalism to liberation.

This dissertation shows that in *Ulysses* Joyce juxtaposed Odyssean marvels against the Irish quotidian, employing the technique of mythical realism – although this method was already implicit in many texts of the Irish Revival, these pioneers did not understand the fact that fantasy without the

## Conclusion

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influence of any sense of reality is just escapism, while reality, unquestioned by any element of fantasy, is merely literalism. Joyce did realise that and went even further, resulting in the fact that his Modernism is not only that of Eliot, Proust or Mann. For Joyce, Modernism did not signify a move from uni-focal realism to multi-focal hyper-reality, but from a realism which never seemed real at all, to a pluralism which tried to give scope to the many voices raised in Ireland after independence. This dissertation states that although Modernism was canonical by the time Magic Realism emerged, both forms resist conventional models of experience – both fuse history and myth to project alternatives to the contemporary social order. Although we have argued that the prevailing critical view is that Magic Realism is a postcolonial genre, Magic Realist writers recognize their affinity with Modernism and Gabriel García Márquez claims that Joyce taught him that a story did not have to be realistic to be credible. This dissertation concludes that Joyce's flight was from the symbolism of the Roman Catholic Church to the universals that Jung calls the 'archetypes', of which Christian imagery is an inflection; he escaped (so to speak) from his own spiritual provincialism into the total humanity, which is our deep shared heritage. Joyce's texts are profoundly dissatisfied with available forms and words, and they refuse any final homage to art, celebrating instead those aspects of life which generally elude literature. We have concluded that by setting up a dialectical tension between the past and present, the mythical method undermined the Enlightenment's notions of time and linear progress. Instead, it evoked a world of cycles and spirals, which mocked the view of history as a straight line and set in its place another, very different model. The linear time of the Realist novel denied all this and sought to dispose of time in neat parcels, but Joyce, in restoring a sense of an Eternal Now, also restored time's mystery.

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