



Spanish Carlism in Russian literature

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ABSTRACT. Since its emergence in 1833, the Spanish Carlist movement has been widely represented in world culture. In the present article, a number of Russian texts written between 1833 and 1939 that deal with the Carlist theme are analyzed. The lowest time boundary marks the start of the First Carlist War; the upper boundary, the end of the Spanish Civil War and the beginning of the Francoist dictatorship. The paper opens with a short overview of Spanish Carlism history highlights and a brief look at some European literary works that touch upon the theme. The article seeks to trace how Russian men of letters from world-famous fiction classics, such as Gogol or Dostoevsky, to non-fiction writers less known outside Russia, including travel-writers (Botkin, Aivazovsky, Podolinski, Kapustin, Vyubov), political journalists (Nemirovich-Danchenko), and memoirists (Yaremchuk; Shinkarenko) reflected upon the Carlist movement in their works. Different models of creating the image of Spanish Carlism in Russian literature are shown. We propose a hypothesis that the Carlist movement should have exerted considerable influence on Russian literature and shaped the image of Spain in Russian public opinion in 1833–1939. We have come to the conclusion that the view of Carlism among Russian men of letters was uneven throughout its history.

Keywords: Carlist movement; Dostoevsky; Gogol; literature; Spain.

O carlismo espanhol na literatura russa

RESUMO. Desde seu surgimento em 1833, o movimento carlista espanhol tem sido amplamente representado na cultura mundial. No presente artigo, são analisados vários textos russos escritos entre 1833 e 1939 que tratam do tema carlista. O artigo abre com uma breve visão geral da história do carlismo espanhol e uma breve olhada em algumas obras literárias europeias que abordam o tema. O artigo busca traçar como os homens de letras russos, desde clássicos da ficção mundialmente famosos, como Gogol ou Dostoiévski, até escritores de não ficção menos conhecidos fora da Rússia, incluindo escritores de viagem (Botkin; Aivazovsky, Podolinski, Kapustin, Vyubov), jornalistas políticos (Nemirovich-Danchenko) e memorialistas (Yaremchuk; Shinkarenko) refletiram sobre o movimento carlista em suas obras. São mostrados diferentes modelos de criação da imagem do carlismo espanhol na literatura russa. Propomos uma hipótese de que o movimento carlista deve ter exercido considerável influência na literatura russa e moldado a imagem da Espanha na opinião pública russa em 1833-1939. Chegamos à conclusão de que a visão do carlismo entre os homens de letras russos foi desigual ao longo de sua história.

Palavras-chave: Movimento carlista; Dostoiévski; Gogol; literatura; Espanha.

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Introduction

Spanish Carlism is one of the oldest political movements in modern Europe. It emerged as a separate political group in 1833, after the death of Spanish King Ferdinand VII. The younger brother of the deceased monarch Carlos María Isidro de Borbón, usually referred to as ‘Don Carlos’, laid claim to the Spanish throne. His claims were supported by the most conservative part of the society; the partisans of Don Carlos became known as the ‘Carlists’. The Carlist uprising led to the civil war (‘The First Carlist War’) that ended with the overthrow of the rebels in 1840 (Albi, 2017; Lawrence, 2014; Tereshchuk, 2023). The defeat did not destroy the movement: during the 19th century the Carlists repeatedly tried to seize power. They organized a number of coup attempts, all of which failed. Two full-scale internal conflicts were waged between the Carlists and the Liberals in 1846–1849 and in 1872–1876. On both occasions the rebels lost. During the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) the Carlists supported the Nationalist Spain led by General Francisco Franco. At that time the Carlists were on the winning side, but their political ideals were quite distant from the aspirations of the

Francoist regime established in Spain in 1939–1975. Nowadays, the Carlists do not exert any significant influence on Spanish politics (Canal, 2000; Lawrence, 2017).

In the course of its history, the Carlist movement has been repeatedly depicted in literature. E.g., in 1835, dramatist Manuel Bretón de los Herreros (1796–1873) wrote an anti-Carlist play *The Plan of a Drama* ('El plan de un drama'); one year later, Alexis Sabatier, a French volunteer to the Carlist army, published his memoirs about the outset of the conflict. The First Carlist War attracted a number of foreign correspondents who expressed their opinion concerning the Spanish events in numerous non-fiction books; from the point of view of Barreiro and Durán de Porras (2022), the war marked the birth of the war correspondence as a professional occupation. Naturally, the Carlist struggle for power was reflected in countless fiction books. The Carlist theme is relevant in the pieces by 19–20th century Spanish literature classics (Miguel de Unamuno, Ramón María del Valle-Inclán, Pio Baroja, Benito Pérez Galdós, to name a few). The depiction of the Carlist movement in Spanish literature has been analyzed by A. Bullón de Mendoza (2004), Ezpeleta (2013), Gutiérrez Sebastián (2016) (only a few general studies are mentioned here).

The Spanish counter-revolutionary movement also attracted the attention of many foreign writers. Victor Hugo alluded to some events of the First Carlist war in his writings concerning his journey to Spain (Hugo, 1880); according to Caspistegui, the writer was "[...] full of romantic ideas [...]" about the country (Caspistegui, 2008, p. 127). Oscar Wilde dedicated the short story *Ego Te Absolvo* to the Carlists. The Third Carlist War (1872–1876) is reflected in Joseph Conrad's novel *The Arrow of Gold*. The interest towards the Carlist movement in Western European countries might be due to their vicinity to Spain and the close relationship between the Spanish Carlists and their ideological allies in France, Italy, and other countries.

Since the First Carlist War, Russia supported Don Carlos' claim to the throne (Urquijo Goitia, 1988). Russian Emperor Nicholas I (1796–1855) broke off relations with the liberal government in Madrid and rendered financial assistance to the Carlists (Tereshchuk, 2023). Later, throughout the whole 19th century, the authorities of the Russian Empire looked favorably on the Carlists. A good example of the Russian-Carlist relationships is that the claimant to the Spanish throne Don Jaime de Borbón (1870–1931), who served in the Russian Imperial Army, took part in the military expedition to China in 1900 and in Russo-Japanese War in 1904–1905, and retired with the rank of colonel (Melgar del Rey, 1932). After the Russian revolution of 1917, this attitude shifted: for the Soviet government the Carlists were 'reactionaries' and 'fascists'. In the Spanish Civil War (1936–39), the USSR supported the Republicans, while the Carlists took part in the conflict on the other side. At the same time, some 150–170 Russian White émigrés joined the Nationalist Spain; among them, according to Semionov, 48 served in the Carlist militia (known as *Requeté*) (Semionov, 2016).

Spain always attracted the attention of Russian writers and poets. Alexander Sergeevich Pushkin (1799–1837) never visited Spain; nevertheless, he created a wonderful and romanticized image of the country in his poetry. Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky (1821–1881) was inspired by Cervantes' *Don Quixote* in depicting Prince Lev Myshkin, the protagonist of the novel *The Idiot* ('Идиот') (Bagno, 1988). The Carlist movement was also reflected in Russian literature. However, the reception of the Carlist theme in the Russian literary tradition has not been analyzed yet. Alexeev (1940) in his 'classic' study presented a careful examination of Spanish influence on Russian culture, but he did not even mention the Carlists. Obolenskaya in one of her recent articles analyzes the perception of Gogol's *Taras Bulba* ('Тарас Бульба') in the context of the Carlist wars in Spain, but her study centers mainly on Russian influence on Spanish literature and not vice versa (Obolenskaya, 2022).

Materials and methods

The purpose of the study is to analyze how significant the presence of the Carlist theme in Russian literature is and in what way the movement is depicted. We study the images of the Carlists in fiction books (Gogol, 2009; Pavlova, 1964; Tolstoy, 1980); in travelogs (Botkin, Aivazovsky, Podolinski, Kapustin, and Vyubov cited by Gin'ko, 2012), in political journalism (Dostoevsky, 1981; Nemirovich-Danchenko, 1993), and in memoirs (Yaremchuk, 1983; Shinkarenko, 2018). The period of investigation extends from 1833 to 1939, a period of "[...] a long struggle between 'two Spains', the 'modern' and the 'traditional' ones [...]", in the words of Radcliff (2017, p. 14). The lowest time boundary marks the beginning of the First Carlist War; soon after the outset of the conflict, Gogol published his *Diary of a Madman* ('Записки сумасшедшего'), a short story with numerous references to the Carlist uprising, whilst the upper boundary was the year when the Spanish Civil War ended. The Carlists were on the winning side, but their influence on political life considerably

diminished during the Francoist dictatorship. 1939 is also the final point in some of the memoirs used in our investigation. We suggest a hypothesis that the Carlist movement should have exerted considerable influence on Russian literature and shaped the image of Spain in Russian public opinion in 1833–1939.

Discussion

Carlism as a mental disorder: *Diary of a madman* by Gogol

Nikolai Vasilyevich Gogol (1809–1852) was one of the most distinguished Russian writers of the 19th century. Famous for his novel *Dead Souls* ('Мертвые души') and the collection of short stories *Evenings on a Farm Near Dikanka* ('Вечера на хуторе близ Диканьки'), the novelist spent a considerable part of his life in Italy. Spanish culture also provoked some of the writer's interest. He possibly toured the country in 1837 (Voropaev, 2016), although the evidence about this journey is contradictory. According to Monforte (2005), Gogol studied Spanish. In 1835, he published the story *Diary of a Madman*. The protagonist is a civil servant Aksenty Poprishchin who goes out of his mind and imagines that he is the King of Spain.

Undoubtedly, the story affords different interpretations, and it would be a simplification to explain it only through the Carlist theme. Lotman wrote that "[...] Gogol's text is not a notebook full of records, but an enormous number of contradictory to each other, but in equal measure real options" (Lotman, 1997, p. 695). 'Diary of a Madman' could also be explained as a political satire, a parody containing references to the First Carlist War. As it was noted by Bakhtin, in the parody "[...] the laugh destroys every hierarchical distance of values" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 410).

Gogol published his story at the moment when the attention of the whole of Europe was attracted to the conflict in Spain. In 1835, 88.6% of the issues of the most relevant Russian newspaper *Sankt-Petersburgskie vedomosti* (that is, 251 out of 283 issues), contained mentions of the war in Spain (Tereshchuk, 2022). When the writer chose to make his hero the 'Spanish King', the story turned into a satire on burning political news. In reality, there were two claimants to the Spanish throne, Don Carlos (the leader of the Carlist uprising) and Regent Maria-Cristina, who acted for her daughter Queen Isabel II. "A donna cannot occupy the throne. No way. There should be a King on the throne", postulates Poprishchin (Gogol, 2009, p. 170). These words to some extent represent the political program of early Carlism.

The story is structured as a diary of the protagonist. The action starts on October 3 (without indication of the year). The date chosen by Gogol might not be accidental: on October 3, 1833, in Talavera de la Reina, the Carlist uprising started and Don Carlos was proclaimed King by his partisans (Oyarzún, 2008). Poprishchin could be considered as some sort of Doppelgänger of Don Carlos. They are almost the same age (Poprishchin is 42 years old, Don Carlos is 45). Poprishchin talks to his maid about Philipp II (Gogol, 2009), Spanish King of the 16th century praised by the Carlists. As the main character of the story walks the streets of Saint-Petersburg, he meets the carriage of the Tsar, but remains nameless (Gogol, 2009). This episode resembles a real situation that took place in 1834, during Don Carlos' escape from England to the north of Spain. Accompanied by only one person, the claimant to the Spanish throne crossed the territory of France conserving his incognito and using false documents. In Paris, he saw the carriage of French King Louis-Philippe, but, naturally, did not reveal his real name. Don Carlos' fellow-traveler Baron de los Valles described this audacious journey in a book published in 1835 (Saint-Sylvain, 1835). The news concerning the trip of the Carlist leader soon spread over the whole Europe. "The flight of Don Carlos is a brilliant feat of audacity, an immense event – should the same boldness and the same success attend him later on", wrote Princess Lieven (1902), wife of the Russian ambassador to London, to her brother A. K. Benkendorf, chief of the Third Section (Russian political police) (Letters of Dorothea, 1902). During the summer of 1834, Russian newspapers described the journey of Don Carlos in detail.

Therefore, Gogol could have heard something about Don Carlos' adventures. Some of the events in the life of Poprishchin may be a direct reference to the situation in Spain where the country is compared to an asylum whereas the claimant to the throne, to a madman.

Vampirism and aristocratism: Carlism in the literature of Romanticism

The Carlist movement lost the war in 1840; nevertheless, it did not disappear. The partisans of Don Carlos began to use the rhetoric of the 'Lost Cause' (Rújula & Sonetti, 2017) and obtained an image of 'noble' fighters for their ideals. Italian historian Jemolo characterized Carlism as a "[...] Romanticized, Catholic, and Traditionalist" movement (Jemolo, 1947, p. 6). The development of Carlism coincided with the period of

Romanticism in European literature; thus, the ‘popular’ interest towards the Carlists acquired some traits of that literary movement.

Around the time of the First Carlist War, and the years immediately afterwards (approximately between 1830 and 1860), this interest could be described as a romantic interest... It would seem that, in a manner of speaking, the motivation behind the presence of foreigners in the camp of Charles V was similar to the idealism that led Lord Byron to Missolonghi (Caspistegui, 2008, p. 139).

In short, Carlists were depicted in Russian romantic literature of the mid-19th century, although the mentions of the theme are scarce and accidental.

In 1841, Tolstoy (1817–1875) published the gothic story *The Vampire* (‘Упырь’). It was one of the first pieces of the writer inspired by Polidori’s *The Vampyre* (1819), but he was also influenced by Hoffman, Gogol, de la Motte Fouqué, Goethe, Potocki, Schiller, Odoevsky, and Mérimée (Cornwell, 2009). The Carlist theme is mentioned by the antagonist of the story, Semion Teliaev, who states that Carlists suffered considerable defeats (Tolstoy, 1980). The curious fact is that the character who evokes the Carlist theme is supposed to be a vampire. The vampire could be considered a typical hero for romantic literature (as well as the Carlists). Furthermore, the comparison between the Carlists and the vampires might be further traced in Spanish literature of the 1840s. In 1846–1848, journalist and writer Ayguals de Izco (1848) published a ‘history-novel’ *The Tiger of Maestrazgo* (‘El Tigre del Maestrazgo’) dedicated to Carlist general Ramón Cabrera. The author mentions that the hero of the novel drinks the blood of his victims (Ayguals de Izco, 1848).

A few years later, in 1848, the Carlist theme is mentioned in the novel *A Double Life* (‘Двойная жизнь’) by Karolina Karlovna Pavlova (1807–1893). She was acquainted with Tolstoy and even dedicated some poetry to him (Pavlova, 1964). Her only novel is written with the elements of both poetry and prose. The work depicts the life of women in Russian high society. Among the guests of Vera von Lindenborn’s salon in Moscow, a Spanish count, “[...] a proud Carlist with shining eyes [...]”, is mentioned (Pavlova, 1964, p. 245). The traveler from Spain attracts the attention of all the women in the salon and makes everybody forget about a young Russian poet who came there to read his translation of *The Song of the Bell* (‘Das Lied von der Glocke’) by Friedrich Schiller. The Carlist is characterized as “[...] interesting [...]” (Pavlova, 1964, p. 247) by the guests, but his introduction in the text could be seen as accidental. Pavlova often used references to Spain in her poetry that reveals her interest in Spanish culture. Nevertheless, an image of the “[...] proud Carlist [...]” (Pavlova, 1964, p. 245) might have been created by the writer only to depict a romanticized figure of a traveler from an ‘exotic’ country.

The Carlists provoked certain interest in the Russian romantic literature; however, they were only a rare sight, a specialty from a remote country. At the same time, in the mid-19th century, a more realistic image of the Carlists was created by Russian travelers to Spain.

Russian travelogs about Spain

In the 19th century, Spain attracted the attention of a number of Russian travelers. The country on the Iberian peninsula was visited by some prominent figures, e.g., by composer Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka (1804–1857) and by painter Ilya Yefimovich Repin (1844–1930). Many Russian travelers wrote their memoirs about Spain. The most famous Russian travelog dedicated to Spain is, without any doubt, *Letters on Spain* (‘Письма об Испании’) by Botkin (1812–1869). The essayist visited the Iberian peninsula in 1845. The book about his journey was published in 1847–1851 in journal *Sovremennik*. Botkin was interested not only in sightseeing, but also left us a number of observations concerning Spanish politics. “As a traveler, Botkin not only informs, but also explains and analyzes”, indicates Maliavina (2016, p. 10). Naturally, the traveler was interested in the Carlist movement: his visit to Spain occurred just a few years after the end of the First Carlist War and on the brink of the Carlist uprising in Catalonia (1846–1849), known also as the ‘War of the Early-Risers’ (Guerra dels matiners in Catalan). As it has been shown in some recent investigations, Botkin’s *Letters on Spain* exerted considerable influence on the perception of Carlism by Russian intellectuals of the 19th–20th centuries (Tereshchuk, 2023). Therefore, the analysis of the Carlist theme in *Letters on Spain* is relevant for our investigation.

In the 1840s, at the time of his journey to Spain, Botkin had liberal ideas (Maliavina, 2016, p. 17), and consistently observed the Carlists with their anti-liberal rhetoric as possible political opponents. The author condemns the war started by the partisans of Don Carlos in 1833. Just after crossing the French–Spanish border, he notes everywhere “[...] the traces of the civil war”: destroyed or damaged buildings, abandoned

houses (Botkin, 1976, p. 7). The Carlist partisan groups are characterized by Botkin as “[...] gangs [...]” (‘шайки’) plundering on the roads (Botkin, 1976, p. 39). Ramón Cabrera, famous Carlist general and the most prominent figure in the movement in the 1840s, is described as a chieftain of bandits who did not care about the dynastic dispute and the defense of the Church during the war and who wanted only to rob (Botkin, 1976). According to the Russian traveler, for most Carlists the war was only an excuse for their criminal activities. For that reason, the First Carlist War “[...] was waging without conviction, passion, and enthusiasm [...]” (Botkin, 1976, p. 12), and even the population of the Basque provinces, the most pro-Carlist region in Spain (Caridad, 2018), “[...] did not care about Don Carlos [...]” (Botkin, 1976, p. 8). This point of view on the conflict could be debated; the latest studies show the complex social structure of the Carlist movement (Urrastabaso, 2018, p. 104). The intensity of warfare was also very high: “[...] the years 1833–40 had submerged Spain in a collective trauma which killed between 2 and 4 percent of the 1833 population, and damaged the lives of hundreds of thousands of survivors [...]”, indicated Lawrence (2014, p. 224). Nevertheless, Botkin’s opinion about the conflict was quite influential among Russians and even shaped how Russian volunteers to the Carlist militia in the 20th century viewed Spain. One of them almost quoted the words of Botkin and described the Carlist wars of the 19th century as those “[...] with lunch and dinner hours” (Yaremchuk, 1983, pp. 11–12).

Botkin never met Carlist soldiers personally; another Russian traveler, painter Aivazovsky (1817–1900), on the contrary, encountered some Carlist rebels who took part in the mutiny in Barcelona in 1842. Aivazovsky disembarked from the steamboat to visit the city; the painter was detained by a group of Carlists. When he said that he was a Russian painter, the chief of rebels offered the traveler a glass of wine and gave him an armed escort. Aivazovsky walked around Barcelona and returned to the ship to continue his trip to Italy (Gin’ko, 2012). The author pays only scarce attention to this episode in his memoirs, but it is quite characteristic and reflects the Carlists’ attitude towards Russia.

Another Russian man of letters, lawyer Kapustin (1828–1899), visited Spain in the second half of the 1850s; he did not say anything about the good attitude of Carlists to Russia, but made some remarks concerning the reasons of the Carlist uprising. Kapustin shared Botkin’s views on Carlism as a movement aimed to protect fueros, local privileges of the Basque provinces (Gin’ko, 2012). Kapustin visited Spain more than 10 years after Botkin’s journey; at that time, the ideology of Carlism was changing. During the war of 1833–1840 the regionalist element played a secondary role in the ideology of Don Carlos’ supporters; in the war of 1872–1876, it became much more important (Tereshchuk, 2023). Perhaps, the traveler noticed these changes and reflected them in his book. The same opinion concerning fueros was expressed by physician Podolinski (1850–1891) who visited Spain in 1881 (Gin’ko, 2012). Considering his left-wing political views, it is natural that Podolinski created a negative image of the Carlists in his travelog. The author states that the Basques have already repented that they “[...] extended a helping hand to Don Carlos” (Gin’ko, 2012, p. 456). The last statement could be criticized if it is taken into account that Carlism had significant support in the north of Spain throughout the first half of the 20th century.

Carlism seen by Russians in the last third of the 19th century

As it was shown by Caspistegui (2008), by the 1870s Carlism lost its romantic aura to most foreigners. Many intellectuals considered it a reactionary, ‘obsolete’ movement contrary to progress. The Carlists, as described by Botkin or Aivazovsky, possessed some ‘charm’ as a kind of ‘romantic’ bandits. When the new Carlist war began in 1872, the image of rebels was far less attractive for Russian authors. Philosopher Vyruvov (1843–1913) visited Spain in 1874, and his depiction of the Carlists is far from romanticized. He first meets the rebels in France, in a city near the border where some Carlist officers go shopping, i.e., they are busy with very mundane errands (Gin’ko, 2012). There is an evident difference between Aivazovsky’s account of his first meeting with the Carlists in the smoke of burning houses in Barcelona with a constant gun cannonade in the background, and Vyruvov’s one. Vyruvov compared the Carlists of the war of 1833–1840 to those of his time and came to the conclusion that both conflicts were underlain by mainly dynastic dispute and all other ideological divergences played only a secondary role. The Russian traveler wrote that the modern people on either side are “[...] smaller [...]” than they used to be (Gin’ko, 2012, p. 395).

Moreover, Vyruvov reveals the poor organization of Spanish warfare. He describes the system of fortress defense held by the government forces and points out the irresponsibility of some staff officers who overtly discuss the details of military operations in the restaurant, sitting next to him (Gin’ko, 2012). The criticism towards the Spanish military and the lack of discipline is a common place in memoirs of foreign officers who visited Spain in the 19th and 20th centuries. E.g., Prussian general August Karl von Goeben (1816–1880), who

went to Spain as a young officer, wrote that the Spaniards were the worst regular soldiers in the world (Goeben, 1841). The same observations regarding the lack of discipline among Spanish soldiers were made by Peter Kemp (1913–1993), a British volunteer to the Carlist militia in the 20th century (Kemp, 1975). This topic is also often touched upon in the memoirs of White Russians in the Civil war of 1936–39 (Yaremchuk).

Mikhail Dmitriyevich Skobelev (1843–1872), a general famous for his activities during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, was the most distinguished Russian military specialist who visited Spain, and he did it in the 19th century, during the Carlist war of 1872–1876. He went to the Iberian Peninsula in the winter of 1873–1874 and joined the Carlist army. He is known to have spent a few months in Northern Spain. There is only scarce information about the Spanish episode of Skobelev's biography; almost all that is known about it can be found in the book by journalist Vasily Ivanovich Nemirovich-Danchenko (1845–1936) (brother of the prominent theater director). According to the source, Skobelev went to Spain not because of personal convictions, but rather owing to his professional interest towards the tactics of guerrilla warfare used by the Carlists (Nemirovich-Danchenko, 1993).

Nemirovich-Danchenko describes his journey to Italy in 1882, soon after the death of Skobelev. In Italy, the Russian journalist met Carlist emigrants. He was trying to learn from them something about the general. Nemirovich-Danchenko did not have positive feelings towards the Carlists.

I hate Carlists who try to impose on Spain the old rags from the times of Philip II, even with Santa Hermandad. But they can't be denied, firstly, the fidelity to the lost cause to which they are firmly devoted, and secondly, a certain romanticism related to all their actions, declares the author before describing his visit to the Carlists (Nemirovich-Danchenko, 1993, p. 271).

Nemirovich-Danchenko met prominent Carlist Alois Martínez, all covered with scars and wounds, a man who gave to the Carlist cause “[...] not only his blood, but also his fortune” (Nemirovich-Danchenko, 1993, p. 271). The image of Martínez could remind us of the Marquis de Bradomín, the favorite hero of Spanish writer Ramón María del Valle-Inclán. Nemirovich-Danchenko met the old Carlist in a small Italian town of Reggio, in a ‘gothic’ atmosphere: the author shows his readers the ruins of a castle, a medieval cathedral, and narrow streets on the way to Martínez' house. The journalist describes the noble and energetic face of one of “[...] the last of the Mohicans of the Carlist movement” (Nemirovich-Danchenko, 1993, p. 273). Martínez was accompanied by a fat priest with ‘greasy eyes’ who made a rather negative impression on the guest. The author compared the priest to Basilio from Rossini's *The Barber of Seville* (*‘Il Barbiere di Siviglia’*) (Nemirovich-Danchenko, 1993, p. 274). Martínez told Nemirovich-Danchenko some stories about Skobelev who was called by Carlists “[...] the brother of our Don Carlos” (Nemirovich-Danchenko, 1993, p. 276).

Nemirovich-Danchenko did not sympathize with Carlism, but on the personal level he felt a certain respect for some of its representatives. By the 1870s, the movement had not yet lost its ‘romanticism’ for the journalist. At the same time, another prominent Russian author of that period did not see anything ‘romantic’ about the Carlists. Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky (1821–1881) dedicated some pages of *A Writer's Diary* (*‘Дневник писателя’*), a collection of texts from 1873–1881, to the Carlists.

In the late period of his life, Dostoevsky's political views were close to the Russian far-right. He often published articles in the magazine *Grazhdanin* that was edited by Prince Vladimir Petrovich Meshchersky (1839–1914). The newspaper held very conservative views in politics (Weiner, 1992). Nevertheless, Dostoevsky sharply fustigated his ideological ‘associates’ in Spain. The writer compares Don Carlos VII, the leader of the Carlist movement in the war of 1872–76, with the “[...] grand inquisitor” (Dostoevsky, 1981, p. 93). This image is known for the story within the novel *The Brothers Karamazov* (*‘Братья Карамазовы’*), published a few years later, in 1879–1880. Dostoevsky was thinking about this character long before the creation of the novel. The comparison between Don Carlos and the ‘grand inquisitor’, naturally, was not a pleasant one for the Carlist leader.

Dostoevsky states that Don Carlos “[...] bled rivers of blood ad maiorem gloriam Dei” (Dostoevsky, 1981, p. 93). He criticizes the Carlist ‘King’ because he was not ready for negotiations with his political enemies. The writer calls him a “[...] bloody tyrant [...]” (Dostoevsky, 1981, p. 93) and points at a contradiction: during the conflict, Don Carlos preferred not to make any concessions to the ‘revolution’; after his defeat, he emigrated to England, “[...] a freethinking and revolutionary country, according to his views” (Dostoevsky, 1981, p. 93). The writer compares Don Carlos to the Count Chambord, Legitimist claimant to the French throne. In Dostoevsky's opinion, Chambord is a “[...] magnanimous and real knight, almost Don Quijote” (Dostoevsky, 1981, p. 92). It should be noticed that Don Quijote was one of the favorite characters of

Dostoevsky. The writer mentioned Cervantes' novel in 1847, in *A Novel in Nine Letters* ('Роман в девяти письмах'), and later many times referred to the image of the famous *hidalgo* (Bagno, 1988). Don Carlos, for Dostoevsky, is on the contrary, an 'anti-*Quijote*'. Weiner explains Dostoevsky's aversion towards the Carlists by the writer's attitude to the Catholic Church (Weiner, 1992). Dostoevsky attacks Catholicism on the pages of *A Writer's Diary* for materialism and 'corruption' of the faith. The Carlists as fervent Catholics thus become an object of Dostoevsky's criticism.

For the faith, tsar, and the fatherland: White Russians in the Carlist militia

Dostoevsky was critical about the Catholic church, and, consequently, created a negative image of Don Carlos. Nevertheless, 60 years later, another Russian writer with rightist political views not only volunteered to the Carlist movement, but also converted to Catholicism (Shinkarenko, 2018). Nikolai Vsevolodovich Shinkarenko (1890–1968), also known as Nikolai Belogorski, was a general of the Russian army, who took part in the Great War (1914–1918) and Russian Civil War (1918–1922) on the side of the White movement. After the Bolshevik victory, he emigrated from Russia and dedicated himself to literature. Russian literature after the Revolution of 1917 suffered a 'bifurcation', it was divided into Soviet and emigrant literary traditions, the latter being almost unknown in the USSR (Milkovic, 2022). Shinkarenko obtained some reputation among the Russian émigrés, he wrote a few novels, the most famous of which is *The Mask of Mars* ('*Маскова маска*'). In 1936, after the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, he went to Spain and volunteered to the army of general Franco. Later, the retired Russian general wrote memoirs about his participation in the war of 1936–39.

Shinkarenko's decision to go to Spain was quite explainable. Most Russian military émigrés had strong anti-Communist political views. For that reason, the majority of ex-soldiers and officers of the White Russian movement supported the uprising of the Spanish military against the government of the Popular Front in July, 1936 (Semionov, 2016). As it has been already mentioned, at least 48 Russians joined the Carlist militia (*Requeté*) that fought in the Francoist army. Shinkarenko was one of them; later he passed to the Legion. One of his comrades in *Requeté* was lieutenant Unamuno, a nephew of the writer and philosopher Miguel de Unamuno (1864–1936) (Shinkarenko, 2018).

The Russian volunteer had a strictly positive opinion of the Carlists. He describes their high combat capability (in this his views differ from those of many other foreign officers in Spain), although he always repeats that the Russian Imperial Army possessed much more quality. Shinkarenko admires the Carlist continuity of traditions; he writes that the soldiers joined *Requeté* "[...] voluntarily and, perhaps, in most cases, due to familiar memories about the grandfather or great-grandfather who fought for King Don Carlos, for the faith, and for the fueros" (Shinkarenko, 2018, p. 15). The Carlists always stressed this continuity. Even their anthem, the *March of Oriamendi* ('*Marcha de Oriamendi*'), begins with the following words: 'For God, for the Fatherland, and the King, / Our forefathers fought. / For God, for the Fatherland, and the King, / We shall fight as well'. The question concerning the social structure of the Carlist militia needs additional study; for our investigation, it is relevant that Shinkarenko believed in this continuity.

Shinkarenko was also interested in the history of Carlism. In his memoirs, he often refers to some episodes from the Carlist wars of the 19th century. He pays considerable attention to the Convention of Vergara that ended the war in the north of Spain in 1839. For the most radical part of the Carlists, the convention was considered a treason by general Rafael Maroto (1783–1853). The partisans of Don Carlos who did not accept the peace had to emigrate from Spain. The same view of these events can be found in Shinkarenko's memoirs. The Russian volunteer reflects the position of the 'intransigent' Carlists and describes Maroto as a traitor. "It was a grievous episode for the Carlists of those times [...]", concludes Shinkarenko (Shinkarenko, 2018, p. 13). On the contrary, the most popular Carlist leader of the 19th century, general Tomás de Zumalacárregui (1788–1835), is presented in a positive manner, as a 'valiant chief' (Shinkarenko, 2018). Zumalacárregui in fact created an effective Carlist army in the war of 1833–40 (Tereshchuk, 2023). After his death during the siege of Bilbao, he became the most venerable hero for the future generations of Carlists. In the 20th century, Zumalacárregui was praised by the Francoist regime as a 'true Spanish general' (Urquijo Goitia, 2011). Therefore, Shinkarenko's attitude towards the history of Carlism is explainable: the Russian general reflects in his books some clichés of the official propaganda.

The same could be said about another Russian volunteer to *Requeté*, Yaremchuk (1896–1985). Furthermore, his book also reflects some 'popular' ideas and myths about Carlism. Unlike Shinkarenko, Yaremchuk was not a general: in Russia he obtained only the rank of staff captain. While in Spain, Yaremchuk

was keeping a diary. Later, in 1983, this document was published in San Francisco in the book titled *Russian Volunteers in Spain, 1936–1939* (Русские добровольцы в Испании, 1936–1939). The staff captain shares an idealized view on the Carlist movement. To him, the Carlists were ideological ‘associates’ to the Tsarist Russia:

Captain Ruiz... addressed us in French and explained the ideals of the National Movement, and in particular, of the Carlist militia that we have joined. He said that the Carlist motto was ‘For God, for the Fatherland, and for the King’. One of our men responded that the Russian Imperial Army’s motto was ‘For the Faith, Tsar, and the Fartherland’ and that we were its descendants, so our ideologies were almost identical (Yaremchuk, 1983, p. 12).

Contrary to Shinkarenko, Yaremchuk did not convert to Catholicism, but the staff captain admired the devoutness of Carlists. When Yaremchuk and his comrades entered the Spanish military barracks for the first time, they met an ‘old Carlist Junquera’ who saw a baptismal cross on the neck of one of the Russians. Junquera asked the permission to kiss the cross. Yaremchuk notes down, that they “[...] have come from impious France to religious Spain [...]” and that the situation was “[...] touching” (Yaremchuk, 1983, p. 7). In his diary, he often describes the celebrations of Orthodox feasts by Russian volunteers; every time the Carlists showed respect to the traditions of their comrades-in-arms. Naturally, there were no Orthodox churches in Spain, so Russian volunteers often assisted the Catholic Mass with Spanish soldiers. Yaremchuk writes that the priest in one village even used the White volunteers as an example for the local peasants: “[...] Look, the Russians profess another faith, but they punctually visit the church” (Yaremchuk, 1983, p. 23).

Yaremchuk also reflects in his diary some ‘popular’ myths about the Carlist movement. He tries to explain the origin of the word *requeté*, the name of the Carlist militia, and presents a strange version that *requeté* was the name of little boys “[...] playing soldiers [...]” during the Carlist wars (Yaremchuk, 1983, p. 12). In fact, there are several theories about the origin of the lexeme *requeté* that were thoroughly studied by Iribarren (1959). A few days later, the Russian volunteer writes that a *requeté* is a “[...] papal guard” (Yaremchuk, 1983, p. 23). Perhaps, the idea originates from the fact that in the 19th century some Carlists, after the defeat in the war of 1833–1840, joined the armed forces of the Papal States. Some interest is aroused not only by the myths about the Carlist movement, but also by the ideas spread among its members. Yaremchuk notes down some of these concepts. E.g., on February 16, 1939, he mentions in his diary the death of Pope Pius XI and makes an observation that “[...] the Spaniards do not show grief, because they have a popular belief that the war will end victoriously for Franco when the Pope dies, who in the beginning of the war supported the Red Basques” (Yaremchuk, 1983, p. 123).

The Russian volunteer also reflected a myth concerning the relations between Russia and the Carlist movement. In his diary, he puts down a story about Don Carlos (probably, told by some of his Spanish comrades). According to Yaremchuk, the claimant to the Spanish throne came to Russia after the defeat in the First Carlist War. Russian Emperor Nicholas I organized a special military parade for him; during the event, the Russian Imperial Guard greeted Don Carlos with the words “[...] Hail to Your Royal Majesty” (Yaremchuk, 1983, p. 13). This story about Don Carlos’ visit to Russia is described by Yaremchuk as a real historical fact, but it turns out to be false: in 1839, the Carlist leader went to France where he lived under strict police surveillance. In 1845, he renounced his rights to the throne and went to Italy (Pauquet, 2017). The only meeting between Nicholas I and Don Carlos took place in Italy in the end of 1845, during the journey of the Russian Emperor to Rome (Wilhelmsen, 2021). A curious fact: Don Carlos died in 1855 in Trieste on the exact same day when the Orthodox church in the town performed the funeral service for Nicholas I, who had died 8 days earlier (Wilhelmsen, 2021). Nevertheless, Yaremchuk’s story is a relevant indication of popular beliefs existing among the Carlists towards Russia. In the 19th century, the Russian Empire supported Carlism; in the 20th century an image of a ‘good’, pro-Carlist Russian Tsar was still present among the members of the movement.

Conclusion

From the beginning of the First Carlist War in 1833, the Carlist movement attracted the attention of the Russian intellectual elite. The movement was depicted in Russian romantic literature. Gogol introduced numerous references to the dynastic dispute in Spain to his story *Diary of a Madman*. A mad civil servant Poprishchin who imagines himself the King of Spain is to a certain extent a *Doppelgänger* or a parody of Don Carlos. Later, in the 1840s, the Carlists are mentioned only accidentally in fiction, but the movement draws a more prominent attention of Russian travelers to Spain. The Carlists are described in numerous Russian 19th

century travelogs, including the famous Letters on Spain by Botkin. Their presentation by the travelers varies from a romanticized image of ‘noble rebels’ (by Aivazovsky) to a usual political movement consisting of ‘small people’ without any heroic traits (by Vyrubov).

The Carlist war of 1872–76 was reflected in Russian political journalism. By that time, the movement lost its romantic ‘glamor’. A negative image of Carlism is created in A Writer’s Diary by Dostoevsky. Probably, the writer criticized the Carlists due to his anti-Catholic views. In 1876, Dostoevsky compared Don Carlos VII to the ‘grand inquisitor’. A few years later, the image of the ‘grand inquisitor’ became known thanks to the publication of the novel The Brothers Karamazov. Another example of the negative attitude towards the Carlists is the one of journalist Nemirovich-Danchenko. In 1882, he met a few Carlist émigrés in Italy. Describing the carlists, Nemirovich-Danchenko repeats some romantic clichés and even shows some personal sympathy to one of his interlocutors. Nevertheless, Carlism as a political movement is unacceptable to the Russian author who overtly writes about his ‘hate’ towards it.

We detect an absolutely positive view on Carlists only in the Russian memoir literature of the 20th century. White Russian émigrés who took part in the Spanish Civil War of 1936–39 on the side of general Franco created an idealized image of Carlism in their non-fiction books. They admired the monarchical views and traditionalism of the Carlists. We studied the memoirs by general Shinkarenko and the diary by staff captain Yaremchuk; both texts reflect the view of the official Francoist propaganda of the Carlists as of ‘noble warriors for Spain and for the Catholic faith’.

Throughout its long history, the ideology of Carlism has suffered considerable changes as well as its reflection in Russian literature. Further research in the field would be relevant for understanding the complex cultural relationships between Spain and Russia in the 19th–20th centuries.

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