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## PREFACE

It is a signal pleasure to present to you our third volume of the Cincinnati Romance Review. CRR continues to be an annual publication of scholarly articles on the Romance literatures generally selected from papers read at the University of Cincinnati's annual May conference.

What the Executive Editor wrote in the preface to Volume II (1983) still holds true and merits repetition here: "The warm reception accorded our Conferences confirms our original belief that an annual gathering of scholars to exchange ideas on various aspects of Romance literatures satisfies an urgent need." The May 1984 Conference promises to be a well-attended meeting of scholars who will confront a wide variety of topics. We appreciate your support of our Conferences and CRR and welcome any suggestions about our annual May event and our publication.

We wish to thank the graduate students of our Department of Romance Languages and Literatures whose efforts made the 1983 Conference run so smoothly. Thanks are due to our colleagues who chaired sessions and helped determine which papers should be included in this volume. Among those who offered useful advice to the editors are Professors Heather Arden, James F. Hamilton and Anna Steininger, who all corrected manuscripts and galleys. We heartily offer special thanks to Frank Triplett who was the organizer of the 1983 Conference and also contributed so much of his time to make this number of CRR a reality. And we are grateful to Vicki Maddox whose expert typographical skills were essential to the production of Volume III.

Donald Bleznick

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K.M. Sibbald

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By applying the principle of Plutarch's Lives to the study of literature Mario Praz offers us the possibility of a relationship between writers which is based on affinity rather than influence and which, in consequence, permits a harmonious coexistence marked by individual integrity within a broad ideological connection.<sup>1</sup> Such a connection may be made between T. S. Eliot and Jorge Guillén. Its axis is the ideal of leisure, both as a way of life and as the basis of culture. The particular manifestation which concerns us here is what Eliot referred to as the "European Idea."

The affinities between Eliot and Guillén have been sought not in the specifics of their poetry but in their defense of poetry as the traditional pursuit of the civilized mind in Western culture. Separately, but contemporaneously, in their earliest critical writings Eliot and Guillén defined their ideal of culture and how their own contributions to the European literary tradition in the twentieth century might be accommodated within that ideal. Eliot's early criticism is today,<sup>2</sup> largely out of favor and Guillén's all but unknown; nevertheless these pieces provide the corpus for a quite remarkable case of literary coincidence. In the inter-war years neither wrote criticism according to a "design for a massive critical structure"<sup>3</sup> but strictly within the context of a practical situation, namely, the state of European literature and thought after the economic, political and moral crisis provoked by the First World War.

In doing so Eliot and Guillén became part of a reassessment undertaken in the 1920's by a minority of European intellectuals who proposed the revival of a cultural Europeanism in which the literary

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standard, "the best," would coincide with what might be described as the intellectual standard, "the classical." This appeal was made through the European life-line of the literary reviews of the leisured élite to the generally civilized, intelligent and well-educated, for a reasoned approach to life. Not envisaged as a common adhesion to a set of dogmatic principles, more informal and more amiable than any planned manifesto or programmed international brotherhood, this "European Idea" allowed the widest variation in attitude and tendency. It enjoyed currency for nearly ten years until, increasingly, what had first been seen as a period of illusions became a time of disillusionment as the true features<sub>2</sub> of the post-war world began to emerge more clearly.

The Great War had bled Europe white, both physically and morally. There had been effective demonstrations of how every vestige of humanity might be crushed by the machinery of war, more efficient and more deadly than ever before. Worse still, Christianity, Western European civilization's unique gift to the world, had patently failed. Such was the legacy inherited in 1919 when out of the exhausted state of Europe a "sort of weed-world sprang up and flourished" where "All that was real was in eclipse, so that all that was<sub>3</sub> unreal came into its own and ran riot for a season."<sup>5</sup> In that year Valéry published two open letters on the intellectual and spiritual bankruptcy<sub>6</sub> of post-war Europe, "La Crise de l'esprit."

According to Valéry, Europe, an "intellectual Hamlet" hesitating between order and disorder, might, only too easily, give up the hard duties and transcendent ambitions of the intellect to follow the trend toward mediocrity: perhaps he would join Polonius in the newspaper business, or Laertes in aviation, or change his name and aid and abet Rosenkrantz in Russian politics. In the name of progress, that tendency toward a fatal precision, Europe was adding to the benefits of life the advantages of death. The result, in Valéry's opinion, could only be "the perfect and ultimate ant hill" (PV 993-94).

Valéry's sophistry of the idol of the intellect  
... in the perspective of his

own prejudices. However, his barbed wit quite correctly posited the grave problems besieging a traditional approach to literature in the modern world. An ever-increasing literacy rate makes literature all the more quickly a commodity and, consequently, subjects it to consumerism; logically, therefore, in the pursuit of democracy, literature should most usefully convert, or subvert, to propaganda, while further progress in the technology of communication might, in a foreseeable future, displace reading and writing altogether. Appropriately Valéry's essay was published in both The Athenaeum and the Nouvelle Revue Française in the same year. Both publications formed part of the minority press destined for the well-educated with the leisure to read; among such readers the essay proved to be of a seminal nature. Almost certainly Eliot in London and Guillén in Paris were of that number; both responded to the call to defend a particular way of life, that of the leisured élite, the class to which both belonged.

Valéry's notion of leisure as the basis of culture was not original; nor was it even a conception of the twentieth century. Leisure, we learn from the first chapter of the Metaphysics, is one of the foundations of Western culture. Thus, in Greece and Rome, all that was not leisure, devoted only by the negative a-scolia and neg-otium, applied "not only for the daily toil and moil of life, but for ordinary everyday work. Literally the individual was un-leisurely in order to have leisure since, as Aristotle conceived it, leisure was the center-point about which everything revolved (Politics 8 3[1337b]). Leisure in the Ancient World was a recognizable state:

The freeness in the word, the ethical quality, the air of superiority, the relation to liberal arts and to pursuit of knowledge for its own sake—all these the philosophers added and precisely modelled in an interplay of scholè and speculation to form the classical idea of leisure.

Yet, as Joseph Pieper and Sebastian de Grazia have both pointed out, such a conception has become in the twentieth century, "leisure's century," quite unrecognizable in a world of planned diligence and

total labor where leisure and free time have been hopelessly confused. Leisure interpreted with due consideration of the past history of the word requires sacrifice; it is, consequently, not the synonym of free time. Free time is a realizable idea of democracy; it is a special way of calculating a special kind of time. Leisure is not fully realizable and is, therefore, an ideal referring to a state of being, a condition which few desire and even fewer achieve. To exist at all, as Pieper has discerned, leisure requires two "presuppositions":

Leisure is a form of silence, of that silence which is the prerequisite of the apprehension of reality. . . . For leisure is a receptive attitude of mind, a contemplative attitude, and it is not only the occasion but also the capacity for steeping oneself in the whole of creation. . . .

Compared with the exclusive idea of work as toil, leisure appears (secondly) in its character as an attitude of contemplative "celebration." . . . Leisure is only possible to a man at one with himself, but who is also at one with the world. Those are the 'presuppositions' of leisure, for leisure is an affirmation. Idleness, on the contrary, is<sup>10</sup> rooted in the omission of those two affirmations.

This distinction between idleness or free time, and a leisure which implies dedication and affirmation, is paramount. As a sociological phenomenon the ideal of leisure has crucial repercussions for literature; its perceived imminent demise in the Europe between the Wars provides the starting point for a connection between Eliot and Guillén.

In the first place, leisure is a recognizable feature of their education and literary apprenticeship. Coming from families in easy circumstances, both enjoyed the best education available in their separate countries and both supplemented this with travel in Europe within the cultural environment conducive to reading and to study. There are clear parallels between the education in the European literary tradition of literature and philosophy

received by Eliot at Harvard and by Guillén at the Residencia de Estudiantes in Madrid;<sup>11</sup> in addition, both followed with pleasure and profit a very similar itinerary around Paris,<sup>12</sup> Germany, Oxford and London at often the same time. By today's standards both men had a relatively long period of leisure in their private lives: Eliot was twenty-nine and Guillén thirty-two before either began to earn his living without family support. Ironically, the economic necessity which ended untrammelled leisure made them "literary" contemporaries despite the differences in age and nationality: by 1919 both Eliot and Guillén had begun to write poetry seriously, after 1919 both became serious poet-critics. Eliot himself has explained how poetry and criticism are linked in practical terms when he mapped out the career of the poet as "occasional" literary critic according to the twin motives of necessity in youth and obligation in middle age. Thus the young poet may write on poets and poetry "simply because a young poet, if he has any talent for journalism at all, can earn more by writing about other poets' poetry, than he can by selling his own."<sup>13</sup> Marriage for Eliot in 1915 and for Guillén in 1921 led both men to eke out their income by lecturing and journalism. The assistant-editorship of The Egoist from 1918 to 1919 launched Eliot squarely into literary criticism and facilitated his ensuing connections with such periodicals as Art and Letters, The Athenaeum, Chapbook, The Dial, The Times Literary Supplement and, finally, The Criterion (1922-39). Guillén, meanwhile, became a foreign correspondent of La Libertad (Madrid), with a weekly chronicle of events, "Desde París" (1921-22); more literary views were written up in a later series "Correo literario" (1924), and in two series published in El Norte de Castilla (Valladolid), "Letras francesas" (1923) and "Los libros" (1924; 1926-29); all of which led also to other publications in the numerous short-lived literary magazines which flourished in Spain throughout the 1920's and 1930's.

What makes leisure a factor of more than felicitous biographical coincidence between Eliot and Guillén is its effect on their literary activity. From the concept of scholē came delight in other poets' poetry and then, logically, experimentation as

poets. For both men the idea of writing poetry germinated slowly. Eliot's account of how his first awareness of Fitzgerald's The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám led him to write poetry himself for publication in The Smith Academy Record<sup>14</sup> is close enough to Guillén's avowal of an ever slower process whereby, in 1919, on a beach on Brittany, did a book of poetry take place in his mind.<sup>15</sup> Leisure implied dedication, and time and energy spent on writing poetry resulted in difficult poetry characterized by the effort and sacrifice it represented in both cases. As Guillén rightly pointed out in 1923, Valéry's reputation as a poet rests virtually on three slim volumes--"un caso de escaldaloso lujo"<sup>16</sup> in the modern world's confusion between leisure and free time. The same, however, was equally true of Eliot and Guillén. For example, Valerie Eliot's edition of the manuscript of The Waste Land with all its revisions by Eliot, Pound and even Vivien Eliot, shows the long incubation of "a damn good poem (nineteen pages)."<sup>17</sup> Similarly, although the idea of Cántico came into being in 1919, Guillén rewrote and revised every poem before publishing, in 1928, a book which did not appear in its final form until 1950.<sup>18</sup> Poetry was in every sense, the product of leisure and valued as such.

However by 1919, as another literary contemporary, John Gould Fletcher, realized, poetry and leisure were "anachronisms." Fletcher stated Valéry's concerns more baldly as he signalled an endangered species, namely, the poets and their readers:

This age, though it has produced remarkable poets, cannot be said to be an age in any way favorable to poetry. The reason is that the reading and enjoyment of of poetry can only be carried on by an intelligent and leisured class. . . . And if any poet is to survive our day it will be because he too appeals finally to a well-bred, well-fed, leisured minority who have the time to read and the taste to enjoy his art. In an age such as this, when the democratic standard of taste admits as literature anything from mystery thrillers to the performances of highly publicized novelists, the poet has no place. That is because the poet is a maker, a creator, a transmittor of raw fact into the different dimension of

symbol and metaphor, myth and parable. Poetry has survived; but those who still read it, who know anything at all about it, who are interested in it still, are a special group, somewhat akin to the collectors of antique furniture—and, like these, their tastes are equally varied and unpredictable.

In Europe complete leisure had become a rare phenomenon, the prerogative of the almost extinct very rich. The golden age of patronage which had spanned many chronological periods was over. Neither the Church nor the aristocracy could afford to maintain the artist in productive leisure; this function, moreover, had, in large measure, been taken over by the State, which had a corporate rather than individual responsibility to culture. For most people difficult poetry was not a priority; instead, they were thrilled by the peacetime cult of enjoyment based upon technological advances like the car, the aeroplane, the telephone, the radio and the cinema. Such advances implied an eventual democratization of culture, with mass participation, in free time, and with maximum facility and diffusion in its communication.

Given their tastes, education and vocations as poets, Eliot and Guillén viewed matters with distaste. Eliot forecast that the population of the entire civilized world would die from "pure boredom" when "every theatre has been replaced by a hundred cinemas, when every musical instrument has been replaced by a hundred gramophones, when every horse has been replaced by a hundred cheap motor cars, when electrical ingenuity has made it possible for every child to hear its bedtime stories through a wireless receiver attached to its ears, when applied science has done everything possible with the materials on this earth to make life as interesting as possible."<sup>20</sup> In such a technological paradise, if people read at all they would be unlikely to read poetry. Guillén compared the decline in poetry sales to the rapid reprintings of "vogue" novels, reprintings demanded by the ever-increasing numbers of readers eager to read novels which mirrored the frantic hedonism of the 1920's. As a reason he pointed out that poetry needed leisure, both for the poet to compose that poetry and for the reader to

contemplate the result. In contrast, the modern novel in vogue in the 1920's, and he gave as an example Paul Morand's Lewis et Irène, followed the hectic pace of life of peacetime democracy:

La novela tan sólo alcanza tal onda de difusión, tal vertiginosidad de carrera. La novela es el libro que anda más de prisa, el único apto a seguir el ritmo de la velocidad actual. Los pensamientos se meditan, las imágenes se contemplan, los relatos se andan, se recorren sin parar. El lector de hoy lee casi exclusivamente ese género literario que caracteriza la vida de nuestro siglo y del pasado tanto como el ferrocarril y la democracia. De ambos participa la novela, a un tiempo democrática y locomóvil.<sup>21</sup>

Modern life was distinguished by a hitherto unparalleled facility, whether in fast travel or in easily consumed literature. Logically facility and diffusion signified a final break with the Western European tradition of culture based on leisure.

Because Eliot and Guillén were poet-critics rather than sociologists or historians they envisaged the threat to European culture particularly in terms of the threat to the European literary tradition. That is, they made a correlation between the cultural effects of a loss of leisure and the simultaneous effects on literature of such a loss. Both argued as follows. The cultural unity of Europe stemmed from a shared tradition, the heritage of Ancient Greece and Rome and medieval Christianity; the European literary tradition recorded the highest achievements of that heritage. Consequently, art formed one part of the living organ which was culture and as literature was one of the arts, it also formed a part of the cultural whole, being naturally affected by and at the same time affecting the whole. Any break in the development of the literary tradition mirrored a crisis in culture. Without leisure culture would to some extent lose touch with its past and the values of that past; without leisure the individual writer could not explore and continue the development of the literary tradition. In Madrid, Guillén noted how even men of culture had been absorbed by the modern world of facile journalism. In the 1920's writers who practiced the values of a leisurely culture were

¿Quién es el escritor que no periodistea más que menos, que no vive intelectualmente al día?<sup>22</sup>

In London, Eliot observed with distaste the same connection between the disappearance of leisure and the signs of decay and disintegration in every aspect of European culture. As editor of The Criterion he proposed as remedy a program which would "revive some of the characteristics of the quarterly reviews of a hundred years ago, which had languished in this century of rapid production and consumption." Eliot took a stand on "leisure, ripeness and thoroughness," seeing that, in the post-war period, there would be a desperate need of "the work of men who were not hurried and who could have the incentive of knowing that a part at least of their readers would read their work with corresponding care and leisure" (V.2.187).

Eliot and Guillén were, in effect, restating Valéry's conclusion of 1919, namely, that the salvation of European culture lay in the communication of those thinking individuals who collectively made up the "European Mind." The means most readily available for such communication was to be found, not in the popular press, but in the literary reviews of the intelligensia, the product of leisure designed for those who read with leisure. In retrospect, Eliot and Guillén both cited the same examples: to "the supreme trinity of European reviews," the Revista de Occidente, the Nouvelle Revue Française and The Criterion, that Guillén remembered with "pride and melancholy,"<sup>23</sup> must be added Eliot's other candidates, the Europäische Revue (Berlin) and the Nuova Antologia (Milan) XVII.71.271). These reviews and others like them, were visible evidence of what Eliot had thought a renaissance in the twentieth century of "that higher community which existed in some ways throughout the middle ages, which persisted into the eighteenth century, and which was only dissolved finally after the Napoleonic wars" (IX.35.182). This free-flowing communication of the "European Mind" posited an image of European culture that Eliot neatly termed "the European Idea:"

It is something created by the state of mind of men of letters, men of science, education and art. It is not, in any country, the vogue of a foreign dramatist or a foreign novelist, that counts; but the state of mind which is strongly conscious of a national and an imperial tradition, and at the same time of a European tradition; and which makes the intelligent Englishman, or Frenchman, or German, or citizen of any other country, aware of the vital problems of European civilization as a whole. The honnête homme will keep a due balance between these three points of view (VII.1.3)

For much of the 1920's Eliot and Guillén defended that tradition through the somewhat unlikely vehicle of occasional criticism, with the inevitable restrictions as to length and subject-matter. As a result their comments were geared to the then contemporary situation as reflected in specific events and publications. Curiously, at the height of this activity, both men were expatriates. Guillén's prolonged stay in Paris (1917-23), was, however, a matter of geography with few cultural implications. As a Spaniard, Guillén was connecting his own literature and civilization with some ancestors and collaterals, although it would be true to say that to do so then was a novel change from the uncomfortable political and intellectual isolationism practiced by most of the Spanish literary Establishment. Eliot, on the contrary, was an expatriate American who became a cosmopolitan; though more discreet than Pound, his attitude was also one of a glad, if rather self-conscious, discipleship of various literatures.<sup>24</sup> Both facts make more creditable their achievements.

With a commensurate belief in a common culture both Eliot and Guillén acted as bridges between their readers and what they considered the best of contemporary life and letters. Thus, Guillén's diary recorded cultural events in Paris which would only reach Spain much later, or perhaps never have the same resonance beyond the Pyrenees, as, for example, his comments on a performance of Stravinsky's "Rite of Spring";<sup>25</sup> Wanda Landowska's master-classes at the Ecole Normal de Musique; <sup>26</sup> the first showing of "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari";<sup>27</sup> Arthur Szyk's exhibition of 1922;<sup>28</sup> and Albert Einstein's visit in 1922.<sup>29</sup> Equally importantly, Guillén's reviews of certain

contemporary French poets promoted ongoing interest and productive cross-fertilization between French and Spanish poetry in the later 1920's.<sup>30</sup> As editor of The Criterion, Eliot had even more opportunity to present an "ordered and rational" catholicity (IV.1.4; 1.4.421). His aims were high and his prescription for a quarterly most sanguine:

. . . the bound volumes of a decade should represent the development of the keenest sensibility and the clearest thought of ten years. Even a single number should attempt to illustrate, within its limits, the time and the tendencies of the time. It should have value over and above the aggregate value of the individual contributions. Its contents should exhibit heterogeneity which the intelligent reader can resolve into order (IV.1.4; 1.4.421).

Eliot could point out with pardonable pride, however, that in its first phase, that is, roughly until 1930, The Criterion had been the first English periodical to print such European authors as "Marcel Proust, Paul Valéry, Jacques Rivière, Jean Cocteau, Ramón Fernández, Jacques Maritain, Charles Maurras, Henri Massis, Wilhelm Worringer, Max Scheler, E.R. Curtius" (XVIII.71-271; VIII.33.577).

Neither Eliot nor Guillén felt that a belief in tradition demanded the ossification of taste. Quite the contrary. In the 1920's the centenaries of Andrew Marvell, Baudelaire, Flaubert, Ronsard, Góngora and Fray Luis de León were duly celebrated; in addition, work by John Dryden and by Mallarmé was re-edited and that of Ben Jonson and Luis de Góngora and Fray Luis de León were reconsidered. As young poet-critics, Eliot and Guillén directed the strategy of their early criticism towards not revolution (though it often appeared so at the time) but "readjustment."<sup>31</sup> That they took every opportunity offered them is clear from their polemical revaluations of some of the major figures and periods of their own and other literatures. Thus, Eliot's sharp criticism of Milton and the Miltonic tradition, his defense of Jacobean dramatists, the Metaphysical poets, Jonson and Dryden, and his critical appraisal of French Symbolism are quite commensurate with Guillén's scorn for the prim and pedestrian

versifying of Núñez de Arce and Ramón de Campoamor, his part in the reevaluation of all the Golden Age lyricists and of Góngora in particular, his interest in the neoclassic Meléndez Valdés, and his critical assessment of the relationship of the French Symbolists to Ruben Darío, Juan Ramón Jiménez and Manuel Machado. At the time their ideas were innovative and often unpopular; today such ideas have so percolated down as to be almost common form.

Eliot, particularly in connection with Donne and Marvell, and Guillén, with regard to Góngora, were arguing the case for difficult poetry in the modern age. In 1921 Eliot summed up their case:

It is not a permanent necessity that poets should be interested in philosophy, or in any other subject. We can only say that it appears likely that poets in our civilization, as it exists at present, must be difficult. Our civilization comprehends great variety and complexity, and this variety and complexity, playing upon a refined sensibility, must produce various and complex results. The poet must become more and more comprehensive, more allusive, more indirect, in order to force, if necessary, language into meaning.<sup>32</sup>

Such views explain well the ethical root of their earliest poetry--difficult, precise, ordered and impersonal<sup>33</sup>--truly developing from the European literary tradition before, to use Eliot's phraseology, the dissociation of<sup>34</sup> sensibility set in. By championing "brain work,"<sup>34</sup> an objective and timeless intellectual standard, that ordering principle most commonly known as Classicism, was, once more, made relevant to modern poetry. Most importantly, Eliot and Guillén created a taste for this poetry which would be difficult but not obscure, precise but not cold, concerned with reality not realism, and written out of sentiment not sentimentalism; in fact, poetry written in accordance with Guillén's equation of 1922, "Eficacia técnica: eficacia humana."<sup>35</sup>

This avocation for Classicism was the unifying tendency of the "European Idea," a defense against a dreary entropy of taste and the heart of the ideological connection between Eliot, Guillén and

many more conscious "Europeans." Because of such a tendency, even in the 1920's, and with growing ferocity ever since, these "leisure class laureates"<sup>36</sup> have suffered attack from the oldest artistic and the newest political opinions. In one sense, quite rightly. The élitism of the "European Idea" was, finally, self-undermining; by 1930 the term itself had ceased to have real value. The connection, however, is hardly a mere accident in literature; as it were, a reprehensibly but thankfully brief, communal folie de jeunesse. Both Eliot and Guillén worked consistently and with integrity to maintain and develop the traditional habit of European civilization; both were much exercised by

How to conserve and nourish the spiritual life of Europe, how to cultivate in each region and amongst those of each race and language, the sense of vocation in relation to each other. So that the glory of each people should be measured, not in material power and wealth, but by its contribution to the spiritual well-being of all the others. We do not aim merely to persuade people to accept a policy, or to pay lip-service to some magniloquent verbal creed,<sup>37</sup> but to awaken their consciousness and their conscience.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Cf. "We might walk as through a gallery of portraits arranged in groups according to more or less evident affinities, and wonder at the mystery of the growth of the human tree, which causes similar flowers to blossom at the same time in distant and apparently unrelated branches." Mario Praz, "T.S. Eliot and Eugene Montale," in T.S. Eliot, ed. Richard March and Tambimuttu (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1949), p. 244.

<sup>2</sup>Guillén's early critical writings appeared in various reviews of difficult access; they have recently been collected in Jorge Guillén, Hacia "Cántico": Escritos de los años 20, recopilación y prólogo de K.M. Sibbald (Barcelona: Ariel, 1980), hereinafter designated as HC. In this study date and place of original publication will be given, but reference will also be made to specific pages in HC.

<sup>3</sup>T.S. Eliot, To Criticize the Critic (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), p. 14.

<sup>4</sup>The strict time parameters adhered to here are those set by Eliot himself, as originator of the term, as he reviewed the 1920's and 1930's in his final editorial for The Criterion in 1939.

<sup>5</sup>Wyndham Lewis, Blasting and Bombardiering (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1937), p. 18.

<sup>6</sup>These letters were first published in English and shortly afterward in French. Paul Valéry, "Letter from France. I-The Spiritual Crisis," The Ateneum, 4641 (11 April 1919), 182-84; "Letter from France. II-The Intellectual Crisis," The Ateneum, 4699 (2 May 1919), 179-80; and "La Crise de l'esprit," Nouvelle Revue Française, 71 (1 Aug. 1919), 321-37. The letters were collected in Paul Valéry, Oeuvres, ed. J. Hytier (Paris: Gallimard, 1957) I, pp. 988-1000, hereinafter referred to as IV in the text.

<sup>7</sup>Josef Pieper, Leisure: The Basis of Culture, trans. Alexander Dru (New York: Pantheon, 1952), p. 27. Given such a suggestive title it is important to note that T.S. Eliot himself wrote the introduction for the simultaneous London publication by Faber and Faber (1952), of this work.

<sup>8</sup>Sebastian de Grazia, Of Time, Work, and Leisure (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1962), p. 1.

<sup>9</sup>The English derivation "school" from the Greek scholé and the Latin schola shows this all too well. The word used to designate the place where the individual is educated or teaches has, sadly, little association with the contemporary conception of leisure as free time.

<sup>10</sup>Pieper, pp. 52, 54.

<sup>11</sup>Eliot attended Harvard University as an undergraduate from 1906 to 1909, and its Graduate School from 1911 until 1914. A good account of the effect of that "finishing school for able and privileged young men" is given by Robert Sencourt, T.S. Eliot: A Memoir, ed. Donald Adamson (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1971), pp. 17-39. Guillén spent only two years at the Residencia de Estudiantes, from 1911 to 1913, but his time there was remembered with pride as definitely contributing to his formation as a European liberal, see Claude Couffon, Dos encuentros con Jorge Guillén (Paris: Centre de Recherches de l'Institut d'Etudes Hispaniques, 1963), pp. 12-13.

<sup>12</sup>Eliot spent the year 1910-1911 in Paris, returning briefly in the summer of 1914 before going on to Munich and Marburg, where he intended to stay several months. War changed his plans and he left

for Oxford in September 1914, where he stayed until June 1915. After a short transatlantic visit in late 1915, Eliot took up permanent residence in London, although throughout the 1920's he was a frequent visitor to Paris (and, with greater ease, to Oxford). Guillén obtained his Licenciatura en Letras from the University of Granada in 1913, and spent the next year in Halle and Munich, Germany, returning to Spain at the outbreak of war. In 1917 he left for Paris where he lived until 1923. After four years of teaching at the University of Murcia (1925-29), Guillén spent the next two years as Lecturer in Spanish at Oxford University (1929-31). On one of his frequent visits to London he, in fact, met Eliot at one of The Criterion dinners which used to take place in the Ristorante Comercio in Soho. The two did not meet again until the occasion of the dinner in 1957 to honor Guillén as the Charles Eliot Norton Lecturer of 1957-58, when T.S. Eliot was also present. On both occasions the language of communication seems to have been French (although Guillén certainly spoke English well enough by the second meeting) and this points in a minor way to the profound effect of Paris on both men: their separate but similar experiences of that cherished city did much to make of both true cosmopolitans. I am grateful to Sr. Jorge Guillén for his clarification of these matters.

<sup>13</sup> T.S. Eliot, "Introduction," in Paul Valéry, The Art of Poetry, trans. Denise Folliot, Bollingen Series, Vol. 45, No. 7 (New York: Pantheon, 1958), p. vii.

<sup>14</sup> See T.S. Eliot, "A Fable for Feasters," Smith Academy Record, 8, No. 2 (Feb. 1905), 1-3; and "A Lyric," Smith Academy Record, 8, No. 4 (April 1905), 3. Eliot later dismissed these poems as "verses in the manner of Don Juan, tinged with that disillusion and cynicism only possible at the age of sixteen." Quoted in Kristian Smidt, Poetry and Belief in The Work of T.S. Eliot (New York: Humanities Press, 1961), p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Jorge Guillén, Cántico. A Selection, ed. Norman Thomas di Giovanni (London: Andre Deutsch, 1954), p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Jorge Guillén, "Un Caso escandaloso," El Norte de Castilla, 32, 868 (1 June 1923), 1: HC 263-65.

<sup>17</sup> This was Ezra Pound's reaction, quoted in T.S. Eliot, "The Waste Land": A facsimile and Transcript of the Original Drafts Including the Annotations of Ezra Pound, edited and with a Introduction by Valerie Eliot (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), p. xxii.

<sup>18</sup> For evidence of rewriting for the 1923 edition see K.M.

Sibbald, "Some Early Versions of the Poems of Cántico (1919-1928) Progress Towards claridad," Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, 50, No. (Jan. 1973), 23-4, and "Cántico (1936)," 101-104; and Andrew Debicki, "Cántico y los primeros poemas de Jorge Guillén," Quadernos Hispanoamericanos, 272 (Feb. 1973), 1-14. José Manuel Blecuá covers both the 1928 and the 1936 editions in his edition Cántico (1936) (Barcelona: Labor, 1970). Cántico was published in 1928, 1936, 1941 and, in its first complete edition, 1950.

<sup>19</sup> John Gould Fletcher, Life is My Song (Toronto: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937), p. 259.

<sup>20</sup> T.S. Eliot, "In Memoriam: Marie Lloyd," The Criterion, I, no. 2 (Jan. 1923), 195. Hereinafter all references to The Criterion appear in the text, where Roman numerals followed by Arabic refer respectively to volume, issue number and page of The Criterion 1922-1939, 18 vols. (London: Faber and Faber, 1969).

<sup>21</sup> [Pedro Villa], "La novela de moda," La Libertad, 1269 (1 April 1924), 3; HC 290. Pedro Villa was a pseudonym used by Jorge Guillén to sign nineteen articles published by La Libertad in 1924.

<sup>22</sup> Jorge Guillén, "Un caso escandaloso," El Norte de Castilla 32, 868 (1 June 1923), 1; HC 264.

<sup>23</sup> Jorge Guillén, Language and Poetry. Some Poets of Spain (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 210.

<sup>24</sup> See Graham Hough, Image and Experience: Studies in a Literary Revolution (London: Duckworth, 1960), pp. 65-67.

<sup>25</sup> Jorge Guillén, "Falsa Barbarie," La Libertad, 351 (18 Jan 1921), 4; HC 99-101.

<sup>26</sup> Jorge Guillén, "Alegoría de la emoción ordenada," La Libertad, 463 (28 May 1921), 4; HC 157-62.

<sup>27</sup> Jorge Guillén, "El Séptimo arte," La Libertad, 768 (19 Mar 1922), 4; HC 256-59.

<sup>28</sup> Jorge Guillén, "Un pintor nuevo," La Libertad, 707 (9 Mar 1922), 4; HC 239-41. Arthur Szyk was a Polish painter whose exhibition of some thirty-four paintings was held at the Galeries Decour, 26<sup>bis</sup> Rue François 1<sup>er</sup>, Paris, between 25 January and February 1922. Guillén's comments owe much to the illustrations and short introduction, "Un Byzantin moderne," by Seymour de Ricci

contained in the catalogue produced for the event, a copy of which Guillén has conserved until today. See Exposition de l'Oeuvre d'Arthur Szyk, par les soins de N.E.L. et J.P.B.L. (Paris: Frazier-Soye, 1922), pp. 5-7 and illustrations on pp. 2, 9, 11, 15, 17, 21, 23, 27 and 29. I am grateful to Sr. Guillén for his generosity in showing me this catalogue.

<sup>29</sup>Jorge Guillén, "Einstein en París," La Libertad, 754 (3 May 1922), 4; and "Retrato de Einstein," La Libertad, 761 (11 May 1922), 4 HC 250-52 and 252-56.

<sup>30</sup>Two good examples are to be found in Guillén's comments about Góngora and Ronsard in [Félix de la Barca], "El centenario de Ronsard," El Norte de Castilla, 31, 320 (23 March 1924), 1, HC 285-89; and in his parallels between Picasso's art and Valle-Inclán's farces and Apollinaire's work in [Pedro Villa], "Apollinaire," La Libertad 1208 (7 Feb. 1924), 5, HC 278-82. Félix de la Barca was a pseudonym used by Guillén to sign eleven articles for El Norte de Castilla in 1924.

<sup>31</sup>Cf. "From time to time, every hundred years or so, it is desirable that some critic shall appear to review the past of our literature, and set the poets and the poems in a new order. The task is not one of revolution but of readjustment. What we observe is partly the same scene, but in a difficult and more distant perspective." T.S. Eliot, The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism: Studies in the Relation of Criticism to Poetry in England (London: Faber and Faber, 1933), p. 108.

<sup>32</sup>T.S. Eliot, "The Metaphysical Poets," The Times Literary Supplement, 1031 (20 Oct. 1921), 670.

<sup>33</sup>"Impersonal" here must not, of course, be confused with "dehumanized" a term about which Guillén has had the last word in Language and Poetry, pp. 209-210. Even in the 1920's, however, what was sought was a distinction between "work", that is, literature, and extra literary documents of purely personal interest. Guillén made this distinction very clearly on the occasion of the publication of some letters of the French poet, Mallarmé, in [Félix de la Barca], "Cartas de Mallarmé," El Norte de Castilla, 33, 073 (29 Ja. 1924), 1; HC 275. Cf. "No forma un libro las cartas del gran poeta francés que recientemente se han exhumado con ocasión del vigésimo quinto aniversario de su muerte. Y tal vez no lo formen nunca, si se cumple la voluntad de autor, opuesto con la fuerza de toda su doctrina y de su obra a la publicación de sus textos extraliterarios. Mallarmé, romántico en otros aspectos, muestra aquí un rasgo de su faz y fuera del Arte, extramuros de la Obra, los documentos personales. Precisamente, el romanticismo consiste en embrollarlo todo, y

considerar como literatura lo que es aun sólo vida, y considerar la literatura sobre todo en función de la vida. O dicho de otro modo: creer que un poema es una carta que se escribe al público, y una carta es un poema dirigido a la familia. Es tal la confusión traída al espíritu por un siglo de romanticismo, que ya resulta difícil y pedante querer distinguir términos tan claramente opuestos." Eliot concurred and was equally anxious to distinguish between poetry and the poet's life. Thus, for example, describing John Donne's conversational tone and use of wit to produce odd changes of key and strange juxtapositions, Eliot made an important qualification in favor of impersonality in "The Devotional Poets of the Seventeenth Century: Donne, Herbert, Crashaw," The Listener, 3, No. 64 (2 April 1930), 552-53. Cf. "One effect of such originality is to give a direct conversational quality—a quality sometimes called 'sincerity' in poetry. I do not like the term 'sincerity' for this purpose, because it suggests the direct expression of a 'sincere' feeling, which is a different thing . . . we are not to believe that sincerity in poetry is the same as, or is due to sincerity about the facts of the facts of the poet's life . . ." (590).

<sup>34</sup>This was Eliot's description of the intellectual pleasure afforded by, particularly, Crashaw's "deliberate conscious perversity of language" that distinguished the Metaphysicals from the Romantics, see T.S. Eliot, "The Poems English, Latin and Greek of Richard Crashaw," The Dial, 84, No. 3 (March 1928), 249. It is a convenient term for the "medieval - baroque - symbolist" line of taste that René Wellek has defined for Eliot, but which both Eliot and Guillén shared, see René Wellek, "The Criticism of T.S. Eliot," The Sewanee Review 64 (July 1956), 435.

<sup>35</sup>Jorge Guillén, "Anatole France," España, 303, (14 Jan. 1922) 12; HC 228.

<sup>36</sup>The phrase was used to attack Eliot, see Ernest S. Bates "T.S. Eliot: Leisure Class Laureate," The Modern Monthly, vii (Feb 1933), 17-24.

<sup>37</sup>From four paragraphs quoted from T.S. Eliot's message to the Fifth Annual Conference of the Union of Christian Democrats of Europe at Bad Ems, Sept. 1951 in Frontier, 3, No. 1 (Jan. 1952), 14.

Gautier: Aetheticism Versus Asceticism  
 In the Paintings of Ribera and Zurbarán

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Théophile Gautier (1811-72), worshipper of the Greek idea of polished form and physical beauty, of azurite blues and sunlit yellows, of joy and harmony, was stunned when he confronted the paintings of Jusepe de Ribera (1590-1652) and Francisco de Zurbarán (1598-1662). It was during his five-month tour of Spain, in 1840, that he was exposed to a plethora of works by Spanish artists. He shared his ideas and responses to the creative geniuses living to the south of the Pyrenees in Voyage in Spain and in his volume of poetry, Spain. I have singled out for analyses some of Gautier's reactions to the works of Ribera and Zurbarán as these appear in the above-mentioned books. The vision depicted by Ribera and Zurbarán, perhaps more strikingly than the canvases of other Spanish painters, represent the antithesis of the French poet's aesthetic, religious and psychological aspirations. They are, therefore, of great interest not only to admirers and students of Gautier, but they are also of use in the study of certain aesthetic trends such as the Parnassien movement of the nineteenth century.

The sin-obsessed flagellants peopling the world of Ribera and Zurbarán, were alien to Gautier. He yearned for brilliant sun light and beauty, and not for the darkness and livid tones which shone on the distorted features of the figures portrayed by these Spanish artists. Their structured paintings had nothing to do with glowing health nor dreams of gentle bucolic beings so close to Gautier's heart; he took pleasure in this life and did not trouble about the life to come. The French poet and art critic understood the significance of the canvases of Ribera

and Zurbarán; he understood the rapid and elongated brushwork, the muted browns and blacks and stark whites, the skeletal figures staring deeply into what he considered sinister realms. He was, however, repelled and terrified by these painters' values and moral implications, their obsession with the Crucifixion and self-immolation--an imitatio Christi--and the drama and realism of the bloodied distended limbs with their protruding blue and purple veins, with which these emotional states were pictured. Such visions were foreign to his intellectual and emotional makeup.

Gautier was an extrovert, a man for whom the exterior world existed. By nature, he looked outside of himself at the large expanse of life to find the joys and pleasures he sought. As both man and writer, he wished to live as fully as possible. When viewing the Parthenon, in all its exquisite proportion and harmony, or the Greek sculptures of Praxiteles or those attributed to Phidias, his whole frame responded with delight and jubilation. He considered the human body to be one of God's most magnificent creations, not something to be tortured, mutilated, and degraded. Pastel colors, networks of muscles and arteries elegantly intertwined in graceful lines, instilled in him a sense of serenity and optimism. There was no conflict between the flesh and the spirit for Gautier, no feelings of guilt, no sense of sin, no desire for masochism corroded his psyche; he had no need to expiate those elements that the Christian ascetics who were featured in the canvases of Ribera and Zurbarán had spent their lives trying to extirpate.

Gautier believed that art should be devoid of all moral connotations and all utilitarian requirements. He took a wholly unpragmatic view of artistic creativity. Art, he believed, was not a means but an end unto itself; the rallying cry "Art for Art's Sake" was originally coined by Gautier. "Art exists by itself, outside of philosophy, poetry, and history. That is why a Greek torso, without head, arms, legs, anonymous fragments of a destroyed statue--by its plastic beauty alone--can arouse a sensitive soul to a state of pure beauty." For him ideal beauty was the concern of art. It opened a door into the

transpersonal, infinite, and absolute sphere into which Gautier could escape--a world that titillated his senses, filled his heart and lungs with pure clean air, and encompassed him with warmth and serenity.

Gautier was not alone in his distaste for what seemed to him to be a guilt-ridden Christianity. In the nineteenth century there emerged among the intelligentsia a movement that spoke of a yearning for a return to paganism and evinced a profound and generalized distaste for modern Western religion, culture, and civilization. In his poems, "Myrtho" and "Delfica," Gérard de Nerval, for example, delineated the realm of beauty and harmony known to the ancient Greeks. The "mystical pagan," Louis Ménard, who reinterpreted Greek legends in the light of contemporary society; believed polytheism to be the force behind the republican form of government and Catholicism to be the force behind absolute monarchy. In Ancient Poems and Orphic Hymns, Leconte de Lisle sought to re-create the perfect proportion the Greeks had achieved in their architecture and sculptures. Insofar as religious ideations were concerned, he contrasted polytheism as incarnate in Hypatia, the beautiful philosopher with Christianity represented by the superstitious and ugly crowd who stoned her to death. Théophile Gautier also longed for a return to the Greek way: to a society whose goal was purely aesthetic; to a religion based on beauty and guiltlessness rather than on ugliness and repression; to a world of serenity and love.

Gautier had been fascinated by art and literature from early childhood. When he was eighteen, he enrolled at the Lycée Charlemagne, where he became a student of the painter Louis-Edouard Rioult. It was there that he learned to paint, to use such colors as Veronese green, to brush on pigment and apply rub-on overtones, thus heightening the emotional value of certain areas of the canvas. At this time, too, he inadvertently voiced his own artistic credo. A beautiful model came to pose in Rioult's studio. After painting her, Gautier expressed his disappointment: "Art adds something to even the most perfect natural form." Art for him was henceforth artifice; it was designed to improve on nature, no matter how sublime

the human form which it sought to reproduce. Years later, Gautier confessed: "I always preferred the statue to the woman and marble to flesh."<sup>2</sup>

As a youth, Gautier enjoyed being part of the flamboyant French romantics, participating in such poetic and artistic groups as the Petit Cénacle, which was formed around the young sculptor Jean Duseigneur. Like his friends, he dressed elegantly, if a bit outlandishly, and parted his hair on the side in the then stylist Merovingian cut. He also dreamed of having his own studio and of spending his life painting and writing. His devoted father paid for the publication of Gautier's first book of poetry, Verses, in 1880. In keeping with his friends' romantic views, Gautier held the bourgeois in contempt. Unlike them, however, he was un-sentimental; he did not believe that the artist was intended to be either a magus or a messiah nor that the poet's aim was to alleviate poverty stemming from the injustice of society; nor did he contend in his work with the practical world and political ideas of progress. The artist, he believed, should not be engaged in trying to create an earthly paradise or seeing to the redemption of the human race, as Lamartine, Vigny, and Hugo preached. Such a view in no way meant that Gautier's own writing--his poetry, fiction, and art criticisms--lacked intellectual content. On the contrary, he wrote, "Place the idea in the very depths of the sculpted form"; from there let it radiate outward, concretized in the form or flights of verbal fantasy. The creative process must concentrate on the concepts of beauty, harmony, happiness--the creation of the ideal. "There is no truly beautiful thing except that which cannot serve," Gautier wrote in his preface to Mademoiselle de Maupin. "Everything that is useful is ugly." Beauty for Gautier was modeled along classical lines, measured, proportioned, and sequenced. It was as durable as stone and as fragile as filigree; beauty existed in capturing and eternalizing an exquisite, fleeting smile, a raised arm, an elegant pose, an evanescent life experience. It was in no way, however, relegated solely to classical sculpture or architecture. Modern society might also construct towns and cities shaped by aesthetic concerns. "That world of azure and white marble, called the world of

antiquity, may be balanced on the sphere of time by a new world brilliant with steel and gas, as beautiful in its activity as the other was in its serene reverie." Beauty comprised both the world of contingencies, inspired by the culture in which it was rooted and the eternal metaphysical sphere conditioned by archetypal images, with laws of its own and divested of all time-space limitations. For Gautier, this ideal realm was infused with Platonic overtones. Unlike the Greek philosopher's views, however, no moral connotations of either good or evil were to be included. "Oh beauty, we were created to love and adore you on bended knees once we have found you; to search for you eternally throughout the world if this happiness has not been awarded us. . . . Besides, I do not circumscribe this beauty in such a sinuosity of lines. The air, gesture, walk, breath, color, sound, perfume, everything that spells life for me participates in my composition of beauty."<sup>6</sup>

Gautier's aesthetic interest lay in the creation of fanciful realms like The Thousand and One Nights, where imagination is given free reign to create regions of the spirit untouched by time. Reincarnation, transmission of thought, déjà vu, signs, omens, magic, and a universe tingling with life, as Pythagoras thought of it, are implicit elements in Gautier's creative outlook. His short stories, Ariella Marcella or Spirite, return the reader to ancient times to Pompeii and Byzantium, there to wander about narrow unpaved streets, peer into houses, temples, and mosques.

Gautier rejected the romantics' impassioned attitude toward the creative process. He did not rule out inspiration, which he considered a divine force that touches the artist and penetrates his imagination with an inexplicable energetic charge that infiltrates soul and psyche; by contrast the emotional upheavals described by Lamartine, Hugo, and Vigny, were merely beginnings, and catalysts. But this is only a start. The work of art must be worked upon thereafter with lucidity, objectivity, and infinite will power in the refining process. Discipline and craftsmanship must be applied during the long hours of work required to reach eternal dimensions. It is also a requisite of greatness that the

artist experience emotional discomfort, a period of alienation that the creative person must endure in order to bring his or her inner vision to the light of consciousness, extreme egocentricity of a narcissistic kind. In fact, Gautier considered the artist's lot a "malediction," an ordeal that few could appreciate or understand. Like Goethe, Gautier shared an elitist point of view: that no matter how perfect a painting, sculpture, or poem might be, the masses would be left largely untouched by these noble creative endeavors of mankind.

Gautier's ideas were neither doctrinaire nor ordered in concept. They were derived largely from the subjective reactions of his psychological makeup: that of the extroverted eternal adolescent, who sought happiness, joy, and beauty in the life experience. Like John Locke who rehabilitated the senses and imagination, and like Denis Diderot, who had high regard for passion and feeling, Gautier was frequently moved by a specific work of art, even waxing lyrical when describing it. He enjoyed the beauty of form and line embodied in Greek sculpture; he shared Johann Winckelmann's belief that beauty exists outside of time; and agreed with Friedrich Schelling, that art is an expression of both the conscious and unconscious, a fusion of finite and the infinite; and with Hegel, that art is not meant to be merely an impersonal, collective domain; and by concretizing it in the art form of his choice. Art for Gautier was a conscious force; it was a willed act—a feat of magic, a birth of the unformed into the formed.

Unadorned nature was not beautiful to Gautier; it had to be refined and perfected so as to bring out an inner glow, a fresh vision, and another dimension of activity. Watteau, whose canvases Gautier so enjoyed, did not delineate the solid, objective, actual world; rather, he dismembered the mimetic principle and transposed his rehabilitated universe onto the picture space. So, too, did Ingres, whose rounded forms, smooth surfaces, and delicate colors were also highly pleasurable to Gautier. In his view, the artist must superimpose his personal vision upon the world of reality; his imagination must be called upon to make its contribution; he must en-

gender tension between past and present rather than a rigid conformity with the past as adhered to by the neoclassicists. He saw the artist's perceptions and intuitions as buried beneath layers of dross which must be excised, buffed, shined, and burnished, allowing the spectacular diamond, resting within the blackened carbon, to leap out in all its purity and beauty. Nature, Gautier suggested, is "the painter's invention."

Like Baudelaire, Gautier believed in universal analogies, correspondences, the cosmic implications of metaphors and analogies. The artist sees beyond the visible world; he senses the network of inner activities taking place, understands the feelings aroused, the coordinates of impressions that he then intuitively fuses into a new unity. In so doing, he seizes upon and embodies what would otherwise be left adrift and unassimilated, and amplifies it. What he creates exists in amorphous form both inside and outside himself; his task is to embrace his findings, blending and enlivening them with new insights and touches as he urges a personal-impersonal existence into form-being.

Gautier, the mystic, adhered to the theory of the microcosm which he described in his Salon of 1839: "Goethe said somewhere that all artists carry within themselves a microcosm, that is, a complete little world, from which they draw the thought and form of their works--it is in this microcosm that the blond heroines and dark-haired madonnas dwell." A work of art is not created from a vacuum. Like all else whether in the visible or invisible world, it is linked to something else and to the cosmos. The artist, therefore, not only experiences himself as an independent entity but sometimes feels that astral forces inhabit his inner being and guide his hand and mind. These psychic powers work on the creative individual's soma and psyche at all times. It is by becoming aware of the power of this microcosm and expressing it in his work that the painter or poet becomes a creator and not a mere copier of the natural world.

In view of Gautier's theory of aesthetics one can readily understand why his tour of Spain was so

important to him. A broadening experience if not always a pleasant one, it enabled him to study masterpieces he had previously only read about or viewed in reproduction. In his Voyage in Spain, he described his sojourn in the fascinating cities of Cordova, Seville, Burgos, Madrid, Toledo, with their museums, cathedrals, castles, which transported him into a past dimension of time, from antiquity to Moorish and Christian Spain. Two years after his return to Paris, in 1845, Gautier collected his forty-three poems inspired by his stay south of the Pyrenees, and published them under the title Spain España). Two of his poems, "Ribera" and "Zurbarán" have been singled out for the reader's scrutiny.

Baudelaire wrote in his Salon of 1846, ". . . the best critique of a painting will be a sonnet or an elegy."<sup>10</sup> It is from this point of view that Gautier created his "Ribera" and "Zurbarán," his transpositions of art as they are sometimes called. The transposition of pictorial art into verbal art is to the poet what chamber music is to the musician; it is a concision of orchestral overtones, a reduction of feelings and ideas, an intensification of sensation, a distillation of spiritual notions. The suggestive power of Gautier's verse, in alexandrins and terza rima, is such that it brings into existence an intellectual and emotional climate that shifts and alters the reader's inner world. Gautier succeeds in accomplishing this feat by verbalizing the artist's palette; his language transmutes the artist's rapid or prolonged brushstrokes; his rhythmic devices at times impinge upon and even blur the visual image he seeks to delineate, while also, paradoxically, clarifying it expressionistically. Poetry and painting were virtually synonymous for Gautier. Each revealed an inner drama, compositionally and verbally, which the observer or reader could penetrate if properly attuned and sensitized to this art medium. As Gautier wrote in Mademoiselle de Maupin: ". . . no one more than we love painting: we have always abandoned, and this is obvious, literature for canvases, and libraries for museums. . . . After having seen, our greatest pleasure is to transport monuments, frescoes, paintings, statues, bas-reliefs into our art, even if it means forcing our language somewhat and changing the dictionary into a

palette."<sup>11</sup>

In view of Gautier's extroverted and highly aesthetic and sensitive approach to art, it is not surprising that the shadow world of Ribera and Zurbarán affected him deeply and adversely. Gautier was shocked and traumatized by what he felt to be the excessive and obsessive focus on the Crucifixion, the agony of the event, and its perpetuation in a constant reliving of the imitatio Christi upon which these baroque painters focused. Martyrdom, flagellation, bodily mutilation--the gruesomeness of existence endured by the figures inhabiting Ribera's and Zurbarán's world sickened Gautier. All that was represented by these sin-drenched, damned beings, filled with a need for punishment was anathema to him. It was ugliness, not beauty, that emerged; malediction, not beatitude. Did these artists seek to bathe in their own warmed, free-flowing blood? Could these same human beings who had fostered the Inquisition, routing out, villifying and burning countless victims at the stake, really believe they would earn redemption by flaying themselves. Gautier questioned not only the depicted religious attitudes of these penitents, but the paintings delineated by them, the horrific emotions inspired by them, and the values promulgated. When observing the canvases of Diego de Leyva in Burgos, a monk himself who spent his time first performing--then painting--agonizing disciplines, Gautier could not but question the unhealthy condition of Leyva's psyche. He singled out Leyva's painting of Saint Casilda's martyrdom for scrutiny; she had her breasts cut off by the executioner. "Blood spouts in great streams from the two red spots left on the chest by the amputated flesh; the two breasts lie by the saint's side; she gazes with an expression of feverish convulsive ecstasy at a tall angel with dreamy and melancholy face, who bears a palm to her."<sup>12</sup> Gautier could not understand why Leyva emphasized the blood and gore. Why did the artist take pleasure in delineating such agony? Not a single drop of blood was spared the viewer, Gautier confessed, as he described the quivering body, the purple, blue, and dark red lines streaking across the canvas, "the bluish whiteness of the skin" marked by the horrendous "whips and rods of the tormentors" leaving "gaping wounds which vomit

blood and water through their livid lips--all rendered with frightful accuracy." <sup>13</sup> Gautier neither psychologically nor aesthetically understood the obligation certain monks, nuns, and martyrs felt to relieve the agonies of Christ sixteen centuries after his death. To inflict corporal punishment on the human form in no way elevates the spirit or enobles the soul, he stated. Why torture, whip, punish the body? Greek and Roman values were of greater import to him than Christian views--at least as they were interpreted in Leyva's painting. The beauty of the natural world, joy in bodily perfection, were drowned out by the emphasis on pain, disgrace, scorn, and rejection. He understood the depth of meaning that the Cross symbolized, particularly for Western civilization. It was the Christian's equivalent of the Greek Ixion--condemned eternally to be bound upon the fiery wheel--but not to include the joyous elements in the religion, the Nativity, for example, was to single out and inflame <sup>14</sup> a dark, depressing, and destructive view of life.

#### Jusepe de Ribera: "Ferocious Fierceness"

What Gautier found offensive to his sensibilities and an outrage to his aesthetic views was Ribera's proclivity for the ugly, the sordid, and the cruel. Crucifixions, punishments, torture, suffering, dismemberment, deformity, amputations, monstrous and somber powers of all sorts were at work, Gautier felt, in Ribera's painting.

Ribera has painted in this way things that would make el Verdugo himself shudder with horror; and it really takes all the dread beauty and the diabolical energy characteristic of that great master to enable one to bear with those ferocious slaughter-house paintings, which seem to have been done for cannibals by an executioner's assistant. It is enough to disgust one with being a martyr, and the angel with his palm strikes one as but a slight compensation for such atrocious torments. Ribera very often refuses even this consolation to his tortured victims, whom he leaves lying, like the pieces of a serpent, in a <sup>15</sup> dim, threatening shade which no divine ray illuminates.

With morbid reiteration, Ribera sounded what Gautier looked upon as sterile themes, which disclosed in painting after painting the blackened abyss in which soma and psyche are imprisoned.

Ribera showed his psychological makeup, indelibly intertwined with his religious beliefs, in such canvases as the Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew, leaving Gautier to conclude that the "genius of the Spanish people is devoid of aesthetizing feeling."<sup>16</sup> Ribera's monks and martyrs bleed continuously; they encourage and excite horror and terror. Even so, Gautier conceded that Ribera's paintings emanated from the deepest areas within himself, in a microcosmic-macrocosmic tenemos which is the hallmark of a master. Despite the fact that Ribera's delineations were attuned to and in perfect accord with universal harmonies, they disclosed a macabre vision that bruised Gautier's sensibilities, for they cut him off from the pictorial realm of soft brocades, satins and silks, pastel colors, golden flesh tones, lapis-lazuli blues, verdant greens, tawny yellow which he so relished. Even Ribera's Boy with the Club Foot discloses his mutilated, suffering psyche. The grin on the lad's face, rather than expressing the joyous ebullience of youth, seems an emblem of suffering and growing distress.

That Ribera should originally have concentrated on religious painting is understandable, since he studied with Francisco Ribalta, whose favorite subjects were drawn from scripture. Furthermore, the culture of medieval Spain encouraged this propensity; the pain involved in martyrdom was a way, the deeply religious Spanish felt of elevating and purifying the spirit, making it worthy to enter the paradisiac state. Later, however, after Ribera moved to Italy, and immersed himself in the works of Michelangelo, Raphael, and Caravaggio, his sanguinary inclination did not diminish. Of all the painters of the Italian Renaissance, perhaps Caravaggio affected him most profoundly. The founder of the Naturalistic school in Rome and one of the early masters of chiaroscuro, he was far from idealizing the human form. Nevertheless, he depicted it fully and completely, emphasizing an individual's character by a dramatic interplay of light and dark, increasing, thereby the

violence of the figures he pictured. Unlike Ribera, however, he was not obsessed with the depiction of cruelty and anguish.

Ribera settled in Naples, a Spanish possession at the time, and was given the name of Lo Spagnoletto ("the little Spaniard"). His works became immensely popular, and he was awarded many honors. Velasquez came to visit him and brought some of his paintings to take back to Philip IV of Spain. No matter the praise heaped upon him or the success of his canvases, his many Magdalenes, Immaculate Conceptions, martyrs, beggars, cripples, lascivious lazaronis dressed in rags and tatters, were always built upon agony, pain, and willed privation.

Rather than singling out one canvas in particular, Gautier in his "Ribera" comments upon the Spanish master's works in general, embracing the impact of his visualization as a whole: his fixation on the ugly, the cruel, the violent.

Rien ne put amollir ton âpreté féroce,  
Et le splendide azur du ciel italien  
N'a laissé nul reflet dans ta peinture atroce.

Nothing could soften your ferocious fierceness  
And the splendid azure toned Italian sky  
Left no reflection in your atrocious painting.

The mendicants, dismembered beings, and gruesome emanations of all kinds that Ribera renders by lurid or subdued colorations and jagged and disturbing lines, emerge from the canvas like phantoms spreading fear and horror throughout the pictorial space. None of Italy's sun-drenched skies fill this visualized world; the human form is withered, degraded, and mutilated. Torso, arms legs are not elevated to the highest possible degree of perfection as they were with the Greeks; rather these unsightly, offensive, disagreeable pictures underscore a most ominous note--the underlying schism between Christianity and paganism that Gautier discusses at length in his essay "Civilization and the Plastic Arts."

The substitution of Christian for pagan ideas appears to me to be the primary cause of this degradation of form . .

. In the Christian doctrine the body not only ceases to be the ideal, it becomes an enemy. Far from exalting and glorifying it, it is abased, reviled, tortured, and killed. It was a palace; it is now turned into a prison. The soul that manifested itself gently under the fair form, now is restless within it and seeks to throw it off as though it were the poisoned tunic of Dejanira.

That Ribera was a meticulous and exacting draftsman increased the horror for Cautier of the anomalies and atrocities he depicts. Exactitude, which was one of Ribera's goals, did not permit blurring or smudging; every line, form, and color, although suggestive of both temporal and atemporal realms, is clear and concise, bound within dull and flat tones or enclosed by open spaces. Whatever the face or feature, martyr or hangman, gypsy or tramp, each highlighted area of the canvas stands out sharply, incisively, starkly against a dark background. Ribera's thick or sometimes overly refined and thin brushstrokes give the impression of staccato and quixotic climates of restraint and constraint, overwhelming and subduing whatever the emotions emerging from these tortured beings.

Comme un autre le beau, tu cherches ce qui choque;  
Les martyrs les bourreaux, les gitanos les gueux,  
Etalant un ulcère à côté d'une loque;

As another the beautiful, you search for the shocking;  
Martyrs, executioners gitanos, scoundrels,  
Revealing an ulcer next to a rags;

Streaming blood, muscles strained to the breaking point, bruised, sore and distended flesh are depicted by Ribera in both Saint Sebastian and the Dead Christ. Each figure emerges from the picture space in static, yet highly charged, tonalities. Reality, as Ribera conceived it, is brought into the harsh light of consciousness, there to be eviscerated, to undergo the terrifying mysterium tremendum. Ribera magnifies the grisly side of life, vividly portraying men and women, young and old, in the last stages of decomposition and totally loathsome. His preoccupation with the Crucifixion, which began with the mockery and scourging of Christ and ended with his six hours of suspension on the cross,

was the focal point of his vision. To Gautier the tortured agony that lived and relived did not bring inner harmony nor instill feelings of grace. Rather, it inspired hatred instead of love, cruelty rather than compassion, stringency instead of freedom. The plunge into such realms under the guise of religion, indicated a penchant for masochism and sadism.

Pour toi, pas d'Apollon, pas de Vénus pudique;  
Tu n'admits pas un seul de ces beaux rêves blancs  
Taillés dans le paros ou dans le pentélique.

For you, no Apollo or discreet Venus;  
You admit not a single one of these white dreams  
Carved into paros or pentelic marble.

Gray beards, rough faces, days, years, spent in prayer and penance, in the study of the Bible, patristic and saintly texts, were preserved forever in Ribera's paintings: a world peopled with demons and satanic figures, forever threatening to gnaw at men's and women's vitals, to overwhelm and smother whatever élan vital remained. Yet, as Gautier suggested, even these monstrous figures possess a strange and terrifying kind of beauty as they lure and allure others into their "abject" world, so antithetical to the graceful contours of Hellenic creations.

Ribera's personifications seem to breathe pain and misery. Dreams of purity and beauty of soul, Gautier remarked, of ethereality and health are unknown to Ribera who seems to have carved his world out of black granite. Even in The Repentant Magdalene, which might well have evoked a soft gentle interpretation, black shadows bite into the skin and facial contours, emphasizing Mary Magdalene's state of torment, and the expression in her eyes reveals the agonizing pull and tug of her divided inner world. Angels, those messengers of God and bearers of tidings are indeed painted by Ribera as fervent, ardent, and zealous beings, but their faces are always sorrowful, their gaze filled with pensive supplication and melancholy. Torturer and tortured, victim and executioner, each in his own way suffers as he or she seemingly enjoys the spiritual and physical task of endurance--luxuriating, as they

seemingly do in anguish and agony.

Avec quelle furie et quelle volupté  
Tu tournes la peau de martyr qu'on écorche,  
Pour nous en faire voir l'envers ensanglanté!

With what fury and voluptuousness  
You turn over the skin of the flayed martyr,  
To show us the bloodied inner side!

Ribera's attraction for bloodied and gangrenous flesh is but one way of depicting pain. In the Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew, the contrast between the diagonal and vertical lines is sharp and incisive thus emphasizing the agony of the figure who is in the process of being hoisted on to a pole--body and skin stretched, muscles and sinews flexed, veins and arteries witnesses to the heaving agony his skeletal figure experiences. Again Gautier questioned the value of this kind of anguish. Did Ribera enjoy this calcination and abrading of the flesh? Did he derive sensual or sexual fulfillment from dwelling upon these horrific emanations?

D'où te vient, Ribera, cet instinct meurtrier?  
Quelle dent t'a mordu, qui te donne la rage,  
Pour torde ainsi l'espèce humaine et la broyer?

Where does this murderous instinct, Ribera, come from?  
What has bitten into you that you should feel so rabid,  
Twisting and grinding the human species as you do?

Gautier accused the Spanish painter of seeking out carnage, or dwelling upon bloodshed in order to assuage some latent murderous instinct in himself. Guilt must be the focal point of Ribera's inner being; sin and torment must comprise his entire existence.

Que t'a donc fait le monde, et, dans tout ce carnage,  
Quel ennemi secret de tes coups poursuis-tu?  
Pour tant de sang versé quel était donc l'outrage?

What did the world do to you and, in all of this carnage  
What secret enemy do you pursue with your blows?  
What was the offense that forced such spilling of blood?

Even in his description of the Adoration of the Shepherds, in which beauty and contentment might have shone forth in effulgent purity, Ribera chose to portray a scene of frozen blackness, devoid of warmth and rapture. The faces of these figures are not filled with incandescent light and tenderness. Instead, there are "blood red" tonalities, harsh and abrasive colors, underscoring a secret turbulence and sense of solitude. There is no rest from terror, no repose from anxiety, no release from sin, in Ribera's hallucinatory world. Joie de vivre has yielded to decrepitude, a world haunted by darkness, disquieting tension, and sinister distress. The primal darkness of Gnosticism reigns over Ribera's canvas, a massa confusa of negative contents that erupt in artfully contrived fashion. Even Ribera's portrait of Achimedes, the Greek mathematician, physicist, and inventor, although the subject is shown wearing a smile, he is endowed with an intensely derisive and ironic expression; the deeply furrowed forehead bears no trace of nascent and evolving ideas, no vision of future grandeur; there is only the fury and vigor of a sinfilled martyr fighting off a overpowering fear of damnation.

Gautier castigated Ribera time and time again for what he considered to be the Spanish painter's murderous rage, his penchant for the demoniacal, his crushing and grinding of flesh and body--the life spirit. Christian morality as viewed in Ribera's canvases is an affliction, a morbid condition requiring contrition and bodily punishment, which each individual must exact from himself. Those viewing such depictions--the bleeding wounds and severed limbs--are as involved as the painter who recreated them, as drawn to immolation and mutilation as Ribera was. Gautier was repulsed by them.

Gautier was opposed to a life replete with negative figures. Refusing to leave his magical state of perfection, which he felt existed in the classical view of physical form and beauty--in balance, harmony, proportion--he banished suffering and pain from his phylogenetical paradise. It is understandable that Gautier, whose archetypal visions were blends of harmonious color and exquisite polished form, could not tolerate Ribera's darkened realm, a mournful,

sinful, gloomy world steeped in dark monochromatic overtones.

Francisco de Zurbarán: "The Stoue Slabs  
of the Dead"

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The weight and impact of Zurbarán's canvases were nearly as jarring to Gautier's sensibilities as Ribera's had been. Although less violent and blood obsessed, Zurbarán's paintings are similar in focus, stressing the so-called spiritual values to the detriment of the body and everything associated with it. Asceticism was emphasized by Zurbarán, and so was the greatness and grandeur of suffering and sacrifice.

Zurbarán, who was born in Estramadura, worked in Seville and Madrid where he received many of his commissions from ecclesiastical orders. His greatest works were created in the space of twelve years (1628-1640), when he was in full control of his art and psyche, and enjoyed the balance and equilibrium that allowed his talents to flower.

Although his figures are for the most part emotionally chaotic and complex, they do, at times, express a kind of contentment, peace, and beatitude, as for example, in his Life of St. Bouaventure, Miracle of St. Hugo, Apotheosis of Saint Thomas Aquinas. Like Ribera, however, he was a master of the tenebroso technique, contrasting brilliantly lighted areas with an implacably dark background, thus endowing his painting with frightening otherworldly qualities. Mystery intrudes, as does ecstasy, each coupled with its own intensity, each pounding out its abstract, impersonalized emotion in greens, yellows, purples, and blacks.

Zurbarán does not underscore physical agony and cruelty to the same extent as Ribera; he does however, focus more intently on human isolation and loneliness--an inner dimension that was augmented perhaps by his own inability to experience the pleasures of the flesh or the joys of the senses. Psychic energy (libido) flowed inward in Zurbarán's

case, activating unconscious contents, extending the dimensions of his conscious sensate world. Though the ascetic creatures who figured in his paintings inhabited a domain of their own, some objective force—some transpersonal charge of energy seems to have brought them into existence. Prodded perhaps by inner churnings, Zurbarán's beings are rarely outwardly bound, nourished and enlivened by a hidden and secret realm, mystical emanations revealed in glimmers and glances—in eye tones and contours. Rarely does Zurbarán portray his figures in movement or motion. Their immobile quality is reminiscent of medieval wooden sculptures, each figure turned inward, lost in their sad, bleak, and austere asceticism. Everything in Zurbarán's vision is divested of superfluous outside objects; they would have detracted from the poignant mood he sought to create.

Moines de Zurbarán, blanc chartreux, qui, dans l'ombre  
 Glissez silencieux sur les dalles des morts,  
 Murmurant des Pater et des Ave sans nombre.

Zurbarán's monks, white Carthusians, who, in the shadow  
 Silently slip on the stone slabs of the dead,  
 Mumbling Paters and Aves without number.

Cautier expresses his distaste for Zurbarán's mendicants and monks through his use of sibilants and alliterations: as though he were castigating them, reviling them for having exiled themselves from the sunny world of joy and pleasure. Preoccupied with hammerings, nailings, and whippings, they are world-weary beings; uncertain as to their place in this existence and in the next; they sit or move about in slowly paced steps intoning their prayers or praying with outstretched arms. In Zurbarán's Crucified Christ with Saint Luke, one observes not the customary three-nailed crucifixion, but a four-nailed figure on the cross, in keeping with the early medieval depictions of the crucified Christ. There he hangs, suspended—nuditas naturalis--in mid-air, prior to the thrusting of the lance. Saint Luke stands beside him, apparently listening first, then speaking to him in a highly charged emotional way. Devoid of worldly sensations, each figure is encompassed in light, steeped in the transpersonal

Zurbarán, like Ribera, was obsessed with death and sacrifice--all the pain and pathos man or woman could bear; all the physical discomfort these pilgrims could endure for Christ--bringing salvation to some and further torment to others. All of Zurbarán's old men are ascetics, contemplatives, singled out as lonely units, isolated in the picture-space as they are in the temporal world. To underscore their psychological condition, Zurbarán generally lights only a quarter or half of the face, the rest being hidden behind a cowl or extended shadow; thus he increases the mystery, power, and depth of these frail beings. Their monastic garb also helps aid in this regard: the long, smooth folds, enhance the inner drama, through active rhythms, so antithetical to their external static state.

In much the same way that Gautier felt a distaste for Ribera's religious martyrs, he was disturbed by Zurbarán's penitents: pitiful God-fearing beings living under the aegis of sin and damnation.

Quel crime expiez-vous par de si grands remords?  
Fantomes tonsurés, bourreaux à la face blême,  
Pour le traiter ainsi qu'à donc fait votre corps?

What crime are you expiating that you experience such  
great remorse?  
Tonsured phantoms, executioners with livid faces,  
What did your body do to treat it in such manner?

This desire to revile the body, this need to attempt to destroy it--daily, weekly, yearly--which was their goal, encouraged Gautier to question again and again the reasons for such destructive acts? Why suffer? Why agonize? flay? dismember?

Zurbarán's world was cold and bleak--chthonian; death, torment, hopelessness, imprisoned his individuals in blackened vaults and underground galleries of their own manufacture. Although the dark coloraton is interlaced with white, these opposing or polarized tonalities never fuse, never cancel each

other out. Zurbarán's figures absorb but do not possess or reflect light. They are shriveled and calcinated but never warm; they take in but do not exude heat. These transpersonal emanations were arid for Gautier; abasing themselves in order to gain sanctity.

Pourquoi donc chaque nuit, pour vous seuls inhumains,  
 Déchirez votre épaule à coup de discipline  
 Jusqu'à ce que le sang ruisselle sur vos reins?

Why each night, for you alone inhuman beings,  
 Do you flagellate yourself, tearing your shoulder with  
 metal whips  
 Until blood streams down your back?

Holiness is their goal; endurance and sacrifice their way. To emphasize an inner urgency, Zurbarán builds up his paintings through a series of relationships between the human figures and rays of brilliant light, contrasting them with dark shadowed areas and open spaces. Each phantom being seems to project its own blackness. These burdened forms, considered by Gautier to be manifestations from extratemporal realms, may also be viewed as sixteenth-century extensions of ancient pagan funeral cults, like those carried out on at Serapis and Delos, about which Pausanias wrote: men dressed in black followed the corpse or corpses while intoning their prayers, thus expunging their grief.<sup>18</sup>

Over and over Gautier questions the need for expiation, for sin, remorse, and guilt--particularly when carried to the pitch depicted in Zurbarán's canvases. Hangman and tortured, killer and killed, innocent and inquisitor, all seek redemption, yet some of these very beings had forced others to adhere to their religious credo or be burned alive. These dual beings mirror humankind's antithetical visions and needs in a single religious credo: a complexio oppositorum, a world in which good and evil is forever battling with one another. No peace exists for such emotionally torn and atomized beings; all distinction between life and death has also been erased.

Gautier who loved the physical body and revered its representation in a work of art--for its beauty

of form and movement, its line and contours--could not acquiesce to the mutilation and mortification of this God-given gift. Why be ashamed of the flesh? Why mortify it? Zurbarán's figures degraded and uglified form. Whippings, scaldings, torture--deep or superficial, drawing and quartering of human beings cannot Gautier believed, redeem or ennoble humankind; it hurled him into Thanatos. When in the Roman period martyrs were fed to the lions, a heroic religious stance had to be endured; struggle was valid as was the overcoming of tortuous experiences. But today, Gautier suggests, such practices reveal suicidal desires and masochistic inclinations. "Imagine men who have been flayed walking about, all bloody, through the streets, with their black arteries and their blue veins, their red flesh, their network of nerves and their quivering muscles! Could anything be more horrible?"<sup>1</sup> Such visions cut into Gautier's sense of well-being, and blocked off his feeling of health and vitality. To wear a crown of thorns and lacerate one's flesh with a hair shirt and metal whips, to pursue the pain principle was a negation of life. Was this really God's intention? Gautier queried.

Croyez-vous donc que Dieu s'amuse à voir souffrir,  
Et que ce meurtre lent, cette froide agonie,  
Fasse pour vous le ciel plus facile à s'ouvrir?

Do you believe that God amuses himself by watching you  
suffer?

And that this slow murder, this cold agony,  
Makes heaven easier for you to penetrate?

Gautier described the "leaden eyes" depicted in Zurbarán's skeletal penitents, their need for ecstasy, their feverish heads, yearning to experience grace. That the spirit is immortal, Gautier conceded; but to consider the flesh "infamous," is to reject God's work of art--the act of creation, and calumniate his purpose: his essence in man. Gautier further remarks that to withdraw from life, friends, family, and feminine companionship into a "pale shroud," and to stare into a tormented domain indicates singleness of vision, but it also reveals a being bereft of all warmth and compassion.

Everything within the shadowed planes of Zurbarán's canvases seemed baleful and malignant to Gautier. The angular geometrical faces of the monks seen in The Refectory of the Cartusians or The Miracle of Saint Hugo or San Luis Beltran, are depicted as hard and unbending, their cowls drawn closely about their blood-drained faces. These fleshless disembodied beings with their haunted expressions imposed an inhuman world of fear and terror upon their viewers. Zurbarán's forms, which seem to rise out of nowhere and exist in some neuter clime were for Gautier "dead and buried" alive. They must inhabit some catacomb--or were they automata?

Death, not life, dwells in Zurbarán's canvases; various stages of mortuary disguise are depicted: bloody hands and feet, blue and ashen skin, leaden colors and fiery hues spurt, flow, and cake.

Qu'il vous peigne en extase au fond du sanctuaire,  
De cadavre divin baisant les pieds sanglants,  
Fouettant votre dos bleu comme un fléau bat l'aire,

Whether he paints you in ecstasy in the depth of the  
sanctuary,  
Kissing the bloodied feet of the divine cadaver,  
Whipping your blued back like a flail beating wheat,

the visions are always the same: cloisters, shadowy and pain-ridden dreams, "white cloisters," monks muttering their prayers fingering their rosaries, eating barely enough to keep body and soul alive. Yet mystery dwells within their breasts; awe shows in their rigid faces--similar in tone and texture to medieval sculpture, as each appears to lose himself in the realm of the spirit--as if facing an empty sky.

### CONCLUSION

Ribera and Zurbarán found the appropriate language to express their temperament and beliefs: austere forms, flat and cold colorations which allowed the flow of energy to penetrate the inner depths of their being. Gautier, on the other hand, who inhabited the world of light and joy, stood aloof from what he considered to be their black indwelling

on night, gloom, and doom. He understood and appreciated the uniqueness of their art, but he found repugnant the concentration on the crucified Christ, on mortification, and self-flagellation. Gautier lied in the existential sphere; divinity was but one element in his exciting and rich sense of being. It was not that "terrible Eminence" which inspired an effroi mystique; nor was it daimon become God; but a beautiful harmonious spiritual force that filled his world with happiness, lightness of spirit, and visions of harmony and beauty.

Art for Gautier opened a sphere beyond consciousness; it revealed beatific images existing outside himself in the transpersonal sphere. These allowed him to experience the numinosum, not in shadowy and gloomy tones, but in exotic and exciting ones; heightened most frequently by sensual pleasures and increased perceptiveness. Rather than the severe, austere, patriarchal figures depicted by Ribera and Zurbarán, Gautier's world was dominated by tender and understanding matriarchal forces--avatars of the Virgin Mary as they appeared in the eleusinian and Ephesian mysteries in the form of Diana or Isis. Neither pathos nor suffering was emphasized nor was isolation and violence, rather it was a world yet to be realized in its fullness and pleasure.

"Deep Night," Gautier wrote, had "settled on humanity" in the canvases of Ribera and Zurbarán, the antithesis of the "pagan Catholicism of the Renaissance," when artists depicted both flesh and spirit with fervor and passion. These Gautier continued, listened

to the nightingale's song and to breath the scene of the rose without dreading to see the devil's eyes glaring between the leaves, and his tail whipping round the trunk of the tree. God the Father became as majestic as Jupiter Tonans; Christ borrowed the form of Pythian Apollo, and the Virgin Mary, standing upon her azure globe, with the crescent of the moon under her feet, became lovelier and more attractive than Venus. Never were the body and the soul associated in happier proportions.

What could be more glorious than "the beauty of

a human smile," Gautier questioned, or the form of physically perfect human body? For Gautier, the aesthete and bon vivant, to portray the human body ignoble was to be unworthy of art and genius. Art and artifice should be a feast for the eyes and the heart; it should nourish the senses in truly Hellenic fashion--through its representation of spiritual order and physical beauty.

## NOTES

- 1 Adolphe Boschot, Théophile Gautier (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et Colk, 1933), p. 252.
- 2 Emile Bergerat, Théophile Gautier (Paris: Charpentier, 1879), p. 242.
- 3 Quoted from "La Comédie de la Mort," Théophile Gautier, Poésies 2 (Paris: Charpentier et Cie, 1885), pp. 3-40.
- 4 Théophile Gautier, Mile de Maupin, preface.
- 5 Théophile Gautier, Works of Théophile Gautier, vol. 5, "Civilization and Plastic Arts" (New York: Bigelow, Brown and Co., n.d. Translated by F.C. de Sumichrast), p. 235.
- 6 Mile de Maupin, preface.
- 7 Théophile Gautier, Histoire du romantisme (Paris: Charpentier, 1927), p. 160.
- 8 Théophile Gautier, Pochades et paradoxes (Paris: Hachette, 1856), p. vii.
- 9 Adolphe Boschot, p. 247.
- 10 Charles Baudelaire, Oeuvres complètes (Paris: Pléiade, 1961), p. 877.
- 11 Mile de Maupin, preface.
- 12 Théophile Gautier, Works of Theophile Gautier, vol. 2, Travels in Spain, p. 58.
- 13 Ibid, p. 58. See also vol. 10, "The Louvre," pp. 87, 155.
- 14 Edward Edinger, Ego and Archetype, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1972), pp. 146-55.
- 15 Travels in Spain, p. 59.
- 16 Ibid, p. 60.
- 17 Gautier, "Civilisation and Plastic Arts," p. 229.
- 18 Eranos Yearbooks, vol. 6, Ernesto Buonaiutu, "Symbols and

Rites in the Religious Life of Certain Monastic Orders" (Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 172.

<sup>19</sup>Gautier, "Civilisation and Plastic Arts," p. 233.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid, p. 230.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid, p. 231. See also Richard B. Grant, Théophile Gautier Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975 and P.E. Tennant, Théophile Gautier (London: The Athlone Press, 1975).

## Recurring Themes in R. Castellano's Poetry

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"Misterios gozosos" appears in Rosaro Castellanos' Poemas: 1953-55. In an interview many years after its publication (1968) with Emanuel Carballo she singled it out as having been valuable at the time of writing for the emotional charge which it carried for her, and because it was one of her few early works which she still valued.<sup>1</sup> An intriguing question to ask regarding this key poem is: How does it relate to her later poetic production given this place of honor in her emotions and esteem? The first task in addressing this question is to gain a thorough understanding of the poem through consideration of the motifs, themes, interpretations, and its implications regarding the world of Mayan myth. "Resplandor del ser," a companion poem which immediately follows it in Castellanos' ordering of her collected poems Poesía no eres tú: 1953-55, contains many elements in common with "Misterios gozosos."<sup>2</sup> These similarities and also the points of difference shed further light on recurring elements in the poetry. The tracing of these outstanding elements is the final task of this study.

The essence of "Misterios gozosos" are the motifs of the center, cyclicity, the importance of feeling, the importance of words, the personal involvement of the poet in an ever-changing, yet eternal universe. These are illustrated in the final stanza of the poem:

El centro de la llama  
 mi centro.  
 aquí arder aquí hablar  
 lo verdadero  
 Yo no me fui,  
 no he vuelto;  
 yo siempre estuve aquí  
 viviendo

sin ayer, sin mañana,  
ni próximo, ni lejos,  
este momento único  
y eterno.

The structural relevance of cyclicity and of the concept of the center can be observed throughout the poem. Examples of cyclicity are words of paired opposition such as "voy y vengo," "perdida|recobrada," the prepositions "alrededor de" and "en torno de," and words suggesting roundness and return such as "volver," "ronda," "anilla," "cintura, and "guirnalda." Specific words or phrases reappear in different stanzas in a patterned way. Images using "mirada" appear in Stanzas Six and Eleven. "Don precioso" is a phrase used in Stanzas Nine and Seventeen. Paired motifs such as the evocation of the maternal role and the paternal deity in Stanzas Four and Twelve continue this echoing device. There are several references to the diurnal and seasonal cycles. The concept of the center is most striking in Stanza Ten, the center of the poem. It evokes a house surrounding the poet as a group of solicitous women surrounding an orphan, a striking image illustrating the mixture of animate|inanimate, concrete and abstract:

Alrededor de mí—lo estoy mirando  
como en torno de un huérfano  
un grupo de mujeres solícitas, piadosas—  
mueve su lenta ronda protectora  
la casa.

This stanza has a very measured, reassuring tone and ends up describing a calm, quiet churchlike refuge. The final stanza focusses on these points with the repetitions of "centro," "aquí," time and space words "ayer|mañana" and "cerca|lejos," reinforcing the established idea of circular motion revolving around a center, of oppositions or paradoxical motions which simultaneously evoke their continuation and their reaching a point of rest outside of time. The simple, yet traditionally symbolic words of the whole poem such as "corazón," "río," viento," and "pájaro" encompass a profound and broad philosophy very personally expressed. The poem is a joyful celebration of the poet's deep personal feeling about

her place in this constant yet ever-changing, god-centered universe. Her involvement in and communication about this universe is concentrated on the use of words which are for her of highest value.

The structure and content of the poem relate to Mircea Eliade's Myth of Eternal Return in which all aspects of life are connected with what has come before: the eternal repetition of the fundamental rhythm of the cosmos.<sup>3</sup> The ubiquitousness of the motif "casa" in the poem reflects this pattern. It is a symbol of the center, the sanctuary, the zone of the sacred, that which is absolutely real. Another aspect to this mythic pattern is stanza seven which is an extended reference to one's ancestors. It begins "Esta tierra que piso es la sábana amante de mis muertos." It illustrates emotional states and responses shared with one's ancestors as part of the view of the universal circumstance as cyclical. These and other aspects of the poem such as the diurnal cycle, the seasons the reference to bonfires as a custom of renewal place this personal expression of the poet's apprehension of the universe into this pattern by which mankind has sought to explain and give structure to his existence.

The geographically relevant belief system which illustrates this pattern is that of the Meso-American Indians. Rosario Castellanos' extensive knowledge of the culture of the Mayas has been widely recognized in her novels Balún Canán and Oficio de Tinieblas.<sup>4</sup> Not only was she born in Chiapas in Southern Mexico and spent her adolescence there, but also she returned to work among the Mayan people through the Instituto Nacional Indigenista.<sup>5</sup> It is not surprising to find that the Mayan concept of the world included a perception of time as cyclical and of matter and spirit intertwined in a cyclical pattern just as described in Castellanos' poem.<sup>6</sup> Stanza four offers this example with images of matter as earth and love as spirit:

Con un gesto de tierra  
 cuyo regazo acuna a todas las criaturas. El amor me  
 levanta  
 me sostiene, extasiada como en una gran luz,  
 cantando mi destino de raíz.

The great bird-serpent, priest-king Quetzalcoatl (Kukulcan) was the most powerful figure in all the mythology of Mexico and Central America. He presided over this era of movement, the period of history when the elements became fused. This mythological figure was at once water and earth (coatl equals snake or earth and atl equals water) and air (quetzal equals bird), a fusion of matter and spirit. This figure who personifies the Mayan beliefs in composite also represents these basic aspects of "Misterios gozosos": the oneness of all which can take different forms in an ever flowing movement, organizer of the elements who can be mother earth and God the Father, the penitent whose heart is a place of bonfires and who journeys to overcome matter in order to become pure spirit in a movement in which time becomes timeless eternity.

"Misterios gozosos" is Castellanos' statement of a belief system which connects with the background of the Mexican people and with the experience of all mankind. Given this outline of the content of the poem, we shall inquire into its relevance vis à vis her other poetry. Such a perusal of her later production brings to light several categories of materials to this extensive statement of world view. One is an echo in the repetition of words and phrases of "Misterios gozosos" indicating the continuing presence of the images of this poem in the poet's thoughts. Another is her continuing conviction as to the value of words as the mark of humanity. Still another is her identification with her roots as a Mexican. Humanity viewed and related to collectively is a common element, as is the motif of circularity.

"Resplandor del ser," immediately following "Misterios gozosos" in Poemas 1953-55, is the other poem of the early period chosen by Castellanos as having enduring value. In the interview with Emanuel Carballo, she comments on these two poems specifically: Poemas 1953-55: allí se encuentran, por ejemplo, los "Misterios" y "El resplandor del ser," que son los poemas que se salvan de toda esta época." Although a shorter poem, "Resplandor del ser" has many formal similarities to "Misterios gozosos." The adjectives with positive connotation are present as are many images mixing ani-

mate|inanimate, concrete|abstract such as "en la mano del día|resplandece el anillo de esponsales." and "El viento--herido en mis espinas--sangra." As in "Misterios gozosos" there are frequent comparisons with "como": "En mí crece un rumor lento como en el árbol|. . ." These serve to illustrate the poet's belief in the oneness of all. The circular motif which develops the theme of the eternal, repetitive nature of the universe is also present in many similar ways. Verbal repetitions and oppositions indicating circularity abound. The vocabulary chosen for the poem contains words which reinforce this theme. Words describe the world as round and turning. There are alternating words for high, center, and low, and words for doing something over again such as "regresan," "volver," "devolver," "regreso," "resucitar," "recordar." There are words having the same root in the same verse of the poem: "creación|creatura" (sic), "amor|ama," "muerte|muere," and there are synonyms in the same stanza such as "jurar|atestiguar." We also find repetitions of the same word within a verse as in Stanza Twelve: "que este don que nos dieron es el don que se recibe|tiniebla|amanezca" in Stanza Nineteen, and "eternidad" followed by "primavera que florece y pasa" in Stanza Twenty-four. In addition, the seasons and the diurnal cycle reinforce circularity.

Structural occurrences also promote this motif. One device is the spacing of words|related concepts throughout the forty-five stanzas. For example the words of roundness and turning are found in Stanzas Three, Six, Eleven, Thirty-three, and Forty-five. Words for high, center, love are found in Stanzas Eight, Nine, Ten, Twelve, Thirteen, Fifteen, Seventeen, Twenty-three, and Thirty-six. In the only verse of Stanza Thirty, "Nadie está solo. Nadie," there is circularness evoked in beginning and ending with the same word. Stanza Twenty-five has as its first verse "Lo supe con mi carne", which is also the final line of Stanza Twenty-six. Stanza Ten and Eleven both begin with the sentence "No ser ya más." Stanza Two begins and ends with "me alegre." A syntactic example of circularity is the verse "la redondez del círculo cumplida" of Stanza Six. The fact that "cumplida" modifies "redondez" and not "círculo" creates yet another circular effect. The

last three stanzas describe circular actions, the final being "No te despidas nunca, porque el mundo es redondo y perfecto." Still another similarity with "Misterios gozosos" is the use of simple words which are charged with symbolic meaning such as "pájaro," "río," "espigas" (fruitfulness and solar attribute), "viento," "flor" (beauty, soul, temporality). The matter|spirit duality is present in images like the one quoted, "El viento--herido en mis espinas--sangra." The similarities are the circular motif, the use of the archetypal words, extensive use of similar imagery using "como" and a mixture of animate|inanimate and concrete|abstract, and the firm insistence on the importance of words.

Similarities abound between the two poems but there are also significant differences. To begin with, the ubiquitous symbols of "casa" and "corazón" and the concepts of maternity and God are absent in "Resplandor del ser." Words expressing time and place are noticeably missing in comparison with the earlier poem. The focus here is on the value of human life in the present, hence the absence of the earth mother archetype and the paternal deity of "Misterios gozosos." While "palabra" figure in "Misterios gozosos," it is much more prominent in "Resplandor del ser." In this poem she says "Porque una palabra es el sabor|que nuestra lengua tiene de lo eterno,| por eso hablo." We can see that the "abeja" which forms the basis of the metaphor of Stanzas One and Two is a reinforcement of these ideas of the value of life and the importance of words for humans when we learn that it symbolizes diligence and eloquence:

Sólo el silencio es sabio.

Pero yo estoy labrando, como con cien abejas,  
un pequeño panal con mis palabras.

The words "hierba" and "hoja" of Stanzas Three and Twenty reinforce the emphasis on the human element.<sup>10</sup> Thus as the title indicates the poem celebrates the grandeur of human life while still recognizing the connection with other living things. "Resplandor del ser" sings of the splendor of life within a universal context using the motifs of cyclicity, words, and universal oneness shared with "Misterios gozosos,"

expressed with similar formal patterns. It illustrates aspects of the same philosophy with its different movements developing different aspects of the themes with different moods. "Resplandor del ser" is a short, happy mono-tonal song. Using many of the same images relating to circularity, the senses, nature, and words, she shifts focus from the interweaving of all elements of the universe to evoking the splendor of life. Thus this poem has a unique relationship with "Misterios gozosos" in its images and themes and in its position of favor in the judgment of the poet.

The importance of words in "Resplandor del ser" underscores a key aspect in Castellanos' poetry. In "Relato del augur," the power which she attributes to words is thus described in the development of human beings: "Empezamos entonces a atesorar palabras. El sabidor, el dueño, llegó a ser poderoso." In "Recital" the protagonist, a poet, tells us:

La sordera no es lo que hace al silencio.  
Lo que hace al silencio es la mudéz  
y no quiero ser cómplice  
de ese crimen contra la humanidad.  
Porque sin la palabra nadie es el hombre, nada  
distinto de la piedra.

This message of the absolute power and importance of words is often reiterated. As the poet said in the interview cited: "Las palabras poéticas constituyen el único modo de lo permanente en este mundo."<sup>11</sup>

The power which the images of "Misterios gozosos" held for Castellanos is apparent as we examine these images recurring in later poems. In the poem "Toma de conciencia" from the collection Materia memorable published some fifteen years later we find the following echoes:

Yo soy un ancho  
patio, una gran casa abierta. . . .  
En medio de este corro de presencia  
soy lo que soy materia  
que arde, que difunde calor y luz. Crepito  
la respuesta gozosa: ¡viven todos!

"Casa" figures in nearly half of the eighteen stanzas of "Misterios gozosos." Images with "abrir" are common. The poet self-described with variations of "arder" and the adjective "gozosa" from the title are further reminiscences. The concept of measured time passing into eternity reappears in the poem "Futuro" of the same collection: "Ya verás cómo pasa|de instante a hora sagrada." The final image of "Memorial de Tlaltelolco from the collection titled De la tierra de en medio: "Recuerdo, recordemos|hasta que la justicia se siente entre nosotros" is the image earlier written in Stanza Seventeen of "Misterios gozosos": ". . . que llevan la justicia a sentarse en los pórticos." And the introductory verses of "El retorno" of Viaje redondo, the last poem of her last published collection of poetry, begins "Piso la tierra del Anáhuac que es|la tierra de mis muertos" just as Stanza Seven of "Misterios gozosos" begins "Esta tierra que piso|es la sábana amante de mis muertos." A major theme of "Misterios gozosos," collectively, is still present in the later poetry, even though Castellanos turns her attention more and more to existential problems. "Presencia," the culminating poem of Lívida luz (1960), ends with this affirmation of her feelings of being linked to all mankind:

Y sin embargo, hermano, amante, hijo,  
amigo, antepasado,  
no hay soledad, no hay muerte  
aunque yo olvide y aunque yo me acabe.  
Hombre, donde tú estás, donde tú vives  
permaneceremos todos.

In the same manner is "Encargo" with which Materia memorable (1969) ends:

Cuando yo muera dadme la muerte que me falta  
y no me recordéis.  
No repitáis mi nombre hasta que el aire sea  
transparente otra vez.  
No erijáis monumentos que el espacio que tuve  
entero lo devuelvo a su dueño y señor  
para que advenga el otro, el esperado  
Y resplandezca el signo del favor.

The deep feeling of relatedness with other human

beings inspires this willingness to make way for a new person.

"Relato del augur," the last poem of Al pie de la letra (1969) recounts the emergence of human civilization through a first person plural narration of progressive stages of development beginning with a group coming together before dawn and traveling through various stage of the evolution of Mexican culture. The collective aspect is richly expressed as well as other themes such as the power of words already noted. The poem "Toma de conciencia," previously cited, is the description of the poet's emotional response to the rhetorical "¿Quién vive?" After considering her personal weaknesses and her identification with the plight of a complete stranger described in the newspaper she comes to the realization previously quoted which ends with the expression of her connection with all mankind "¡Viven Todos!" The final words of "Memorial de Tlatelolco" "Recuerdo, recordemos" provide a basic motif of the theme of collectivity: memory.

One of the hidden and ultimately most rewarding aspects of "Misterios gozosos" is the connection with the roots of the Mexican people. This evocation of the past of the civilization of her people is more readily noted in "Relato del augur" in the references to worshipping the sun and the foretellings of the fall of the Aztec empire. "Malinche" relates the selling of this famous Indian woman to the Spanish conquerors. "Memorial de Tlatelolco" refers to the tragedy of the students assassinated in 1968. "El retorno," probably the last of Castellanos' poems available to us, begins with the specific paraphrase of lines from "Misterios gozosos": "Piso la tierra de Anáhuac que es|la tierra de mis muertos." The title of course repeats the circular idea as does the title of the collection, expressed as "Viaje redondo" rather than the usual set phrase "viaje de ida y vuelta."

Castellanos' later poetry is more feminist and committed to a consideration of the current problems of humanity. "El retorno" represents this definite change in her outlook from the early poem, however, while still evoking, perhaps ironically, its

celebration of links with the past. She notes that these dead do not ask her to live for them and cannot provide her with a justification for living. Nor do the living, who if they were aware of her presence would reject her according to the natural law which dictates fewer bodies, more space and air, and hope. She concludes that there is no source of justification for living and one must accept one's own superfluity and at the same time one's need. Thus she has moved beyond the point of finding satisfactory existential answers in her circular apprehension of the universe while still having a deep attachment to the images. We have observed that "Misterios gozosos" presents a definite world view in which the poet speaking in simple, yet highly charged words, using motifs of circularity, the symbol of the center, the interrelatedness of all the universe, celebrates her deep personal feelings about her place in a constant yet ever-changing universe. We asked the question How does this poem relate to her later poetic production? Regarding these later poems she said: *En ellos reflexiono sobre el mundo, ya no como objeto de contemplación estética sino como lugar de lucha en el que no está comprometido.*"<sup>12</sup> Her attention was increasingly centered, as she said, on the problems and concerns of daily life rather than on such an esthetic topic as the interrelatedness of the universe. Nevertheless, as we have seen, many of the images and motifs reappear, and the themes of collectivity and the primacy of words are constant. The focus has changed from abstract to concrete, but the building blocks betray the constancy of these components in the mind of the poet.

## 'Courtly Love': An Ancient Initiation Rite

and

a XIX Century Reality

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John F. Benton in his article "Clio and Venus: An Historical View of Medieval Love" (The Meaning of Courtly Love, ed. F.X. Newman, 1968) arrives at the conclusion that "as currently employed 'courtly love' has no useful meaning and [that] it is not worth saving by redefinition" and he altogether proposes "that 'courtly love' be banned from all future conferences." In response to the publication of the papers in The Meaning of Courtly Love, Jean Frappier in his 1972 article "Sur un procès fait à l'amour courtois," asserts that courtly love is not an imaginary construct which critics have superimposed on medieval literature,<sup>1</sup> and more specifically that "Benton n'a pas compris que dans son essence l'amour courtois<sup>2</sup> relevait d'une poésie de rêve et d'évasion."<sup>2</sup> This statement is based on Frappier's interpretation of courtly love as "un composé indissoluble, un tout global où fusionnent la chair, le coeur et l'esprit."<sup>3</sup> We agree with Frappier's redefinition and suggest that Mr. Benton has confused two separate issues, namely those of history and literature. Even if after an historical analysis he finds the concept of courtly love wanting in realism and validity in a sociological context, he cannot pretend to have enough evidence to do away with a concept which in literary studies as in criticism has proved itself a most valuable and useful tool. As we cannot base our knowledge of history on the literature of a period, we cannot pretend to understand the literature of an epoch solely through a knowledge of its history. Therefore, we propose to demonstrate the validity of the concept of courtly love through

the analysis of a romantic text: Les Caprices de Marianne of Alfred de Musset, as we argue that, without the concept of courtly love, the behavior of the young lover Coelio as well as that of his lady Marianne would be almost incomprehensible to the reader. But before we use this concept, we want to establish its existence and its validity through a rapid overview of the research done by Mircea Eliade on cultural anthropology and more specifically in the field of primitive religions and initiation rites.

If we study closely Lancelot, Tristan et Iseut, certain Lais of Marie de France and the lyrical poetry of the XIIth century, we find that the common element in these 'love stories' is the striving on the part of the lover to achieve greatness through the accomplishment of super-human tasks. The lover is not satisfied with his position, no matter how noble it may be. He wants to prove himself superior and elevate himself further to the highest level possible for a human being, through some extraordinary feat or through a show of great courage as during a crusade, for example. We do not believe that this desire to rise above one's present state or to quote Eliade "le désir obscur de transcender les limites de la condition humaine," is a universal desire found in man and that the literature of 'courtly love' is one of the first verbalized forms of this desire in Western Europe. Among its more distant 'cousins' we can find the concept of shamanism which has flourished for centuries mainly in Siberia and Central Asia but which also appears with slight modifications on the other continents. Eliade defines shamanism as "archaic techniques of ecstasy" (subtitle of his book Shamanism) and the shaman as "a magician and medicine man . . . also a priest, mystic and poet."<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, Eliade specifies that the "shamans are persons who stand out in their respective societies. . . [They] are of the 'elect', [and] as such they have access to a region of the sacred inaccessible to other members of the community."<sup>6</sup>

We cannot help but notice the similarities between these definitions of the shaman and that of the courtly lover as he appears in medieval literature and in Andreas Capellanus' treatise: De arte honeste amandi. One of the first

characteristics emphasized by Capellanus is that the lover must be of excellence of character "which [alone] blesses a man with true nobility . . . and which first made a distinction of nobility among men and led to the difference of class." Therefore, the lover, as the shaman, is an exceptional being who distinguishes himself from the rest of his society not only by his extraordinary deeds, but also by his inborn nobility. We should also note that Capellanus' urging for the courtly lover to have "extreme readiness of speech"<sup>8</sup>--a point that we shall stress in the second part of this paper--likens the lover to the poet, which is another one of the aspects of the shaman. And to complete the comparison we find numerous allusions to courtly lovers being magicians in the literature of the time. For example, Marie de France presents one of her heroes, Yonec, as a knight capable of changing his form to that of a bird, while we can well remember the famous 'Saut de Tristan' where, once again, the hero is given bird-like qualities. It would be useless to lengthen the list as the stories of Lancelot, Tristan et Iseut and others are filled with magical deeds. Finally, we can consider that the lover in the service of his lady is actually in the service of the love-god. His exploits are his priestly devotions to his god.

Moreover, Eliade has uncovered some even more striking details about the rites of initiation of the shamans. It appears that the shaman does not achieve his status unaided. Part of the initiation is the discovery by the candidate of his 'celestial wife', (or, in other words, his "maîtresse d'initiation") and his believing in having actual sexual relations with her, as it is only through her and "the secret teaching that she gives him over the years." that he can prepare himself for his shamanic function. Furthermore, Eliade specifies that "the shaman is assisted in his labors not only by his celestial wife but also by feminine spirits."<sup>10</sup> And he adds the following remarks: "A large number of myths and legends show the essential role played by a . . . semidivine woman in the adventures of heroes; it is she who teaches them, helps them in their difficulties (which are often initiatory ordeals) . . . is devoted to showing that it is always a feminine

being who helps the hero to conquer immortality or to emerge victorious from his initiatory ordeals . . . it is in such a mythical horizon that we must place the relations of shamans with their 'celestial wives': it is not they who, properly speaking, consecrate the shaman; they help him either in his instruction or in his ecstatic experience. It is natural that the 'celestial wife's' intervention in the shaman's mystical experience should be accompanied by sexual emotion; every ecstatic experience is subject to such deviations . . ." <sup>11</sup> By these comments, we are, once more, reminded of the courtly lover and of his lady. It is obvious that the lady assumes the role of the feminine spirit who is the constant motivation behind the hero. Capellanus reminds us, "A true lover is constantly and without intermission possessed by the thought of his beloved," <sup>12</sup> just as the would-be-shaman believes himself to be in the continual presence of his helping spirit. Finally it is through the sexual emotion that exists between the shaman-to-be and his 'celestial wife' that he is able to acquire his shamanic powers, just as the lover, urged by his sexual desire for his lady, strives to acquire the distinction, the 'power' of superiority. Insofar as it is the lady--as her counterpart in shamanic initiation, the 'celestial wife'--who helps the lover in his instruction, we can safely claim that she falls within the category of these semidivine women whose main function is to help the heroes in their initiatory ordeals.

As the aspiring shaman undergoes a series of trials--symbolic deaths and resurrection--with the help of his 'celestial wife', the courtly lover must accomplish a series of exploits that often will take him to the threshold of death. The lady, as the only being with the power to save him, acts as a physical helper but, 'more significantly, she acts as a psychological mentor, helping him to achieve greatness by offering herself not as the goal, but as the reward, the 'guerredun'. Therefore, the long, painful journey of the lover from the status of noble but undifferentiated knight to the elevated position of the rewarded lover represents the initiation rites of the courtly lover. And this initiation is but a medieval form, a continuation and modification, of

the ancient shamanic initiation rites.

Having thus established the reality of the concept of courtly love we will apply it, now, to Musset's XIX century play: Les Caprices de Marianne.

Les Caprices de Marianne, a short, two-act play, does not appear at first reading to be worth our attention. A hint of knowledge in the field of psychology is sufficient to explain it: a young woman is getting bored with her too tranquil virtue and decides to add spice to her life by making her husband jealous while finding out how far she can push the man who claims to love her. We cannot help but wonder why such a trivial subject filled Musset with so much enthusiasm that he decided to write a play about it, and why it attracted the public. When it was first performed at the Théâtre de la République (now La Comédie-française) on June 14, 1851 (eighteen years after its completion) it enjoyed "un vrai succès [et elle] fut sanctionnée par une critique presque unanimement élogieuse."<sup>13</sup> Since then, it has continued to attract readers and spectators alike, and, in spite of the passing of time, the play does not seem to age. We would suggest that it owes its eternal youth and its appeal to the fundamental theme on which it is built, a theme which gives it a profound, eternal and universal character, the theme of courtly love. If we reexamine the concept of courtly love as defined by Andreas Capellanus and as elucidated by Gaston Paris and if we apply it to the play, not only do we obtain a clear and satisfying explanation of the characters Marianne and Coelio, but we also gain an insight into the reason for the following the play has maintained for more than a century.

Marianne "si belle, si jeune, si pure encore" according to Octave (II,3) "est un trésor de pureté . husband Claudio. This statement is confirmed by Claudio's manservant Tibia: "Votre femme passe pour un dragon de vertu dans toute la ville; elle ne voit personne, elle ne sort de chez elle que pour aller à la messe" (I,1). Finally Coelio, her young lover, gives us the following scanty description of his lady: "Elle sort du couvent; elle aime son mari, et respecte ses devoirs" (I, 1). Thus, these four

accounts provide us the portrait of a beautiful, virtuous young woman. In addition, her social position is high, since she is the wife of a judge "très puissant dans cette ville" (II, 6). But this husband whom she so conspicuously 'loves' is but an insensitive old man, according to Octave's portrayal: "un vieillard qui n'a plus de sens, et qui n'a jamais eu de coeur!" (II, 3). And as he seems to be devoid of feeling, he is equally lacking in faith in his wife. If he sings his wife's praise "C'est une vertu solide," (I, 3) it is more readily that he accuses her basely "Marianne a des amants" (I, 1) and "J'imagine que ma femme me trompe, et que toute cette fable est une pure invention pour me faire prendre le change, et troubler entièrement mes idées" (I, 3). Therefore, we cannot seriously accept that a great love exists between this cantankerous old man and his young bride, and we must recognize that Marianne's faithfulness arises solely from her religion and the principles which have been inculcated in her rather than from a passionate love for her husband. Indeed, it is this lack of love in the marriage which drives her, at the first annoyance, to exclaim: "Je veux prendre un amant, Octave," a statement which her religious education compels her to amend to: "Simon un amant, du moins un cavalier" (II, 3).

If we go back to Andreas Capellanus' De arte honeste amandi, we find the very sketchy description of the woman the courtly lover should seek. Capellanus advises his reader as follows: "I believe that you should not seek for beauty so much as for excellence of character"<sup>14</sup>—even though it should be noted that Capellanus encourages his reader to look preferably for a beautiful, young woman! And while one of courtly love's precepts is that "Thou shalt not choose for thy love anyone whom a natural sense of shame forbids thee to marry,"<sup>15</sup> it is out of the question to think about marriage between the lovers as "husband and wife cannot love each other."<sup>16</sup> Thus the beloved must be married to someone else to enable the lovers to discover love which is "illégitime furtif. On ne conçoit pas de rapports pareils entre mari et femme; la crainte perpétuelle de l'amant de perdre sa maîtresse, de ne plus être digne d'elle, de lui déplaire en quoi que ce soit, ne peut se concilier avec la possession calme et publique."<sup>17</sup>

This statement made by Gaston Paris is based on Capellanus' definition of love: "For what is love but an inordinate desire to receive passionately a furtive and hidden embrace?"<sup>18</sup> Therefore, it is clear that Marianne is the lady of the court of love par excellence. It is interesting to note here that just as Marie de Champagne and her court discussed specific cases of love, Marianne does not refuse such discussions with her cousin Octave. The famous comparison of the wine "que boit le peuple" (II, 1) with the woman of easy virtue reveals a deeper preoccupation with love than we would have expected from a young woman married at her convent's door to an old man! In spite of her 'religious' virtue, it is obvious that Marianne is very close to her ancestors regarding her concern with love.

Andreas Capellanus' treatise is, however, better known for the advice it gives to men and for the principles of love that it appears to want to teach them. For instance, the treatise specifies "that there are five means by which [love] may be acquired: a beautiful figure, excellence of character, extreme readiness of speech, great wealth, and the readiness with which one grants that which is sought. But we hold that love may be acquired only by the first three, and we think that the last two ought to be banished completely from Love's court."<sup>19</sup> If we follow Capellanus' advice, we will remember that the lover who wants to obtain his lady's love must have "a beautiful figure, excellence of character, and extreme readiness of speech." As early as the third line in the first scene of the first act, Coelio is thus presented to us: "Son nom est Coelio; il est d'une noble famille et d'une figure distinguée." Still in the same scene, Octave describes him "beau comme le jour, jeune, noble" and in act II, scene 3: "il est jeune, beau, riche et digne en tout point de vous." If Marianne is the perfect courtly lady, then Coelio is undoubtedly the perfect courtly lover. In accordance with the rule number XII given by Capellanus: "A true lover does not desire to embrace anyone in love except his beloved"<sup>20</sup> Coelio freely admits to his life-consuming love for Marianne "le souffle de ma vie est à Marianne; elle peut d'un mot de ses lèvres l'anéantir ou l'embraser," and readily recognizes his total devotion to his lady: "vivre

pour une autre me serait plus difficile que de mourir pour elle" (I, 1).

Moreover his behavior is an exact replica of the courtly lover's. As in Ovid's The Art of Love, Capellanus in his treatise gives rules describing the lover's ideal behavior:

- Rule XV. Every lover regularly turns pale in the presence of his beloved.
- Rule XVI. When a lover suddenly catches sight of his beloved his heart palpitates.
- Rule XXIII. He whom the thought of love vexes eats and sleeps very little.<sup>21</sup>

This behavior is in all aspects similar to Coelio's: "Il me manque le repos" (I, 1). "vingt fois j'ai senti mes genoux fléchir en approchant d'elle . . . Quand je la vois, ma gorge se serre et j'étouffe, comme si mon coeur se soulevait jusqu'à mes lèvres" (I, 1) Just like the courtly poet, he complains about the cruelty of his lady, but does try to escape it: "Ah! malheureux que je suis, je n'ai plus qu'à mourir. Ah! la plus cruelle de toutes les femmes!" It is Octave, however, who gives us the best picture of Coelio's situation:

Ah! si vous saviez sur quel autel sacré vous êtes adorée comme un Dieu! Si vous saviez quel trésor de bonheur, quelle mine féconde repose en vous! en lui! Je ne vous parle pas de sa souffrance, de cette douce et triste mélancolie qui ne s'est jamais lassée de vos rigueurs, et qui en mourrait sans se plaindre. Oui, Marianne, il en mourra. (II, 3)

In this beautiful, poetic passage we find the precise portraits of the many courtly heroes who abound in medieval literature.

But one point remains to be clarified. If we agree that Marianne is the perfect courtly lady and Coelio the perfect courtly lover, we are left wondering why the two could not love each other. Coelio, himself, gives us the answer: "Je sais agir, mais je ne puis parler. Ma langue ne sert point mon coeur, et je mourrai sans m'être fait comprendre

comme un muet dans une prison" (II, 2). Coelio, then, is not the perfect courtly lover, for, quoting Capellanus one more time: "love may be acquired [by] . . . extreme readiness of speech."<sup>22</sup> The author adds: "Many times fluency of speech will incline to love the hearts of those who do not love, for an elaborate line of talk on the part of the lover usually sets love's arrows a-flying and creates a presumption in favor of the excellent character of the speaker."<sup>23</sup> As we have shown, Coelio has a 'beautiful figure and excellence of character'; therefore, he fulfills courtly love's first two requirements. But he does not have 'readiness of speech' and thus his love is doomed to remain unrequited. It is of interest here to note that although Octave has neither the qualities nor the behavior of a courtly lover, it is his 'readiness of speech' which sways Marianne in his favor. Indeed, she wonders about Coelio's silence and asks Octave: "Pourquoi ne s'explique-t-il pas lui-même?" (II, 3). And, still to her cousin who can express himself so well, she complains: "Il faut croire que sa passion pour moi était quelque chose comme du chinois ou de l'arabe puisqu'il lui fallait un interprète, et qu'elle ne pouvait s'expliquer toute seule" (II, 1).

Finally, the concept of courtly love enables us to solve the riddle of the play. As the curtain falls on the last scene we are left wondering about Coelio's death. We have the feeling that we have just witnessed a sacrificial death—a useless death. Marianne, most probably, knew that her husband was spying on her and that he heard her conversation with Octave. So, we ask ourselves, why she did not warn Octave in time to save him or Coelio. In the defiance scene, after her decision to take a lover, Marianne sends Octave away with her scarf "Tenez, voilà mon écharpe en gage: —qui vous voudrez, la rapportera." (II, 3) The gesture is very symbolic. She is the lady of the court of love giving her pennon to her champion, just before the great tournament. Therefore, as she desires a confrontation—a duel—between her husband and her champion, she does not want to prevent its occurrence. Coelio did not realize that he could not expect the reward in Marianne's arms before he actually won his lady's cause, and failure in the last trial meant death.

Therefore, we have shown that we cannot dismiss the concept of courtly love with impunity. It represents a form of religious thinking in the Middle Ages which has left very profound marks on our civilization. Its clear parallels with shamanic initiation rites confirm its universality and its reality, and through our study of Les Caprices de Marianne we have established that it is still very much present in the XIXth century literature. To eliminate the concept of courtly love would be to deprive ourselves of a most valuable tool in the field of literary studies. For, indeed, as we have tried to demonstrate, Musset's romantic play has undoubtedly gained in meaning by applying to it the concept so judiciously named by Gaston Paris "l'amour courtois."

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Roger Boase, The Origine and Meaning of Courtly Love (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1977), p. 112.

<sup>2</sup>Jean Frappier, "Sur un procès fait à l'amour courtois" (Romania, XCIII, 1972), p. 153.

<sup>3</sup>Frappier, op. cit., p. 166.

<sup>4</sup>Mircea Eliade, Aspects du mythe (Paris: Gallimard, 1963), p. 225.

<sup>5</sup>Mircea Eliade, Shamanism (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964), p. 4

<sup>6</sup>Ibid, pp. 7-8.

<sup>7</sup>Andreas Capellanus, The Art of Courtly Love (New York: Norton, 1941), p. 35

<sup>8</sup>Ibid, p. 33.

<sup>9</sup>Eliade, op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid, p. 77.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid, pp. 78-9.

<sup>12</sup>Capellanus, op. cit., p. 186.

<sup>13</sup>Alfred de Musset, Les Caprices de Marianne (Paris: Larousse, 1975), pp. 10-1.

<sup>14</sup>Capellanus, op. cit., p. 34.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>17</sup>Gaston Paris, "Etudes sur les romans de la Table Ronde: Lancelot du lac" (Romania, 12, 1883), p. 518.

<sup>18</sup>Capellanus, op. cit., p. 100.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 185.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 185.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

# Quevedo y la mujer: Su reflejo en los entremeses

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Don Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas fue la representación viva del barroco: exagerado y extremista. Por ello lo mismo lanza denuestos execratorios contra las mujeres, que compone poemas que llevan su amor a reinos de ultratumba. Todo ello subordinado a la necesidad que sentía de ellas. Mas opina que "la mysoginie de Quevedo s'édifie, comme il est normal, sur le goût des femmes. S'il dit tant du mal d'elles, c'est d'abord qu'il ne saurait se passer d'elles."<sup>1</sup>

Me própongo en este trabajo observar las contradictorias opiniones que expresó Quevedo acerca de los representantes del sexo femenino, ver el fundamento doctrinal de su misoginia y pasar luego a ver la personificación de las mujeres dentro de algunas de las obras de uno de los géneros menos conocidos del escritor madrileño, el entremés.

Quevedo no escatimó las alabanzas a mujeres que eran para él objeto de admiración. Así es que nos cuenta de Doña Ana Castro de Egas, quien escribió Eternidad del Rey Don Felipe Tercero, que era, "inteligencia a nuestro siglo de grande admiración, y al sexo femenino de sumo ornamento."<sup>2</sup> Como sabemos, Quevedo fue un crítico literario nada fácil de satisfacer, y baste recordar su ensañamiento con Góngora y su obra, del que un ejemplo son los siguientes versos:

Almorrana eres de Apolo,  
por donde el dios soberano  
gracioso purga inmundicias  
y sangre si está enojado  
Díceme tienes por lengua  
una tripa entre los labios

viendo que hablas con ella  
ventosidad todo el año.<sup>3</sup>

Sin embargo, de la obra de la escritora mencionada, opinaba que, "El volumen es descansado, el estilo puidido. . . . La sentencia es viva y frecuente, los efectos eficaces y debidos. . . sin digresiones forasteras . . ." (Prosa 464)

No sólo en cuanto a mujeres en particular, sino también del sexo opuesto en general dijo que "Muchas mujeres hay buenas, si las buscas hallarás las. Perdí buena mujer dices. Gran pérdida es; y fuera la mayor, si no se pudiera restaurar" (Prosa 969).

No obstante, también sabe ensañarse con las mujeres. Así es que expresará acerca del ellas "Si la pretendes, te cansas; si la alcanzas te embarazas; si la sustentas te empobreces; si la dejas, te persigue; si la quieres, te deja" (Prosa, 172). No sólo eso sino que se complace en poner de relieve el lado menos apetecible de ellas, "Si la besas, te embarras los labios; si la abrazas, aprietas tablillas y abollas cartones; si la acuestas contigo, la mitad dejas debajo de la cama en los chapines . . asco, y cuando está sin ellos, acuérdate de que los ha tenido y que los ha de padecer" (Prosa, 172).

Claro está que éstas y otras expresiones derogatorias están dentro de sus escritos satíricos y por la naturaleza de los mismos hemos de tener una víctima propiciatoria, que muchas veces le toca ser a la mujer. Ello no impide que las desee y que añore estar enamorado, no sólo de una mujer, sino de dos a la vez, "¿por qué con dos incendios una vida | no podrá fulminar su luz ardiente | en dos diversos astros encendida?" (Verso, 114) No podemos fijar la misoginia de Quevedo atendiendo solamente a sus escritos satíricos, porque podríamos mantener el extremo opuesto, que la mujer es el mejor ser del mundo, si nos fijamos en su poesía amatoria. Sin embargo, hay autores que de la manera más gratuita le niegan toda autenticidad a esta poesía amorosa de don Francisco. Así Antonio Espina que se expresa de la siguiente manera, "Es verdad que Quevedo escribió también algunos poemas amorosos, requiebros y romances amatorios. Pero, sin duda, lo hizo para

despistar."<sup>4</sup>

El antifeminismo de Quevedo proviene, como dice Donald Bleznick, de una vieja tradición literaria occidental que se puede trazar desde Marcial hasta los tiempos del escritor, pasando por los padres de la Iglesia quienes, "believed that Satan brought about the downfall of men through the enticements of women." En este sentido escribe el señor de Torre Abad que: "Solariego es el pecar por comer a las mujeres y dar crédito al peor consejo, y ser golosas de lo que las vedan" (Prosa, 1166).

Pero además y siguiendo con las opiniones del mencionado crítico, "Quevedo's censure of women is a poignant exposé of the defects and sins of women who deserve castigation, but it is not necessarily a condemnation of all women."<sup>6</sup> Muy mal podía condenar a todas las mujeres un hombre que además de llevar una vida privada no exenta de mujeres, contaba con muchas amistades en el sexo femenino, como la condesa de Osuna.

No es que el escritor madrileño atacara solamente al sexo femenino, también dirige sus invectivas contra boticarios, alguaciles, taberneros escribanos, médicos y otros. El abanico de profesiones, dadas las circunstancias socio-económicas del siglo XVIII español, era mucho más limitado para las mujeres de la época que para los hombres. Por ello es que censura más los defectos de la mujer en general, en vez de clasificarlas según sus ocupaciones, si bien tampoco deja de criticar ciertos oficios de ellas, tales como el de intermediaria y el de dueña.

Hay que tener en cuenta que cuando Quevedo critica a la mujer por llevar demasiados afeites, está criticando la presunción, la vanidad, y la falsedad de las mismas, que no es en el fondo sino lo mismo que censura al referirse a los hidalgillos con quienes se encuentra en El sueño del infierno. Y si critica el que pidan tanto dinero, joyas y favores a sus pretendientes está atacando el vicio de vivir a costa del prójimo, como lo hacen los letrados, escribanos y alguaciles. Felipe C.R. Maldonado, hablando de la misoginia de Quevedo, se pregunta

"¿Hasta qué punto es eso cierto y en qué medida verdad a medias, especie creada por una impresión superficial, y puesta en circulación sin mayor contraste?"<sup>7</sup> Y ya hablando más en concreto de las putas prosigue Maldonado diciendo que, "su enfoque [el de Quevedo] de la profesión churrianesca no difiere del que adopta para enjuiciar a los taberneros, que aguan el vino, a los boticarios desaprensivos o a los pasteleros por sus asquerosas manipulaciones. Su posición es la del cliente defraudado a quien dan gato por liebre y<sup>8</sup> además le dejan con un trapo atrás y otro delante."

Por eso creo que la misoginia de Quevedo no era tan grande como se le ha achacado. Lo que ocurre es que nuestro autor era mucho más hiriente en sus críticas que otros autores. Además no escatima el hacer objeto de su burla a personas o profesiones de las que otros escritores menos audaces que él, no hubieran osado tratar. Ramón Gómez de la Serna dice a este respecto con gracia y no sin cierta exageración que, "A Quevedo, que fue uno de los amadores más célebres que en el mundo ha habido hacerle pasar por enemigo de la mujer y hasta por misógino. . . . Lo que pasas<sup>9</sup> es que fue un gran jurador y un gran insultador." El que no había materia de la que a él le diera reparo hablar, lo expresó en sus versos al conde de Olivares:

No he de callar, por más que con el dedo  
ya tocando boca o ya la frente,  
silencio avises o amenazas miedo  
¿No ha de haber un espíritu valiente?  
¿Siempre se ha de sentir lo que se dice?  
¿Nunca se ha de decir lo que se siente?  
Hoy sin miedo que libre escandalice,  
puede hablar el ingenio asegurado  
de que mayor poder le atemorice. (Verso, 447)

Con lo que queda dicho me parece que está claro que don Francisco lo que atacaba principalmente eran los vicios y defectos de la personas sin que fuera el sexo femenino, por sí mismo, razón para aborrecerlo. De hecho el escritor también agredía literariamente a los hombres en general, "Desear que

todos los hombres sean buenos y creer que lo son pocos, es virtud y cordura. Muchos hombres debe de haber buenos, todos lo deben ser, muchos parece que lo son; y lo son pocos."<sup>10</sup> Y en la Genealogía de los modorros se observa que no condena a las mujeres como grupo, ya que leemos, "Pues ¡Algunas mujeres de nuestros tiempos! No hay menos que decir de los hombres: digo de algunas que otras hay de quien muchos podrían tomar consejo y mirarse en ellas" (Prosa 46). Con ello pone a la misma altura a mujeres y a hombres, que es lo mismo que hace en sus comentarios a la traducción de Anacreonte cuando dice "Cierta cosa es que todas las potencias, que se sujetan en el alma, son comunes a todos los individuos de esta especie hombres, que Dios sólo en los cuerpos, dotes y oficios dél los diferenció" (Verso, 739).

Quevedo escribió además de poemas, novelas y ensayos, también teatro. Aunque ésta no sea su faceta más conocida, conservamos en su totalidad una comedia, Cómo ha de ser el privado, y catorce entremeses, además de jácara y bailes. Compuso sus entremeses en la época del apogeo del género,<sup>11</sup> no habiendo llegado hasta nosotros ninguno posterior a 1629 de acuerdo con la cronología establecida por Asensio.

Antes de analizar en detalle algunas de estas piezas conviene tener en cuenta lo que entendemos por entremés. En el diccionario de autoridades se define como, "Representación breve, jocosa y burlesca, la qual se entremete de ordinario entre una jornada y otra de la comedia para mayor variedad o para divertir y alegrar al auditorio."<sup>12</sup> Tenemos que darnos cuenta de que, su función es la de provocar la hilaridad de los circunstantes en los intermedios o a la entrada de comedias y autos."<sup>13</sup> Por ello nos encontramos con un género que tenderá a usar la sátira para lograr el efecto apetecido de producir la risa o, al menos, la sonrisa. Se comprende entonces que Quevedo hiciera uso del entremés para censurar los vicios y defectos de la gente.<sup>14</sup> Voy a concentrarme en algunas de estas obras en las que aparecen mujeres para luego sacar conclusiones sobre su caracterización.

Bárbara es a juicio de Asensio el entremés más antiguo del autor. La protagonista, de dicho nombre, recibe a un amante suyo, quien había estado ausente por un mes, con las noticias de que ha logrado engañar a tres personas separadamente haciéndoles creer que el hijo que ha tenido es de ellos, cuando no es sino un niño alquilado. Con ello pretende y lo consigue, que cada uno de los padres aporte dinero para los gastos que acarrea el nacimiento y la crianza de la criatura. Además de este dinero, consigue sacarles más con otras tretas. Amasa un botín suficiente para olvidarse de los supuestos progenitores, así como de su antiguo amante, y constituir una dote para su matrimonio con un artista:

Finjí que quedé preñada  
y parida me finjí  
porque con esto adquirí<sup>15</sup>  
dote con que me casé

Los pretendientes burlados van al lugar de la ceremonia y llegan justo a tiempo de ver la boda de Bárbara con el músico.

El entremés tiene una segunda parte en que se nos muestra a la protagonista viuda por haber naufragado su marido, después de haberse fugado con todo el dinero de los dos. Uno de sus antiguos amantes vuelve muy rico, la corteja y acaban prometiéndose. Aparece otro de ellos, quien logra hacer que Bárbara se case con él. En las bodas aparece el marido supuestamente muerto y la protagonista vuelve a él feliz y contenta.

Las dos partes de la obra satirizan a la mujer pedigüeña y tramposa en la persona de Bárbara.<sup>16</sup> No obstante es interesante observar que son los amantes de ella los que quedan peor presentados ya que son engañados una y otra vez. La protagonista está pintada con una aureola de frescor y vivacidad de la que dan fe los versos susodichos y el siguiente pasaje, "Pues decir: ¿es malo el que yo tengo escojido para marido? Sino que es un mocito que canta y baila que no hay más que desear; y no estar sujeta a un alguacil, a un escribano que os encarte, y al caballero que os burle, y al rufián que os

En curioso observar que en este entremés el matrimonio no está vituperado, sino que está contemplado como la situación ideal, no sólo por la protagonista, sino también por su marido Octavio que no cabe en sí de gozo cuando ve de nuevo a su esposa.<sup>18</sup>

Otro entremés interesante es Diego Moreno. En él la mujer de este personaje, Justa de nombre, requiere regalos y dádivas de otros galanes a cambio, claro está, de sus favores de dama. En cierta ocasión el marido le sorprende con un clérigo, un capitán y un médico. Ella tiene que hacerse la desmayada para que su esposo no sospeche nada y crea que las tres personas han entrado en la casa a ayudar a la desfallecida mujer. Esta obra tiene también una segunda parte que se abre con Justa ya viuda y aceptando por esposo a Berdugo, uno de sus pretendientes. Cuando cree que todo va a ser como con su flexible primer esposo, se encuentra con la horma de su zapato. El nuevo marido empieza a dar las órdenes más disparatadas y contradictorias desde el mismo momento de la boda.<sup>19</sup> En todo contraría a Justa y cuando ésta quiere usar el truco de hacerse la desmayada para mover a Berdugo a compasión, éste le acerca una vela encendida a la mano para así comprobar que el desfallecimiento era fingido.

Si bien aquí también se critica a la mujer pedigüña e hipócrita, lo que se censura, sobre todo, es el marido que se deja hacer un cornudo. Diego Moreno, que está con la sospecha de que su mujer lo engaña y hasta encuentra en la cabecera de la cama objetos de uno de los amantes de su mujer, hace lo posible para que su mujer no sea sorprendida in fraganti. Como dice Justa, "¿no entrara él en casa como otros a la sorda, sin gargajear, o hablar recio primero en el zaguán! Y si acaso hallara alguna visita, con la disimulación y la crianza que entrara, era para dar mil gracias a Dios."<sup>20</sup>

La polilla de Madrid es otro entremés de protagonista femenino, que en este caso es una pícara que alquila una casa y se hace pasar por persona de mucho dinero y clase. Les dice a sus

galanes que va a representar una comedia en las casa, y éstos le prestan joyas y vestidos. Claro está que Elena, nombre de la protagonista, huye con todo lo que le han entregado. Aquí si bien se denuncia la existencia de ladrones, en las personas de Elena y sus secuaces, lo que se critica también es la falta de previsión de los pretendientes que dan sin más ni más todo lo que les piden las mujeres. Como dice don García, uno de los afectados en la estafa, "Yo en aqñeste entremés he hecho el bobo."<sup>21</sup>

Por último, en La venta nos presenta Quevedo a Corneja, quien es el dueño del establecimiento, y a Grajal, la moza que cuida del mismo. En éste se sirven comidas que dejan mucho que desear y es la chica la que se encarga de hacerlo saber a través de sus cantos:

Quien temiere ratones  
venga a esta casa  
donde el huésped los guisa  
como los caza. (Verso, 537)

Un mulero que le dice que está muerto de amor por ella, recibe la siguiente respuesta:

Pues no sepa  
el huésped que estás muerto, porque al punto  
si acaso nos escucha  
os venderá los huéspedes por trucha. (Verso, 540)

Como es obvio en este entremés se censura al ventero, un hombre dicho sea de paso, quedando la mujer descrita como vivaz y más sincera en contraposición al amo.

En resumen se puede decir que los entremeses de Quevedo muestran la visión que el escritor tenía de sus contemporáneos y de los vicios de la sociedad, que es lo mismo que queda expresado en otros géneros que cultivó. La mujer es uno de los tipos criticados en ellas, pero dado el carácter satírico de este tipo de obras, ello no es de extrañar. Su misoginia es la típica proveniente de la corriente patrística. Además el sexo femenino no queda más vituperado que los personajes masculinos o las taras sociales que tanto mujeres

como hombres personifican y arrastran. Como dice Santiago Malabia, "Campea en estos cuadros [el teatro menor de Quevedo] un afán de redención y albedrío desintegrador de las servidumbres sociales, de la tiranía de las apariencias y de los egoísmos que todo lo dominan sobre el amor y la solidaridad<sup>22</sup> que de boca para afuera se dice practicar."

No he investigado en este estudio la faceta artística de los entremeses de Quevedo por quedar fuera del objeto del trabajo. Dejo para más adelante el análisis de este interesante aspecto que muestra el conceptismo barroco del genial escritor madrileño.

<sup>1</sup>Amadée Mas. La caricature de la femme, du mariage et de l'amour dans l'oeuvre de Quevedo (Paris: Ediciones Hispano-Americanas, 1957), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas. Obras completas. Vol. I. Obras en prosa. Estudio preliminar, edición y notas de Felicidad Buendía (Madrid: Aguilar, 1966), p. 464. El número de la página de las citas de Quevedo referentes a este volumen vendrá dado en el texto seguido de la palabra Prosa.

<sup>3</sup>Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas. Obras completas. Vol. II. Obras en verso. Estudio preliminar, edición y notas de Felicidad Buendía (Madrid: Aguilar, 1966), p. 446. El número de la página de las citas de Quevedo referentes a este volumen vendrá dado en el texto seguido de la palabra Verso.

<sup>4</sup>Antonio Espina. "Una forma del romanticismo: Quevedo y las mujeres." Revista de América X (1947), 350.

<sup>5</sup>Donald W. Bleznick. Quevedo (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972), p. 54.

<sup>6</sup>Bleznick, p. 54.

<sup>7</sup>Felipe C.R. Maldonado. "Quevedo y sus caricaturas de la mujer." La Estafeta Literaria, 538 (1974), p. 11.

<sup>8</sup>Maldonado, p. 12.

<sup>9</sup>Ramón Gómez de la Serna. "Quevedo y las mujeres." Clavileño, I, número 3 (1950), p. 63.

<sup>10</sup>Citada por Otis H. Green en Courtly Love in Quevedo (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1952), p. 18.

<sup>11</sup>Felicidad Buendía divide en cuatro épocas la evolución del entremés como género: la primitiva de los pasos de Lope de Rueda y Juan de Timoneda; la de las figuras cumbres, Cervantes y Quiñones de Benavente, en la que se incluyen autores como Quevedo y Salas Barbadillo, la tercera etapa de gran popularidad y proliferación, pero sin figuras tan señeras, que ocupa la segunda mitad del siglo XVII, y la cuarta de decadencia de finales del XVII y del XVIII. Antología del entremés (Madrid: Aguilar, 1965), pp. 34-35.

<sup>12</sup>"Entremés." Diccionario de Autoridades. (Madrid: Aguilar, 1965), pp. 34-35.

<sup>13</sup>Eugenio Asensio. Itinerario del entremés (Madrid: Gredos, 1971), p. 17.

<sup>14</sup>Felicidad Buendía dice que estas obras ofrecen al señor de Torre Abad, "Un resquicio más para ver al mundo por dentro y mostrarle por fuera." Antología del entremés, 363. También Armando Cotarelo Valledor ha apuntado que, "Los asuntos suelen reproducir, como en esquemas temas burlescos tratados por el autor en otras obras." El teatro de Quevedo (Madrid: Aguirre, 1945), p. 34.

<sup>15</sup>Asensio, 349.

<sup>16</sup>Tampoco faltan las críticas a la figura de la dueña.

<sup>17</sup>Asensio, 346.

<sup>18</sup>Lo cual prueba que Quevedo no criticaba el matrimonio per se. Como dice Maldonado, "Lo que al parecer [a Quevedo] le molesta—es la hipocresía, que a las zorras se les llame damas, y a toda pícaro señora hemrosa," p. 11.

<sup>19</sup>Se asemeja en este respecto al cuento de don Juan Manuel, "Lo que sucedió a un mozo que se casó con una muchacha de muy mal carácter."

<sup>20</sup>Asensio, p. 275.

<sup>21</sup>Asensio, p. 336.

<sup>22</sup>"El teatro de Quevedo." Prometeo, 3-4 (1980), 524.

Pietro Frassica

Sono noti i limiti imposti alla ricerca da concetti storiografici troppo settoriali; nel caso del Parini poi, in cui come spesso è stato ripetuto classicismo e neoclassicismo sembrano fondersi, ogni tentativo di catalogazione o di distinzione diventa sempre piú frastornante. In questo senso si sono rivelate di qualche utilità le definizioni che via via si sono venute a dare ai diversi momenti della poetica del Parini, e che sembrano trovare una sintesi completa in queste parole di Sergio Antonielli: "Accanto al generico classicismo della sua ansia di perfezione, c'è da valutare questo assillo neoclassico [ . . . ] Ma non si sbaglia se si dice che questo nasce dall'interno stesso dell'originario classicismo arcadico e oraziano" però fino a che punto 'questo assillo 'neoclassico' possa nascere 'dall'interno stesso dell'originario classicismo arcadico e oraziano' o se in tale 'assillo' non è possibile individuare le sollecitazioni di un ambiente in rivolgimento, come doveva essere quello di una città come Milano negli ultimi trent'anni del Settecento.

Cercando quindi di evitare il piú possibile le definizioni storiografiche, che tendono ad inserire la poetica pariniana ora in questa ora in quella corrente per giustificarne l'evoluzione, potrebbe essere piuttosto proficuo rivolgere l'attenzione verso quei rapporti che negli anni che seguirono la pubblicazione del Mezzogiorno, e cioè dopo il 1765, il Parini ebbe modo di instaurare con l'ambiente artistico e culturale che sembra averlo definitivamente legato alle arti figurative, permettendogli, tra l'altro d'intraprendere l'attività di suggerimento tecnico dato all'artista, in quanto indica l'adeguamento del poeta al gusto del tempo. Non si può infatti dimenticare che i Soggetti furono pur sempre ideati e annotati per trovare forma nelle decorazioni delle sale dei

palazzi milanesi, e come tali le intuizioni del Parini dovevano adeguarsi al gusto corrente, facendo evidentemente ricorso a tutte quelle risorse culturali che aveva a disposizione. Ed anche se la biblioteca di Brera, come si è visto, era fornita di testi specifici, che offrivano al Parini spunti, idee, temi e ogni sorta di rievocazioni mitologiche, adatte ad essere rappresentate dagli artisti, è soprattutto nell'ambito culturale in cui il Parini si muoveva che vanno individuate certe suggestioni cromatiche degli affreschi dei palazzi milanesi, che offrivano al suo occhio attento esempi e modelli spesso anche molto illustri. Mi riferisco evidentemente agli affreschi dipinti da Giambattista Tiepolo durante il suo soggiorno milanese (tra il 1731 e il 1737), la cui genialità era ancora testimoniata nelle sale di palazzo Archinto, palazzo Casati-Dugnati e palazzo Clerici. Il Parini alcuni anni dopo avrebbe suggerito a sua volta ad altri pittori nuovi temi da raffigurare, nella realizzazione dei quali si sarebbe fatta sentire l'esperienza del Tiepolo. Se influenza ci può essere stata nel gusto cromatico o nella realizzazione spettacolare, questa non riguarda in genere il contenuto dei Soggetti pariniani: è evidente che certi temi già sfruttati dal Tiepolo non potevano essere impudentemente ripetuti pochi decenni dopo, sulle pareti di altri palazzi, costruiti nella cerchia dei navigli milanesi. Bisognava trovare nuovi temi, episodi diversi da quelli già raffigurati dal Tiepolo; ed il Parini li trova e li propone agli esecutori. Ed è nella realizzazione per mano dei pittori che ritornano gli inconfondibili modi dell'arte del Tiepolo. Del resto lo stesso pittore Traballesi che eseguì parte dei Soggetti pariniani sembra essere stato influenzato dall'esempio del Tiepolo. Nel Parini invece è la maniera in cui essi vengono proposti al pittore che rivela una certa affinità ai modi dell'arte del Tiepolo; egli allestisce i temi della rappresentazione ispirandosi alla tradizione mitologica, ma fornisce delle indicazioni che sembrano dettate da un gusto che a Milano si era imposto attraverso il Tiepolo. Espressioni come: "Sopra un vago e luminoso gruppo di Nuvole, le quali scenderanno dalla destra della tela alla sinistra, ombreggiando la parte destra . . . si vedrà un carro

tirato da quattro spiritosi e leggiere cavalli. Sopra di quello sederà Apollo, che risplendendo di chiarissima luce, illuminerà tutta la composizione (Soggetto per il telone della Scala). Ed ancora immagini come: "abito vago di colori e di forme" (Erato, sempre per il telone della Scala.) Ercole che apprende la musica dal poeta Lino: "Le dette figure saranno Mercurio, Dio delle Arti, e le tre Grazie, di lui compagne. Questi si vedranno alla destra della composizione più in alto, collocati fra un gruppo di nuvole . . . Apollo seduto sopra un gran sasso suonando la lira." Per'il giudizio di Paride': "in un lato, cumulo di vesti d'armi." Amore e Psiche: "In tutta questa pittura dominerà la più grande vaghezza possibile di colorito e di tinte." I riposi di Giove: "La nuvola su cui starà Giove sedendo, sarà d'un color vago e dorato." L'Aurora: "Avrà un manto di color giallo, e spargerà dalla sua persona una luce tra il giallo ed il rosseggiante che illuminerà tutta la composizione."

Questi e altri numerosi esempi di pura indicazione pittorica, più che episodica o narrativa, fanno pensare agli affreschi del Tiepolo, ai suoi colori ora decisi, ora vaghi. Persino nei momenti in cui viene lasciata una certa libertà al pittore, i colori anche se appena accennati ci rimandano in qualche modo a quelli del Tiepolo. Come ad esempio in: "Panneggiamento bianco ed ornato d'oro ad arbitrio," oppure: "Le forme e i colori dell'abito di lui saranno, teneri, delicati e vezzosi, a piacer del pittore" (a proposito di Rinaldo). Così, se per i colori fondamentali il Parini dà indicazioni piuttosto precise, per i panneggiamenti e per i colori meno definiti viene invece lasciato al pittore un maggiore margine di libertà, forse perché il Parini è conscio di certe libertà espressive del Tiepolo, in cui spesso "le regole accademiche si accompagnano a straordinarie innovazioni"; ai colori fondamentali e tradizionali, proposti dal Parini si accompagneranno quindi tutta una serie di tinte sfumate e vaghe, che il pittore dovrà rendere secondo il proprio gusto. Inutilmente cercheremo quindi delle analogie tra i Soggetti pariniani e i temi raffigurati dal Tiepolo: ciò che i Soggetti pariniani realizzati dai vari pittori possono evocare è un certo gusto pittorico, secondo la maniera cara

al Tiepolo. Tuttavia è pur sempre un rapporto che indica come al di là delle fonti letterarie, dei trattati e dei dizionari specializzati di cui il Parini si servì, il contributo più strettamente figurativo e iconografico dell'ambiente, partecipò con non poche sollecitazioni al mutamento del gusto del Parini. Ed è in questo senso che vanno analizzati i rapporti del Parini con gli amici pittori, architetti, scultori e colleghi dell'Accademia di Brera. L'interesse degli studiosi rivolto agli amici del Parini: l'Appiani, il Franchi, il Piermarini, il Traballesi ha messo in evidenza fino a questo momento, solo alcuni aspetti del rapporto, ed essenzialmente legati all'amore del Parini per le arti figurative.

Per andare più a fondo, vorrei prendere come esempio il rapporto col Piermarini, un personaggio che indubbiamente ebbe una notevole influenza sull'evoluzione del gusto del Parini. Nel soggetto per il telone del teatro della Scala il Parini suggerisce la raffigurazione di un tempio in cui saranno 'collocati i busti degli uomini illustri indicati da Apollo'; esaminiamo ciò che il pittore deve eseguire: "L'architettura del Tempio potrà essere d'uno o più ordini, avvertendo però che vi sia conciliato colla grandiosità la maggior esattezza, semplicità e purità possibile dell'Arte. Sarà libero il pittore di scegliere il partito che più gli piace per questo lavoro, salve però le cose essenziali del soggetto e i rapporti necessari alla integrità di esso." Come si vede il Parini fornisce le indicazioni essenziali per la realizzazione del tempio, mettendo l'accento sulle caratteristiche che il tempio deve avere: "esattezza, semplicità, purità dell'Arte." Sono i tre principi classici, riscoperti dal Neoclassicismo, quelli che il Parini esige per il tempio ideato. Il tempio deve quindi rispondere ad un preciso canone e il Parini pur lasciando una qualche libertà all'artista mette bene in chiaro la necessità di rispettare "le cose essenziali del soggetto e i rapporti necessari alla integrità di esso," evitando quelle indicazioni generiche di questo tipo: "secondo l'uso dei greci," a cui spesso il Parini ricorre quando vuole rappresentare per esempio un ambiente greco. Il tempio deve invece ispirarsi a quegli stessi principi

che in quegli anni erano stati introdotti nell'architettura milanese dal Piermarini e che rapidamente si erano affermati sugli ultimi tentativi di barocchetto lombardo.

Per capire meglio la funzione svolta dal Piermarini nella cultura milanese di quegli anni, bisogna risalire al 1769 anno in cui il giovane architetto giunse nella capitale lombarda al seguito del piú noto Vanvitelli. Nel novembre di quello stesso anno, ripartito il Vanvitelli, Giuseppe Piermarini fu nominato Imperial Regio Architetto e Ispettore Generale delle Fabbriche di Stato in Lombardia. Da quel momento in poi, il Piermarini svolgerà a Milano un'attività edilizia intensissima che si arresterà all'arrivo dei Francesi. Come si sa, le riforme promosse da Maria Teresa d'Austria dopo la pace di Aquisgrana giusero in Lombardia con un poco di ritardo, rispetto agli altri stati dominati dall'Austria. Col primo gennaio 1760 entra in vigore la legge del censo che applica una serie di ristrutturazioni dell'apparato burocratico della città di Milano e del ducato. Dopo le prime ripercussioni economiche e sociali si ebbero quelle edilizie e urbanistiche che a partire dal 1770, mutarono il volto di Milano. La soppressione di monasteri e di conventi rese libere nuove aree per la costruzione di nuovi locali per uffici pubblici e per privati. È evidente che sia la vecchia nobiltà sia la nuova borghesia, approfittando della disponibilità dei mezzi, favorirono non pochi rivolgimenti. Per Milano quelli tra il 1770 e il 1790 furono anni fervidi. In quell'impareggiabile diario della vita milanese offerta dalla corrispondenza di Pietro Verri col fratello Alessandro, si legge nella lettera del 19 febbraio 1777: "Dacché sei partito da Milano sono accadute varie mutazioni, che non si sarebbero prevedute . . . Si atterra la Scala e si fabbrica un teatro. A Brera si pianta la scuola della pittura e un ex-gesuita mostra la venere de' Medici. Da donna Bianca Visconti nel giardino si fa teatro; a San Fedele alloggiano i Canonici della Scala; al palazzo del principe Trivulzi cento poveri; nella casa Clerici la Corte, nel palazzo Marini il Magistrato, alla sede del Comune di Milano nel centro della piazza de' Mercanti l'archivio di tutte le scritte de' notai

della città e del Ducato; al sito della Camerata si fa commedia de' Burattini; la Camerata è al Broletto. Mi pare che sebbene non abbia detto tutto, il moto non si piccolo. Non v'è paese dove da dodici anni si siano fatte tante novità, nazione che impugni e disapprovi ogni novità quanto la nostra."

Per noi tali censure sono particolarmente interessanti, perché permettono di individuare le varietà di ordinamento della cultura illuministica e neoclassica, e, di riflesso, consentono di vedere le qualità di un artista del tempo, nonché i contributi nuovi nella cultura locale. Al Piermarini il Parini dedicò pagine, elogi e Soggetti per le decorazioni dei palazzi progettati dall'architetto; del resto è nota la profonda amicizia da cui i due furono legati. Quale fu quindi il ruolo del Piermarini nella scelta dei Soggetti per i palazzi da lui realizzati? Tentò di imporre il suo gusto e in che misura vi riuscì? o ne rimase del tutto estraneo, rimettendosi alle decisioni del Parini, al gusto del pittore che avrebbe eseguito i lavori e ai desideri dei committenti?

Certo sembra piuttosto improbabile che non venisse chiesto al Piermarini un qualche giudizio nella scelta dei soggetti che avrebbero decorato le sale da lui progettate. È difficile pensare che a proposito dei Soggetti non ci sia stato tra i due almeno qualche scambio d'idee. Sia come amico sia come collaboratore, il Parini deve essere stato messo a parte di certi elementi acquisiti dal Piermarini nel decennio di permanenza a Roma e nei sei anni di apprendistato presso il Vanvitelli. Bisogna infatti ricordare che gli anni romani del Piermarini (1755-1765) furono anni di confluenza, da ogni parte d'Europa, di personaggi di primo piano, addirittura protagonisti del rinnovamento artistico in atto, che facevano allora di Roma veramente un nodo internazionale di incontri e di scambi. Vi sono presenti contemporaneamente Winckelmann e Mengs, Piranesi attivissimo e in piena evidenza; Robert Adam, Clérissseau e i giovani artisti dell'Accademia di Francia. Del resto ciò che predomina negli studi del periodo romano del Piermarini sono i monumenti di Roma antica e le visioni immaginarie d'ispirazione classica. E saranno queste, soprattutto, le

esperienze a cui il Piermarini attingerà quando, nei primi anni del suo soggiorno milanese, dovrà ideare gli apparati di festa in occasione dell'ingresso e delle nozze dell'Arciduca Ferdinando il 15 ottobre del 1771: un grande anfiteatro di legno disegnato secondo la forma del Circo Massimo. Tra gli apparati c'era persino un tempietto di Flora--una figura che offrirà diversi spunti per i Soggetti pariniani--costruito secondo le tipiche forme classiche. Per certi versi, l'ideatore dei Soggetti è già ravvisabile in queste descrizioni pariniane delle feste celebrate a Milano in quell'occasione. Le descrizioni di questo mondo classico, fatto rivivere dal Piermarini, e in cui Milano viene immersa in quell'occasione, sono già per l'autore del Ciorno un esercizio di scrittura tendente al dettaglio decorativo, oltre che un evidente avvio ad assimilare quel gusto neoclassico che alita negli allestimenti ideati dal Piermarini. Ancora prima di suggerire i Soggetti per i palazzi realizzati dal Piermarini, il Parini si trova quindi nella condizione di dovere descrivere questo mondo neoclassico, creato con fervore ed artificio dal Piermarini. Qualche esempio tratto da tali descrizioni potrà forse rendere meglio l'idea: "Sul dosso della collinetta alzavasi un semplice ma decoroso basamento, sopra del quale appariva un antico tempietto dedicato a Flora. Era il tempio d'architettura dorica, sostenuto da otto colonne; i quattro lati principali n'erano aperti, e nel mezzo vedevasi la statua della dea. Quattro altre statue di deità tutelari de' giardini, de' frutti e simili, erano collocate negl'intercolonii. Sopra le due colonne di mezzo stavano due Fame in atto di sostenere una medaglia rappresentante i due Reali sposi, intorno alla quale scherzavano vaghi festoni di fiori al naturale. Le altre colonne portavano eleganti vasi di fiori, ornati pur essi di fiori. A piè del basamento, come pure ai due lati del tempio vedevansi delle fontane che parevano destinate all'uso delle offerte e dei sacrifici." Ed ecco per la corsa dei cavalli, la descrizione del carro che porta il trofeo da assegnare al cavallo vincitore: "Appariva sull'alto del carro una statua rappresentante l'Abbondanza, con Genii all'intorno e simboli ad essa convenienti; e nel davanti dello stesso un'altra statua rappresentante l'Agricoltura, che teneva con una mano l'aratro a coll'altra una

corona di verdi fronde, ed era parimenti intornata di piccoli Geuii che le scherzavano al piede . . ."

Come si può vedere, si tratta di formule iconografiche che verranno ripetute piú o meno analogamente nei Soggetti e replicate, attraverso un'elaborazione espressivo-figurativa, anche nella poesia del Giorno. Figure mitologiche e morali che il Parini assimila e perfeziona: rendendole spesso piú antropomorfiche. È evidente che l'accento al Piermarini è solo un esempio; perché l'indagine possa veramente svolgere una funzione utile, dovrebbe raccogliere e definire meglio una buona parte, almeno, di quelle sollecitazioni culturali e artistiche che il Parini poté ricevere dai suoi amici artisti con i quali si stabilì un'evidente collaborazione, oltre che una profonda amicizia. Direi che, al di là della sua erudizione letteraria, da cui il Parini spesso trasse idee che potessero essere adattate ai suoi 'libretti' per pittori, è proprio l'ambiente artistico e culturale milanese di quegli anni, di cui il Parini fu parte attiva, la via piú promettente e finora tra le meno battute, quella che con ogni probabilità potrebbe permettere di chiarire meglio certe evoluzioni del gusto artistico e quindi poetico dell'autore del Giorno, alla luce delle novità e dei contributi portati nell'ambito milanese da artisti esterni.

È sempre attraverso questa dimensione legata all'ambiente e all'esperienza in qualche modo umana che il Parini fa dell'arte, che si potrebbe cogliere meglio il significato profondo e forse piú concreto di certe testimonianze che ci dicono della collaborazione nel campo delle arti figurative tra il Parini e gli artisti milanesi. Una prova piuttosto evidente è del resto costituita dalla necessità da parte del Parini di definire nella lunga dissertazione dei Principi fondamentali e generali delle belle lettere applicati alle belle arti i rapporti tra lettere ed arti; un'esigenza volta in definitiva a teorizzare le esperienze di un periodo dominato, quasi esclusivamente da un'intensa attività nel campo figurativo. Anni in cui apparentemente l'attività di maestro, di giornalista, di consigliere, di riformatore scolastico sembrò far tacere il canto del poeta--il Giorno aspettavadi

essere concluso, rimanendo pur tuttavia presente come l'esperienza poetica piú impegnativa--mentre nuovi interessi spingono il Parini ad ideare i suoi Soggetti per il palazzo Ducale, completamente finito nel 1778, e per il palazzo Greppi, anch'esso finito nel 1778. La stesura dei Principi fondamentali di belle lettere rappresenta quindi la sintesi delle esperienze accumulate dal maestro e dall'uomo di cultura a partire dal 1769, divenendo cosí punto di partenza di quel nuovo spirito animato da un'armonia di bellezza, che sembra essere in sintonia con le tendenze della cultura e dell'arte, nonché con la vita del tempo. Il Parini stesso, volendo probabilmente rimanere in un certo senso al di là delle varie definizioni che tendono a fare scaturire da questa nuova spiritualità teorie astratte e spesso incomprensibili, ammonisce: "Hanno gravemente errato coloro, i quali nelle materie che appartengono a' sentimenti ed al gusto, si sono troppo abusati dell'astrazione; talmente che hanno fatto della stessa teoria delle belle arti una càbala sublimemente superstiziosa, alle leggi della quale càbala si è tanto piú ciecamente ubbidito quanto meno s'intendono." (Princ. fond. 1, 3, 2).

Al di là delle teorie c'è però l'armonia delle belle arti, un principio che il Parini elabora e diffonde come insegnamento, in quel tentativo volto al rinnovamento della poesia: "Lo studio delle belle lettere non è altro che lo studio dei principi, delle regole, degli esempi delle erudizioni, che servono a rendere abili a intendere, a gustare, a comporre quelle opere dell'ingegno, le quali sono destinate a giovar dilettando l'animo umano, per mezzo della parola, non solo colla bellezza delle loro parti, ma singolarmente colla bellezza del loro tutto. La bellezza di questo genere di opere consiste nella presentazione di vari oggetti, gradevoli per sé medesimi, e talmente scelti, composti ed ordinati, che forniscono un oggetto solo notabilmente gradevole ed interessante; nel che si rassomigliano tutte quante le opere delle belle arti."

Non giustapposizione quindi delle arti figurative e della scrittura, ove l'uno è la raffigurazione dell'altro, ma rappresentazione di un medesimo messaggio, in un coro di belle arti che sorpassano il puro momento estetico.

La Bruyère's Caractères:  
The Problematics of Closure

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In an effort to penetrate the descriptive universe of the Caractères, critical enterprises of the last decade have sought at long last to subordinate subject matter to textual manner or rather to make manner the matter at hand, form, the<sup>2</sup> subject in question. Jules Brody,<sup>1</sup> J. Marmier,<sup>4</sup> Doris Kirsch,<sup>3</sup> Serge Doubrovsky,<sup>6</sup> Roland Barthes,<sup>5</sup> and Louise Horowitz,<sup>6</sup> by privileging the compartments of language, unmask in La Bruyère's cosmos a semantics of movement--mechanical, non-progressive, insignificant--and thereby lay stress from within upon the linguistic entity forged by the moralist and geared to depict the very automata that are men. Mechanistics, non-progressiveness, automatism: these are the keys to La Bruyère's character-ridden kingdom where the portrait evoked points to beings who are meaningless ciphers, who constitute a mere pastiche of borrowed gestures, actors who perform on cue, void of internal motivation. But such a typology, justified as it proves, leads to still another textual phenomenon which appears to have eluded even the most acute critical perception; I shall refer to this phenomenon as a lack of "poetic" closure. Apparently unconcerned with propelling the text towards a structured, linear conclusion, La Bruyère harbors an inherent aversion to the logical linking of events. Readers venturing on the deceptive surface of the work wait in vain for the patches to coalesce, the structure to firm: the vision remains unfocused, the direction oblique, the message un-terminated. Related notions fail to intersect, subordinate intrigues assume primacy, interchangeable events wander directionlessly into an assemblage of intimations, associations, and allusions, of which the last in a non-series often masquerades as conclusion. With neither propellant to guide nor des-

mination to beckon, a text might inconsequently elongate, but it never acquires the qualitative significance required to provide meaning to its course or purpose to its progress. Short of beginning and end, premise and conclusion, La Bruyère's is a textuality which stubbornly and effectively resists closure.

Closure depends, of course, largely on the degree to which the author can reweave the disconnected threads of his narrative at the moment of termination. La Bruyère not only avoids such re-weaving, but carefully constructs a text where introduction and conclusion remain--thematically, structurally, even grammatically--in fundamental opposition. Whence unexpected reversals, paradoxical twists of fate, and sardonic irony that are distinguishing features in Les Caractères, but which prove perhaps less significant than sudden shifts in perspective and erratic moves in tempo, these lending an overriding impression of disharmony and/or inequality. In a passage evoking man's inability to conclude agreements, for example, several techniques operate to negate the reader's sense of terminal resolution:

Les hommes ont tant de peine à s'approcher sur les affaires, sont si épineux sur les moindres intérêts, si hérissés de difficultés, veulent si fort tromper et si peu être trompés, mettent si haut ce qui leur appartient, et si bas ce qui appartient aux autres, que j'avoue que je ne sais par où et comment se peuvent conclure les mariages, les contrats, les acquisitions, la paix, la trêve, les traités, les alliances. (H, 24)

Although the passage is built upon one binary sentence, the first segment providing cause ("Les hommes ont tant de peine à s'approcher sur les affaires, sont si épineux . . . ce qui appartient aux autres"); and the second detailing effect ("que j'avoue que je ne sais par où et comment se peuvent conclure les mariages, les contrats . . . les alliances"), the two halves do not unite into a composite whole. Rather they appear fully contrary, mutually exclusive. The opening hyperbolic assertion as to the general nature of man ("Les hommes ont tant de peine . . .") subsequently evaporates into

subjective equivocation ("j'avoue que . . . je ne sais par où"). Just as general knowledge transforms into personal skepticism, so does the assertiveness of active voice ("Les hommes ont . . .") yield to the formlessness of the passive ("comment se peuvent conclure les mariages. . ."). And while the rhetorical device of accumulation informs both segments of the sentence, the grammatical reduction in the first fosters a sense of acceleration:

Les hommes ont tant de peine . . . sur les affaires,  
 ———— sont si épineux sur les intérêts,  
 ———— si hérissés de difficultés . . .

clashing sharply with the unyielding monotony of subsequent enumeration whose homogeneity eludes all hints of movement.

However, dissonance and a-linearity are, themselves, not without resultant. In the following passage, for example, textual opposition assumes textual signification:

Je ne comprends pas comment un mari qui s'abandonne à son humeur et à sa complexion, qui ne cache aucun de ses défauts, et se montre au contraire par ses mauvais endroits, qui est avare, qui est trop négligé dans son ajustement, brusque dans ses réponses, incivil, froid et taciturne, peut espérer de défendre le coeur d'une jeune femme contre les entreprises de son galant, qui emploie la parure et la magnificence, la complaisance, les soins, l'empressement, les dons, la flatterie. (F, 74)

Once again, a single binary sentence produces an inharmonious effect, but the dissonance here accentuates difference in two principal personages. The inactivity of the husband, communicated to the reader by intransitive (inertia-bearing) verbs (s'abandonne, se montre, est, espérer), and by a lexicon of neglect and passivity (he does not hide his faults, he does not spend money, he does not take care of his appearance), is posed in direct opposition to the single, but all-consuming activity of the suitor to impress ("qui emploie la parure . . . husband's insouciance overwhelms the comparatively minimal description accorded to the gallant, the skewed proportions of the text bear an inverse

relationship to the projected outcome. Disproportion becomes both subject and means. Finally, the monotony of the final accumulation (the invariability in tone and tempo, the openness of the vowel sounds) creates an impression of endless extensions, further accentuated by the premature appearance of the conjunctive element "et" (la parure et la magnificence) which frustrates reader expectations. The conjunction normally signalling the end of a series, its displacement in this passage renders it non-functional by actually propelling the accumulation forward rather than finalizing it.

Even when not used to produce an effect of textual disharmony by opposing a contrasting passage of movement, the tedious rhythm of accumulation makes it the ideal figure of speech to negate closure.<sup>10</sup> An obsessive litany of substantives sends the narrative direction endlessly forward, while simultaneously depriving the series of the ranking which would be requisite in order for the passage to build or dwindle to its natural conclusion. In Les Caractères, La Bruyère's affinity for terminal accumulation is manifest, and while an occasional conjunction serves to confine, however weakly, the accumulation within finite boundaries:

. . . comme le commerce, les finances, le détail des armées, la navigation, les arts, les métiers l'heureuse mémoire, l'esprit du jeu, celui de la société et de la conversation (H, 86);

La Bruyère just as frequently avoids using linguistic markers altogether, allowing punctuation alone to signal finality:

. . . il emprunte sa règle de son poste et de son état: de là l'oubli, la fierté, l'arrogance, la dureté, l'ingratitude. (C, 51)

Just as textual dissonance often bespeaks thematic upheaval, so do accumulative networks, substituted for endings, generate a kind of narrativity in which the ramblings of language incarnate the endlessness of matter. The homogeneity of elements in the sequence underscores and parallels the mechanical routine, the unremitting insignificance

of conventional activities, the generic blandness of existence:

. . . il faut laisser Aronce parler proverbe et Mélinde parler de soi, de ses vapeurs, de ses migraines et de ses insomnies. (SC, 5)

Action, conduite, ouvrage, événement, tout est oublié; ne leur demandez ni correction, ni prévoyance, ni réflexion, ni reconnaissance, ni récompense. (G, 54)

In both passages, the phonetic similarity (repetition of the "p" and "s" sounds in the first; repetition of the "tion", the "ance", and the "r" sounds in the second), rhythmic and semantic consistency (syllabic uniformity, repetition of "parler de" and "ses" in the first passage, repetition of "ni" in the second) convey an inconsequentiality to the separate elements, an invariability closely aligned to the denotative message. Additionally, the forward linearity of accumulation, specifically in final position, connotes boundlessness, a textual symbol of infinity. No quantity of suffering can penetrate the tough exterior of the financier, insensitive to the effects of tragedy from overexposure, an impenetrability underscored by the non-finite conclusion:

Un bon financier ne pleure ni ses amis, ni sa femme, ni ses enfants. (BF, 34)

Similarly, women provide an inexhaustible source of anguish for the unwary husband:

Telle autre femme, à qui le désordre manque pour mortifier son mari, y revient par sa noblesse et ses alliances, par la riche dot qu'elle a apportée, par les charmes de sa beauté, par son mérite, par ce que quelques-uns appellent vertu (E, 77);

man's horror of solitude engenders an interminable index of evils:

Tout notre mal vient de ne pouvoir être seuls: de là le jeu, le luxe, la dissipation, le vin, les femmes, l'ignorance, la médisance, l'envie, l'oubli de soi-même et de Dieu. (H, 99)

When not used in final position, however, accumulation suggests finity, in order to stress the infinite character of the final sequence. Thus man's attempts to conclude agreements (H, 24) appear limited when communicated via an initial (and internally protected) accumulation, whereas the contracts themselves, which project endlessly via a terminal enumeration, appear unframed. Likewise, the influence of the heedless husband (F, 74) has clearly delineateable limits (interior accumulation doubly sealed with a final conjunction), whereas the efforts on the part of the suitor to entice the husband's wife appear endless (final accumulation coupled with a conspicuous absence of conjunctive element).

If the precarious structure of the passages, the barely discernible plot, the anesthetized motives of the mechanical men all conspire to form a text which resists terminal resolution, it is perhaps because textual openness constitutes less an incidental effect than the very essence of Les Caractères. Beneath a superstructure of frenzied animation swirls a network, whose basic direction is not linear, but circular.<sup>11</sup> In his article, J. Marmier remarks: "Plus qu'aucun livre vraiment, Les Caractères méritaient d'être comparés à une pendule: partout sy répercute le battement d'un balancier."<sup>12</sup> The characters therein depicted lead lives of ritualistic habit and imitative reflex; their acts of pure mimicry are foredoomed to perpetual repetition. Little wonder that they readily confuse<sup>13</sup> past and future, equate prologue with conclusion:

La fortune enfin ne leur rit plus; elle se joue ailleurs, et traite leur postérité comme leurs ancêtres. (BF, 80)

. . . alors ils disparaissent tout à la fois riches et décrédités; et le monde qu'ils viennent de tromper est encore prêt d'être trompé par d'autres. (C, 16)

For them, only the present exists, a present which is but the immediate past of an anonymous model, a "faux présent," notes Serge Doubrovsky, which ultimately undermines the very notion of temporality.<sup>14</sup>

With time perpetually out of joint, any progression other than circular would not only prove

illogical, but would be alien to the very spirit of a work concerned less with movement than with motion, a small but critical semantic distinction upon which the entire work is built. Movement by definition has a logical point of termination. Motion, which has neither direction nor focus, encompasses no natural end. La Bruyère's personages, who lack the motivational force necessary to provide direction to their gestures, tend to be in motion, rather than in movement, and thus require an exterior force to bring their aimless wandering to a halt. Unremarked obstacles:

S'il marche dans les places, il se sent tout d'un coup rudement frappé à l'estomac ou au visage (H, 7);

unexpected presences:

Que serait-ce de vous et de lui, si quelqu'un ne survenait heureusement pour déranger le cercle, et faire oublier la narration? (SC, 11);

or metaphysical interventions:

L'homme a bien peu de ressources dans soi-même, puisqu'il lui faut une disgrâce ou une mortification pour le rendre plus humain, plus traitable, moins féroce, plus honnête homme (C, 94);

are required to alter the animated stasis, which, in Les Caractères, constitutes the status quo. Like the characters themselves, the narrative, too, depends on thematic and rhetorical artifice to achieve termination. Sudden departures:

Montrez-leur un feu grégeois qui les surprenne ou un éclair qui les éblouisse ils vous quittent du bon et du beau. (OE, 29)

Le client sort, reconduit, caressé, confus, presque content d'être refusé (G, 48):

voluntary separations:

Je cède enfin et je disparaïs . . . (SC, 12)

. . . leçon importante, motif pressant et indispensable de

fuir à l'orient quand le fat est à l'occident . . . (SC, 29);

even deaths:

. . . elle meurt parée et en rubans de couleur (F, 7);

occasionally serve to terminate the passage. Where thematics fail to articulate a message of finality, an adverbial cue signals impending termination:

On en a vu enfin, qui ont sapé par les fondements de grands empires . . . (SR, 7)

. . . l'on a des chagrins et une bile que l'on ne se connaissait point, l'on se voit une autre complexion, l'on est enfin étormé de se trouver dur et épineux. (H, 15)

Such artifice would of course be superfluous and redundant in a text where purpose and progression lead to a natural conclusion, but La Bruyère clearly has no interest in resolving the riddles of his narrative. Occasionally unable to supply a resolution:

Cependant s'en éloignera-t-on avant d'en avoir tiré le moindre fruit, ou persistera-t-on à y demeurer sans grâce s et sans récompenses? Question si épineuse, si embarrassée, et d'une si pénible décision, qu'un nombre infini de courtisans vieillissent sur le oui et sur le non, et meurent dans le doute. (C, 22)

. . . caractère équivoque, mêlé, enveloppé, une énigme, une question presque indécise (C, 96);

but more frequently simply unwilling to provide such dénouement, La Bruyère remains obsessively committed to portraying only the surface of things. Brisk, broad strokes outline the form; the substance beneath the surface, however, is not even sketchily drawn. The "character" is thus immutably fixed; all possibility of transformation rendered impossible from the outset. Straton retains his enigmatic aura (C, 96); Arsène, his haughtiness (OE, 24); Cydias, his self-satisfaction (SC, 75); Ménippe, his vanity (MP, 40); Ménéalque, his distraction (H, 7).

The superficiality of Les Caractères has not escaped critical attention. For La Bruyère, man is but an outline, a presence in the court, a blur on the horizon. As Jules Brody has perspicaciously noted:

A la place de toute analyse psychologique, La Bruyère ne nous offre au contraire que de simples constatations objectives. Là, où nous nous attendons à trouver une personnalité, un caractère, ou une raison, nous ne rencontrons plus qu'un fait accidentel et gratuit, dénué de signification humaine, et qui résume à <sup>lui</sup> seul toute une existence: il est riche, il est pauvre.

Beyond such statement of existence, further elaboration surpasses La Bruyère's intention. It is therefore not surprising that he so often terminates passages with the verb être, that is, where other writers commonly begin:

Un homme dit: "Je suis vieux", il passe soixante ans: un autre encore: "Je ne suis pas riche", et il est pauvre. (H, 68)

V\*\* est un peintre, C\*\* un musicien, et l'auteur de Pyrame est un poète; mais MIGNARD est MIGNARD, LULLI est LULLI, et CORNEILLE est CORNEILLE. (MP, 24)

I can perhaps offer no closing better suited to our deliberations on closure, nor any more effectively articulated, than an extended commentary drawn from a recent paper of Professor Richard L. Barnett entitled "La Poétique du déplacement." I cite the passage in English translation and in its entirety:

If the forecited examples strive concurrently to enucleate variants of one prominent (however un-noted) trap in the neo-classical realm, that of textual open-ness, or as I have elsewhere termed it, a fundamental and functional resistance to poetic closure, such conclusion leads perhaps to a series of theoretical questions which our considerations intentionally engender but which they opt—in this narrow space—not to tackle. I refer, indicatively, to ineluctable dilemmas of the following ilk: can any portrait-like compendium of images, be they brief and more fully honed, less sketchy

depictions, achieve internal harmony, coherence, or closure? If so, by what means? If not, is such dearth any more specific to La Bruyère's scriptural universe than it is to any or all others of such breed? Furthermore, can any text which seeks neither origin nor destination, which obviates rationalization and explanation, which elects to de-scribe that which it refuses a-priority to pre-scribe, evaluate, or explicitate, be wholly self-sustaining, if by this last designation we mean consonant, complete, adequately and satisfyingly terminal or terminated? Moreover, whether we assign closure to a text or rather perceive its lack therein, what are the ultimate by-products of its respective being or nonbeing, presence or absence? In a sense these broad queries ought be appropriated by studies of theory bearing upon the very nature and status of all literarity. And yet, no less paradoxically, such notions necessarily inform even the closest and most textually-based of readings. What can be affirmed—even at this juncture—is that La Bruyère's Caractères reek of an open, unended, non-consonant quality; that this quality is a bearer of meaning, not merely a token of form; and finally that the entire framework thus constituted stands largely in serrated opposition to the traditional concept of classical polish, smoothness and rigor. Just how this reading fits into the larger plexus of literary art, and to what degree La Bruyère's writing (and writerly stance) stand as a symbol of of or deviation from the norms of all textuality remain phenomena in dire need of exegesis. <sup>17</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>"Sur le style de La Bruyère," L'Esprit Créateur, 11 (Summer, 1971), 154-158; "Images de l'homme chez La Bruyère," L'Esprit Créateur, 15 (Spring-Summer, 1975), 164-188; Trois Etudes sur La Bruyère (Lexington: French Forum Publishers, 1980).

<sup>2</sup>"Le Sens du mouvement chez La Bruyère," Les Lettres Romanes, 21 (August, 1967), 223-237.

<sup>3</sup>La Bruyère ou le style cruel (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1977).

<sup>4</sup>"Lecture de La Bruyère," Poétique, 2 (1970), 195-201; Explication de Texte, Volume I, edited by Jean Sareil (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1970), pp. 131-37.

<sup>5</sup>Essais Critiques (Paris: Seuil, 1964)

<sup>6</sup>"La Bruyère: The Limits of Characterization," French Forum, 1-2 (1967), 127-138.

<sup>7</sup>See also, Edward C. Knox, Jean de La Bruyère (New York: Twayne, 1973), pp. 60-61, and Erica Harth, "Classical Disproportion: La Bruyère's Caractères," L'Esprit Créateur, 15 (Spring-Summer, 1975), pp. 206-08.

<sup>8</sup>Barbara Herrnstein Smith provides the following definition in Poetic Closure (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 2: "We tend to speak of conclusions when a sequence of events has a relatively high degree of structure, when, in other words, we can perceive these events as related to one another by some principle of organization or design that implies the existence of a definite termination point."

<sup>9</sup>La Bruyère, Les Caractères (Paris: Hachette, 1865-1878). All references are to this edition and are indicated by the passage number and according to the following titular acronyms: OE—Des ouvrages de l'esprit; MP—Du mérite personnel; F—Des femmes; SC—De la société et de la conversation; BF—Des biens de fortune; C—De la cour; G—Des grands; SR—Du souverain ou de la république; H—De l'homme.

<sup>10</sup>This phenomenon is not unrelated to comments put forth by D. Kirsch (La Bruyère, p. 18) on the transformation of excessive

diversity into monotony.

<sup>11</sup>See J. Brody, "Images de l'homme chez La Bruyère," pp. 179-180.

<sup>12</sup>"Le Sens du mouvement," p. 237.

<sup>13</sup>J. Brody, "Images de l'homme," p. 180.

<sup>14</sup>"Lecture de La Bruyère," p. 198.

<sup>15</sup>See also, Jules Brody, "Sur le style de La Bruyère," p. 157 and J. Marnier, pp. 228-231.

<sup>16</sup>"Sur le style de La Bruyère," p. 160.

<sup>17</sup>Richard L. Barnett, "La Poétique du déplacement," Paper presented to the Faculty of the Department of Modern Languages and Literatures at Fordham University (February, 1983).

Scientific Industry in Early Hispanic  
American Literature: New World Discoveries

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En este país de idealistas, de místicos, de caballeros andantes, lo que ha florecido siempre con más pujanza no es la ciencia pura (de las exactas y naturales hablo), sino sus aplicaciones prácticas, y en cierto modo utilitarias.

Menéndez Pelayo,  
La ciencia española

The first manifestations of scientific activity in the New World are evidenced in the descriptions bequeathed to us by major chroniclers and narrators as recorded in histories, diaries, journals, dispatches, travelogues, treatises and letters concerning diverse aspects of American reality. The writings of sixteenth-century Spanish America and Brazil embrace the period of discovery, conquest and colonization, and endeavor to offer to Europe an idea of the complexity of the indigenous properties to be found in abundance. The authors of these works range from court-appointed historians to conquistadors, from naturalists to missionaries. Their narratives include differing interpretations of the wonders encountered as eyewitnesses, or as annalists who saw the virgin continent through their soul and who based their descriptions on second-hand reports often obtained from returning mariners, including passages culled from existing primary sources. These perspectives are contained in histories labeled "natural," "moral," "apologetical" and philosophical, the thematic novelty of which imparted veracity and authority to their accounts.

It is during the period of discovery that Spain--never well known as a leader in systematic research, and certainly an anomaly in the modern world of technological innovations--emerged as the front-runner in the area of biological and natural sciences. Researchers and writers under the Spanish flag helped to dispel numerous myths about the flora and fauna of the colonies through their dogged attempts to classify incoming data. The mood of questioning and the desire for learning which of these initial experiments created for the Renaissance offer striking insights into the emphasis accorded this unparalleled area of investigation.

The methods used in gathering and disseminating information reveal an identifiable tendency to make America known to the reading public by vivid descriptions that would appeal to man's senses and thus heighten his curiosity. Comparisons with the extent of development in this area in Spain abound and are offered as testimony to the unpredictability of many finds. A look into this experimental side of America provides an added dimension to the complexity of the chronicle at both a literary and historical form of documentation, and as the principal repository of scientific knowledge. It is through the work of these explorers and naturalists that we have come to know its embryonic state during the sixteenth century.

The foremost contributor to this burgeoning field was Columbus. During his four expeditions, he gathered evidential matter pertaining to the inhabitants, their culture, the plants and animals which he believed would be of interest to the Crown, and the variations in climate and habitat. The results of his voyages were to open another laboratory available to scientists to study the ways of the world.

Perhaps Columbus' recognition of large ocean currents was the most inciteful to others who planned to sail to America in that he was able to surmise that vast currents ran through the sea much like underwater rivers, and that the entire Atlantic was subject to these flows.

from east to west with the sky, and that in passing this track, they hold a more rapid course, and have thus carried away large tracts of land, and that from hence has resulted this great number of islands; indeed, these islands themselves afford an additional proof of it, for all of them, without exception, run lengthwise from west to east, and from the northwest to the southeast, which is in a directly contrary direction to the said winds.<sup>1</sup>

Support for this position was gained by recording the direction of the flow of debris in the waters, and making correlations to the course of the wind as well. One direct result of Columbus' overzealousness to impress the Crown was his error in interpreting the effects of these currents, stating that the flow caused the islands in the Antilles to line up as they did in the east-west fashion.

Such open revelations led to the creation of myths. Although it is commonly held that Columbus reasoned the world to be spherical, this is only partially correct. He thought that the earth was shaped much like a pear. According to his geodetic theory, the earthly paradise was positioned on the surface of the highest peak of the globe and corresponded to the stem of the pear; no individual could ascend this rise without express permission from God.<sup>2</sup>

He is equally convinced of the existence of Sirens and mermaids, claiming to have seen them at every turn.

When the admiral went to the Río del Oro, he said that he saw three sirens, who rose very high from the sea, but that they were not as beautiful as they are depicted, for somehow their faces had the appearance of a man. He says that on other<sup>3</sup> occasions he saw some in Guinea on the coast of Manigueta.

The superstition which encouraged his conclusion is compounded by tales of the same as corroborated by later mariners. We now conclude safely that what our disappointed Admiral witnessed were manatees,<sup>4</sup> either frightened by his ships or surfacing for air.

Although a fair amount of the distortions

clouded his observations, Columbus was largely responsible for the fact-finding crusades which were to follow.

As Spain became fairly established in America, she granted commissions of three types that varied according to momentary needs and whims. They were either directly for the purpose of exploration of unchartered lands, inherently scientific, or overtly so, but rife with political overtones.<sup>5</sup> In the early stages, the missions espoused no specific plans or methods of collecting data. A few of these excursions included a select group of foreigners chosen for their differing backgrounds and fields of expertise. Yet the early undertakings contrasted sharply with subsequent enterprises, like the noted cooperative venture with the Italian government. This 1789 tour, led by Alessandro Malaspina, typified the joint educational mandate. On arriving at a new situation, the assembly would go inland to collect specimens; astronomers would set up a makeshift observatory on shore to take measurements of latitudes and elevations; others would make soundings, maps and charts of rivers and coastlines, while artists depicted the surroundings. This exemplary alliance, however, was short-lived, for Spain became more possessive of her colonies and actively discouraged foreign interests in them. The political status of America was destined to receive greater direction than was scientific review.

The theological inquiries of the age cast a unfavorable light on the discipline as an institution.

Theology was the "Divine Science," and the sole form of systemized thought deemed worthy of study by the small intelligentsia of the time. Everywhere the accepted method of seeking truth was philosophic, and it is this fundamental fact which must be emphasized in discussing the Hispanic American mind and science.

Botany, however, conclusively before the ideas of mutability arose, seemed to be an innocuous kind of research and was the most fruitful avenue which Spain pursued. Nevertheless, botany for the sake of science was of little concern for the government. It

was overshadowed by an interest in comprehending the practical side of plants of industrial or medical value. Spain was so intent on finding sites which would yield profit that annually she would target large sums for such purposes.

Significant groundwork achieved in the field of classification of plants and animals must be credited to Fernández de Oviedo (1478-1557), who was appointed official chronicler of the Indies by Charles V in 1532. Through the detailed perception required of a descriptive scientist, Oviedo was the first to characterize the affections of the land. In his primary publication, Historia natural de las Indias, he communicated a sense of excitement about the beauty and wonder he beheld, which ranged from hammocks to horseflies. For example, the following curative powers of the aforementioned manatee are proffered:

The manatee has a certain stone or bone in its head . . . which is very useful in curing pain in the side. First the stone is burned, then pulverized. When the pain appears, the patient takes this powder on an empty stomach. He takes as much as can be picked up with a small coin and follows it with a swallow of good wine. After continuing this treatment for three or four mornings the pain disappears. Some who have tried the remedy have told me about it. I have seen many persons search diligently for this stone.

The (self-) interest and passion in Oviedo's writings reflect the subjectivity which was typical of reporting of the sixteenth century. On balance, however, his narratives piqued European curiosity and advanced the general body of scholarship.

Equal in importance to Oviedo in painting America in a natural light was the dissertator, José de Acosta (1539-1600), who, in 1592, published his Historia natural y moral de las Indias, which proved so popular that by 1604 editions had been distributed in French, Italian, German, Dutch, Latin, and English. In it Acosta sets out to reconcile five paradoxes present in the scientific literature of his day. He went against the grain of established intellectual traditions and formulated his personal

hypotheses concerning (1) the shape of the heavens and the earth, (2) the existence of the antipodes, (3) the habitability of the torrid zones, (4) whether the ancients had knowledge of the New World, and (5) how the New World was settled by men and beasts.<sup>10</sup>

In spite of his education as a Christian friar, Acosta seemed at ease in the role of theorist when he questioned fundamental philosophic tenets. Like Aristotle, he held that the earth was round, and through cautious astronomical surveillance confirmed the presence of stars which exhibited circular rotations about otherwise fixed points in the celestial hemisphere. The shadow of the earth on the moon during an eclipse was declared by him to be round rather than flat or square.

Acosta's brilliant achievement was in assertively refuting apocryphal stories about the settlement of the Indies. Assuming the earth was flat, there would be no means to reach the New World other than to cross the ocean. Acosta realized the improbability of such an event occurring much before the invention of the sophisticated navigational techniques that were just coming into use. Even if it was possible that individuals had in some way coursed the gap, how was it possible for all the flora and fauna of the Indies to differ from that in Spain?

Seeing the holy scripture saith that all beastes and creatures of the earth perished but such as were reserved in the Arke of Noe, . . . we must seek out both for men and beastes the way whereby they might passe from the old world to this new.

I coniecture then . . . that the new world is not altogether severed and disioyned from the other world; . . . I have long beleved that the one and the other world are joyned and continued one with another in some part, or at least are neere. And yet to this day there is no certain knowledge to the contrary.<sup>12</sup>

The core of data gleaned from such trials fueled Acosta to postulate his theory, which is widely accepted today. His contributions were well within "the context of Aristotelian and medieval science"<sup>13</sup>

and distinguished him from other theologians and philosophers.

Francisco Hernández (1518-87), personal physician to Phillip II, was the first naturalist to lead an expedition to Mexico, in 1570. Hernández traversed the territory with a small group of scientists and artists. The expense of the undertaking drew the attention of José de Acosta who stated that "Dr. Francisco Hernández hath made a goodly worke . . . , causing all the plants of the Indies to be lively painted, which they say are above a thousand two hundred, and that the worke cost above three score thousand ducats."<sup>14</sup>

Hernández maintained that his mission went beyond the purely practical aspect of finding new materials: "It is not our purpose only to given an account of the medicines, but rather to gather the flora and compose the history of the natural things of the New World."<sup>15</sup> His methodology was a straightforward one: each time he reached an Indian village, he would seek out the medical statesmen and interrogate them. But often the natives were uncooperative.

Either to look out for themselves or out of hatred for us, the Indians make a mystery of what they have studied and learned. The natives . . . conceal . . . with a great deal of secrecy, but with diligence and care we have managed to get the truth out of them.<sup>16</sup>

Our botanist reveals himself to be inquisitive about the folklore and superstitions tied to the articles he unearthed. To the coyotl [zorra de Indias], he attributed restorative authority: "En cuanto a su utilidad medicinal, dicen que se clama el dolor de dientes limpiándolos con la punta de su cola."<sup>17</sup> Hernández even elevated the lore by suggesting transcendental properties for one of his finds:

El ololiuhqui o planta de jomas redondas cura el contagio gálico, disipa la flatulencia y resuelve los tumores, . . . alivia la cintura relajada de las mujeres, fortaleciéndolas. Los sacerdotes indios, cuando querían simular que conversaban con los dioses y recibían

respuestas de ellos, comían esta planta para delirar y ver mil fantasmas de demonios.<sup>18</sup>

Yet he did not succumb entirely to the native practices and beliefs, for he judged some items, like the acitli [liebre acuática], to be "niñerías y mentiras originadas de la credulidad y ligereza de estos hombres."<sup>19</sup>

The distinction of Hernández's Mexican odyssey of seven years lies in the empirical proof it provided for future researchers.

The original flow of texts is complemented by a series of voluminous reports of economic and medicinal interest. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1500-90) sought to incorporate different traits of the New World into his definitive ethnographic treatise, Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España, published in 1585, in both Spanish and Nahuatl.

The procedure effected by Sahagún was much the same in each case study: he began by supplying the name of a particular object, its etymology, followed by a thorough biological guide to where it was to be found, its physical peculiarities, its source of nourishment, its potential medical--and at times, economic--merit, and ways in which the specimen could be snared or cultivated. On finding an example worthy of illustrating, Sahagún would include a short recipe with his commentary. Two specifics are offered for curing ailments of a physical, psychological and spiritual nature.

Hay otra hierba, . . . que se llama peyotl. Los que la comen o beben ven visiones espantosas, o de risas; dura esta borrachera dos o tres días, y después se quita. Da ánimo para pelear y no tener miedo, <sup>20</sup>ni sed, ni hambre y dicen que los guarda de todo peligro.

La carne del tigre dicen que es medicinal para los que han sido casados y estando viudos, no se acuerden de mujer, <sup>21</sup>ni les fatiguen las tentaciones carnales.

The European conviction that relief for nearly all maladies existed in America played a critical

role in the work of Nicolás Monardes (1493-1588), physician, botanist and precursor of tropical medicine, whose work is most associated with the compilation of news relating to the pharmacological and therapeutic complexity of the plants he imported into his well stocked botanical garden in Seville. His two volume collection, Historia medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales, enjoyed instant success and was translated into Italian, French, Latin and English, the latter in 1557 by the merchant John Frampton.

Monardes laid claim to having uncovered herbal secrets which aided in surgical techniques. The drug, obtained from the gum of the balsam tree, assisted in the automatic healing of open wounds and seemed to function in the same role that sutures play today. In the words of Monardes, bálsamo was effective in "glewing together the partes with makyng matter, . . . and the rest of the woorkes that doeth appertaine to Surgery, it doeth that whiche is convenient untill the woundes bee whole, and . . . is a commom Medicine in all surgery of poore folkes."<sup>22</sup>

Monardes freely wrote about a plant often without verifying the accuracy of his sources. He was convinced of the originality of his inventions, although many of the plants he described had already been indicted by others.<sup>23</sup> Two panaceas called his attention. One, affectionately known as "Oyle of Liquid Amber" was able to "healeth excellently well partes wheresoever applied."<sup>24</sup> The "Oyle of the Figge Tree of Hell" emerged as the most serendipitous of the two.

In the griefes of the Stomake of cold humors, and windes, and Colicke, it maketh great effect. It doeth avoide fleame principaly, in griefes of the Jointes. A gentleman that did vomit his Meate for may yeres did anoynt his stomake, with this Oyle, and therewith did heale and never vomited againe. And unto young children and Boyes that can not goe to the Stole, anoynting the lower parte of the Navill, it doeth provoke them to the stoole. And for those that have lost their hearing, it causeth it to be restored to them; . . . it taketh away<sup>25</sup> any markes or signes, wheresoever they bee in the face.

Credit is given to Monardes for having fully scrutinized tobacco, which resembled the "Oyle of the Figge Tree of Hell" in that, as a stimulant and prophylactic, it also helped mankind to seek truth and inner peace. The Indians used tobaco for their pastime: "The Indians doe take the smoke of the Tabaco for to make themseilves drunke withall, and to see the visions, and things that doe represent to them, wherein thei doe delight."<sup>26</sup> This statement, as well as others, argues that the plant in question is one of many wild tobaccos (nicotiana rustica) close to marijuana in reflex.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, Monardes identified nicotine as being hung in large houses to dry, thus establishing a distinction between the two plants. Tobacco, as it is known today, was classified as "nicotaine" in the sixteenth century. Like tobacco, the leaves of this plant were burned and the smoke inhaled through a reed or hollow bone.

In conclusion, America afforded Imperial Spain the opportunity for development. Naturalists of the sixteenth century were extraordinarily influential in shaping the European vision of the New World and in chronicling scientific fact as well as scientific fiction. Even though much of their evidence was later challenged, these pioneers blazed trails into unknown regions, discoursed on the state of a world that most people would never possibly experience and, most notably, stimulated an appetite for adventure and facilitated the transition into the Renaissance.

The literature of the period was similar in certain aspects. As each treatise was an attempt to categorize the bulk of natural history, admittedly, a fair amount of redundancy was common. These early accounts indicated a lack of rigorous scientific discipline when compared to today's standards and reflected the highly exploratory and utilitarian side of the research, yet they were the first--in many ways, the most exciting--pieces of literature to originate in America.

<sup>1</sup> Christopher Columbus, Four Voyages to the New World: Letters and Selected Documents, trans. R.H. Major, introd. John E. Fagg (Corinth Books, Inc., 1978), pp. 138-9.

<sup>2</sup> Julio Rey Pastor, La ciencia y la técnica en el descubrimiento de América (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1942), pp. 170-71.

<sup>3</sup> Christopher Columbus, The Journal of Christopher Columbus, trans. Cecil Jane (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1960), p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> The origin of the confusion is documented by Juan José Arron in "Manatí: El testimonio de los cronistas y la cuestión de su etimología," Boletín del Museo del Hombre Dominicano, Santo Domingo, 2 (1972), pp. 33-38.

<sup>5</sup> Philip L. Astuto, "Scientific Expeditions and Colonial Hispanic America," Thought Patterns 6 (New York: St. John's Univ. Press, 1959), 3.

<sup>6</sup> Astuto, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Irving A. Leonard, "Science, Technology, and Hispanic America," Michigan Quarterly Review, vol. 2 (1963), 239.

<sup>8</sup> Marcel Roche, "Early History of Science in Spanish America," Science 194 (November 19, 1976), 808.

<sup>9</sup> Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Natural History of the West Indies, trans. Sterling A. Stoudmire (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1959), pp. 113-14. Francisco Hernández, in his Historia natural de Nueva España, 11 (México: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1959), adds to Oviedo's description of the manatee: "Se encuentra en la cabeza de este animal una piedrecilla que, echa polvo y tomada con agua u otra bebida aperitiva, es fama que expelle la orina retenida y aun todo lo que obstruye sus conductos" (p. 401).

<sup>10</sup> Theodore Hornberger, "Acosta's Historia natural y moral de las Indias: A Guide to the Source and Growth of American Scientific Tradition," in Lewis Hanke, History of Latin American Civilization, 1 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967), p. 409.

<sup>11</sup> José de Acosta, Natural and Moral History of the Indies, 1, ed. Clements R. Markham (London, 1604; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), p. 57.

<sup>12</sup> José de Acosta, I, p. 60.

<sup>13</sup> Marcel Roche, p. 808.

<sup>14</sup> José de Acosta, I, p. 261.

<sup>15</sup> Marcel Roche, p. 808

<sup>16</sup> Germán Somolinos D'Ardois, Vida y obra de Francisco Hernández (México: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1960), cited in Lewis Hanke, History of Latin America Civilization, I, 403.

<sup>17</sup> Francisco Hernández, Historia natural de Nueva España, II, 302.

<sup>18</sup> Francisco Hernández, II, 73.

<sup>19</sup> Francisco Hernández, II, 351.

<sup>20</sup> Bernardino de Sahagún, Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España, III (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1969), 292.

<sup>21</sup> Bernardino de Sahagún, III, 325.

<sup>22</sup> Nicolás Monardes, Joyfull Newes Out of the Newe Founde Worlde, I, trans. John Frampton (London, 1577); rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1967), p. 25. Acosta (I, p. 259) refers to the studies carried out by Monardes on the use of balsam.

<sup>23</sup> Enrique Alvarez López, "Las plantas de América en las botánica europea del siglo XVI," Revista de Indias, IV (1945), p. 247.

<sup>24</sup> Monardes, I, p. 21.

<sup>25</sup> Monardes, I, pp. 18-19.

<sup>26</sup> Monardes, I, p. 86.

<sup>27</sup> Hernández (1) uses interchangeable terms to refer to this specimen ("no es una sola especie de esta planta"): tabaco; nicociana; píciatl. The suffix yetl is used to refer to tabaco in general, as in the varieties quáhyetl, quapócyetl, and tlályetl.

L'Itinéraire Narratif et Métaphysique  
de Jeannine Worms

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Il ne fallut pas longtemps à Jeannine Worms, venue à Paris de son Argentine natale en 1951, pour se faire un nom dans la littérature française. Son premier livre, le roman Il ne faut jamais dire fontaine, parut en effet en 1956. Il fallait être diablement douée pour s'exprimer si vite en français avec une telle élégance. Madame Worms affiche dans ce roman le cynisme souriant d'un Laclos avec la grâce et la touche d'une Madame de La Fayette, alliés à la concision et au dynamisme du style d'un La Fontaine. Autant dire qu'il s'agit là d'une dévote du "grand siècle." Un écrivain classique en pleine révolution du Nouveau Roman? Pas pour longtemps, car Jeannine Worms va nous réserver bien des surprises en ce sens. Elle avait commencé par écrire pour le théâtre: "Les empaillés qui ont été diffusés vingt ans plus tard à la télévision dans une mise en scène d'Alberto Cavalcanti (avec les Frères Jacques)." Peu auparavant Jean Vilar, encore directeur du TNP, avait créé, dans la traduction de Worms, Lumières de Bohème de Valle Inclán. Jeannine Worms s'est par ailleurs distinguée depuis lors au théâtre avec des metteurs-en-scène aussi talentueux que Nicolas Bataille, Yves Bureau et d'autres et des actrices telles que Marthe Mercadier et Emmanuelle Riva.

Parmi les premiers à remarquer Jeannine Worms nous trouvons les noms éminents de Jean Cocteau qui décèle en elle "la rigueur d'un travail spirituel"<sup>1</sup> et son souci de fouiller dans les tréfonds des âmes, ainsi qu'Alain Bosquet, qui voit en elle (en faisant allusion à son théâtre) "le principal représentant de la troisième génération de l'absurde"<sup>2</sup>. Que peut-il manquer au bonheur d'un écrivain béni par de tels parrains? Sans doute la consécration du grand

public, chose qu'avait prévue Cocteau lorsqu'il disait que "les Muses veulent attendre et dédaignent l'immédiat."

Illustration du proverbe bien connu (Il ne faut jamais dire fontaine . . .), le premier roman de Jeannine Worms frappe d'emblée par son rythme classique. Comme dans une fable de La Fontaine, l'écrivain ne perd pas de temps avec le détail et entre immédiatement en matière. En deux lignes nous sommes renseignés sur le cadre, les circonstances et le fond de l'action; dans un mouvement très emporté ils retiennent notre souffle. Cette frénésie ne s'arrête qu'au mot "fin." Le fond, lui, ne fait que confirmer le mot en exergue emprunté à Molière ("Quelque honnête petit stratagème pour ajuster vos affaires.") Le confirmer ou le contredire? Madame du Pommier trompera donc son mari (il y a toujours une "première fois") en toute gaieté de coeur croyant cependant ne pas être amoureuse de son amant. Chez elle la part du jeu l'emporte sur les sentiments, du moins tant que le jeu pourra être mené par elle. La coquetterie de Madame du Pommier est toute cérébrale, et tout est conçu par elle comme un jeu d'échecs, ou, plus précisément, comme un jeu de cartes: "Une autre s'était servie d'une carte qu'elle détenait aussi. Que l'occasion se présentât, et elle saurait l'abattre, non à l'étourdie et pour une simple 'levée' mais afin de gagner définitivement la partie." Mais on a beau vouloir mettre de l'ordre dans ce qui échappe à toute schématisation; l'irrationnel triomphe faisant fi de toute prudence. Si l'on n'est pas dupe de soi-même, d'autres s'en chargeront, comme on le verra plus loin. Quel que soit l'intérêt que l'on accorde aux vicissitudes de Mme du Pommier, somme toute une histoire d'adultère est d'habitude banale, c'est plutôt dans la manière que dans la matière que réside la réussite. C'est l'agencement parfait des événements, la succession des pensées, le frémissement interne de la phrase--de style classique--sobriété, concise et précise. Est-ce à Boileau que notre personnage pense quand elle se corrige et recorrige, mesure et remesure? Dans un message d'amour déjà pourtant concis, dont le texte sonne ainsi: "Je te quitte à l'instant. Déjà je voudrais te revoir. Pourtant ne t'inquiète pas de

ce zèle. Je viendrai quand tu le voudras. Merci de ce bonheur que je ne tiens que de toi,"<sup>5</sup> il semble à Jeannine Worms d'en avoir trop fait dire à son personnage et elle songe tout de suite qu'il y reste des maladresses dont elle voudrait émonder le hillet doux. Peu importe qu'elle décide ensuite de l'envoyer quand même tel quel. Ses réticences stylistiques finissent par envahir sa pensée; plus elle se veut indifférente et contrôlée, plus elle se surprend à ne penser qu'à sa liaison. Pensée qui finit par l'emporter sur toutes les autres et lui dévoiler, petit à petit, l'ampleur de son obsession. Le premier trissou d'effroi qu'elle ressent est à la seule idée que son amant puisse arriver en retard ou carrément ne pas venir à leur premier rendez-vous au restaurant. Ne s'inquiète-t-elle pas ensuite d'une aventure amoureuse que son mari aurait eue avant le mariage? Ne devient-elle pas appréhensive lorsqu'elle remarque un accroissement de familiarité entre sa cousine et son mari? Mais ce n'est qu'à la conclusion de l'histoire, quand elle se découvre "abandonnée" par son amant-- par ce même amant qu'elle avait cru pouvoir traiter en jouet (non plus "neuf" mais à classer parmi les objets d'usage quotidien) qu'elle comprend le mécanisme de l'amour et y succombe. Jeannine Worms est riche en formules réussies et si le livre s'était ouvert de manière cynique et époustouflante: "Mme du Pommier rentra chez elle fort contente d'avoir trompé son mari. Elle n'avait pas éprouvé à le faire des délices nouvelles. Elle y avait puisé le sentiment d'une promotion, sûre de s'être par là ouvert accès à une catégorie différente et supérieure,"<sup>6</sup> il se conclut avec un même geste théâtral et inattendu: "C'est alors qu'elle écrivit ses mémoires pour l'édification de son mari et de son amant." La dernière page du roman contient bien davantage que cette boutade finale. Quelques phrases simples et courtes mais significatives (ô combien!) nous donnent la clé de sa conception philosophique et psychologique de l'amour qui va animer bien d'autres personnages et bien d'autres livres. Par exemple l'amour conçu à postériori, dans l'absence: "Tout le malheur du monde fondit soudain<sup>8</sup> sur Mme du Pommier. Elle comprit qu'elle aimait."<sup>8</sup> Car c'est toujours après, trop tard, au delà du jeu, que l'amour acquiert un sens. Amour

va de pair avec irréparable. Mais la lucidité de Jeannine Worms pousse Mme de Pommier à franchir l'impasse: "Devant le désastre de sa vie, elle s'abîma dans des pensées mornes. Elle y fut longtemps. En des temps plus anciens, Mme du Pommier se fût retirée dans quelque couvent. D'autres qu'elle, excessives, se seraient suicidées. Mme du Pommier se contenta de reprendre le chemin qui mène lentement à la vieillesse et sur lequel elle semblait s'être un instant arrêtée . . ." Autre constante dans l'oeuvre de Jeannine Worms, c'est cette suspension du temps que célèbre l'amour mais qui nous réserve bien des désarrois, comme nous le verrons plus loin.

Le roman suivant de notre auteur calque apparemment le triangle amoureux du précédent, mais en apparence seulement. En fait il s'agit d'autre chose et il est étrange que personne n'ait pensé, à ma connaissance, sinon à le classer dans le Nouveau Roman, du moins à l'en rapprocher. Les coïncidences sont nombreuses: l'ambiguïté, le roman dans le roman, les variantes, la duplicité ou multiplicité des points de vue (en trompe l'oeil, d'ailleurs) et plus encore. Nous sommes, qu'on y prenne garde, en 1957 lorsque Les uns, les autres paraît chez Fasquelle.

Le rythme n'est plus du tout celui du roman précédent, moins serré, plein de circonvolutions, d'une plus grande ampleur. Le débit du récit est plus lent et s'aventure dans de nombreux méandres. Au départ on a l'impression de devoir tout prendre à la lettre, c'est à dire qu'il y a un "je" narrateur qui s'appelle (on le découvrira petit à petit), Jacques Menéville qui est un écrivain de 39 ans dont la femme, Martha, a 27 ans. Les deux chérissent Adolphe, un étrange personnage qui évoque d'emblée le neveu de Rameau. Que pourrait-il se passer au delà du conventionnel triangle amoureux? Eh bien, cela même nous réserve bien des surprises. D'abord nous croyons comprendre qu'effectivement Martha est amoureuse d'Adolphe et que lui, il ne l'ignore pas, mais évite une possible liaison. Il apparaît ensuite que le narrateur se doute bien de ce qui se passe dans la tête et dans le coeur de sa femme et s'étonne même qu'elle le soupçonne d'être dupe.

Adolphe, par ailleurs, croit "tromper Jacques en ne le trompant pas"<sup>10</sup> ce qui ne laisse pas d'être original, que ce sentiment soit dicté par le sens de l'amitié ou par des mobiles moins nobles. Mais la vraie nouveauté est celle de la présence d'un double point de vue, les deux narrateurs qui s'alternent. Jeannine Worms annoncerait-elle La quête, de Marc Saporta? A première vue seulement. Sans doute Martha n'est-elle pas même un personnage de l'auteur, sans doute n'est-elle que l'invention du personnage-écrivain, seul protagoniste du livre donnant vie aux autres. Serions-nous en climat surréaliste? Probablement pas. Jeannine Worms ne nous semble pas pratiquer la dictée automatique et paraît au contraire exercer un contrôle constant sur ses personnages. S'il faut absolument lui trouver des antécédents littéraires, ce serait plutôt l'Unamuno de Niebla ou le Pirandello des années '20. On a effectivement l'impression que ses personnages ou les créatures imaginées par Jacques le narrateur, refusent d'être des pantins et imposent à l'écrivain une démarche quasi autonome. On pourrait facilement leur appliquer le paramètre de Tilgher à propos du dualisme art-vie.

Le vrai mystère est de comprendre, de déceler ce qui manque à ce roman pour que la critique n'ait pas daigné le placer parmi les livres qui comptent. Écrit dans la manière châtiée de son roman précédent, plus ramassé, moins abscons, sans doute aurait-il eu une destinée différente. Mais a-t-on le droit d'endiguer l'imagination d'un auteur?

On devine que Jeannine Worms a reçu une formation philosophique quand on constate avec quelle aisance elle égrène des pensées d'une profonde dimension avec désinvolture alors que notre auteur traite des problèmes les plus sérieux, voire même les plus profonds et cruciaux.

Ainsi, par exemple, son livre suivant, l'Apologie du mensonge échappe à tout classement conventionnel du genre. Sans doute Jeannine Worms en inaugure-t-elle un nouveau elle-même, mélange d'essai littéraire et philosophique, d'autobiographie et de boutade. La morale du livre est le triomphe du paradoxe: la vérité cautionnée par les mensonge. La

vérité est inaccessible, voilà le postulat du départ, habilement et solidement confirmé par toutes sortes de supports logiques qui étayent un raisonnement de cent cinquante pages. Mais le livre nous donne beaucoup plus que ne promet son sous-titre de "plaid." Jeanine Worms feint plaider par le monsonge alors qu'en fait elle se pose et nous pose un grand nombre d'interrogations métaphysiques. Le tout, fortement agrémenté par des cocasseries de logique implacables et subtiles (parfois dissimulées dans des notes). L'allusion, le signe, l'écran voilent souvent son discours. Tout est suggéré, et avec tact, beaucoup plus que "dit." L'histoire de la licorne à laquelle est consacré le noyau de l'ouvrage pourrait servir à illustrer cette manière de l'auteur. On serait tenté de refuser de prendre cette image à la lettre et d'y voir plutôt une dissertation sur l'existence de Dieu et la dévotion des croyants. En effet voici le processus: "La privation de certitude est si pénible que peu d'esprits sont en mesure de la supporter. Une angoisse les saisit, un vertige, qui les fait se raccrocher à l'appui le plus illusoire."<sup>11</sup> Cet état d'anxiété porte l'homme à chercher la licorne, à croire à la licorne. Pour développer son raisonnement, notre philosophe ne mentionne jamais rien de sacré mais se sert de mouches, moucheron, cafards licornes, etc. . . . par un souci de pudeur qui rappelle la discipline classique de son premier roman. L'homme cherche, mais ne trouve pas et comment pourrait-il trouver ce qu'il cherche s'il n'en connaît point la physionomie? Comme le dit l'auteur: "On peut imaginer cette circonstance, aussi favorable que désastreuse: un initié auquel la licorne daignerait se montrer, et qui ne la reconnaîtrait pas, fâché de posséder d'elle un portrait ressemblant."<sup>12</sup> Mais le système licornien a sans doute tout prévu: on ne voit que ce qu'on croit. Et si l'on croit à quoi bon voir puisqu'on croit de toutes façons? Jeannine Worms nous propose-t-elle l'agnosticisme quand elle semble vouloir sortir de l'impasse? "Ou vous croyez à la licorne et vous la voyez, ou vous n'y croyez pas, et vous vous ôtez par là tout moyen de la nier. Mieux vaut sortir du jeu et s'occuper à autre chose."<sup>13</sup> La casuistique théologique (en admettant que ce soit de cela qu'il s'agisse) a prévu même cette

circonstance. "C'est là, précisément, que le système de la licorne montre son infernale perfection; quand vous vous pensez le plus étranger à lui, que vous vaquez sans souci à vos affaires, elle vous ressaisit par défaut, l'oubli d'elle étant encore, dans son ordre, une manière de témoigner son existence,"<sup>14</sup> montrant ainsi que son système est sans faille. Le système Worms est, hélas!, moins infailible car tout l'art qu'elle déploie dans son livre pourrait ne pas suffire à sauver son âme. Cela aussi est escompté d'après le système de la licorne: "l'artiste est celui qui veut plus. Sa recherche est d'autant plus admirable qu'il la sait vaine."<sup>15</sup>

Alain Bosquet avait bien raison lorsqu'il a dit que (paraphrasant Rostand qui l'avait traduit de grec) "rien de ce qui est moderne ne saurait échapper à Jeannine Worms,"<sup>16</sup> car avec Un magnolia, qui vient tout de suite après, nous nous trouvons devant un genre aussi "déroutant" (dans le sens qu'il secoue nos habitudes de lecture passive) qu'original. Ment-elle, Mme Worms, quand elle veut nous faire croire à l'existence d'un vrai arbre dans le jardin du protagoniste et aurait-il raison Jean Blanzat d'affirmer qu'"Il n'y a pas de magnolia, le narrateur invente, ce premier mensonge va se multiplier: après un premier mensonge, un autre en découlera, puis un autre, 'qui se mêlent et se combinent dans une prolifération véritablement organique'"<sup>17</sup>? La question, sans doute, doit être posée à un autre niveau. Dans Apologie du mensonge Jeannine Worms dit: "Un ouvrage logique est contenu tout entier dans sa première phrase,"<sup>18</sup>; voilà exactement ce qui va se manifester dans Un magnolia. Peu importe de savoir s'il s'agit là d'une vérité ou d'une boutade. Imaginons donc un procédé pédagogique: un professeur assigne aux étudiants de sa classe de composition un sujet dont le titre se résume en un seul mot "L'arbre." Il ne leur donne aucune instruction, sa maïeutique se contentant de faire accoucher leur imagination et prévoyant que tel élève parlera d'un arbre spécifique, un autre d'un arbre mythologique, un autre encore de l'arbre habitacle d'oiseaux et d'écureuils, et ainsi de suite. Alors l'arbre deviendra tour à tour image mystique, matière d'industrie, symbole phallique,

pourvoyeur d'ombre, chaperon d'amoureux, etc. . . . En analysant les compositions de ses élèves l'enseignant s'apercevra que le sujet "arbre" n'était qu'un prétexte (toute autre objet ne le serait-il pas?) et qu'en faisant semblant de parler de cela, les élèves n'ont fait que parler d'eux-mêmes. Dans Un magnolia, l'arbre est également un trompe-l'œil et le narrateur, tout en faisant semblant de parler d'un objet ne fait que parler de lui-même, de ses rencontres (réelles ou imaginaires), de son passé, qui affleure lentement à son subconscient et s'impose insidieusement jusqu'à devenir un sur-moi juge. C'est alors que le jeu des hypothèses prend corps. Celles-ci sont escomptées d'avance--faut-il souligner, une fois de plus, que tout recours à la dictée automatique est pure ressemblance?--puisqu'elles découlent d'un ordre tout à fait logique, mais n'en cessent pas moins d'être imprévisible étant donné le lent processus des enchaînements et des recoupements nécessaires. Il s'agit, pour employer le langage d'un nouveau romancier, d'en "délabrynter l'anecdote,"<sup>19</sup> ce qui n'est pas aisé à une lecture distraite, car, comme dirait Robbe-Grillet, les variantes des variantes sont très complexes (encore que Jeannine Worms préfère parler de "toutes les possibilités dont elle est riche."<sup>20</sup> La conception de l'art d'écrire de Jeannine Worms n'est pas très éloignée de celle des Nouveaux Romanciers. Si Saporta parle de l'art comme d'un "artifice," Robbe-Grillet préfère carrément parler de l'art comme "mensonge," et Worms nous propose justement pour la fiction des mensonges qui se nouent sur trois niveaux de fiction qu'on ne sait plus comment démêler.<sup>21</sup> De quoi s'agit-il au juste? Monsieur Z, un homme d'âge moyen, retraité ou oisif, plante un magnolia dans son jardin. L'arbre est admiré par une fillette de neuf ans, Marie Pécatier. Les autres personnages s'appellent Ursula, une vieille bonne; M. Pecatier, chauffeur, et sa femme, parents de la petite Marie; M. Joseph, voisin et instituteur; Mariette, femme du narrateur, et Thérèse, sa fille. Le récit semble pendre plusieurs directions: le narrateur paraît être un vieux maniaque qui offre des bonbons aux petites filles. Est-ce pour les empoisonner ou pour les séduire? Le magnolia est-il un arbre décoratif ou bien est-ce un prétexte pour cacher des ossements

humains qui pourraient être ceux de sa femme décédée (assassinée?), voire même ceux de la bonne Ursula ou de sa fille Thérèse, elle aussi disparue? Portrait d'un sadique (un peu à la manière d'un Pieyre de Mandiargues?), intrigue policière ou divagations d'un schizophrène? Tout cela est loisible, mais on soupçonne que l'anecdote est seulement un prétexte et que ce qui compte, en fait, c'est la trouvaille structurale du livre écrit à partir de rien, à partir d'une simple phrase d'où tout naît et croît comme d'une graine à travers des mensonges habités de formes qui s'enchaînent et se déchaînent, s'affirment et se contredisent, prennent vie ou avortent. Le dédale est bâti de façon à ce que tout soit en même temps loisible et improbable, sans doute afin que le lecteur veuille bien habiller l'intrigue selon son imagination et l'enrichir à sa guise. Cette liberté d'invention dont le narrateur s'arroge le droit et que revendique vraisemblablement l'auteur, pour qu'elle soit complète, il fallait bien que le lecteur s'en avantageât aussi. Il y a toutefois, dans le roman, quelques fragments qui lui semblent étrangers. Ne paraissant pas indispensables à l'économie de l'ensemble ou carrément déplacés, ils appartiennent plutôt au livre suivant de Jeannine Worms et sans doute l'annoncent, comme on a vu que certaines phrases des Uns et les autres annonçaient déjà L'apologie du mensonge. Je pense notamment à la phrase sur le "mal" (p. 9) et à celle sur l'incommunicabilité (p. 10). Si tout un livre est déjà contenu dans la première phrase, comme nous<sup>22</sup> le propose Jeannine Worms, D'une malédiction<sup>22</sup> est déjà contenu dans une phrase d'Un magnolia: "Le mal n'est pas en chacun de nous, mais entre nous, dans cet espace qui nous sépare les uns des autres, là où le diable se niche pour nous décocher l'inférieur besoin d'aimer, puisqu'il nous prive en même temps du moyen de le satisfaire. Songerions-nous à nous unir si nous n'étions pas séparés? Est-il en notre pouvoir de changer la nature et de fondre, dans on ne sait quelle combinaison nouvelle, ce qui était d'abord fragmenté? Non, mille fois non. Je ne puis être l'autre, l'autre ne peut être moi. La faille qui nous distingue est irréductible. C'est pourquoi j'affirme qu'il est démoniaque d'avoir mis en nous l'envie de la franchir."<sup>23</sup> Ce n'est donc pas coïncidence si

l'on lit des pensées d'une même dans D'une malédiction, telle que: "Le mal n'est pas en nous mais entre nous," (p. 19) qui dépasse et résout toute théorie problématique sur la nature humaine, qu'elle soit émise par le R. P. de Sertillanges ou par Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Ce mal auquel tout moraliste voudrait échapper et que l'on s'est évertué de cerner de près, d'analyser ou de stigmatiser est peut-être une des seules réalités existantes dont on soit à peu près sûr, même si sa nature est énigmatique." Le mal est notre condition, notre source, notre destin" affirme Jeannine Worms (p. 12). Des propos d'une telle gravité ne sauraient être pris à la légère. S'agirait-il de provocations? Constitueraient-ils une profession de foi de pessimisme, voire même de nihilisme? Ou serait-ce au contraire le résultat d'une rigoureuse démarche ontologique? Si pessimisme il y a (ne serait-ce plutôt de la lucidité intellectuelle?) il est simplement racheté par la vigueur et la beauté du style, par la profondeur de la pensée et, finalement, par la valeur du message. Ceci dit, l'essai n'est pas consacré à l'étude du mal mais à celle de l'amour considéré comme un de ses aspects les plus criants. Le tout est de savoir quel serait la cause et l'effet, la question est bien embrouillée. Si le ton frise souvent l'excès par la violence-même, en fait Jeannine Worms interroge les philosophes, les moralistes et les écrivains de telle manière à constituer--sans vain étalage d'érudition--une histoire de l'évolution du concept d'amour à travers notre culture. Tous les avatars et les nuances en sont pris en considération. Sans citations fastidieuses (c'est à peine si une cinquantaine de notes constellent le livre), sans ton solennel, voilà les points de vue d'Epictète et de Pascal, de Saint-François et de Sainte-Thérèse, de Molière et de Chamfort, de Lope de Vega et de Dostoïevsky. Même Borges et Lupascu sont mis à contribution.

Si Chardone avait pu conclure que l'amour était beaucoup plus que l'amour, Madame Worms semble vouloir renverser la formule en écrivant que "l'amante qui aime bas et le sait" (p. 123) paraît s'humilier elle-même par une alliance qui la diminue mais dans laquelle pourtant elle croit voir sa glorification. L'auteur a esquivé tous les dangers

qu'un tel ouvrage pouvait courir, soit gémissements, clichés, mièvreries: elle ne s'adresse pas aux midinettes. Par ailleurs, quels que soient les traits personnels contenus dans l'essai, il ne s'agit ni d'une autobiographie, ni de l'épanchement d'une femme en mal de sensations morbides. Ce contre quoi Jeannine Worms en appelle c'est l'illusion de plus être que nous procure l'amour, ce faux sens de plénitude qui se révèle--trop tard, hélas!--être un leurre. Lorsqu'il nous a ravagés et que nous nous croyons par sa faute mis au-dessus de la condition humaine et quasi immortels nous nous apercevons qu'il s'est pourtant s'est moqué de nous. "Dépaysement intérieur, l'amour est le seul voyage" (p. 18). Voyage qui, pour notre auteur, n'est ni nécessairement mystique, ni spirituel, mais profondément sensuel: "L'acte d'amour n'est pas le péché c'est le contraire du péché l'instant où l'on s'y adonne est celui dans lequel le péché paraît le plus près d'être aboli." (p. 19) Fugace félicité, l'amour est fragile et ne saurait durer ("les seuls amants heureux sont ceux qui meurent ensemble.") (p.30). Après nous avoir portés à l'extase il nous lâche dans la fange, le doute s'installe entre les amants, les ronge, les pousse à la jalousie, à la méfiance, à l'autodestruction. Collé l'un contre l'autre, malgré soi ou malgré l'autre, devant leurs miroirs déformants qui font perdre aux amants tout concept de réalité, chacun peut alors se demander, à propos de l'autre: "Que pense-t-il? Que ressent-il? Dit-il la vérité?" (p. 38) Voilà réapparaître l'idée du mensonge que Worms avait déjà développée dans son essai précédent sur la base d'un jugement fallacieux où toute objectivité devient impossible: "L'incapacité où nous sommes de reconnaître une parole vraie d'une parole trompeuse les rend toutes suspectes, si l'on ne peut croire à tout, on ne peut croire à rien." (p. 41) Ce qui est dit au sujet des amants pourrait l'être au sujet de tout autre commerce individuel ou collectif. D'où la dimension métaphysique qu'acquiert l'ouvrage, qui dit beaucoup plus qu'il ne veut dire ou qu'il ne semble vouloir dire. Non seulement la communion entre les êtres semble être ardue ou carrément inaccessible, mais la communication même devient impossible ou risquée.

Mais voilà qu'après avoir patiemment démonté le mécanisme de l'amour et du rapport avec autrui et après avoir prouvé que tout entente est improbable, aussi bien dans l'amour que dans la souffrance, Jeannine Worms nous surprend avec ses conclusions, qui par ailleurs ne font que confirmer sa démarche vers la sagesse, une sagesse conquise au dur prix d'une très grande lucidité: "l'amour, le détestable amour, reste l'unique fête des hommes; la malédiction la plus terrible, celle d'en être banni ( . . .). Magicien qui transforme un galetas en palais, un bouge en palace et un homme en demi-dieu, l'amour donne signification à l'absurde et justifie l'injustifiable." (p. 191)

Après nous avoir dénudés, démunis et livrés à la seule consolation de la philosophie, voilà que Worms nous redonne dignité et espérance. Que peut-on demander de plus à un écrivain?

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Jean Cocteau, "Jeannine Worms," préface à "Archiflore," L'Avant-scène-Théâtre, n. 347.
- <sup>2</sup> L'Avant-scène-Théâtre, n. 648 du 15 avril 1969.
- <sup>3</sup> Jean Cocteau, article cité.
- <sup>4</sup> Jeannine Worms, Il ne faut jamais dire fontaine, (Paris: Fasquelle, 1956) p. 14.
- <sup>5</sup> Ibidem, p. 16.
- <sup>6</sup> Ibidem, p. 7.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibidem, p. 161.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibidem, p. 161.
- <sup>9</sup> Ibidem, p. 161.
- <sup>10</sup> Jeannine Worms, Les uns les autres, (Paris: Fasquelle, 1957) p. 61.
- <sup>11</sup> Jeannine Worms, Apologie du mensonge, (Paris: Fasquelle 1958), p. 107.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibidem, p. 110.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibidem, p. 111.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibidem, p. 111.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibidem, p. 143.
- <sup>16</sup> Alain Bosquet, "Jeannine Worms ou: l'absurde est devenu lyrique," L'Avant-scène-Théâtre, n. 648, du 15 avril 1969.
- <sup>17</sup> Jean Blanzat, "Le Magnolia de Jeannine Worms," Le Figaro Littéraire du 30 avril 1940, citant à son tour Jeannine Worms, p. 22.
- <sup>18</sup> Apologie du mensonge, p. 23.
- <sup>19</sup> Marc Saporta, "Pro-romans et ré-textes," Preuves, 28 (1961) pp. 32-34. Repris aussi dans L'Hermès Artistique d'avril 1962.

<sup>20</sup>Un Magnolia, (Paris: Gallimard, 1960), p. 8.

<sup>21</sup>Le narrateur fictif, l'arbre probablement fictif qu'invente le narrateur et les personnages que en découlent, sa vie qu'il donne pour réelle et dont on se demande si elle a jamais été.

<sup>22</sup>D'une malédiction, (Paris: Gallimard, 1963).

<sup>23</sup>Un Magnolia, pp. 9-10.

## Lope de Vega's Philosophical Pastoral Drama

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The pastoral is a mode of literary expression which originated in classical antiquity and which has enjoyed a wide popularity from its inception. The bucolic vision responds to a basic longing within mankind for a utopian order of existence in which the human being can most fully express his essential nature, enjoying a serene life removed from the strife and constraints of the ordinary world. The conditions of pastoral are few, yet the variations of the mode are many. It presupposes an idealized bucolic landscape and the literary type of the shepherd or simple man, and it usually carries within it an implied contrast with some more complex type of society. It is closely linked to the expression of love and the celebration of nature. These characteristics, while integral to all bucolic literature, may be articulated in a variety of manners, and it is due to the flexibility and richness of the mode that pastoral has charmed its listeners for so long a period of time.

Lope de Vega was highly aware of the numerous options suggested by pastoral and carefully cultivated them in many of his works. His pastoral romance, La Arcadia, and other works of prose fiction such as Pastores de Belén and Remedio en la desdicha illustrate his use of pastoral in narrative. There are pastoral interludes in his epic, Jerusalén conquistada, and his lyric poetry is heavily infused with bucolic motifs. But his most striking cultivation of the mode is to be found in his dramatic production. Lope does not limit himself to the imitation of a single form within the tradition of bucolic literature, but rather exploits numerous types of pastoral fiction, incorporating a variety of elements into his works to produce original

creations. Not only was he familiar with the ancient bucolic conventions originating with Theocritus and Virgil, but he was also thoroughly acquainted with the devices and motifs of Christian pastoral and Renaissance pastoral romance, as well as the current and traditional philosophical doctrines associated with country living. Lope evidently approached pastoral with a critical, yet sympathetic, eye, and this study examines the ways in which he adapted and enriched traditional forms of bucolic literature in his theater, particularly in the creation of a type of philosophical pastoral drama in his mature years as an artist.

Perhaps the most carefully wrought of Lope's pastoral dramas are those in which his characters emerge as spokesmen for the ideal moral values traditionally associated with the contemplative life, El villano en su rincón and Los Tellos de Meneses I, II.<sup>2</sup> Lope exalts not only the merits of the solitary life, but imbues the rustic figures with a special dignity as they become exemplars of virtue, rationality, proper love, and the wisdom and gravity of the Stoic sage. Lope found the traditional introspective focus of the pastoral shepherd easily adaptable to an examination of the moral virtues of the contemplative man. The bucolic tradition, in fact, offered him a distinguished model for such an endeavor, the Horatian pastoral of solitude, with its emphasis on inner fulfillment and the virtues of the life of retreat. Enriching it with the ethical philosophy championed in the influential treatises of the contemporary Neostoics, Lope was able to create a type of cosmopolitan pastoral drama in which the idealized natural way of life of the protagonists also embraces and is harmonized with the political suprastructure within which they exist. Because of the predominance of the meditative and ethical focus, the customary features and literary devices of pastoral which Lope integrates so carefully into his plays are adapted to the philosophical tone of the works. Thus, we see that the presentation of nature and love, standard elements of pastoral, and the depiction of the characters all serve primarily to contribute to and reinforce the philosophical dimensions of the plays.

The idealization of the natural setting is undoubtedly one of the most constant features of all pastoral literature. Bucolic fiction traditionally emphasizes the beauty of nature and the sense of peace and tranquility man attains from his close communion with his physical surroundings. Lope's presentation of the country landscape in his philosophical pastoral plays conforms to the attributes conventionally found in bucolic environments. Yet, the particular features which he underscores in his lyrical evocation of the landscape carefully serve his dramatic objectives. He emphasizes the harmony, productivity, and solitude of the natural setting and recalls many classical topoi as he explores the spiritual implications of the idealized life styles of his village philosophers.

One of the most appealing characteristics of the country is the prevailing sense of harmony found therein. The countryside reflects in many ways the perfection and orderliness of the cosmos. Man is an integral component of this universal design and is happiest when he regulates his life according to the rules of nature. The exaltation of the simple, rustic life is an ideal celebrated in antiquity by Horace and Lope does not hesitate to exploit the imaginative power of its most illustrious classical formulation in these plays. In both El villano and Los Tellos, the village patriarchs deliver variations of Horace's beatus ille poem as they affirm the contentment of their lives in harmony with their surroundings:

;Cuán bienaventurado  
 Puede llamarse el hombre  
 Que con oscuro nombre  
 Vive en su casa, honrado  
 De su familia, atenta  
 A lo que más le agrada y le contenta! . . .  
 Yo salgo con la aurora  
 Por estos verdes prados,  
 Aun autes de pisados  
 Del blanco pie de Flora,  
 Quebrando algunos hielos  
 Tal vez de los cuajados arroyuelos  
 Miro con el cuidado  
 Que salen mis pastores:

Los ganados mayores  
 Ir retozando al prado,  
 Y humildes á sus leyes,  
 A los harbechos conducir los bueyes.

. . .

Vuelvo, y al mediodá  
 La comida abundante  
 No me pone arrogante;  
 Que no pienso que es mía,  
 Porque, mirando al cielo,  
 El dueño adoro con humilde celo.  
 Todos los años miro  
 La limosna que he dado  
 Y lo que me ha quedado,  
 Y diciendo suspiro,  
 Viendo lo que se aumenta:  
 "Siempre me alcanza Dios en esta cuenta."

. . .

Le doy gracias al cielo,  
 Que fertiliza el suelo,  
 Tan liberal conmigo;  
 Porque quien no agradece  
 La deuda al cielo, ni aun vivir merece.<sup>3</sup>

By celebrating the rustic's intimate and harmonious relationship with his surroundings, Lope invests the protagonists with a special dignity, for, since the countryside mirrors the general perfection of the cosmos, the rustic man also participates directly in God's divine plan by integrating himself with the natural world. The glorification of the peasant in his affinities with nature recalls the ancient Stoic ideal of the simple, unassuming life style in which one is content with the <sup>4</sup>modest provisions offered by one's rural environment. The harmony which Lope attributes to the country underscores the excellence of the rustic life, and, in its most ideal form, the peasant community reflects the accord evident throughout nature.

While repeatedly noting the harmony of the natural world, Lope at the same time emphasizes its boundless vitality and abundant productivity. In contrast to the stylized portrayal of the locus amoenus typical of classical pastoral and several of its Renaissance Neoplatonic descendants, Lope presents a strikingly dynamic vision of nature in these

plays. While in the more traditional pastoral works the gentle aspects of nature--the soft breezes, crystalline springs, and the grassy meadows--dominate the setting, in these dramas, the fields are overflowing with produce, and the landscape is notable for its rich vegetation and varied colors. Far from an idealized static backdrop, nature is a realm of endless cyclical flux, incorporating man's energies in its rhythms and bestowing its plentiful harvests on the rural communities which it beneficently enfolds.

As in some of Lope's other pastoral dramas, and particularly in his Christian pastoral plays, the bountifulness of nature is seen as a reflection of God's providence. However, at the same time, the productivity of the land is explicitly linked to the industriousness of its inhabitants. The rustics are unlike literary pastoral shepherds in that they must labor, tilling the land and harvesting its produce. The thriving vitality of the countryside attests to the strong work ethic of the peasants. While the value of labor is not usually celebrated in such bucolic works as Theocritus' Idylls, Virgil's Eclogues, and the Renaissance pastoral romance, it is a Horatian ideal which surfaces in his Epodes and Epistles.<sup>6</sup> Fray Luis de León also expresses the satisfaction derived from working one's own land in "La vida retirada":

Del monte en la ladera  
por mi mano plantado tengo un huerto,  
que con la primavera,  
de bella flor cubierto,  
ya muestra en esperanza el fruto cierto.

Y como codiciosa  
de ver y acrecentar su hermosura,  
desde la cumbre airosa  
una fontana pura  
hasta llegar corriendo se apresura;  
y luego, sosegada,  
el paso entre los árboles torciendo,  
el suelo de pasada  
de verdura visitiendo,  
y con diversas flores va esparciendo.<sup>7</sup>

The notion of an idealized country setting

which, nonetheless, must be cultivated is of fundamental importance in these plays. Juan Labrador is king of his land, and his sceptre is a plow. The symbol, of course, suggests that he, like his rustic "subjects," is engaged in industrious activity and provides an interesting case of Lope's appropriation of royal iconography in this type of pastoral which tends to subordinate the official order of the monarchy to the more essential order of nature. As a wealthy landowner, Juan Labrador can easily afford a life of leisure, yet he prides himself on the fact that he works, "reyes los que viven son|del trabajo de su mano" (p. 20). Within the philosophical context of the works, Lope directs his attention to the moral value of the virtue of work and how it avails man's inner character. The rustic protagonists are richly rewarded for their industriousness, yet the benefits they reap are spiritual as well as material. Because nature responds so liberally to their efforts, they are able to provide amply for their families and live independently of others. The satisfaction of living by one's own hand and of being content with one's provisions has nothing to do with material interests, however, but points in stead to the exalted Stoic principle of spiritual self-sufficiency. The country dweller, in fact, desires little else from his material abundance than the fulfillment of his most basic needs. The unaspiring contentment of the country is one of the most admirable features of Juan Labrador and Tello and recalls the central ethical doctrine of the Stoics: one must follow nature and desire nothing. In the Epistulae morales, Seneca discourses on the virtues of self-sufficiency:

In our own day, which man, think, is the wiser—the one who invents a device of spraying perfumes at great heights from hidden pipes, who fills or empties canals by a sudden rush of water, who so cleverly constructs a diningroom with movable ceilings that the roof changes as often as the courses—or the one who makes plain to others, and to himself, that nature has laid upon us no hard and difficult command, that we can live without the marblemason and the smith, that we can be clothed without the silk-merchant, that we can have everything that is needful for our use, if only we will be content with those things which the earth has placed upon its surface? . . .

Necessities are procured with little pains; it is the luxuries that require labor. Seek not out the makers of artificial things, but follow Nature. Nature did not wish us to be distracted over many things. She equipped us for whatever she forced upon us.

The celebration of man's communion and integration with nature, his industriousness, self-sufficiency, and the inner repose derived from a peaceful habitat corresponds to familiar Stoic and Horatian ideals and reveals that Lope, in his idealized presentation of nature and a natural community, was summoning forth the power of a distinguished classical and philosophical tradition in order to underscore the moral exemplarity of his rustic protagonists and endow their ordeals and triumphs within the dramatic action with profound philosophical implications.

One of the most interesting features of Lope's philosophical works is the way in which the dramatist maintains the traditional pastoral conception of love which pervades and elevates the rural environment while at the same time modifying it in such a way as to reconcile it with his celebration of individual self-fulfillment. Love is traditionally an essential component of the bucolic world, and many pastoral works focus almost exclusively on the depiction of the amorous sentiments of the inhabitants.

Lope's philosophical pastoral plays, however, relegate romantic sentiments to a secondary plane. Lope liberates himself from the almost exclusive concern with amatory affection of much bucolic literature, and, most certainly of his own early pastoral plays, and presents a tranquil, almost spiritual human love which is much more compatible with the philosophical state of mind of the protagonists. The most exalted form of love is not the harmonious bond between man and woman, or husband and wife, as in such works as Peribáñez and the San Isidro plays, but rather a more universal love based on respect and admiration. The love associated with Juan Labrador and Tello, older, widowed patriarchs, is both a type of self-love, which enhances their characterization as philosophical beings and a fraternal love uniting the various members of the

of self-love and the love between man and woman in the direction of a genuine cosmopolitanism. The object of the love is not erotic fulfillment, as in the more typical works of Renaissance amatory pastoral, or even self-fulfillment, but rather the loftier utopian state of universal understanding and peace among men. Lope thus presents us with a more complete and complex vision of love as a universal force which includes not only amorous affection between man and woman, but parental, fraternal, and social love as well. This view of love is another indication of the philosophical derivation of this type of play. In his Naturalium Quaestionum, Seneca points out that the ideal love is the benevolentia which must link man to man and enable society to flourish in a climate of brotherhood.<sup>14</sup>

In his depiction of the protagonists as members of a universal order and as village philosophers, Lope develops those characteristics which define them most clearly as wise men embodying certain ethical values. Juan Labrador and Tello are both notable, for example, for their excellence in leading lives of virtue and reason, basic moral principles championed in numerous<sup>15</sup> classical and contemporary philosophical treatises. In addition, we find that they reflect upon such concerns as the transience of earthly values, the brevity of life, and the inevitability of death, all of which are of vital importance within the Stoic tradition. The characters' insistence on virtue and reason in favor of wealth, power, and status, and the acknowledgement of man's mortality reaffirms their position as celebrated Stoic patriarchs. Juan Labrador, for example, decries the meaninglessness of worldly ambition in the face of life's progression towards death: "¡Dura ambición!, ¿qué trabajas[haciendo al aire edificios, |pues los más altos oficios|no llevan más de mortajas?" (p.22).

The focus on the certainty of man's destination of the grave recalls the Stoic's traditional meditatio mortis, in which one must contemplate the finality of human existence in order to attain spiritual fullness of being. The inevitability of man's destruction provokes not fear, but rather a certain tranquility if one is truly ready to confront

it. Juan Labrador embodies quite literally the Stoic conception of the morally mature man who lives with a view towards death. Apparently committed to the Senecan principle that one must learn to live comfortably with a knowledge of man's mortality and live in constant readiness for death, he has constructed the grave which awaits him with the epitaph already inscribed. The discovery of the sepulchre arouses the curiosity of the king, and Juan Labrador explains, "Dos camas tengo, una en case, |y otra en la iglesia: éstas son|en vida y muerte el rincón|donde una y otra se pasa" (p. 65). The words are those of a model Christian Neostoic, and we should note that Juan Labrador's posture in relation to death recalls not only such classical philosophers as Seneca and Horace, but also the traditional Christian admonition to the wise men to accept death as a natural consequence of life and ready oneself for this eventuality, the teachings which are formulated most powerfully in the Old Testament Book of Job and Ecclesiastes.<sup>16</sup>

In spite of the rich tradition of pastoral elegy, an absorbing preoccupation with death and the passage of time in an idyllic setting might seem incompatible with the conventional norms of bucolic literature. Lope certainly does not present a static vision of pastoral time in which an idealized moment is temporally isolated in a seeming eternity, as is the case in many Renaissance pastoral romances. Instead he exploits his impressive lyric and dramatic powers in order to set forth as an ideal the inner peace which one derives from fearlessly facing one's mortality through the adoption of certain transcendent moral values. The positive attributes of humility, simplicity, virtue, and reason with which he endows his characters distinguish them as true ethical heroes. Yet, while presenting them as philosophical beings, modeled in many ways according to the Stoic formulas for perfection, Lope does not invest them with the ascetic values of the most rigorous Neostoics. He advocates, rather a fundamentally humane perspective, exalting the natural man's goodness and wisdom and his adherence to the venerated philosophical principles of rationality and self-control in ordering his life properly, while at the same time allowing him to enjoy in moderation the

blessings of his surroundings.

To summarize, in these works Lope depicts an idealized country landscape which is thoroughly compatible with traditional bucolic norms; yet, at the same time, his artistic purposes go well beyond the lyric celebration of the beauty and harmony of the rural world and include a carefully structured exposition of serious philosophical and humanitarian issues. In a somewhat deceptive manner, he treats the complexities of human existence in the simplest and most basic of settings. It appears that, particularly later in his career, Lope viewed pastoral with an eye toward its possibilities for the dramatic exploration of man's inner nature. Perhaps the appeal of pastoral to Lope lay principally in its introspective focus, that is, in its adaptability to the type of exploration of the inner being of man which he carries out in El villano and Los Tellos. And it is probable that the well-established affinities between literary pastoral and the contemplative way of life provided the initial inspiration for Lope's focus on man's spiritual essence in works of this type.

As we have seen, Lope evokes the meditative tones of the Horatian and Stoic traditions of philosophy and successfully incorporates various of their fundamental doctrines into his works. His characters emerge as models of goodness, humility, and classical moderation. They live their lives in accord with the natural rhythms of nature, are content with their status as peasants, and emphatically reject all luxuries. In accord with Senecan precepts concerning the brevity of human existence, they live with a heightened awareness of life's temporality and acknowledge the ultimate mortality of man, guiding their lives by the principles of virtue and reason, and refusing to take flight from this sobering insight by embracing the illusory values of the world. They live not as the literary shepherds of the typical Renaissance pastoral romance, intent on pursuing gratification within the temporal order through love, but rather as Stoic patriarchs, who transform the leisure afforded by a life of retirement into virtuous industry and quickened mental activity, reflecting constantly upon the true essence of man

and representing it perfectly in their way of living. In his glorification of the moral qualities of the peasant and his depiction of the rustic country world, Lope creates a utopian order which, in reality, stands for the potential for perfection inherent in all human beings. Thus, we witness the strong humanitarian spirit animating these works, for they suggest that the most perfect of worlds is available to man in the spiritual fulfillment which he attains through communion with his own true nature, love for his fellow man, and right living. At this point we see that Lope's final pastoral is, from a humanistic point of view, also his most grandiose and most appealing in his affirmation of the essential natural goodness of man and his potential for perfection through the attainment of spiritual fulfillment in the purified atmosphere of utopian country setting. Lope's skillful blending of philosophical concerns within the pastoral medium once again underscores his striking originality and literary genius, and the protean variety of his art.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Walter W. Greg observes, "Wherein then, it may be wondered, does the pastoral's title to consideration lie. It does not lie primarily, or chiefly, in the fact that it is associated with names of the first rank in literature, with Theocritus and Virgil, with Petrarch, Politian, and Tasso, with Cervantes and Lope de Vega, with Ronasard and Marot, with Spenser, Ben Jonson, and Milton; nor yet that works such as the Idyls, the Aminta, the Faithful Shepberdess, and Lycidas contain some of the most graceful and perfect verse to be found in any language. Rather is its importance to be sought in the fact that the form is the expression of instincts and impulses deep-rooted in the nature of humanity, which, while affecting the whole course of literature, at times evince themselves most clearly and articulately here; that it plays a distinct and distinctive part in the history of human thought and the history of artistic expression" (Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama, (London, 1906, p. 2).

<sup>2</sup>Morley and Bruerton estimate that El villano was written between 1611-1616, although M. Bataillon argues that the historical references to the play narrow the date of composition to 1614-1615. Morley and Bruerton place Los Tellos between 1620 and 1630. S. Griswold Morley and Courtney Bruerton, The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Plays (New York, 1940), pp. 159, 185, 243, 345 and Marcel Bataillon, "El villano en su rincón," Bulletin Hispanique, LI (1949), p. 14.

<sup>3</sup>Lope de Vega, Los Tellos de Meneses in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, XXIV (Madrid, 1859), pp. 518-519. All future references are to this edition.

<sup>4</sup>Arthur Lovejoy and George Boas relate the traditional ideal of primitivism to the correspondence of man's behavior and the societal structure to the norms of nature, "Primitivism . . . is closely related throughout most of its history to the assumption that correctness in opinion and excellence in individual conduct or in the constitution of society consists in conformity to some standard or norm expressed by the term 'nature' or its derivatives (Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity (New York, 1965, p. 103). They trace this idea to Plato and Xenophon and point out that it later influenced the philosophies of the Cynics and Stoics. (See p. 113 and the chapters on Cynic Primitivism and Stoic Primitivism).

<sup>5</sup>In the opening soliloquy of El villano, Juan Labrador enumerates the bountiful products of his land, surveying a magnificent panorama extending from the gardens where the bees gather

honey from his brilliant flowers to the distant peaks covered with the snowy fleece of his flocks:

¡Gracias, inmenso cielo,  
a tu bondad divina!  
No tanto por los bienes que me has dado,  
pues todo aqueste suelo  
y esta sierra vecina  
cubren mis trigos, viñas y ganado,  
ni por haber colmado  
de casi blanco aceite  
destas olivas bajas,  
a treinta y más tinajas,  
donde nadan los quesos por deleite,  
sin otras, de henchir faltas,  
de olivas más ancianas y más altas;  
no porque mis colmenas,  
de nidos pequeñuelos,  
de tantas avecillas adornadas,  
de blanca miel rellanas,  
que al reírse los cielos  
convierten destas flores matizadas;  
ni porque estén cargadas  
de montes de oro en trigo  
las eras que a las trojes  
sin tempestad recoges,  
de quien Tú, que los das, eres testigo,  
y yo, tu mayordomo,  
que mientras más adquiero, menos como;  
no porque los lagares  
con las azules uvas  
rebozen por los bordes a la tierra,  
ni porque tantos pares  
de bien labradas cubas  
pueden bastar a lo que octubre encierra;  
no porque aquella sierra  
cubra el ganado mío,  
que allá parecen peñas,  
ni porque con mis señas,  
bebiendo de manera agota el río,  
que en el tiempo que bebe,  
a pie enjuto el pastor pasar se atreve;  
las gracias más colmadas  
te doy porque me has dado  
contento en el estado que me has puesto.

(Madrid, 1963), pp. 17-18. Subsequent references are to this edition).

<sup>6</sup>See, for example, Horace's Epistles, Book I, Epistle 14, and his second Epode:

Happy the man that is care free  
 As were the pioneers,  
 Who ploughs his unencumbered fee  
 With his own yoke of steers. . . .  
 He trains the tendrils of each vine  
 To wed a poplar high,  
 Or scans his herd of lowing kine  
 That graze in vales nearby;  
 He grafts more fruitful shoots on trees  
 Whence he had culled the weak,  
 Or stores the honey from his bees,  
 And shears the bleaters meek.

(Horace, Epode II, in Odes, Epodes and Art of Poetry, trans. John B. Quinn (St. Louis, 1936, pp. 136-137).

<sup>7</sup>Fray Luis de León, "La vida retirada" in Renaissance and Baroque Poetry of Spain, ed. Elias L. Rivers (New York, 1966), pp. 92-93. Antonio de Guevara also comments on the benefits of work in his famous treatise, Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea, "El hombre ocupado y laborioso siempre anda sano, gordo, regozijado, colorado, alegre y contento; de manera que el honesto exercicio es causa de buena complexión y de sana condición" (Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea (Madrid: 1915, p. 100).

<sup>8</sup>Seneca, Epistolae morales from Lovejoy and Boas, Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity, p. 270.

<sup>9</sup>Lope's early pastoral plays, El verdadero amante, La pastoral de Jacinto, and Belardo el furioso, all estimated to have been composed before 1600, reflect the madness and passion of romantic love.

<sup>10</sup>In his analysis of El villano, Everett Hesse suggests that love is the central theme of the work and notes its powers as an equalizing force in personal relations as well as between the King and his subjects. See "The Sense of Lope's El villano en su rincón", Studies in Philology, LVII (1960), 165-177.

<sup>11</sup>Renato Poggioli, The Oaten Flute (Cambridge, 1975), p. 189.

<sup>12</sup>We note, for example, that this notion surfaces in Francisco

de Quevedo's works, which follow closely the tenets of Neostoicism. (See Henry Ettinghausen. Francisco de Quevedo and the Neostoic Movement (London, 1972). In La cuna y la sepultura Quevedo writes, "Te ruego que me guíes y defiendas de la maldad de mis apetitos, de la debilidad de mi naturaleza, de las insolencias de mi voluntad, de la malicia de los pecadores, del ejemplo de los malos, del poder de los tiranos, de la venganza de mis enemigos, de la invidia de los espíritus amotinados. . . ." (Quoted from Ettinghausen, p. 89).

<sup>13</sup> Poggioli states, "It is not paradoxical to affirm that it is within the Horatian rather than within the Virgilian tradition that solitude begins to be viewed as something valuable in itself, if not yet an absolute value. The chief reason for this is the Stoic renunciation of passions (including the tender emotions of love) and an Epicurean wisdom, which delights in the simplest pleasures. Significantly and paradoxically, it is within some of the latest and most complex products of this tradition that the idea of solitude begins wearing a pastoral or quasi-pastoral dress" (p. 187). Fray Luis de León stresses emotional quietude in his famous lyric celebration of the beauties to be found in the retirement to nature:

Vivir quiero conmigo

gozar quiero del bien que debo al cielo,

a solas, sin testigo,

libre de amor, de celo,

de odio, de esperanzas, de recelo.

(in Renaissance and Baroque Poetry of Spain, p. 92).

<sup>14</sup> In his discussion of Seneca's work, Frederick Copleston observes, "This side of the Stoic ethic—namely the endeavor to acquire complete independence of all externals—represents its Cynic heritage; but it has another side, whereby it passes beyond Cynicism, and that is its Cosmopolitanism. Every man is naturally a social being, and to live in a society is a dictate of reason. But reason is the common essential nature of all men: hence there is but one Law for all men and one Fatherland. The division of mankind into warring States is absurd: the wise man is a citizen, not of this or that particular State, but of the World. . . . Now this transcendence of narrow social limits was obviously favored by the monism of the Stoic system, but an ethical basis for the Stoic Cosmopolitanism was found in the fundamental instinct or tendency of self-preservation or self-love. . . . In the first place, of course, this instinctive tendency to self-preservation shows itself in the form of self-love, the individual's self-love. But it extends beyond self-love in the narrow sense to embrace all that belongs to the individual, family, friends, fellow citizens and, finally, the whole of humanity. . . . In other words, the ethical ideal is attained when we love all men as

we love ourselves or when our self-love embraces all that is connected with the self, including humanity at large, with an equal intensity" (A history of Philosophy, Vol. 1 (Garden City, 1962, pp. 143-144).

15. Hiram Haydn affirms, "Stoicism . . . held as its central ethical principle the government of life by reason in the pursuit of virtue" (The Counter-Renaissance (New York, 1950, p. 473). The scholar points to the teachings of Cicero and Seneca in this respect. The latter declares, "Perfect reason is called virtue" (Seneca, Epistolae, quoted by Haydn, p. 475). Henry Ettinghausen also discusses the ideal of virtue as it appears in Quevedo's works and shows its basis in Christian thought through the examples of Job and Paul. (See pp. 34, 110). Ettinghausen also notes the importance of virtue to Seneca, Epictetus, and Juan de Herrera in his Epicteto español. (See pp. 63, 110). In one of Spain's most eloquent poetic formulations of these Stoic doctrines, Andrés Fernández de Andrade, in his "Epístola moral a Fabio", describe the peace derived from virtue:

No, porque así te escribo, hagas conceto  
que pongo la virtud en ejercicio:  
que aun esto fué difícil a Epicteto.  
Basta, al que empieza, aborrecer el vicio,  
y el ánimo enseñar a ser modesto;  
después le será el cielo más propicio.  
Despreciar el deleite no es supuesto  
de sólida virtud; que aun el vicioso  
en sí propio le nota de molesta.  
Mas no podrás negarme cuán forzoso  
este camino sea al alto asiento,  
morada de la paz y del reposo.  
(in Renaissance and Baroque Poetry of Spain, p. 256).

16. Noël Salomon notes the confluence of these traditions in his treatment of El villano in Recherches sur le thème paysan dans la "Comedia" au temps de Lope de Vega (Bordeaux, 1965), pp. 344-346. Horace's Ode 4, "Thoughts of Spring", explicitly expresses the brevitas vitae theme:

'Tis certain—Death with stalking stride will deign  
To knock at lowly huts or mansions grand;  
That life is short and hopes remote are vain  
Except the tomb, the shades, and Pluto's land.  
(Horace, Odes, Epodes and Art of Poetry, op. cit., p. 6).