

Pilar de Valderrama, The Guiomar of Antonio Machado. Ignored writer and outraged muse

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Abstract

Pilar de Valderrama, belonging to the Generation of 27, has been one of the many writers forgotten by contemporary literary criticism. In this article we offer an updated biography of the poet and playwright who was also Antonio Machado's muse and we analyzed the personal attack she suffered especially since the 1970s, and the lack of scientific rigor of these criticisms.

Keywords: Generation of 27, ignored writer, outraged muse, revendication and lack of scientific rigor.

A. INTRODUCTION

When I began my research on the muse Machado, the first data came to me from the Montilla Civil Registry, a city in the Campiña de Córdoba, where several generations of Valderrama, Pilar's paternal family lived. After reconstructing the family tree, I began to investigate the publications that had been made about the muse of the Sevillian poet and thus I came across the books by Concha Espina, José Luis Moreiro, Giancarlo Depretis and Miguel Ángel Baamonde, works that I read with great interest. The conclusion I reached, after those first readings, was that Pilar de Valderrama had been an ambitious, careerist and manipulative woman who had used poor Don Antonio Machado to thrive as a "poet." I was deeply disappointed. According to those writers, Machado had been a weak man who had allowed himself to be fooled by a woman much younger than he, a pious retrograde and ignorant; all this seemed to me unbecoming of a man of his category, of an idealist Republican of the left, of a man of integrity. I then applied one of the principles that I always tried to instill in my students, during my long professional career, and that Machado had expressed to his students in the following words:

"Do not accept the false culture that cannot pass through the sieve of your intelligence. It is necessary to learn to think, to reason, to use the brain, to distinguish the false values from the true ones and the real merit of people under all sorts of disguises " (Gibson, 2007).

Doubting what I had read up to that point, I decided to get to know Pilar de Valderrama's own version in depth, and I began to carefully reread her memoirs, some notes that the writer had left for publication after her death. These writings, that had been cited by all the aforementioned authors, they provided me with the keys to establish my line of research. The necessary material was being provided to me by archive women and librarians and, of course, by the internet. The

information came to me abundantly through very diverse sources: archive documents, press of the time, correspondence from Pilar and numerous and varied publications.

In the Municipal Archive of Montilla, the registers allowed me to identify the house in which the writer had lived in her childhood and the date of her birth, September 27, 1889. In the archive of the Montillan notaries I found several protocols that spoke of the privileged economic and social situation of Pilar's paternal ancestors. The capitular acts, the declarations of assets and the correspondence of the Montillano archive updated me on the political positions, economic activities and properties of her grandfather and uncles. With this rich documentation, I definitively identified Pilar's family as belonging to the upper class of Cordoba, related to such prominent families of hidalgo origin as Alvear, Riobóo and Noriega. For her part, the Briviesca archivist informed me about the family's origin from Burgos and their kinship with the initiators of the González Byas winery, in Jerez de la Frontera (Sicard, 2014). And the Palencia writers, Paz Nágera and Macarena García, with whom I was able to communicate, showed me the high social and economic status of the family of Rafael Martínez Romarate, Pilar's husband, a native of Palencia (Rojas-Alvarez, 2016). The knowledge of Pilar's maternal line, the Alday de la Pedrera, came to me later, through a family study that is preserved in the archive of the only granddaughter of the writer and in which various documentary sources are cited. Apparently, the surname Alday was established in Santander at least since the 18th century and was part of the most innovative Santander bourgeoisie of the 19th century and the beginning of the XX. According to Pilar herself, her mother, Mrs. Ernestina Alday de la Pedrera, was educated in Lausanne (Switzerland), where she received very advanced training for her time.

Through the press of the time, I solved an unknown that had me intrigued: the reasons that had caused the writer's father's mental illness and that was the cause of his resignation from a promising political career and his early death; events that would influence Pilar and that would make her a being with a tendency to introspection and fine sensitivity. Francisco Fernando Valderrama Martínez, father of Machado's muse, was born in Santurce, Bilbao, in 1855. His parents chose the prestigious Jesuit College of Carrión de los Condes for their training. After graduating in Law, Valderrama He went to work at the law firm of the then Crown Minister Justo Pelayo de la Cuesta Núñez (1823-1889), an activity that went hand in hand with politics, joining the liberal Sagasta party. Protected by the Marquis de la Vega de Armijo - several times minister and President of the Congress of Deputies - he was appointed, before the statutory age (from 1881 to 1883), deputy to the courts for the liberal party. For professional reasons, Fernando Valderrama spent long periods in Madrid, where he met his future wife and there, in the capital of Spain, they established their residence.

A short time later, and due to the appointment of Valderrama as civil governor of Oviedo, Alicante, Murcia and Zaragoza, they successively transferred their residence to these cities. From the *Diario de Huesca*, we know that Fernando Valderrama Martínez had taken office in Zaragoza on October 12, 1888. Nine days later the so-called *Events of Zaragoza* took place, events that we know in detail from the contemporary press. The former president of the Government, and at that time head of the opposition, Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, was attacked during his visit to

Zaragoza by some 4,000 protesters who cheered the republic. The young Civil Governor immediately appeared at the scene of the events and tried to control the situation, although, finally, he had to telegraphically request the intervention of the Civil Guard. The republicans accused the local authorities of excessive reaction, while the conservatives accused the liberal militants of participating in the initiative and development of the attacks on Cánovas. Valderrama's performance, after being debated in the Council of Ministers, was approved by the government and the young politician was not removed from office as had been rumored.

In the face of attacks by the conservative press, which accused the liberal government and the Republicans of the events that occurred, the Republican newspapers defended Valderrama, who remained in office until October 23, 1889⁴. From then on, the politician began to suffer from nervous disorders that were getting worse to the point that his doctor, the prestigious doctor Esquerdo, advised him to rest completely, so the couple moved with their children to the Cordovan town of Montilla, place in which the patient's parents and siblings lived. There, the family settled in a large and ramshackle house located in the small square of the ancient palace of Medinaceli, then a secluded and sad place. The following year, the last child of the marriage was born. But the patient's health did not improve, his deterioration was increasing and, shortly after, when he was 39 years old, he died. The writer refers in her memoirs to the impact that event had on her, as well as the affinity of her own temperament with that of her father.

According to the 1895 registry of the Montilla Municipal Archive, Ernestina Alday de la Pedrera was left a widow, at age 32, with three children: Fernando, 11, Pilar, 6, and Francisco Solano, (de Valderrama, 1981). After the death of her father, the family moved to Córdoba and shortly after to Madrid. It was then that Pilar, by maternal decision, entered the school of the Sacred Heart of Chamartín de la Rosa, a place where the daughters of the most select families of the Madrid bourgeoisie were educated. The separation from her mother, after the recent loss of her father, was very painful for Pilar, who became a withdrawn and lonely girl, as she herself expresses in one of her poems:

When I was a girl - a grown girl - they called me weird,
because with the other girls, my friends, I hardly played.

In that boarding school, where she remained until she was 14 years old, Pilar acquired the appropriate training for a woman of her social rank, she also learned music theory and piano and achieved a good knowledge of French. Meanwhile, her mother had remarried a diplomat, widower and distant relative of hers, whose name the poet hides in her memoirs. It was D. Lorenzo N. Celada y Quintana, vice consul of Brazil, gentleman of the chamber of Her Majesty. and Knight of the Royal Order of Isabel La Católica, who had three sons from her first marriage: Lorenzo, Manuel and Alfredo (García, 2013). Pilar, shortly after the wedding celebration, accompanied the newly-married couple on a trip to Paris that lasted a month. The young teenager was fascinated by the beauty and art of that cosmopolitan city and, above all, by the brilliance of the opera that she discovered when she attended a performance for the first time. Shortly after, when she was 15 years old, Pilar returned to France, but this time the trip was very different; It

was a pilgrimage to Lourdes accompanied by her father's older sister: Doña Felisa Valderrama, widow of Alvear, who had instilled in her niece, from her early childhood, her solid religious principles. After Lourdes, a place that impressed the young Pilar by the "supernatural mystery that enveloped her", they left for Pau, Genoa and Rome where they visited the Vatican and attended an audience of the Pope. These two trips, which Pilar made in her adolescence, marked her forever, as did the two women who accompanied her on them: her mother and her aunt Felisa Valderrama. The first, Mrs. Ernestina Alday de la Pedrera, a distinguished woman who loved social life and refinement, transmitted her love for music, theater and travel and fostered her great artistic sensitivity. Her aunt, Mrs. Felisa Valderrama, passed on her deep religious beliefs that she internalized in a very personal way.

Returning to her home, at the end of the internship years, did not mean for Pilar to enjoy an easy life. The writer confesses in her memoirs that she had very bitter memories of living with her stepfather and stepbrothers, whom she describes as insolent and quarrelsome and that they had continuous confrontations with her older brother (de Valderrama, 1981) . Furthermore, Lorenzo pretended to marry her, which increased family tensions. When Pilar was 20 years old, in a performance at the Teatro Real, she met a friend of her brother's whom she began to see frequently from then on. It was about Rafael Martínez Romarate, an intelligent and very attractive young man who proposed a quick marriage; in the opinion of the writer because he wanted to free her from that difficult situation in which she found herself. Martínez Romarate was the prototype of the man who fell in love with the women of the time: an industrial engineer, from a wealthy family and with a very attractive physique. The girl, who possessed all the qualities demanded of a good bourgeois wife, he accepted excited that wedding that took place in the spring of 1911. She was 22 years and 27 (Garcia, 2013).

After the wedding, the young couple went on their honeymoon, which lasted three months. They started it in Granada where they enjoyed the charm of the Andalusian city and its surroundings and the concerts that were held in the exotic palace of La Alhambra. Later they went abroad: Geneva, where they followed in the footsteps of Lamartine, Rousseau and Lord Byron, Zurich and Lausanne (the place where Pilar's mother had studied in a boarding school for nuns) and then to Paris and the Côte d'Azur, Nice and Monte Carlo. Finally, they finished their journey in El Carrascal , a farm of centenary holm oaks that the groom's family owned twenty kilometers from Palencia, a beautiful place to enjoy nature and the peace of the countryside; A rural environment that never excited Pilar, who felt much more attracted to Madrid's cultural life, where she enjoyed cinemas, concerts and theaters. In Madrid, the couple settled in a comfortable home in the Argüelles neighborhood, with central heating, an elevator and 10 balconies, where their three children Alicia (1912), María Luz (1913) and Rafael (1915) were born. In 1922, they moved into a luxurious chalet on Paseo de Rosales, designed by Rafael Martínez Romarate himself. Summers, they spent them in San Sebastián or Hendaya and in San Rafael, a small town in the Sierra de Madrid. From time to time, they traveled abroad: France, Italy, Switzerland.

Although the couple met all the requirements to be happy, something did not work from the beginning in that marriage. Martínez Romarate, always absorbed in his occupations, was hardly

at home with his family, to whom he did not offer any expressions of affection. Pilar, dejected. Due to the absence of her husband and the monotony of domestic responsibilities, she took refuge in reading and creating poems, in which she dumped all her feelings of loneliness and sadness. Apart from the moments of anguish caused by her husband's lack of affection, Pilar's life passed in a pleasant way. Her total dedication to caring for the children, to make up for the father's lack of tenderness, did not prevent Pilar from enjoying the many cultural proposals in the capital of Spain. Once a week, the couple went to the movies or the theater, and sometimes to concerts. Driven by her great hobby, Valderrama subscribed to the Cultural Society of Music, which also allowed her to attend two concerts a month at the Teatro de la Comedia .

Pilar's personality and cultural concerns also tell us about her belonging, as a founding member (Sasatre, 2011) , to the organization of women artists and writers El Lyceum Club , a feminist institution highly criticized by the most conservative sectors of the Church and Madrid society and where she coincided with many other progressive women, some as significant at the time as Clara Campoamor, Concha Espina, Zenobia Camprubí, Carmen Baroja, María Teresa León, Victoria Kent, Irene Falcón, Isabel Oyozábal, Matilde Ras and María de Maeztu. Women of very different mentalities and professions, but all of them educated and of advanced ideas (Mangini, 2006) . At the Lyceum headquarters , Pilar had the opportunity to attend numerous conferences, exhibitions and concerts and, above all, to an exchange of experiences, ideas and opinions with her peers that led her to identify the root of many of her problems with a collective situation, more than with his own personality. I find that, without a doubt, it was an incentive for Valderrama, both on a personal and literary level, and a stimulus to delve into her feminism, although always within a clear moderation. Ideas that are revealed in an interview with the writer by the journalist María Bueno Núñez de Prado, which was published in *Informaciones*, dated October 1930. Valderrama, in his statements, defended the right of women to access to culture, economic equality within marriage and the equalization of civil rights with men; However, it was opposed to female suffrage, since it considered that only those women who were intellectually prepared should vote (de la Paz, 1997) . This consideration and her affirmation that the woman must first of all be a woman, that is to say "mistress of the home", induces us to relate the writer to the Catholic feminism of the 1920s, a movement that focused on the definition of femininity for exalt the differences between both sexes. The belonging of Pilar de Valderrama

The Lyceum Club, and her feminist ideas, have never interested historians and literary critics who have labeled her retrograde, just as those who accuse her of ignorant have disdained that she was a member of the Royal Hispanic American Academy of Cádiz, despite that the same writer made it manifest in her memoirs (de Valderrama, 1981).

Pilar also regularly participated in gatherings of writers and artists, such as those organized by her friend Concha Espina, or her brothers-in-law -Soledad Martínez Romarate and the famous Republican sculptor Victorio Macho- friends of the most progressive intellectual elite of Madrid of that time. The writer was also closely related to the Barojas since Carmen's husband, Rafael Caro, was her editor, and the two families had intimate experimental theaters in which they supported each other.

But Valderrama was not only interested in traditional cultural manifestations, she was also passionate about the seventh art, which was then in its infancy. The poet was part of the group of people who contributed to the existence of a new and innovative project, El Cineclub, sponsored by the Literary Gazette that was inaugurated on December 23, 1928 at the Callao Cinema in Madrid. In number 43 of the Literary Gazette, which was entirely dedicated to this new artistic manifestation, the article by Luis Buñuel *Decoupage* or cinematographic segmentation appeared and with the title of "Call for filmmakers" the programs and the purpose were announced and illustrated of the constituted Cineclub. From January 23, 1928 to May 26, 1929, 27 films were screened and, among others, Pio Baroja, Ramón Gómez de la Serna, Benjamín Jarnés, Federico García Lorca and Rafael Alberti participated as speakers. In number 48 of December 15, 1928, Pilar de Valderrama appears in the long list of contributing subscribers, along with Carmen and Ricardo Baroja, Rosa Chacel, Enrique Díez Canedo, Moreno Villa, Vicente Aleixandre, Eduardo Ugarte, Rafael Alberti, José Bergamín, Carlos Arniches and Ramón Gómez de la Cerna

B. METHOD

Research on Pilar de Valderrama, *The Guiomar* of Antonio Machado. Ignored writer and outraged muse was conducted using qualitative methods. With this qualitative method, researchers attempt to reveal the universal essence of phenomena personally experienced by a group of individuals in depth (Cresswell & Cresswell, 2017). Data was collected through several techniques, including observation techniques, focus group discussions, and documentation studies. Data analysis was carried out through three analysis processes, namely coding, merging codes that emerged into themes, verification of themes through theory and follow-up interviews, and drawing conclusions (Creswell, 2010; Boeiji, 2009).

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. A FAMILY UNITED BY THE THEATER

Despite the sentimental distance she maintained with her husband, Pilar always felt a deep admiration for him, whom she describes as an intelligent man, with refined tastes and a lover of culture and art. These mixed feelings, of loneliness and admiration, are expressed by Valderrama in her memoirs when she recounts a trip they made to Venice, on the occasion of an exhibition by her brother-in-law, the sculptor Victorio Macho:

"In Venice we spent quite a few days and apart from some excursions to Padua, the city held us in its golden and invisible chains, which we never wanted to break. However, I must confess that I did not get to feel and enjoy it as fully as its beauty and charm deserved; Despite being accompanied by my husband, a strange feeling of loneliness invaded me and although I admired her with the soul of a poet, I would have liked to feel her with the fullness of a woman. That loneliness, the cause of which I did not then come to understand, accompanied me throughout

the trip, making it more alive and tormenting there. We then went to Rome, which although I had visited it before, now, more educated, I understood better its double artistic and religious facet. My husband explained to me everything that the Eternal City contained, since he was very fond of travel books and Art History. He would give proof of this two years later, in the dense volume that he published under the title 'By paths of the West' (de Valderrama, 1981).

Indeed, Rafael Martínez Romarate was a man of high culture who spoke several languages and had a great knowledge of classical culture and mythology, as shown in his book *By paths of the West. Travel Impressions* published in 1928; In addition, he became one of the most prominent bibliophiles of his time, a passion that led him to form a lavish library. But perhaps the most relevant part of his personality was his great enthusiasm for the theater, which led him to occupy, at the end of the civil war, the position of head of the Technical Services of the National Theaters. In the *María Guerrero*, he installed, for the first time in Spain, the system invented by Fortuny called "cyclorama" advance that was later applied to the rest of the theaters (Ras, 1930). From the press of the time, we know that Pilar and her husband were considered a couple of erudite writers, owners of a magnificent library and devoted to the world of culture, especially the theater. The couple's fondness for the performing arts prompted him to organize, in his own home, an intimate theater that the *Heraldo de Madrid*, in an extensive report by the writer Matilde Ras, announced in its headlines as an effort of scenic renewal. Pilar tells us in her memoirs that, trying to overcome the difficult coexistence within her marriage, she proposed to her husband the creation of an intimate theater who, being an expert in lighting and mechanics, happily accepted. And in this way *Fantasio* was born, for which the family residence was adapted:

"At the back of the great library hall, in a very spacious room, the partition was thrown down and the embouchure was made there, then the stage, the backdrops and a complete set of drum lights were raised. We painted the sets at home and the costumes were also made on sketches by Huberto Pérez de la Ossa and Rafael. The spectacle was witnessed from the library where one hundred people comfortably fit and a few more closely. We gathered all the chairs in the house, to which we added the ones that my mother-in-law, who also lived in Rosales, sent us from hers. The young people sat on cushions, on the floor and as they could".

According to the press of the time, the night of the opening was attended by many friends, including Carmen Baroja and Jacinto Benavente, author of the play that was performed that night, entitled *The prince who learned everything in books*. The *Fantasio* theater came to be considered one of the most interesting chamber theaters in pre-republican Madrid. The representations of the library room of Pilar's house were followed, among others, by Enrique Díez Canedo, Luís Araujo Costa, Luís Escobar, Ángel Lázaro, Victorio Macho, Alfredo Marquerí, Eugenio D'Ors, Víctor de la Serna, Concha Espina, Melchor Fernández Almagro, Rafael Calvo, Pérez de la Ossa and Matilde Ras. The most important newspapers of those years, especially the most progressive ones, spoke of the Intimate *Fantasio* theater. Thus, encontramos laudatory comments in the *Heraldo de Madrid*, *El Sol*, *La Voz* and the *Epoca*. In the latter, on May 30, 1930, the writer Luís Araujo Costa described the Martínez Romarate-Valderrama family as "a family of artists, with a

refined temperament, an impressionable sensitivity to all exquisiteness of the spirit, a select and extensive culture and enthusiasm for the scene". After commenting on the representation in Fantasio of *The Birds* of Aristophanes, Araujo Costa concluded:

"The Fantasio Theater indicates the path that the entertainment companies should have followed. The Spanish scene owes the men of Martínez Romarate their best artistic manifestations in recent years. "

For Professor Mar Rebollo, the Intimate Fantasy Theater falls within what is known as the Art Theater , a term coined by Paul Fort for the group he founded in Paris in 1890. Since then, that name has given name to numerous groups and initiatives who have championed theatrical innovation (Calzada, 2003). Intimate theaters were organized in Madrid by some elite intellectual and artistic circles, such as the Baroja and Martínez Romarate-Valderrama families. Many authors who, like Pilar de Valderrama, did not have access to commercial stages, performed their works in these theaters where they received praiseworthy comments from some of the most accredited critics of the time. Such was the case by Carmen Baroja, the journalist and diplomat Isabel Oyarzábal and Pilar de Valderrama herself. Praiseworthy was the faithful monitoring of the work of private theaters carried out Enrique Díez-Canedo, who positively reviewed the premieres of the three aforementioned authors (de la Paz, 1997).

Pilar de Valderrama's contribution to the renovation of the prewar theater was not limited to the gestation and collaboration in that chamber theater project. As the researcher Pilar Nieva de la Paz highlights, her own work as an author, although brief and little known, was significant. His break with the conventions of the moment can be specified in aspects such as the generic choice, by cultivating a poetic theater that sought to renew the scene through the symbolism of the word, a kind of "ideal" unreality in the conception of characters, environments and scenes .

In 1934, the Aguilar publishing house published Valderrama's *El Tercer Mundo*, along with two other plays: one by Halma Angélico (a member of the CNT) and the other in an act by the Catalan polygraph Matilde Ras. The publication, under the heading "Women's Theater", corresponded to a volume of the Universal Theater Collection that was prefaced by Cristóbal de Castro, from Cordoba, who alluded to the enormous obstacles women had to make premieres at that time . All three authors were members of the Lyceum Club . In his memoirs, Valderrama tells that the edition sold out soon and that Machado was very fond of this work "inspired, deep down, by our mutual affection". For Pilar Nieva de la Paz, Valderrama, unlike contemporary authors including the Machado brothers, offers in her work a very original solution to the drama of impossible love: the perfect union of the lovers' souls (For the kiss to last / in space, in time / don't kiss me on the lips; / kiss me in thought!). Platonic idealism triumphs over physical love. Pilar de Valderrama manages, with this solution, to avoid the problem of adultery and the well-known conventional happy ending. Her feminist denunciation, in prewar Spain, of the situation of women in bourgeois marriage, is thus nuanced by the filter of Catholic morality and the established social prejudices that so strongly marginalized women that was outside the norm (de la Paz, 1997).

Valderrama, was also the author of two other theatrical works that were never published: *The life that is not lived* and *The dream of the three princesses*. For Giancarlo Depretis, the true title of this last work, erroneously cited by JM Moreiro and Pilar Nieva, is *The Dream of the Three Promises* and it was not even a play, but a short poem. Interestingly, Depretis -which in her work openly accuses Valderrama of manipulating the letters that Machado wrote to her at will, in order to give a good image of herself-, in her meticulous analysis, she defines the Fantasio chamber theater as "a little mounted theater in the basement of the Valderrama chalet, with a family character... "; In addition, she completely forgets the many positive comments from the press of the time, in which the magnificent assembly that the Martínez Valderrama couple made in their living room is described. However, the editor of Machado's letters does mention what in those same publications refers to the Baroja theater, which, to take the role of Machado's muse, he considers to be the source of inspiration in the that she drinks .

2. POETAY MUSA

Like all women of her time and social condition, while her brothers were preparing to receive university studies, Pilar acquired, at school, a general training that was considered appropriate to her sex. After finishing school, he continued his education at home, with private teachers who expanded his knowledge of literature, especially French, perfected his French and taught him Italian (Salvador, 2007); training that she expanded with her siblings and, later, with her husband, friends, travels and books. By her own desire, she received singing lessons with the well-known teacher Ignacio Tabuyo, with whom she came to interpret various opera romances. During her stays in Montilla, during her youth, she also made contact with Cante Jondo, an essential element of Andalusian culture, which would leave a mark on her literary creation and would also unite her with Machado. In addition to writing, Pilar enjoyed reading. The Martínez-Valderrama marriage library consisted of more than 4000 volumes . Pilar's favorite readings, and that will influence her work, were the works of San Juan de la Cruz, Fray Luís de León, Jorge Manrique and Gonzalo de Berceo; of the contemporaries, Antonio Machado.

For her work, Pilar, belongs to the so-called Silver Age of Spanish literature. He began publishing his poems in 1923, with the work entitled *Las Piedras de Horeb*, which was followed by *Huerto Cerrado* (1927) and *Essences* (1930). Pilar's fourth book, *Holocaust* , appeared after the Civil War, in 1942, and, a few years later, in 1959, her *Obra Poética*, a compilation of all her work that also includes *Espacio*, written in 1949 Finally, in 1984, *De mar a mar* appeared, a posthumous anthology with some unpublished poetry, with an interesting prologue by the poet Carlos Murciano. Pilar's works are all intimate. In this sense, the writer Margarita Nelken says of her:

"Pilar de Valderrama, so secluded, so withdrawn on her dreams and within her privacy, launches from time to time, like an arrow, the cry of her sorrows or joys. I cry that it is self-sufficient, that it does not aspire but to exhale: The notes of my lyre are off, she says herself "

María de Maeztu and which is conserved in the archive of the former Residence of Young Ladies (today the Ortega y Gasset and Gregorio Marañón Foundation). The letter was sent on August

28, 1932 on the occasion of the arrest of Ramiro de Maeztu, the teacher's brother. Pilar classified the ideologue of the conservative *Spanish Renovation* party as "a great patriot" and protested "sincerely that a person of such worth is confined when the homeland is most in need of men of intelligence and honor." Pilar, then manifests her adherence on a personal level (which reflects her strong personality) to the conservative politician in the following way:

"In these gravely sad moments for all good Spaniards, I believe it is our duty to express our commitment to those people who, being worthy of our trust, our respect and our admiration, are persecuted with such manifest partiality and After his meeting with Antonio Machado, and the love relationship that arose between them, Pilar became the muse of the famous poet, who in one of his letters expressed to his beloved".

"In everything I write and will write until I die, you are , my life". Among Machado's compositions inspired by her we have to mention the beautiful sonnet *Perdón, Madona del Pilar* , the play *La Lola se va a los puertos*, the poem *from Mar a Mar between the two of war* and the beautiful verses dedicated to Guiomar , pseudonym with which he sang to his beloved. Indeed, Pilar inspired Machado some love poems that are considered among the most beautiful of Spanish poetry: *Songs of Guiomar* and *New songs to Guiomar* .

For José Machado, love for Guiomar was only a creation of the poet (Machado, 2008) . A very different opinion is that of the historian Manuel Tuñón de Lara, for whom Machado's real passion for Pilar, in the last years of his life, is a fact that may help us understand the creative force and freshness of spirit that the poet until the last moment of his life; although the historian was that qualifies her love for her that really influenced the work of Machado, not the person Pilar (De Lara, 1967).

3. POLITICAL IDEOLOGY OF PILAR

One of the issues that most rejects in certain Machadian environments is Pilar's conservative ideology, which I was able to reliably identify through a letter that the poet wrote to bitterness."

Valderrama's letter clearly tells us about his monarchical and Catholic ideology and his adherence to the party whose most charismatic leader was José Calvo Sotelo.

Some, however, have wanted to identify Pilar with fascism, due to the following comment that Machado makes to her in one of his letters:

"I read for your advice," *The conquest of the State*". It is an unimportant little newspaper, written by a few young people who do not know what they want or what they say. On the one hand they sympathize with Mussolini and the Italian fascio, on the other with the Russian Revolution. That is nothing and does not have the least importance. If you go to France one day, you will see hundreds of publications there, much more daring than that, although not so stupid, and they fail to disturb anyone ..."

An observation that most seems to indicate the concern that Pilar felt about the appearance of the aforementioned magazine, founded by those who would later make up the most leftist and revolutionary wing of the phalanx: Ramiro Ledesma Ramos, Ernesto Giménez Caballero and Juan Aparicio.

Pilar's conservative ideology is also reflected in her memoirs when she says: "And the uprising of July 18 arrived, which we all expected as an irremediable consequence of the agitation and bad government that Spain suffered." (de Valderrama, 1981).

However, although at first he justified the military uprising (as did Unamuno, the great friend of the poet who was greatly admired by him, and Manuel Machado, his brother to whom he was always very close), after the war, Pilar never gave support to organizations Francoists, not even to the so-called Women's Section where, without any doubt, it could have had a prominent role in the cultural sphere. During the entire Franco dictatorship, and as reflected in the press of the time, Pilar remained outside the cultural circles of the Regime, and moved exclusively in the minority monarchical environments.

4. EPISTOLAR POEMS AND THE THIRD WORLD

Although she led a very active social life, and was fully devoted to caring for her children, Pilar experienced a deep loneliness, a feeling that, for very different reasons and perhaps even more profoundly, Antonio Machado also suffered and that, without a doubt, prompted the meeting of both and their subsequent love relationships.

At what point did the two poets meet?

Some authors have pointed out the possibility that Antonio Machado had epistolary contact with Pilar before

1928, the date on which, as the two poets claim, they met personally. Thus, Leopoldo de Luis , based on Machado's letters, thought that Guiomar appeared in the poet's life before 1927, perhaps at the end of 1926. José María Moreiro highlights that in Machado's poem "Glosando a Ronsard", included in his book *New Songs* published in 1924, a lady appears who could be Pilar de Valderrama . Enrique Baltanás, along the same lines, wonders if they had dealt with each other a few years earlier through an epistolary relationship (Plaza-Agudo, 2009).

Indeed, apart from the female character that appears in Machado's work, and who has been identified as a "pre-Guiomar," there are other indications that make us think that Machado and Pilar corresponded before meeting personally. It is very likely that this epistolary relationship began after the publication of Pilar's first book of poems, entitled *Las Piedras de Horeb*, which came to light in 1923. It is possible that, on that date, the writer sent a copy, with photo included, the Sevillian poet, who would finally make her his muse. At least that seems to indicate the verses of

Machado published in those years, and, above all, the portrait made by her friend Leandro Oroz, which is kept at the headquarters of the Gonzalo Anes Foundation and which, according to the president of said foundation. This work bears the title *Antonio Machado y su muse* and, before that, *Evocation* (remembering something or someone, bringing it to mind). In this portrait, wrapped in floral motifs and romantic ruins, the poet appears in the foreground, in the right angle, in a pensive attitude, holding his cane with one hand. On the right, in the background, but occupying the central part of the work, a relatively young woman with a physical appearance very similar to Pilar Valderrama, who is sitting on the floor with her legs outstretched and a book in her hands. And above all, we have the testimony of Pilar herself about her first meeting in Segovia, which could perhaps be interpreted as proof of that epistolary relationship between the two poets. It is a poem, included in her work *De mar a mar*, entitled "In Segovia" in which the poet states that they "almost" did not know each other, instead of using a categorical negation, as would have been the logical thing to do if she had occurred:

In Segovia

Our steps led us
in the segovian night
little by little, without feeling,
at the gates of the Alcazar.
We hardly knew each other.
You kept looking at me.
The great singer of Castile
he walked by my side
clumsily with his feet,
in great flight with its wings ,,,
I discovered that night
the miracle without words:
that with closed lips
hearts will speak .

According to a letter that Machado wrote to Pilar, and in the writer's own memoirs, the two poets met personally at the end of June 1928, in Segovia. In this city, where Antonio Machado was a French teacher, Pilar de Valderrama took refuge after hearing the tragic news of the suicide of her husband's young lover. Pilar was impressed by the terrible event and it is possible that, in this dramatic situation, she looked for the friend, the confidant. When Antonio Machado met Pilar, he fell deeply in love with her (de Valderrama, 1981).

During the summer of 1928, the couple secretly met in an idyllic place that Pilar had chosen in Moncloa. It was a beautiful garden, a kilometer and a half from her house, from where you could see a very beautiful landscape: on one side the oak groves of El Pardo, on the other Casa de Campo and, in the background, the Sierra de Guadarrama. In a lush gazebo in that garden, with a fountain in the middle and a stone bench around it, those encounters that the poet expresses in her verses took place:

The hours become instants
in the garden of the fountain,
lovers can no longer
feel more intensely ...
from the enchanted avenue
the sun is retreating.
The night ... the farewell ...
follow the fountain singing,
life has stopped.

In the fall, the couple replaced the beautiful garden for their weekly encounters with a cafeteria chosen by Machado, located in Cuatro Caminos, then on the outskirts of the city (Calderon, 2017). Pilar remembers that place, which Machado calls "our corner" in her letters, as a large room where they sat in uncomfortable chairs at a marble table, always accompanied by pairs of workers and employees. There, the two poets shared their works, as evidenced in the following paragraph of a letter from Machado:

"And now I begin to remember my goddess, reading her poetry. You read very well, a little quickly - according to your style, always elegant, that does not underline or declaim ...I'm still working on our Lola. I'll read the last scene to you soon so you can give me your opinion".

Pilar, refers in her memoirs that, in these meetings, Machado did not speak to her about her affection due to shyness or fear of angering her and that it was in her letters, full of tenderness, where her soul poured out completely. Indeed, after separating, the lovers wrote frequently and met daily in what they called their "Third World", an imaginary space devised by Pilar to be certain of the connection of their thoughts, that one was thinking about him. other. Those fictitious meetings, used to be from 11 to 12 at night. Pilar says that she chose that time so that they were both free from their occupations. During that time, the writer relived her encounters with the poet, reviewed his letters, read and reread his poems, and sometimes she composed some, which lengthened her vigil until dawn. Meanwhile, Machado, according to his correspondence, created verses full of melancholy, wrote letters to his beloved, which he later sent in the mail, and imaginatively walked with her through the streets of Segovia. Pilar says that she invented this "third world" because she was certain that every act that materializes "improperly" leaves a burden of guilt and sadness and, in the long run, the affective memory disappears. Only what resides in the spirit, in clean thought, will remain, she says in her memoirs. The poet confessed in her old age that she continued to think of Antonio Machado without any remorse, but with "a joy that survives and will survive through time and death".

The letters that Pilar sent to Machado were lost during the civil war, or at least they have not come to light. Those that the poet sent to his beloved were burned by Pilar in 1936, when she fled with her family to Portugal; With the exception of some forty that after the death of the writer were published, in full, by her daughters together with her memoirs, and her originals, delivered

to the National Library. Machado's correspondence to Pilar constitutes an interesting document to complete the image of the writer. They reflect a cultured woman with whom the poet spoke of poetry, theater, politics; to which he expressed his opinions on the intellectuals and artists of the time and with which he commented on their works and those of Pilar herself. Machado's letters also show that the recipient was a woman sensitive to the suffering of her beloved, who felt a passionate love for her at a decisive stage in her life, when she was on the verge of her old age and in total physical decline.

One of those who have analyzed in more detail Machado's love correspondence to Pilar de Valderrama has been the aforementioned Giancarlo Depretis, who emphasizes that the writer is lying when saying that she took the letters at random and thinks that she made a premeditated selection of them. An opinion shared by the professor at the University of Valladolid Carlos Moreno Hernández, who shows very little sympathy for Pilar (which he calls Valderrama) by stating without any documentary evidence the following:

"Knowing the lady, it can be conjectured that he only saved those letters from Machado from the first years of the relationship in which he shows his most submissive or corny facet according to the epistolary canons of the time and that he destroyed those others in which the poet he was more rebellious or daring, all those that could compromise him politically " (Muñoz Montero, 2018).

For his part, Miguel Ángel Baamonde considers Machado's letters to Pilar "inappropriate for a man in his fifties who seems to have lost his way when meeting the possible woman of his dreams, at a time when no one expects anything". And José María Moreiro affirms that the poet transmits in his letters "the sad image of a man who would be said to be manipulated, reified, almost ridiculous, with no other will or criteria, except for exceptions, than the wishes of his beloved impossible." An opinion not shared by José Luis Cano, who points out that "the vision of a man deeply in love is also projected in these writings. Love that perhaps because it could not be fulfilled in its fullness was the most extreme and crazy of his life, and also the most fertile on the poetic level" (Amigo, 1994).

Another aspect, highly criticized by certain Antonio Machado scholars, is the poverty of the style that they observe in the letters and that they consider very far from the author's literary capacity. For some, this is because Machado follows in them the love correspondence that was fashionable at the time; For others, who are carried away by their personal antipathy towards Valderrama, the fault of this poor writing lies with "the poetess." Thus, Miguel Ángel Baamonde states:

"Machado is in love and lives his love with enthusiasm; his letters show it. It is surprising that the loving feeling obstructs his extraordinary literary ability. The letters to Pilar de Valderrama lack the epistolary quality in the correspondence with her contemporaries, Ortega, Unamuno, Juan Ramón. It is unthinkable to try to establish a reference to Salinas's love correspondence to Catherine Whitmore or Heidegger's own to Hanna Arendt. Machado's letters to Pilar de

Valderrama do not show the poet's privileged writing, although some paragraphs echo his exquisite work ..."

"This purely clear statement that hardly needs proof, leads to a curious question, which can be simplified into a question suggested, barely hinted, by Gibson in his biography, does this low quality mean that Antonio chose to catch up with the goddess? After all, despite the praise of her lover, she is no more than a mediocre poet who, in a few passages, achieves successes that allow herself to be appreciated".

Much more accurate seems the opinion of Justina Ruiz de Conde, for whom Antonio Machado's letters are those of a man in love and not those of a poet engaged in his need. Opinion that coincides with that of Machado himself, who, in a letter to his friend Miguel de Unamuno, says:

"I begin to understand the value of letters: they say what it feels like outside the social environment, where neither man hears himself nor hears his neighbor" (Lourenco, 1997).

The truth is that these letters, which are rather notes written almost daily in an improvised way, constitute an unquestionable testimony of the love that both poets felt. In them, Machado expresses unconditional love for his beloved. Perhaps one of the most expressive paragraphs is the following:

"What joy Pilar when I see you (...) my heart jumps out of my chest, really crazy, and I can't find a way to hold it. This also has love: that returns us to nature and reveals to us our brotherhood with everything that lives. So I think, without feeling humiliated, that my joy at seeing you has something of the crazy rejoicing of the dog that sees its master after a long absence. What do you think, Pilar, of what I am saying? You who have so much talent, and so much heart and a comprehensive life experience. Do you understand and forgive this madness, at which other women would laugh without understanding?"

This absolute dedication of the poet to his beloved seems to upset several Machado scholars. As an example, we will cite the aforementioned professor at the University of Valladolid, Carlos Moreno Hernández, who holds Pilar responsible for how ridiculous in his opinion the relationships between the two poets were when he states:

"Machado lives better or worse with the corny relationship that Pilar Valderrama imposes on him as a mutual excessive claim that is ridiculous or affected, erotic in the case of Machado, literary in the case of the lady".

5. DIVERGENT ROADS

The Civil War, meant for the two lovers the final separation. In February 1937, after her return from Portugal, where Pilar's family had taken refuge shortly before the military coup, Rafael Martínez Romarate was summoned by the director of the National Theater.

- his friend Luis Escobar Kirpatrickq- for the representations of Autos Sacramentales. These were held in different provincial capitals, outdoors commissioned by the government to "lift the spirits of the people."

A cultural activity in which the whole family participated. As the war progressed, the positions of the lovers were radicalized towards opposite extremes, influenced by the atmosphere of violence and hatred that they breathed around them. Pilar, who was especially affected by the anticlericalism that broke out in the Republic, gave her support to the Catholic party *Renovación española* as we have already mentioned. And Antonio Machado went from a pacifying reformist liberalism to a position much closer to the revolution . Nevertheless, the love remained in them. Pilar continued to inspire the poet who wrote, thinking of her, the following sonnet:

From sea to sea between the two the war, deeper than the sea. In my parterre I look at the sea that the horizon closes. You look out, Guiomar, to a finisterre, you look towards another sea, the sea of Spain that Camoens sang darkly. Perhaps my absence accompanies you.

Your memory hurts me, goddess.
The war gave love the strong edge.
And it's the total anguish of death
with the barren shadow of the flame
and the dreamed honey of late love,
and the impossible flower of the branch
who has felt the cold cut of the ax (Micó, 2009) .

When, after the definitive defeat of the republican army, Antonio Machado went into exile, he did not forget his beloved and continued to remember her until his death, which occurred a few days later, on February 22, 1939. His brother José then found it in his pocket from his old coat a small, crumpled piece of paper on which, written in pencil, were three notes: one with the first sentence of Hamlet's monologue, "to be or not to be ..."; another, an Alexandrian verse: "Those blue days and that childhood sun" and the last, with four lines, with a small variant of "Other songs to Guiomar:

And I'll send you my song:
"What is lost is sung,
with a green parrot
let him say it on your balcony" (Sierra, 2009) .

The poet, when his end approached, felt sunk in an existential doubt, but he continued clinging to the memory of his native Andalusia and of his beloved.

6. ASSESSMENT OF THE FIGURE OF PILAR DE VALDERRAMA

In the extensive bibliography published on Machado, we find a large number of publications that express a tremendous antipathy for Pilar, a feeling that sometimes transforms into hatred, which even manifests itself with insults. As an example, we have selected some of the most significant that we add to the negative opinions already exposed above.

In the first place, we have to cite some texts that appear in a work of the Diputación de Soria, dated in 1971, and that are attributed to José Machado, the poet's brother. In this publication, which was the first to be carried out in Spain of the supposed work of the poet's brother, entitled *Últimas soldades del poeta Antonio Machado*, Leonor is identified as the "one and only true love of Antonio Machado" and Guiomar is expressed the following:

"And we have reached the third love of the poet. Just as in the first love the mother's name is enough for us to reach the deep emotion that he feels when remembering her, and likewise when evoking the wife, only once does he write her name, in this third love, is the name that first appears: Guiomar. Of course, I know, under this beautiful name, the true name of the lady is hidden. It is forgotten, it is known, that great men have never lacked all kinds of admirers and that, among them, the most impellent and daring are those who have always achieved the most. They are the kind of women who don't wait to be looked for"(Machado, 2008).

Some texts that, surprisingly, do not appear in the original manuscript of José Machado, as we can see in the facsimile edition of the same published by the State Society of Cultural Commemorations, in 2008, on the occasion of the commemoration of the Centennial of the Arrival of Antonio Machado to Soria. The question to be resolved is who or who have had an interest in discrediting the writer, to the point of manipulating the original manuscript of the poet's brother with false comments that have been cited by numerous scholars of the famous Antonio Machado and that have greatly influenced negatively, in the image of Pilar.

Another of those interested in giving a pejorative image of the writer Pilar de Valderrama is Pablo de Andrés de Cobos (1899-1973) friend, biographer and scholar of Machado's work who, in a letter addressed to María Zambrano, dated in Madrid in February 1964, it read:

"I think I am firm about GUIOMAR. It is, indeed, Pilar Valderrama. The substantive reasons are in the same D. Antonio. He was not lustful and he liked cute little blondes; It seems that Pilar Valderrama is the opposite. In a letter to Unamuno, (Machado) recommends a little book of poetry by Pilar and I seem to notice the disgust with which he does it. She is the girl fond of poetry who makes the court to a great poet. D. Antonio, of course, does not reject her, he plays at love and has fun writing burning letters. The letters are sent to Pilar, but the true destination is the immanent beloved of the first two sonnets of the theory of love. Marquerie was talking to us the other day about a third love, with a girl from the street".

Many other criticisms, which border on personal insult, have been written by authors of "recognized prestige", among which the work of the aforementioned writer Miguel Ángel Baamonde stands out, entitled *Guiomar, Siege of a Ghost* which consists of 738 pages. Publication

all of it, aimed, without any type of documentary support, to discredit Valderrama and his work and to show that she is an impostor, since Machado's "only" love was Leonor.

Baamonde says at the end of his extensive work: "It is very hard to say what has been said here but my convictions are those, although there is no documentary contribution that transforms it from a mere hypothesis, protected only by doubt, into forceful reality." (Baamonde, 2009).

Miguel Ángel Baamonde has also recently published, in 2016, a biography about Leonor, Antonio Machado's wife, entitled *Leonor, Memory of the girl wife*, in which the publisher uses as the following advertising claim: «biography of the only love of Machado ». In it, the same hatred towards the figure of Pilar, the mature woman, is still manifested, and that of the girl who lacks cultural training and whom the poet chose to "mold" her is praised .

An idealization of the girl woman that is linked to the rejection or disdain for the adult and cultured woman who fell in love with the poet at the gates of his old age. Sublimation of Leonor and contempt for Valderrama that others have shown many authors and that, in my opinion, shows a total lack of scientific rigor. However, there are also some Machado scholars, very few, who make Valderrama a positive assessment. Among these, José Luis Cano stands out who states:

"On June 1, 1912, Machado lost his wife, Leonor, he was still a young man, because he was only thirty-seven years old ... very soon a legend was created around the poet. That of the husband - already a widower - eternally faithful to his first and only love, that of Leonor, his child wife. Machado, said that legend, kept eternal mourning in his heart, he will be faithful until death. And yet that legend, which friends and family fed with the best of intentions, doesn't it seem too romantic and literary to be true? Already Machado himself comes to deny it in part in his beautiful sonnet: Did I cloud your memory? How often! "

And JL Cano continues: "The truth is that in the Baeza years, if Machado's heart suffered from absence and loneliness, it was also open to hope, and perhaps he dreamed of new springs. The spring dream is, at times, in Machado's poetry, a dream of love, a longing for company for the lonely heart. Our poet wanted to express nothing else in this proverb:

Pay attention:
a lonely heart
it is not a heart. "

Afterwards, José Luis Cano speaks of the doubts that the poet was raised when he met Guiomar, and quotes the verse "How late for my happiness!" To continue later: "But all doubts and hesitations were overcome by Guiomar's beauty, physical beauty and beauty of the soul, as we can deduce from the letters we know from the poet to his goddess, as he will always call her." (Garcia-Castro, 2012).

And later: "The poet's letters show us, without any doubt, that Machado passionately loved Guiomar ..". Cano then reproduces Machado's love phrases and ends with this confession: "Because you are - don't doubt it - the great love of my life." And continues:

"After reading these phrases of love, what right do we have to doubt the sincerity of the poet's words, of the seriousness and depth of his passion ?. And yet, there has been no lack of those who have denied Machado's love status to Guiomar, judging him only as a slight adventure of the flesh. A Spanish critic went so far as to write in a Mexican magazine that Guiomar would probably be" a nice-looking ham, something light with hooves." This and other nonsense can do nothing against the truth that the poet's own letters reveal to us, and it is the fact that the relationship between Machado and Guiomar was deeply spiritual, and that Guiomar was - is - a cultured and sensitive woman.

More recently, Ian Gibson wonders, in his extensive biography of Machado, if meeting Pilar was not a misfortune for the poet . Justina Ruiz de Conde does not agree with him , who affirmed that Pilar helped Machado in his last 10 or 12 years to dream, and not only that, in front of Leonor, she represented for the poet the mature, complete and intellectual woman . And above all, the poet himself does not coincide with Gibson, who expresses himself clearly in the letters he addresses to Pilar. It is enough to quote some of the most expressive paragraphs:

"A whole life waiting for you without knowing you, because, even if you think otherwise, my whole life has been waiting for you, imagining you, dreaming about you. Without you I have not lived for a long time and, thus, my entire life is nothing more than a tribute to my goddess. Outside of these moments when we see each other, the rest of my life is worth nothing: nothing! My goddess. I swear to you that nothing about her makes me happy: no success, no flattery, no literary glory. Only by your side I feel I live intensely with forgetting everything. Yes, in those moments, I am happy, strong, young, healthy... Then I begin to decline and relapse into my despondency".

In the opinion of José María Moreiro, perhaps one day it could be concluded that Pilar de Valderrama took nothing away from Don Antonio but rather put both the poet and the man in that difficult stage. Opinion that coincides with that of Manuel Tuñón de Lara, for whom the tangible beloved who has gone down in literary history with the name of Guiomar was, without a doubt, an essential element in the life of the poet during his last years (Moreiro , 1982).

Pilar learned of Machado's death through the radio when he was in Palencia with his sick son, who would die shortly afterwards as a result of the difficulties he had experienced on the war front. After those sad events, the writer sank into a deep depression that lasted for two years. Her husband, then, took care of her, of the daughters and of recovering her deteriorated heritage, and those difficult circumstances united the whole family. In the house, they continued to breathe the same cultural atmosphere as always. Rafael Martínez Romarate was appointed head of technical services for national theaters, where he excelled in the art, almost unknown at the time, of lighting

technology, which is why he became known as the "Magician of Light." Pilar's daughters, Alicia and María Luz, collaborated in various Madrid magazines and also wrote various works. Pilar, recovering little by little from her deep sadness, continued writing poems and compiling those that her son wrote on the front lines.

Valderrama, speaks to us in her memoirs of the transformation that her husband underwent, who became a "totally different man from the one he had been, more united to us, more endearing and fulfilling of his religious duties". This last comment makes us think about the religious environment that was imposed, during the post-war period, through the union of the winning side with the high hierarchies of the Catholic Church, the so-called «National Catholicism»; atmosphere that would undoubtedly also influence Pilar herself. It is enough to read the devotionals and training books that were published in those years to understand the rejection that female infidelity produced in Franco's society, even if it was only of thought; ideas that perhaps were decisive in the obsession that Pilar shows in her memoirs for making it very clear that her relationships with Machado were always pure and clean. And, possibly, this was also the reason that led him to cross out or manipulate certain paragraphs of the letters he kept from the poet in which his lover expressed his eroticism in a more explicit and compromising way . Which was not an obstacle for her, finally and posthumously, to reveal her relationship with Machado and a facsimile reproduction of her correspondence, in which she clearly spoke of a passionate love that she never rejected, but quite the opposite.

Although some consider the love relationship between the Andalusian poet and Valderrama grotesque, it seems that for him it meant an injection of energy, as evidenced in the following paragraph of one of his letters:

"Thank you, my God, for your concern for my health. In effect, I told you that it was not good and it was true. But after our interview, I took heart. The same thing always happens to me. As Anteo regained his strength when he touched down, I relive when I have seen you and, above all, when I think, blessed illusion, that you love me. I sometimes think that you have to judge me an informal man, because of my contradictions. However, it was so true that I came to see you ill that, later, by the miracle of your eyes, I left full of energy and of future intentions" (Ruiz-de-Conde, 1960).

Machado's correspondence also reveals the love that Pilar felt for him. Thus, in one of the letters he says to his beloved: «While you were writing to me, communicating your thirst for tenderness, I imagined you reclining on my chest» . On another occasion, Pilar expresses to her loved one the fear that he will tire of her, aware of the difficulty that a love relationship as demanding as the one she imposes on him must entail for him. But the poet's answer leaves no room for doubt:

"When in love one renounces -even by fatal necessity- the human, too human, or there is nothing left -which is the most frequent case between men and women- or the indestructible, the eternal remains."

In short, the letters that the poet wrote to Pilar reflect, without any doubt, the unique relationship between the two poets, as well as Machado's passion for love; but also the love that she aroused in her beloved and the writer's own personality. A sensitive, intellectually mature, cultured woman who, as Justina Ruiz de Conde points out, taught the poet to dream in the last years of his life (Grande, 1989).

C. CONCLUSION

After analyzing the sources consulted in archives and newspaper archives, all the data found coincide perfectly with the biographical notes that Pilar wrote, without any literary pretense and already in her old age "with blurred memories" ("En el laberinto de un yesterday I lost myself »she says in one of her poems). I want to insist that these memoirs have always been available to all those who have spoken negatively about Valderrama, who have only used them to discredit their author, never as an exceptional way to know her true personality.

Another fact that draws attention is that, from certain Machadian circles, the image of Pilar has been given as an ignorant woman who was looking for Machado to thrive and who was not at the height of the Andalusian poet. In my opinion, the explanation for this fact may perhaps be found in the idealization of Eleanor that we have already commented on and that prevents the two women from being jointly valued, the two very different loves from each other.

Justina Ruiz de Conde already in 1964 referring to Guiomar stated:

"In the last stage of his life the poet was talking about her in his verses but we did not want to believe in her existence. He said it, he repeated it, we ignored him and he went down in literary history as the author who had loved only once in his life and only one woman, his own. The myth arose: professors, critics and women spread it. Machado was the Amadís of the 20th century. We clung to the idea with such enthusiasm that when Concha Espina appeared publishing Machado's letters to his mysterious lady, many were truly dismayed".

The consternation turned into panic when that woman turned out to be Pilar Valderrama, a lady of the upper bourgeoisie, married, Catholic and with a conservative ideology. As the literary critic Antonio Domínguez Rey points out, from then on the social prejudices to which the republican shadow of Antonio was joined Machado. Moreira agrees with him, who affirms that perhaps the explanation for this resistance is due to puritanical progressivism who fears that the relations between Machado and Pilar de Valderrama could tarnish the poet's clear image; or maybe the fault is false to pretend a pedestal which was always simple and knew to rise to the occasion, aupado about their poor and low heels. But Moreira, who also insists that Guiomar meant the destruction of a topic, rather than the bankruptcy of a sad love story elevated to the category of legend, enters into an apparent contradiction, when comparing the love that Machado felt for Leonor Izquierdo and Pilar de Valderrama in the following terms:

“Weighed both in purity, self-denial, risk, dedication and correspondence, the only pristine and undoubted love that Don Antonio feels is that of Leonor, because Guiomar continued to deny his infatuation with him until his death”.

Apart from the sublimation of Leonor, other causes that would explain the rejection and contempt that many authors have expressed for Pilar could be found in the misogyny that still exists in certain intellectual environments, where she is called "La Valderrama", as well as to her friend «La Espina». And, possibly, she has also recounted the lack of physical relationship between lovers, something that her detractors criticize harshly and whose cause they identify with the mentality of a repressed Catholic. But, Pilar's refusal to have sexual relations with her beloved seems to be related more to the love she felt for her children, whom she was not willing to lose; a fact that would have happened if he had freely given himself to a relationship with Machado, due to the laws of the time.

In my opinion, Pilar de Valderrama has been ignored like many other women writers, but in the case of Machado's muse, to that invisibility -associated without a doubt to the lack of scientific rigor of her detractors- must be added the most contempt absolute about his person. Regardless of the mistakes that she herself could make, when it came to disclosing her relationship with Machado, it is possible that this rejection was influenced by the fact that she was a Catholic, a monarchist, showing her support for the soldiers who rebelled in the beginning of the Civil War and, nevertheless, aroused an intense passion in the distinguished poet, whom many have made the symbol of republicanism leftist. Indeed, in 1959 Jorge Guillen read the following telegram at Collioure's tomb:

"Now and always we remember and reread Antonio Machado, who would already be San Antonio Machado if his life and work did not teach us that the highest goal of man is to become a man."

Although this probably would not have been the poet's wish, Machado has become a social myth, a "saint" who has been called "the people's poet" and has been identified with republican Spain leftist. In 1958, his remains, along with those of his mother, were transferred to a grave of his own financed by a hundred donors, including the UGT union. This tomb has since become a pilgrimage center where numerous people come who ask for favors and thank him for his integrity, his verses and his republican commitment, in the most varied supports (books, napkins, scores, stones, etc.). This secular sanctification of the Andalusian poet has greatly damaged the figure of Pilar de Valderrama, who does not fit into it. Many "faithful" of the Sevillian writer - Puritan progressive as Moreiro called them - while spreading the cult of Machado, turned the writer into a liar, manipulator, pious and fascist who tricked the good old Don Antonio to take advantage of him, relying on the negative view that has been falsely attributed to José, the poet's brother.

The attack suffered by the image of Pilar Valderrama, which undoubtedly also negatively affects the figure of the poet, shows that the confrontation that Antonio Machado already spoke to his students in 1910 has not yet been overcome when he stated:

"The Spaniard insists on not wanting to understand the opponent's reasons, because we suspect from the bottom of our brutality that if we manage to penetrate them, the *casus belli* would disappear. And war is just what the Spanish wants".

Given the obvious manipulation that has been made of this love story, and of many other aspects of Spanish culture from very different political ideologies, I find it interesting to remember the words that Machado put in the mouth of Juan de Mairena addressed to his students and that they can help us to reflect on the times that run:

"Politics, gentlemen, is a very important activity. I will never advise you of apoliticism, but, ultimately, the disdain of bad politics that climbers and *cucañistas* do, for no other purpose than to obtain a profit and place relatives. You must do politics, even if those who intend to do it without you tell you otherwise and, of course, against you. I only dare to advise you to do it barefaced; in the worst case with a political mask, without disguise of something else; for example of literature, philosophy, religion. Because otherwise you will contribute to degrading such excellent activities, at least, as politics, and to muddy politics in such a way that we can never understand each other".

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