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THE IMAGE OF SPAIN
IN NON-DRAMATIC FRENCH LITERATURE
FROM CHATEAUBRIAND TO MONTHERLANT
1800-1936

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in French at
Massey University, New Zealand

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- ABSTRACT -

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Since Morel-Fatio's Etudes sur l'Espagne (1885), there have been several studies of the influence of Spain on the literature of France, particularly by those scholars who have been associated with the growth of Hispanic studies in France. There have been many studies of the influence of Spain on individual authors. Martinenche's le Romantisme et l'Espagne (1922) deals at length with the drama and with the influence of Spain on French lyric poetry; Hoffmann's Romantique Espagne (1961) is another significant contribution although it concentrates on minor authors and makes no distinction between the récit de voyage and imaginative works. There is, however, no **study** of the image of Spain over the complex period from 1800 to 1936 in terms of the general attitude of French authors to Spain and the function of Spanish themes and images in the genres of poetry and the novel.

The object of the present study is to establish and where possible to analyse the conception of Spain which

imaginative literature in French offered to the reading public of the period 1800 to 1936. The works examined are those of major French authors of prose and poetry, although occasional reference is made for comparative purposes to lesser writers. The formative influence of the récit de voyage is considered but the images presented in this genre are not examined per se. Drama is not included. As background to the discussion of the image of Spain, social and political links between the two countries are outlined and the influence of Spanish literature on the general literary climate is taken into account where appropriate.

Three aspects of the image of Spain are examined. The thesis investigates first the presentation of landscape from Chateaubriand to modern times exploring its treatment by Romantics and later nineteenth-century writers; it argues that the full implications of Chateaubriand's attitude were realised only in the twentieth century, in particular by Montherlant and Peyré. The thesis then examines the treatment of Spanish character in French literature and two aspects of life in Spain, namely toreo and music, which manifest national characteristics. Similar changes in the treatment of these two latter aspects are traced. The images of toreo and music, for instance, are sometimes vehicles for psychological analysis and sometimes are closely allied, as in the writings of Montherlant, to themes of sexuality, religion or adolescence.

Discussion of these aspects is pursued with reference to the years 1800-1850, 1850-1890, and 1890-1936. There are introductory sections on the antecedent situation and on Chateaubriand. The concluding section argues that since the image of Spain projected by the "imagination collective" of an age is subject to preconceived ideas, illusions, prejudice and literary fashion, it is not fruitful to examine these matters with any expectation of finding

'the best image'; Montherlant's image of Spain is not 'better' than Mérimée's. The more 'symbolist' approach of modern poetry is reflected in the novel where cadre and décor are more closely linked to character development and action than in Romantic works in which the brilliance of purely exotic aspects of the cadre dominate.

In general terms, however, one may conclude that the place of Spain and Spanish themes and images play a vital role in the broad conception of 'la condition humaine' and that the function of these has changed in harmony with the general trends of French literature. A further aim of this study is to make some contribution to the compilation of a bibliography related to the image of Spain in French literature, thus continuing the work of Baldensperger and Friederich (1950, rev. 1960) and Hoffman (1961).

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- P R E F A C E -

In this study it is proposed to present and analyse the image of Spain in French literature in the complex period which extends from 1800 to 1936. Limited to an examination of the literary representations of Spain which are to be encountered in literature which may broadly be termed imaginative, an attempt will be made to analyse these representations as they appear primarily in the genres of prose and poetry.

The study does not purport to be a comparative essay centred on the influence of Spanish literature upon French literature, although certain aspects of this field will of necessity be considered. However, these influences will be regarded in this case more as conditioning agents than as the central theme.

THE IMAGE:

The use of the word image in this context is limited not to the literary representation of absolute reality, but rather to its subjective interpretation. In other words the object of the study is to fix and where possible to analyse the conception of Spain which imaginative literary works have offered to the reading public. It is not intended in the narrow confines of the work to attempt to establish an exact appraisal of how much the French nation in its entirety knew about Spain during the period under review.

The image current in France in the years from 1800 to 1936 will be found to be the product of preconceived ideas, illusions, fruits of prejudice and a sense of conformity. It will also be affected by political events, literary fashions and the demands which these events place upon the population as a whole as well as upon a generation of writers. The intellectual climate in which the works reviewed were created will of necessity be taken into consideration in any conclusions reached.

The images to be examined will fall into three groups. The first will concern the physical background or cadre created for works of prose or poetry and the contrasts encountered therein; next, against this physical scene, characters of Spanish nationality will be discussed, to be followed by an analysis of features of Spanish society, mores and customs. Conclusions will be presented at the end of the examination of each period, to be discussed as a whole in the final section.

SPAIN:

The Spain which will be sought through the images will be the Spain presented to the reading public. Spain, as will be shown in the introductory chapters, has for centuries attracted the attention of writers in France. And although, with a few rather rare exceptions, Spanish literature of the period 1800-1936 did not achieve great international fame, the country, the people, the historia y ambiente proved to be powerfully attractive to other nations. France, it cannot be denied, also exerted considerable influence upon Spain, and the period 1830-1850, the strongest years of this phenomenon, should not be underestimated in any consideration of the relationship between the two countries. France's southern neighbour gave unbridled opportunities to French writers both to rail against the barbarous land beyond the Pyrenees and to sing the praises of a country which provided new outlets leading to the full realisation of the exotic dream.

It is not intended to analyse representations of Spain which are to be found in the domain of other arts. Spanish subjects found in painting, sculpture and latterly in the cinema would not only demand a much greater availability of primary source material than that required for a purely textual analysis, but would open up a number of secondary considerations largely of a non-literary kind.

Although at different times during the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, the interest of the French people turned to articles of Spanish manufacture or to fashions originating in Spain, it is not proposed to examine the role, albeit at times considerable, which Spain played in the everyday life

of the French people except where this is reflected in literature. A study of the broader aspects of the role of Spain in French society has been completed by Léon-François Hoffmann.(1)

FRENCH LITERATURE:

This study is limited to a consideration of the image of Spain as it appears in a selection of works of imaginative literature and as stated above is further limited to the genres of prose and poetry. This further limitation has not been imposed arbitrarily but was dictated by three related considerations.

The first of these was that dramatic literature exists primarily to be acted. It follows therefore that a full and correct assessment of the image of Spain as presented in dramatic works would involve discussion of costume and stage décor. After an interval of some hundred years this would not only pose a number of problems regarding reliable sources but would also lead to discussion of non-literary side issues. For instance, individual interpretations by actors, producers and directors, while important to an examination of the image of Spain in the French theatre, would not properly fall within the compass of this enquiry.

The second consideration was that prose and poetry were more representative of the material available to the reading public than were plays. The spectacular development of newspapers after the Revolution meant

(1) Léon-François Hoffmann, Romanticue Espagne, l'image de l'Espagne en France entre 1800 et 1850, New Jersey/Paris, 1961.

that the story genre was transformed and became available to a wider public. The growth of journals such as the Revue de Paris, the Revue des Deux Mondes and the Correspondant brought new poetry and prose to an ever-increasing number of readers.

Finally, although it cannot be denied that Hugo, Vigny, Musset and others were playwrights as well as poets, the view held by Cazamian has validity. He points out that dramatic works of the Romantic period had not quite enough autonomy, solidity and substance to constitute a self-contained literary development and that they are, in fact, appendages to the poetry. (2)

In prose writing the predominant fields to be considered will be the novel and the short story. Récits de voyage will not be studied as providers of an image but rather as a touchstone to provide reinforcements or contrasts with the images of Spain presented in imaginative literature. It cannot be denied that the journeys into Spain effected by Alexandre Dumas in 1846 (3), by René Bazin in 1894 (4) or by others less illustrious or anonymous, constitute an important factor in the formation and presentation of an image. However profound the influences of the récits de voyage were upon the creators of imaginative literature it is the final image that will form the basis of this assessment.

(2) Léon Cazamian, A History of French Literature, Oxford, 1955, p. 321.

(3) Alexandre Dumas, Impressions de voyage. De Paris à Cadix, Paris, 1847-1848.

(4) René Bazin, Terre d'Espagne, Paris, 1895.

It is interesting to note here that Foulché-Delbosc recorded the bibliographical details of six hundred and forty récits de voyage concerned with journeys made through parts of Spain and Portugal in the nineteenth century. The importance of this carefully compiled document to comparatists cannot be valued too highly.(5)

Specialist works, although useful in the analysis of the image of Spain encountered in imaginative literature will not be examined per se as forming part of that image, for in many ways the role of these works is similar to récits de voyage although the aim is quite different. Difficulties of demarcation were resolved partly by the utilisation - in reverse, it must be noted - of the criteria adopted by Sister Albert Cécile Coutu in her discussion of the definitions of hispanism, espagnolisme, espanolismo, hispanist and hispanophile:

"For the initiated Hispanism does not connote the dilettante's attraction for the Spain of the Romantic Victor Hugo and Théophile Gautier, or closer to our own days, for the Spain of a Barrès, which according to Boisdeffre, announces that of a Montherlant. Rather it implies the scholarly knowledge of Spain of a Morel-Fatio, a Foulché-Delbosc, and, to include a few contemporaries, of Marcel Bataillon and Charles V. Aubrun. A different attitude and purpose when writing on or about Spain, distinguishes the scholar from the poet, essayist, novelist or dramatist, and imposes a discrimination between Hispanism which is literary and that which is scientific or scholarly to use an expression which is more suitable in English." (6)

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- (5) Raymond Foulché-Delbosc, "Bibliographie des Voyages en Espagne et en Portugal," Revue hispanique, III, 1896, pp. 1-349.
- (6) Sister Albert Cécile Coutu, Hispanism in France from Morel-Fatio to the Present (circa 1875-1950), (Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the Catholic University of America), Washington, 1954, p.2.

Spanish literature is a further element which undoubtedly influences the formation of an image. Translations of Spanish works of literature will be considered where it is apparent that these contributed to a general literary climate in which literary works in French with Spanish themes and motifs were written. The dates of publication of Spanish works of significance and their subsequent availability to the French-speaking reading public will be noted. The date of their republication in original form or in translation will be of particular importance in the general survey of the literary relationship between France and Spain from the earliest contacts to the first years of the limits of this study.

The works under consideration are those of major French authors. It has not been possible, as was done in Romantique Espagne, to consider authors or works "tombés dans un oubli bien mérité". Hoffmann's thesis tends in the other direction even: "On remarquera que nous avons tendance à négliger les plus grands".(7) Rather than follow the pattern adopted by L.F. Hoffmann, it was considered preferable to adopt the same criteria as Martinenche:

"Nous consulterons la plupart des oeuvres où se peut le mieux saisir le rôle de l'Espagne, mais nous n'insisterons que sur celles dont la gloire est assurée. On a mis à la mode dans ces dernières années la lecture patiente des revues et des journaux de l'époque étudiée. N'est-ce pas là qu'il convient de chercher l'opinion moyenne sur laquelle nous égarent les grands écrivains, puisque précisément ils ne sont grands que parce qu'ils la dépassent."(8)

(7) Léon-François Hoffmann, Romantique Espagne, p.3.

(8) Ernest Martinenche, Histoire de l'influence de l'Espagne sur la littérature française. L'Espagne et le Romantisme français, Paris, 1922, p. 14.

LIMITS OF THE STUDY:

The temporal limits of this study were fixed after considerable discussion. In choosing the period extending from 1800 to 1936 cognizance was taken of the importance of the contribution of Chateaubriand to French literature, particularly as many nineteenth-century developments stem from his search for new subject material. Following Chateaubriand, the Romantic era was particularly rich in literature presenting varied images of Spain. The wealth of material to be found between 1800 and 1850 has been commented on by Hoffmann:

"Entre 1800 et 1850 l'histoire de la France (comme l'histoire de l'Espagne d'ailleurs) est marquée par des changements de la plus haute importance. Sans doute est-ce sous l'effet de ces changements que de profonds remous se produisent dans l'âme française."

These changes will prepare France for the reception of new ideas and trends just as other countries in Europe had prepared themselves. Hoffmann's statement continues:

"C'est l'époque où, dans l'Europe toute entière, les originalités nationales s'affirment, où les peuples manifestent une nouvelle curiosité à l'égard de leurs voisins." (9)

A preliminary examination of the material revealed that in French literature some of the ideas that were consolidated at the termination of the romantic era were continued. This is particularly true of the dual development of nationalism and exoticism which reaches perhaps its highest point in the literary expression of Maurice Barrès.

(9) Léon-François Hoffmann, Romantique Espagne, p.2.

The terminal date of the present study was fixed at 1936, the year in which Spanish Loyalists and Nationalists took up arms against each other. The Civil War - in some publications referred to as the Crusade - was a crucial testing period of Spain's relationship with her nearest neighbours, France and Portugal. From this conflict developed the modern Spanish state and gradual recognition by the world. Spain's isolation ended in 1955 with admission to the United Nations. It seemed proper that our study should include the early works of Henry de Montherlant, but an overall view of the period following the Civil War demands separate study in a form quite different from the analysis to be undertaken here.

The analysis is presented in three major divisions:

- 1800 to 1850
- 1850 to 1890
- 1890 to 1936.

In view of the complexity of literary currents in the nineteenth century it appeared that, in order to be able to detach the image of Spain sufficiently from this complex pattern, it was better to establish a clear division of date and to draw from the analysis itself conclusions which would include gauging the literary climate of the period.

It appeared necessary, before undertaking a serious appraisal of the image of Spain that some account should be given of the literary relationship between France and Spain in the years preceding the study proper. The account of this relationship is presented in a separate section with the following chapter divisions:

- From the earliest times to 1600
- The Seventeenth Century
- The Eighteenth Century.

The works of Chateaubriand relevant to this topic are discussed in a separate section.

Preceding the analysis of the selection of literary works in which an image of Spain is found, there is in each section a chapter detailing the points of contact between the two nations, predominantly studied from a literary point of view. It is, however, in this chapter that political and other influences upon the image of Spain will be briefly reviewed.

It is also intended that the present work should be of bibliographical value to those interested in pursuing this topic further. For this reason it has been considered worthwhile to include liberal quotations from critics and specialists who have contributed their views in this field to journals and reviews that are now difficult to obtain. The bibliography is accordingly an enlargement upon the standard bibliography related to this topic which Baldensperger and Friederich published in 1960 (10) and continues the compilation effected by Hoffmann. (11)

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(10) Fernand Baldensperger and Werner P. Friederich, A Bibliography of Comparative Literature, New York, 1960.

(11) Léon-François Hoffmann, Romantique Espagne, pp. 163-202.

NOTE ON SPELLING:

Except in the case of direct quotation, where the author's spelling of Spanish place names has been retained, place names mentioned in the text are written according to current spelling in Spanish.

e.g. English - Andalusia
French - Andalousie
Spanish - Andalucía

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the translation of the passages from the works of Mario Praz and Arturo Farinelli. Any remaining faults or misinterpretations are mine.

Many overseas correspondents have assisted in the location of material and I have received valuable help from the staff of the Library at Massey University, particularly Miss Margaret Rodger and Miss Mary Green. The completion of this study is due not a little to the advice and encouragement received from colleagues in the Faculty of Humanities. Mrs. Margaret Brogden assisted with the typing of the draft and Mrs. Ruth Foster typed the final copy. The quality of their work is self evident and I am grateful for their interest.

Finally I wish to express my appreciation to my wife for her encouragement and support during five very difficult years.

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PART ONE

An outline of the literary and general cultural and political relationships between France and Spain from the time of Charlemagne's excursion of 778 to the end of the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER I

778 - 1600

Introduction - early contacts - la Chanson de Roland-
el Camino francés - el siglo de oro - the work of the
translators - Des Essarts - Maurice Scève - Amadis de
Gaula - la Celestina - Diana enamorada - Brantôme -
Ginès Perez de Hita - the Hispano-moresque tradition -
general influence of Spain on French literature.

- I N T R O D U C T I O N -

As far as can be ascertained, Nicholas Masson de Morvilliers (1), writing in the Encyclopédie méthodique (2), holds the unique distinction among critics of French literature of contending that Spain exerted no influence upon France, including her literature, nor upon Europe in general. Masson posed the question:

"Mais que doit-on à l'Espagne? Et depuis deux siècles, depuis quatre, depuis dix, qu'a-t-elle fait pour l'Europe?" (3)

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- (1) Nicholas Masson de Morvilliers (1740-1789), advocate at the Parlement de Paris, General Secretary to the Duc d'Harcourt. Among his writings is Abregé élémentaire de la Géographie universelle de l'Espagne et du Portugal, 1776.
- (2) Encyclopedie methodique, 166 volumes, published between 1781 and 1832 edited by Charles-Joseph Panckoucke (1736-1798).
- (3) Encyclopedie méthodique (no ref.) cited by André Girard, "l'Espagne et les lettres françaises," Mercure de France, XLVIII, 15 nov. 1937, p. 76.

His reply of "nothing" to his own question has been adequately dealt with over the years.(4) In 1812, Histoire de la littérature espagnole by Bouterwek (5), was translated into French, the first work of this nature to be offered to the French reading public. This was followed, in 1843, by Histoire comparée des littératures espagnole et française by Adolphe de Puibusque (1801-1863). Since that time the publications of Alfred Morel-Fatio (1850-1924), Raymond Foulché-Delbosc (1864-1929), Ernest Mérimée (1846-1924), Maurice Legendre (1878-1955) and others have clearly indicated that the literary contacts between France and Spain have been extensive. The work of eminent Hispanists is reviewed in the thesis of Sister Albert Cécile Coutu, Hispanism in France from Morel-Fatio to the present.(6)

It is only concerning the extent or the demarcation of specific areas that there appears to be any disagreement among scholars, and generally differences in attitude are attributable to the scholar's own style and the positioning of emphases. André Girard wrote categorically :

"Il n'est pas de pays, qui ait, autant que l'Espagne, exercé sur les Français sa puissance de séduction." (7)

This statement is of course open to interpretation and attack on several levels, but a more sober comment by Paul Hazard, made as part of the conclusion to his article

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- (4) cf l'Abbé Canavilles, Observations de M. l'Abbé Canavilles sur l'article Espagne de la nouvelle Encyclopedie, Paris, 1784 and Denina, Reponse a la question: Que doit-on à l'Espagne? Berlin, 1786.
- (5) Friedrich Bouterwek (1766-1828), professor at Göttingen. L'Histoire de la littérature espagnole was first published as part of Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit seit dem Ende des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts, 12 vols, Göttingen, 1801-1819.
- (6) Sister Albert Cécile Coutu, Hispanism in France from Morel-Fatio to the present (circa 1875-1950), Washington, 1954.
- (7) Girard, op. cit., p. 67.

which outlines the influence of Spain on French literature, restores balance to a discussion of the question:

"Présence de l'Espagne; c'est le mot que je tiens à écrire en finissant. Pour les lettres françaises les lettres espagnoles ne sont pas une valeur morte: elles continuent à vivre parmi nous." (8)

Philarete Chasles, writing in 1847, described the society of France in the period 1600-1650 as "France espagnole".(9) Paul Patrick Rogers took up this comment to develop it further:

"But M. Chasles did not know the half of it, for as the study of comparative literature progresses, more numerous appear the affinities which link the literary activity of France to that of her neighbour to the south. France's intellectual expression is bound, in more ways than one and in its many phases, science, mathematics, theology, philosophy, art, manners and the belles-lettres, to that of Spain."(10)

As distinct from the judgments of Hispanists and literary critics, other opinions give validity to the thesis that the influence of Spain at all levels of society, perhaps more easily discernible in the salon, was a significant formative element of the literature of the period under review. The words of the Duchesse d'Abrantès evoke the intensity of feeling current at the beginning of the nineteenth century:

(8) Paul Hazard, "Ce que les lettres françaises doivent à l'Espagne", Revue de littérature comparée, XVI, 1936, p. 22.

(9) Cited by Paul Patrick Rogers in "Spanish influence on the literature of France," Hispania, IX, No. 4, October 1926, p. 205.

(10) Rogers, op. cit., pp. 205-206.

"L'Espagne est un nom magique, non seulement pour réveiller des souvenirs dans une âme capable d'en avoir, mais aujourd'hui, ce nom est attaché à une partie de ce que nous avons conservé dans notre mémoire de bonheur et de malheur. Rien n'est évoqué vainement dans les souvenirs de l'Espagne... tout prend une voix et répond." (11)

Although the influence of Spain does not exactly coincide with the limits of the present study of the image of Spain, it seems that the points of contact between the two countries do furnish a background common to both types of literary enquiry. It is suggested that the ways in which the writers of imaginative literature presented their view of Spain before the eyes of the reading public of the nineteenth century constitute but a continuation of these early points of contact. Further it can be claimed that the texts under review from the French literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are an aesthetic illustration of the fruits of the literary ancestry of the writers of greater significance than travellers' accounts, translations or imitations. Nevertheless the importance of these latter literary pieces must be taken into account and their formative influences acknowledged.

As is the case with any two nations which share a common frontier, the histories of France and Spain will be, at least at certain periods, bound up inextricably with each other. It is not within the scope of the present study to attempt a complete synthesis of Franco-Spanish relations from earliest times to the present (12), but

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- (11) Mme d'Abrantès. Mémoires de Madame la duchesse d'Abrantès, ou Souvenirs historiques sur Napoleon, la révolution, le Directoire, le Consulat, l'Empire et la Restauration. Paris, 1831-1835, Vol. 8, p.158.
- (12) This has been attempted and in part covered by the studies of observers such as Gabriel-Henri Gaillard (1726-1806) in Rivalité de la France et de l'Espagne, Paris, 1798.

rather at this point to provide an outline of some of the more important points of contact between the two countries. Particular attention will be paid to literary production in France resulting from these contacts.

As would be expected, certain changes will be noted in the nature and extent of the points of contact discussed. Although wars and political manoeuvres of all kinds are not absent from the relationship between France and Spain, the most important aspects will be examined against a literary rather than a political background. There is special significance, when looking at the literary ancestors of Hugo, Gautier, Barrès or Montherlant, in the manner in which literary works crossed the Pyrenees and in the point of time at which a publication originating from Spain and based on Spanish sources became available in France, whether in its original form, as a republication, or in translation.

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- FRANCE AND SPAIN C.778 TO 1600 -

The question of when the most significant early contacts occurred between France and Spain raises certain problems in setting the limits to this outline, but it would appear that before the Middle Ages contacts were infrequent and their effects of short duration. Durable results were to stem from Charlemagne's excursion into the Iberian Peninsula in 778.

The unknown author who composed la Chanson de Roland, copied by Turolodus, contributed to the committing to history and to literature of the story of Charlemagne's siege of Zaragoza and his return to France. The losses sustained by Charlemagne's forces were of the same magnitude as those inflicted on the Saracens at the time of their invasion of France in 733, when Franks and Saracens met at the confluence of the Vienne and the Clain. There the Emir, Abd-al-Rahman, was killed and

his army put to flight by the forces of Charles Martel. Charlemagne was determined to end the Arab domination of the south and in a period of twenty years undertook seven expeditions.

In la Chanson de Roland we see the struggle as one for power between Saracen Spain and Christian France, but, as Dorothy L. Sayers has remarked (13), it was chiefly between France and Spain.

There are few similes or descriptive passages in the poem and the length of these is kept to a minimum, but geographical features already begin to play a part in the image of Spain which is presented, as the siege of Zaragoza and the exploits of the perfidious Basques or Navarrese are set against the background of the Pyrenees. Rogers comments upon this development in the first stage of the literary relationship between France and Spain:

"The mountains of the north were seized upon as dramatic localities for the trapping of an army, for the slaying of a protagonist or for the achievement of superhuman deeds." (14)

This décor is indicated with a brief comment in stanza sixty-six:

"Halt sunt li pui e li val tenebrus,
Les roches brises, les destreiz merveillus." (15)

Links between France and the kingdoms of Spain were also formed when the kings of Aragón and Castilla were supported by French soldiers in offensive and defensive campaigns. Expeditions were sent across the border to battle against the Saracens who threatened the independence of the Christian states of Spain and in so doing rendered unsafe

(13) Introduction to The Song of Roland, London, 1957.

(14) Rogers, op. cit., p. 207.

(15) La Chanson de Roland (ed. J. Bédier), Paris, 1922, v. 66.

accesses to the pilgrim routes to Santiago de Compostela. Roger de Couches led the first expedition, which was followed by others made up of knights from Aquitaine, Champagne and Bourgoigne.

With more peaceful intent the religious movement of the later Middle Ages provided for exchanges between French and Spanish monasteries. Builders often travelled with the monks to construct churches, abbeys, monasteries and convents. The Franko-Iberian period of church architecture lasted about two hundred years and gradually assumed its own individuality. The influence of Alfonso VI (1065-1109), his second wife, Queen Constance, and Bernard, a monk of the Abbey of Cluny, Abbot of Sahagún, is notable at this time, and under this powerful combination, ever sympathetic to causes of French origin, the bishopric of Toledo became one of the wealthiest in Europe, enjoying the added support of Pope Urban III.

Since the discovery of the burial place of St. James the Apostle at Compostela in the first decade of the ninth century, el camino francés had made important contributions to the spiritual cosmopolitanism of early Europe.(16) The troubadours and minstrels also contributed to the general exchange of culture and information.(17) Towards the end of the ninth century Compostela had already become a rich sanctuary, but it was not until the eleventh century that el camino francés began to establish itself as a definitive pilgrim route. Hospices, inns and foundations appeared and the flood of pilgrims from Europe, through France, passed via St. Jean

(16) The discovery was made when Theodonin was Bishop of Iria (Santiago at that time was called Iria Flavia.) Alfonso II ordered the construction of a church and Bishop's residence. A new city developed rapidly.

(17) Manuel Milá y Fontanals, De los trovadores en España, Barcelona, 1861.

Pied-de-Port to Roncesvalles, the first stage of the thirteen day journey to the sanctuary of Santiago de Compostela.

The great pilgrimages took place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Numbered among the travellers were Guillaume de Guyenne, the Prince de Bourgogne, Sainte Pauline, Madame Rusinda and the Duc d'Aquitaine.(18) The crusaders, on their way to Jerusalem by sea, passed through Santiago de Compostela after making a brief landing at the nearly coastal town of Noya.

In the archives of Santiago de Compostela there is a manuscript under the name of Aimeric Picaud, deposited there in 1143. Known now as the Calixtine Codex (19), the book contains accounts of the miracles of St.James, instructions to pilgrims, notes of the route, rivers, suitability of water for drinking, bridges, cities, and many other details of interest to the traveller in Spain. Aimeric, a priest from Parthenay-le-vieux, thus provides what is possibly the first récit de voyage of this region.

But not all were following el camino francés in pursuit of the fulfilment of spiritual goals. More materialistic motives also served to assist the commerce of ideas from France to Spain and likewise in the opposite direction. At the time of the greatest flow of pilgrims towards the sanctuary of Santiago de Compostela, the traffic of merchants, jongleurs and minstrels again played a significant part.

There are isolated examples in this period and the

(18) Alvaro Cunqueiro, The way of St.James, Madrid, 1965, p. 99.

(19) It was claimed that the manuscript was written by Pope Calixtus II. cf. Le guide du Pèlerin de Saint Jacques de Compostelle, Texte latin edite et traduit par Jeanne Vieilliard, 2^e edition, Macon, 1950.

century following of the influence of Spain upon France taking on a more literary character. The inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula appeared to French eyes to be sufficiently exotic in nature to warrant inclusion in tales and songs. It is also during this period (circa 1150-1300) that specific literary influences have been traced. The Spanish influences in the Chanson des Saisnes (circa 1190), and the links between the Poema de Fernan Gonçález (circa 1250) and Hernaut de Beaulande (fragment Hernant de Beuland - circa 1350) are noted by Rogers. (20)

But interest in Spain, as an inspiration, a source of literary models or as a more direct influence upon the literature of France, remains intermittent until the fruitful period of the sixteenth century. Philippe van Tieghem has commented upon the purely literary influences and defined the periods of greater importance:

"L'influence de la littérature espagnole sur notre littérature s'est exercée à deux périodes bien distinctes, à la fin de la Renaissance et au temps du classicisme d'une part; au moment du Romantisme de l'autre." (21)

In the sixteenth century Spain enjoyed a prestigious position in Europe. America had been discovered and conquered, a fact which changed the concept of world geography; Islam, which had been a world power in the Middle Ages, was contained in Africa and the East. France on the other hand was powerless. In 1525, at the Battle of Pavia, Charles V defeated the French army and Francis I was taken prisoner. The Treaty of Madrid, signed in the following year, gave credence to the claim

(20) Rogers, op. cit., p. 207.

(21) Philippe Van Tieghem, les Influences étrangères sur la littérature française (1550-1880), Paris, 1961, p. 36.

of Charles V that he desired only the peace of Christendom, and Spanish forces were garrisoned in Paris.

In the arts and in religion Spain was no less powerful. El Greco was painting in Toledo, Santa Teresa de Avila and San Juan de la Cruz were writing, Cervantes and Lope de Vega were beginning to influence the course of literature, and St. Ignatius Loyola was founding the Society of Jesus. No summary could do justice to the vast range of interests of Spain of the sixteenth century. It is, however, the influence abroad, primarily upon France, which interests us here. Jacques-Claude Demogeot, writing in Histoire des littératures étrangères, Italie-Espagne, sums up the situation at this period of the literary history of France:

"On tâche d'imiter ceux qu'on envie; on imita l'Espagne. La France surtout, toujours avide de nouveautés, toujours ouverte aux modes étrangères, ne pouvait manquer d'en subir l'influence." (22)

Girard, almost always more simpliste in his approach to problems of this kind, is of a similar opinion, but stresses the influence of Italy:

"Il faudra attendre la fin du XVII^e siècle pour voir les contacts donner leurs fruits. C'est que l'Italie, entre temps, était apparue à nos yeux éblouis." (23)

Van Tieghem furnishes much more detail, adding some broad comments on the comparative strength of the Spanish and Italian influences on French literature at this time.

(22) Jacques-Claude Demogeot, Histoire des littératures étrangères, Italie-Espagne, Paris, 1897, p. 358, cited in Rogers, op. cit., p. 207.

(23) Girard, op. cit., p. 68.

The following extract should be examined in full to appreciate the strength of his argument.

"Dans aucun domaine, d'ailleurs, l'influence espagnole n'aura, littérairement parlant, une importance comparable à celle de l'Italie: l'Espagne nous apportera quelques procédés de style, quelques cadres romanesques, d'innombrables intrigues dramatiques; ses auteurs ne seront jamais des modèles comparables à Pétrarque, à l'Arioste, au Tasse, qui semblèrent dignes de ceux de l'Antiquité; elle ne provoquera pas chez nos écrivains, une reconnaissance du sentiment de la beauté artistique; nos poètes ni nos prosateurs n'auront devant l'Espagne le sentiment d'infériorité qu'ils avaient eu devant l'Italie entre 1500 et 1550."(24)

From 1526 onwards, Spanish works published in French increased noticeably in volume. During the first fifty years of the sixteenth century there were travellers of note who recorded their impressions of Spain in French, (25) such accounts of travels being undeniably important in the sense that they served to make people in France, particularly in court circles and among the aristocracy, more aware of life in Spain and Portugal. At this

(24) Van Tieghem, op.cit., p.36.

(25) Raymond Foulche-Delbosc, "Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et en Portugal," Revue hispanique, III, 1896, pp. 1-349. Among the travellers' accounts of this period written in French are:
 1501-1503 : Philippe d'Autriche (Philippe I le Beau)
 1478-1506 : Voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne, en 1501 par Antoine de Lalaing, Sr. de Montigny.
 1506 : Deuxième voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne, en 1506.
 1517-1518 : Charles d'Autriche (Charles-Quint) 1500-1558, Relation du premier voyage de Charles-Quint en Espagne (by Laurent Vital, aide de chambre de Charles-Quint.)
 1530 : Anonyme: le Chemin de Paris à Saict Jacques en Galice dit Copostelle: Z? bie il y a de lieues de ville en ville.

period however, translations of works of Spanish literature into French had a much more profound and lasting influence. Many features and styles of Spanish literature were incorporated into the French literary scene, to be developed at a later period.

Nicholas d'Herberay des Essarts (?-1557) translated Cárcel de Amor by Diego de San Pedro, first published in Sevilla in 1492.(26) This work was very popular in Spain and went through twenty-five editions. The story is a simple allegory in which the hero, Leriano, dies of grief because his beloved Laureola will not acknowledge his love. He defends her, however, in the true chevalresque manner, until his last breath. The Cárcel de Amor represents a certain refinement and elegance in both style and language and appealed to those of more elevated tastes throughout Europe. Other translations, of this and other works, followed, and a large number of French authors turned to translating as the interest in Spain grew.

Maurice Scève (1501 ? - 1560 ?) translated Grimalte y Gradissa, which had been published by Juan de Flores in 1495. (27) This is a sentimental novel written as a sequel to Boccaccio's Fiammetta (printed 1472). Another work by Juan de Flores, la Historia de Grisel y Mirabella, sentimental too and very pro-feminist, occupies a more important place. (28) It was more popular and was

(26) Prison d'Amour, Paris, 1526.

(27) La déplorable fin de Flamète, (La déplorable fin de Flamète, élégante invention de Jehan de Flores Espagnol, traduite en langue françoise.) Lyon, 1535.

(28) Jugement d'Amour, (Le iugement damour, auquel est racomptee lhystoire de Ysabal, fille du roy Descosse, trāslatee de langaige Espagnol en langue Françoise.) Paris, 1520.

translated into several languages. It also has the distinction of being one of the first texts published in a multiple language edition for the express purpose of teaching the Spanish language to foreigners.

The work of des Essarts as a translator is important at this time, for his translations enabled certain influential works to be introduced into France at a critical moment. Among the most influential of these works was Amadis de Gaula, partly attributed to Garci Rodriguez de Montalvo, which, although it had been known for two centuries, was first printed in 1508.(29) Amadis de Gaula is a pure romance in its conception, full of marvellous episodes and having very strong links with the Arthurian legends. This book stabilised a form which was to be used for the novels of chivalry, and a few episodes, notably the origin of Amadis, the chivalric love affair between Amadis and Oriana, and a few characteristics e.g. the courage and strength of Amadis, ensured the popularity of the work. It was imitated countless times.

Des Essarts also produced l'Horloge des Princes in 1550.(30) This was a translation of Relox de Principes by Antonio de Guevara (1480-1545) first published in 1529 together with el libro de Marco Aurelio. Although based on the life of Marcus Aurelius, this work has a more important thesis than is suggested by classifying it as biography, for it represents an attempt to form a case that the Roman Emperor, in fact if not in name, was the perfect Christian prince. Its influence was considerable.

(29) Amadis de Gaule, (le premier- (huictiesme) livre d'Amadis de Gaule.) Paris, 1540-1548.

(30) L'Orloge des princes, (oeuvre de très-excellente et admirable doctrine, composé en espagnol par Don Anthonio de Guevara, traduit en françoys.) Paris. The translation made by des Essarts dates from 1550. cf. Rogers op. cit., p. 215. The first translation appeared but two years after the publication of the work in Spanish. cf. Van Tieghem op.cit., p. 40.

A work which was to have great influence on the literature of both countries was the Comedia de Calisto y Melibes, which soon became known as la Celestina, after the principal character. First published in Burgos in 1499, la Celestina was translated into French by Galiot du Pré in 1527. This work is unusual in that the characters present themselves only by the use of dialogue and the simple plot serves to bring together the elements of two widely separated worlds. The idealistic and the basically realistic are studied closely and the effects of each upon the other are noted. A system of acrostic verses indicate that the author was Fernando de Rojas (1475 ? - 1537 ?).

Diana Enamorada, by Jorge de Montemayor (1520-1561) revived interest in a genre opposed to the chevalresque when it was published in 1559 and is considered to be the first pastoral novel. The setting of the story is idyllically pastoral with emphasis on the more beautiful aspects of nature. The characters represented real people as in the novelas de clave and the work was rendered even more attractive to sixteenth century readers by the inclusion of elements of magic, mystery and the supernatural. Diana Enamorada was translated into French in 1578 by Nicole Colin, and its influence on l'Astrée (1610-1627) by Honoré d'Urfé (1568-1625) ensured the continuation of this line of development.

Although differing considerably in style and expression, Cárcel de Amor, Grimalte y Gradissa, Amadis de Gaula and Diana Enamorada influenced the establishment in France of a field for the treatment of idealistic as opposed to non-poetic love. The novels of chivalry were to influence character and hero development in the theatre while the concept of conflict, present in la Celestina in the form of a contrast between idealism

and realism, was also to be developed in different directions in later periods. (31)

Brantôme (1540-1614) is perhaps one of the most ardent hispanophiles of this period, for many Spanish expressions in original form are to be found in his works. The interest in Spain reflected in the works of Brantôme and others at this period was an important facet of life in France. Spain played a powerful role in the Ligue and the desire, widespread at times, to learn Spanish can be deduced from the appearance of several grammatical texts for the teaching of Spanish.

In 1595, Ginès Perez de Hita published Historia de los Vandos de los Zegries y Abencerrages Cavalleros Moros de Granada de la Civiles Guerras que huvo en ella, generally referred to as the Guerres Civiles. The influence of this book, supposedly a translation of an account originally written in Arabic by Aben-Hamin of Granada, was extensive. The narrative tells of the last Moorish kings of Spain up to their expulsion from Granada in 1492. The internal tensions of the kingdom are described and the account includes details of the battles between Moors and Christians and of the magnificent feasts held in the besieged city. Perez de Hita makes it clear that the society was at once warlike and polite. The position of women was of the utmost importance. The work ends with the taking of the Moorish stronghold; Boabdil flees and Isabella impatiently takes possession of the city in the name of Castilla and Aragón - the cross finally replaces the crescent. This book which was

(31) cf. B. Desmarins, le Procès des deux amants plaidoyant en la Cour de Cupido la grâce de leur dame, (1509); J. Flore, Contes Amoureux, (1530) and l'Histoire de l'amant rescuscité de la mort d'amour, (1555); J. Corbin, Martyre d'amour (1603) Scudéry, le Prince déguisé, (1636).

published in the original Spanish in France in 1606 and in an anonymous French translation a mere two years later, gave rise to an extended series of novels designated collectively as Hispano-Moresque.

In le Roman hispano-mauresque en France, Jean Cazenave discusses the importance of this literary genre, rich in its association with Spain. Cazenave isolates the group:

"Il existe dans la production littéraire française un certain nombre d'oeuvres romanesques que l'on peut appeler hispano-mauresques, puisque les héros sont des Maures et des Espagnols." (32)

and identifies the source:

"Les romans hispano-mauresques français dérivent tous d'un livre espagnol fort curieux, dont l'auteur est un soldat murcien: Ginès Perez de Hita." (33)

Although no great masterpieces are to be found in this group there are some which merit examination and comparison with the source and in this detailed article Cazenave traces the influence of the book upon Voiture, Mlle de Scudéry, Mme de la Fayette, Mme de Villegaignon, Mme de Gomez, Brémond, Baudot, Cardonne, Chénier (père), Florian, Sané, Chateaubriand, Gautier and Barrès.

Gustave Lanson has made several contributions to the study of the growing influence of Spain in this period (34) and Rogers briefly notes instances of direct inspiration, even plagiarism, in the works of

(32) Jean. Cazenave "le Roman hispano-mauresque en France," Revue de littérature comparée, V, p. 594.

(33) ibid. pp. 594-595.

(34) Gustave Lanson, "Etudes sur les rapports de la littérature française et de la littérature espagnole au XVII^e s., 1600-1660," Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, 1896-1902.

Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1585), Joachim du Bellay (1524-1560), François de Belleforest (1530-1583), Jean de la Taille (1540-1608) and others. (35)

The sixteenth century, a century when Spain was particularly powerful and artistically wealthy, prepared the ground for the greater assimilation which was to follow in the seventeenth century. French literature was only beginning to develop, and the struggle to establish the French language as a respectable literary medium and as an acceptable means of communication between scholars took place during this century. It is not surprising, therefore, that the emphasis in the decades preceding the works of Corneille and Molière was on translation and on a somewhat slavish imitation. Assimilation and less slavish imitation had, by and large, to wait until the seventeenth century.

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(35) Rogers, *op. cit.*, p.215.

CHAPTER II

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The Spanish marriages - the growth of French influence in Europe - Spanish troupes in Paris - the Spanish language in France - the influence of the Siglo de Oro - Italian influences - foreign influences in the theatre - Hardy - Corneille - Molière - the influence of Cervantes - translations - Cervantes - Alemán - Quevedo - the decadence of Spain.

- FRANCE AND SPAIN -
THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

For centuries Spain had been considered the natural enemy of France but, although Spaniards were ridiculed and lampooned in life and literature at every opportunity, Spanish manners and customs had become popular across the Pyrenees by the early years of the seventeenth century. This vogue for things Spanish could partly be explained by the fact that the royal houses of Spain and France had been united by the marriage of Louis XIII to Ana of Austria and of Isabel of Bourbon to Philip IV. These marriages followed the peace made in London in 1604 between England and Spain. Originating from the Pope, this partial solution to growing European problems was accepted by Marie de Medici and the brides were exchanged in 1615.(1)

(1) Harold Livermore, A History of Spain, London, 2 ed., 1966, p. 289.

In assessing the volume of the flow of ideas from Spain to France it should be noted that the effects of the period of great power enjoyed by Spain were to continue for some time after her eclipse as the leader of Europe. The period of decadence which became more positive as the seventeenth century ran its course was to be reflected in French attitudes seen later in the remarks of Montesquieu and Voltaire. Nevertheless the decadence was real enough and the most important single event which confirmed it was perhaps the change of dynasty which occurred with the death of Charles II in 1700. With the coming of the Bourbons, in the person of Philip, Duke of Anjou, who was to be Philip V, Spain was separated from the environment in which she had long been the outstanding power and was placed in a French oriented culture which was approaching the height of power and prestige. There were of course other factors contributing to Spain's fall which developed during the seventeenth century but these were internal and mainly economic in origin.

French influence in Europe began conclusively to replace that of Spain in 1648, the year in which the peace of Westphalia was concluded. However, war between France and Spain continued until the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659. These factors contributed to a divorce between the French culture of the new ruling class and the inherited culture of the Spanish people, which in time led to a depreciation of Spanish values and traditions, not only in the eyes of French writers but also in Spain itself.

There was still, however, considerable literary and artistic commerce across the Pyrenees, the volume and intensity of which do not seem to have been greatly affected by the political situation. Already, with the

borrowing and translation which took place in the sixteenth century, the dominating characteristic of the Spanish influence is apparent: prose works were assuming greater importance. The same pattern will prevail in the seventeenth century, for good reason, as Gustave Lanson has remarked:

"... le roman est l'oeuvre littéraire qui se transporte le plus aisément d'une langue dans une autre." (2)

Certain social factors ensured that Spain remained, if not constantly before the eyes of the public, then at least as a continuous thread in the fabric of society of the seventeenth century. As early as 1604 comedians from Spain were playing at the fair of St. Germain. (3) There were others in 1613 and 1618. In a letter written on 27 October 1613, Malherbe commented on these actors:

"Je viens tout à cette heure de la comédie des Espagnols qui ont aujourd'hui commencé à jouer à la porte de Saint-Germain dans le faubourg; ils ont fait des merveilles en sottises et en impertinences; il n'y a eu personne qui ne s'en soit revenu avec mal de tête; mais pour une fois, il n'y a point eu de mal de savoir ce que c'est. Je suis de ceux qui s'y sont excellemment ennuyés, et en suis encore si étourdi que je vous jure que je ne sais où je suis ni ce que je fais!" (4)

There are two main explanations for the lack of success; Spanish as a spoken language was not at this point sufficiently well known in France and neither was there any real appreciation of Spanish drama. These hindrances were rectified some years later as it is noted that the

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- (2) Gustave Lanson, "Etudes sur les rapports de la littérature française et de la littérature espagnole... 1600-1660," Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, IX, 1902, p. 53.
- (3) Esther J. Crooks, The Influence of Cervantes in France in the Seventeenth Century, Baltimore, 1931, p. 4.
- (4) François de Malherbe, Oeuvres, Paris, 1862-1869, Vol. III, p. 350.

Spanish troupe which played at the Petit Bourbon and at the Hôtel de Bourgogne in 1660 had more success and remained at court until 1674.

Despite the oft-quoted remark made by Cervantes in 1617 that "En Francia ni varón ni mujer deja de aprender la lengua castellana" (5) evidence suggests that it was not until later in the century that interest in the language of Spain became widespread in upper class society.

Lanson has fixed the period when Spanish began to be learned in France as the early years of the reign of Louis XIII, particularly the years immediately following the arrival in France of Ana of Austria. Thus is explained the increase in volume of borrowing and imitation which occurred between 1625 and 1630. (6)

The fruits of the siglo de oro were spreading into France through religious works which were well received. Among these are the writings of the Spanish mystics Fray Luis de Gramda, Santa Teresa and San Juan de la Cruz. In this domain Italy is no rival, particularly between 1643 and 1652 when the works of Mendoza Salmerón, Villalobos, Christophle de Gonzales, Alfonso Rodriguez and Thomas de Jesús were translated into French and joined with the considerable range of works published in Latin which originated in Spain.

(5) Cervantes, Persiles y Sigismunda, BK.III, Chap. 13.

(6) Lanson, op. cit., p. 63. In this article Lanson lists the grammars produced in this period by Jean Palet, César Oudin, and Ambrosio de Salazar. This is taken up by Crooks in the introduction to The Influence of Cervantes in France. The celebrated quarrel between Oudin and Ambrosio de Salazar is detailed in A. Morel-Fatio, Etudes sur l'Espagne, "l'Espagne en France."

But translations of prose works and the republications of these in Latin were not the only influences which were at work during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Dramatic poems found not translators but imitators and adaptors to introduce them into France. Although Le Sage is perhaps the first to translate dramatic works from Spanish to French his Théâtre espagnol did not appear until 1700. The abundance of lyric poetry, intensely national in its conception, was left in its original Spanish.

Although interest in Spain was at a high level, Italy too exerted influences which, although difficult to measure, seem almost equal. The considerable influence of Italy was a continuing force and the tremendous literary prestige already acquired was not to be easily displaced. However, Spain was in the process of completing "la espanolización de lo de fuera" and the benefits of the siglo de oro were to be widely distributed. Cazenave notes that:

"Durant la première moitié du XVIIe siècle, la société était imbue de littérature espagnole. Les familiers de l'Hôtel de Rambouillet, dont plusieurs lisaient ou parlaient le castillan, savouraient les oeuvres de Montemayor et de Perez de Hita." (7)

Cazenave's conclusions coincide with those of Lanson if one is mindful of the reservations which the latter scholar has made.

It is relevant to note at this point that the theatre, already reviving under the foreign influences introduced by Alexandre Hardy (1569-1630) (8) was to retrieve its

(7) Jean Cazenave, "le Roman hispano-mauresque en France," Revue de Littérature comparée, v, p. 603.

(8) Cornelie (1609) influenced by la Señora Cornelia, (Cervantes); la force du sang, (1612), adapted from la Fuerza de la Sangre, (Cervantes). From

popularity with Corneille (1606-1684) and Molière (1622-1673). The influence of Spain upon Corneille is noted by Martinenche (9) and upon Molière by Martinenche (10) and Huszár. (11)

Spanish influences and images abound in le Cid (1636) Corneille's adaptation of Mocedades del Cid. Corneille simplified the action which in the original Spanish drama spanned several years and reduced it to concentrate on the psychological aspects of the crisis. He was aware of the importance of pundonor and it is for this reason that Don Diègue's paternal love is exaggerated, that he forces his son from danger to danger, that Rodrigue's sacrifice is made, and that Chimène after struggling against all who surround her, offers herself as a prize to a suitor she despises.

In le menteur (1644) Corneille returned to a Spanish theme by imitating Ruiz de Alarcón (la Verdad sospechosa), while la Suite du menteur relies heavily on Lope de Vega's Amar sin saber a quien. Don Sanche d'Aragón tells the story of Don Carlos in love with Isabella, Queen of Castilla. It is discovered after several romantic incidents that Carlos is in reality Don Sanche, King of Aragón. The chivalric love of earlier Spanish romances is evident throughout the piece and Corneille brings out to the full the element of bravery.

Among the works of Molière, ^{one of the} most notable is Don Garcie de Navarre representing an attempt to write for the

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- Novelas Ejemplares, (Cervantes 1613), Hardy borrowed ideas for Lucrece ou l'Adultère puni, (1615), la Belle Egyptienne, (1616) and la Fregonde, (1621).
- (9) E. Martinenche, la Comedie Espagnole en France de Hardy à Racine, Paris, 1900. More specialised is Vilmos (Guillaume) Huszár, Pierre Corneille et le Théâtre espagnol, Paris, 1903.
- (10) Martinenche, Molière et le Théâtre espagnol, Paris, 1906.
- (11) Huszár, Molière et l'Espagne, Paris, 1907.

times in the style of Tirso de Molina's El burlador de Sevilla ou convidado de piedra. It was intended to be heroic comedy and Molière included all the necessary ingredients, yet the play met with little success. Don Juan, however, coming four years later, using the plot but not the style of Molina's play, was presented at a time when the don Juan theme was popular at the Hôtel de Bourgogne and the Marais. Other works also indicate substantial borrowings from Spanish sources. In addition to the authors already noted, evidence of imitation and borrowing may be found in the works of Boisrobert, Rotrou, Scarron and Thomas Corneille.

Cervantes's Don Quijote appeared in France for the first time in 1614.(12) This was imitated in 1639 (Don Quichotte de la Manche), continued in 1640 (Deuxième Partie de Don Quichotte) and its scope broadened (Le Gouvernement de Sancho Pança, 1642), all these being dramatic adaptations by Guyon Guérin de Bouscal. The study of the influence of Cervantes upon French literature has been undertaken by many scholars and an attempt to synthesise their findings would be impossible. However, it seems that borrowings from Cervantes's novels are to be found principally in works by de Vaux, Sorel, Perdou de Subligny, Filleau de St Martin, Regnard, Camus, d'Urfé, César Oudin and du Verdier. Van Tieghem notes several important studies in his discussion of the topic.(13)

Translations of significant works of Spanish literature

- (12) The first part of Don Quixote was translated into French by César Oudin in 1614. This had been originally published in Spain in 1605. The second part was published in Spanish in 1616 and translated into French by de Rosset in 1618.
- (13) Philippe Van Tieghem, les Influences étrangères sur la littérature française, 1550-1880,

kept alive through the century the taste for transpyrenean subjects aroused by the Guerres Civiles. Among the more important is found Vital d'Audiguier's translation of the Novelas Ejemplares of Cervantes (1613) which appeared as Nouvelles Exemplaires in 1618. D'Audiguier also translated his Persiles y Sigismunda in the same year. Guzmán de Alfarache by Mateo Alemán was translated by Chappuis in 1600, and two works by Quevedo, Gran Tacaño and Visiones, were translated by de la Geneste in 1633 and 1641 respectively. So the work of translation and the subsequent assimilation continued, but at the end of the seventeenth century the Spaniard becomes increasingly the butt of satire and the likely subject of eighteenth century burlesque verse.

With the acceleration of the decadence of Spain occurred the advent of a new more questioning critical spirit in France and after the intense interest of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries one may note a certain duality of attitude among French writers.

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Paris, 1961, p. 56-59, notes studies by M. Bardon (Don Quichotte en France au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles, Paris, 1931), E. Crooks, (The Influence of Cervantes in France in the 17th Century, Baltimore, 1931), P. Hazard (Don Quichotte, Paris, 1931) and M. Bardon ("Don Quichotte et le roman réaliste français, Stendhal, Balzac, Flaubert," Revue de littérature comparée, 1936.)

CHAPTER III

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Political decline of Spain - literary reaction against Spain - Montesquieu - Voltaire - Encyclopédie - duality of attitude - Le Sage - translations - Gil Blas de Santillane - Marivaux - Beaumarchais - théâtre - Florian - continuing influence of the Guerres Civiles - translations - Lope de Vega - Calderón - Quiñones de Benavente - summary - the three phases of Spain's influence.

- FRANCE AND SPAIN -
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The classical French culture of the Grand Siècle and the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century did not seem to have anything in common with the ideals of a decaying baroque culture. As well as inspiring the gradual depreciation of Spanish values, this antipathy created an inferiority complex which came to typify the afrancesado of Spain of the eighteenth century.

On the political front Spain's decline continued with the loss of Gibraltar during the course of the Civil War, while at the conclusion of the War of Succession Spain lost her European possessions. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) Spain lost Flanders, Franche-Comté, Milan, Naples, Sicily and Sardinia. Also, with the consolidation of the Bourbon ascendancy, Aragón, Cataluña and Valencia ceased to be independent kingdoms and were standardised in all respects with the laws and government of Castilla.

The almost century-long, prostration of Spain came to an end during the last five years of the reign of Charles III, and Spain began, rather painfully at first, to regain her place among the great powers of Europe. Fortunately for Spain, Napoleon's view was simply that Spain was a nation in decadence, with a coastline which must be closed against the English.

The intellectual and artistic decadence of Spain ended sooner than the decline in political strength, partly as a result of the encouragement given to cultural life by the royal houses and partly as a result of the natural renaissance in literature which maintained and consolidated the great traditions of independence and originality of Spanish authors. In spite of the widespread influence exerted by French writers, who were extremely popular throughout Europe, Spanish classics were issued in new editions in Spain and Golden Age dramatists continued to be presented.

In France the view of Spain expressed by French authors, particularly in the writings of Montesquieu (1689-1755) and Voltaire (1694-1778), indicates that the reaction against Spain continued.

Montesquieu comments upon the Spanish character in Lettres persanes (1721). In this series of correspondence he includes a letter from a Frenchman who is in Spain. His observations of many aspects of the Spanish character lean heavily on the Relation du voyage en Espagne by Madame d'Aulnoy (1650-1705). One example suffices to indicate the tone of the narration:

"Car il faut sçavoir que, lorsqu'un homme a un certain mérite en Espagne, comme, par exemple quand il peut ajouter aux qualités dont je viens de parler, celle d'être le propriétaire d'une grande épée, ou d'avoir appris de son père l'art de faire jouer une discordante

guitarre, il ne travaille plus; son honneur s'intéresse au repos de ses membres." (1)

This may be compared with the comment made by Madame d'Aulnoy some forty years earlier:

"On ne voit pas un menuisier, un sellier, ou quelque autre homme de boutique, qui ne soit habillé de velours et de satin, comme le Roi, ayant la grande épée, le poignard et la guitarre attachée dans sa boutique. Ils ne travaillent que le moins qu'ils peuvent."(2)

Montesquieu develops further his ideas of the pride and laziness of the Spanish people in l'Esprit des Lois (1748):

"La paresse est l'effet de l'orgueil; le travail est une suite de la vanité: l'orgueil d'un Espagnol le portera à ne pas travailler; la vanité d'un Français le portera à travailler mieux que les autres." (3) and continues his erroneous interpretation of certain limited aspects of character by contrasting the character of Spanish people with that of the Chinese in Du Caractère des Espagnols et celui des Chinois, the first part of which includes:

"La bonne foi des Espagnols a été fameuse dans tous les temps. Justin nous parle de leur fidélité à garder les dépôts: ils ont souvent souffert la mort pour les tenir secrets. Cette fidélité qu'ils avoient autrefois, ils l'ont encore aujourd'hui. Toutes les nations qui commercent à Cadix confient leur fortune aux Espagnols; elles ne s'en sont jamais repenties. Mais cette qualité admirable, jointe à leur paresse, forme un mélange dont il résulte des effets qui leur sont pernicious: les peuples de l'Europe font, sous leurs yeux, tout le commerce de leur monarchie. " (4)

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- (1) Montesquieu, Lettres persanes, ed. E. Carcassonne, Paris, 1949, Vol. II, p. 18. (Lettre 78, Rica à Usbek.)
- (2) Mme. d'Aulnoy, Relation du voyage en Espagne, 1679, Vol. III, p. 114.
- (3) Montesquieu, Oeuvres complètes, ed. Roger Caillois, Paris, 1951, Vol. II, p. 561. (Book XIX, Chapter 9.)
- (4) Montesquieu, ed. cit., p. 562. (Book XIX, Chapter 10.)

L'Abbé Prévost continues these notions in Books VI, VII and VIII of les Mémoires et aventures d'un homme de qualité. There are serenades, murders, violent love affairs, extremes of passion, but all these elements conform to the idea of Spain and not to inspiration from first hand knowledge for, as far as is known, l'Abbé Prévost never visited Spain. In this work he needed a certain kind of cadre, prefabricated couleur locale, and naturally he turned to Spain to find it.

Although Voltaire was influenced to some extent, albeit indirectly in Alzire (1736) and Zulime (1740), he had to add his word of raillery on the subject. His most quoted judgment is:

"Tout le monde jouait de la guitare et la tristesse n'était pas moins répandue sur la face de l'Espagne." (5)

But Voltaire did not rest there. Many other references are made to Spain in Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations (1756), le Siècle de Louis XIV (1751) and other works. The attitude is constant. At least Montesquieu had grudgingly acknowledged the worth of Don Quijote. (6)

Comments in this vein abound in writings in the eighteenth century and are, to some degree at least, synthesised in an article by de Jaucourt in L'Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers. De Jaucourt was the general factotum of the Encyclopédie and devoted his life to its publication. Many articles were supplied by him to

(5) Voltaire, Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations, Paris, 1963, Chapter CLXXVII, "Gouvernement et moeurs de l'Espagne," p. 633.

(6) Montesquieu, Lettres persanes, ed. cit., Lettre de Rica à Usbek. "Le seul de leurs livres qui soit bon est celui qui a fait voir le ridicule de tous les autres." Vol. II, p. 20.

supplement contributions by other authorities. The similarity between the language and tone of the following extract and Montesquieu's comments is striking.

"Cette fidélité singulière qu'ils avoient autrefois à garder des dépôts, et dont Julien fait l'éloge, ils l'ont encore aujourd'hui; mais cette admirable qualité, jointe à leur paresse, forme un mélange, dont il résulte des effets qui leur sont nuisibles. Les autres peuples font sous leurs yeux le commerce de leur monarchie; et c'est vraisemblablement un bonheur pour l'Europe que le Mexique, le Pérou et le Chily, soient possédés par une nation paresseuse." (7)

De Jaucourt claims that these comments are based upon "le tableau qu'un grand peintre a fait des révolutions de ce royaume dans son Histoire du siècle de Louis XIV." (8)

From these judgements and others too numerous to detail here, it seems that a fairly unbalanced impression of Spain was current at this time: Spain was a country harbouring inhabitants who displayed the most unfavourable characteristics - especially pride and laziness - and the history of the nation enfolded intolerance, fanaticism and the overpowering shadow of the Inquisition. It was obvious, from the stereotyped eighteenth century view, that nothing of value lay beyond the Pyrenees.

However, in contrast with the general view of horrifying decadence, there are in lighter vein the works of Le Sage, Marivaux, Beaumarchais and Florian, which provide ample evidence to show that Spain was capable still of holding real and positive interest for both writers and readers in France.

(7) Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des arts, des sciences, et des métiers, Vol. 5, Article by M. le Chevalier de Jaucourt, "L'Espagne." Nouvelle impression en facsimile de la 1ère édition de 1751-1780, Stuttgart, 1966, p. 953.

(8) Ibid.

René Le Sage (1668-1747) undertook several translations of Spanish works. Among these are found Le Point d'honneur (1702) (9), Don César d'Ursin (1707)(10), and Gusman d'Alfarache (1732).(11) Although there is no doubting the value of these translations, the continuation of interest in Spain through the eighteenth century may be said to rest more with his Gil Blas de Santillane (1715). But in name only is the society which Le Sage describes Spanish: Gil Blas represents humanity, beset by varying fortunes. However, the range of characterisation or perhaps types introduced into the work is wide. Gil Blas is servant to Don Rafaël, to Sangrado, and to the Archbishop of Granada, who are detailed portraits of finely observed models. Despite Voltaire's criticism there is much more original Le Sage in Gil Blas de Santillane than in his Diable Boiteux (1707), an adaptation of el Diablo Cojuelo (1641) by Luis Vélez de Guevara (1579-1644). This is an interesting variation of the picaresque novel in which the devil, being able to lift the roof from houses to look inside can offer a satirical commentary on Spanish life.

While many of the influences upon Marivaux (1688-1763) are indirect and stem from the French development of Spanish inspirations, his le Prince travesti, ou l'illustre aventurier (1724) is set in Barcelona.

The theatre of Beaumarchais (1732-1799) owes much to Spanish authors with regard to plot, situation and character development. (12) In the preface to la Mère coupable (1781) (13) Beaumarchais claims that interference

(9) Translated from No hay amigo para amigo by Rojas.

(10) From Peor está que estaba, Calderon, (1600-1681).

(11) From Guzman de Alfarache (1599), Aleman (1547-1614).

(12) Figaro (le Barbier de Seville, etc) is a typical gracioso.

(13) Beaumarchais, la Mère coupable, Théâtre, Paris, 1950, Préface, p. 220.

with the names of his characters in the first edition detracted from the effect of the Figaro series, which included le Barbier de Séville (1775) and le Mariage de Figaro (1781). It is clear that Beaumarchais regarded these as comédies espagnoles.

Florian (1755-1794) is known particularly for his continuation of the fable tradition in French literature, but he was attracted in other works to write about Spanish subjects. La Galathée (1783), a pastoral, has much in common with Galetea by Cervantes, but the Spanish temperament which he sought to express came out in the Hispano-moresque tradition. In 1792 Gonzalve de Cordoue ou Grenade reconquise was published in two volumes. It owes its existence to many sources, among them Mariana, Garibay, Ferreras, Zurita, Cardonne and Chénier. Jean Cazenave has traced its relationship with the Guerres Civiles and concludes that:

"De telles pages, assez nombreuses, le tableau exact à la fois et pittoresque du siège et de la prise de Grenade par les armées espagnoles donnent au Gonzalve de Cordoue de Florian une valeur réelle et une place honorable dans la production romanesque du XVIIIe siècle." (14)

Important in a discussion of the place of Spain in French literature of the eighteenth century are the translations from Lope de Vega and Calderón made by Henri Linguet (1736-1794), while his novel le Malade imaginaire, published in 1768, owes much to Don Juan Rana Comilón by Quiñones de Benavente. There is no space here to consider these minor pieces in detail but it suffices to say that the work of adaptation continued,

(14) Jean Cazenave, "Le roman hispano-mauresque en France," Revue de littérature comparée, V, p. 625.

admittedly with second or third rank authors, until Chateaubriand took up the cause of Spain again and gave new vitality to Spanish themes and subjects. (15)

The eighteenth century thus looked at Spain in two ways. On the one hand, as we have seen, were the "littérateurs proprement dits" (16) who continued to discover that much of Spain's exotic nature had not been exhausted by novelists and dramatists, and, more importantly, were able to find what they needed most - material upon which their imaginations could work - subjects, themes and characters.

For the philosophes, on the other hand, Spain was the country of fanaticism and ignorance, worthy only of the most complete disdain. They were systematic detractors and it is not in their works that one should seek the truth about Spain, either from an eighteenth century point of view or in regard to the general patterns of European history or literature. Every facet of life south of the Pyrenees came under scrutiny and attack. Art, literature, science, industry and the general mores were subjected to attack with equal vigour. As the comments made above indicate, Voltaire and Montesquieu had drawn, in a few effective strokes, over-simplified images of Spain and the Spaniard which can occasionally be perceived in some levels of society even in the twentieth century.

This duality of attitudes continued throughout the eighteenth century and it is in the works of Chateaubriand, whom, as Sainte-Beuve had noted "l'on trouve à l'entrée de toutes les avenues de la littérature moderne" . . . that the widely separated views of the two groups

(15) For further examples see the works of Antoine Bret (1717-1846) and C.G.T. Garnier (1746-1795).

(16) Alfred Morel-Fatio, "Comment la France a connu et compris l'Espagne depuis le moyen-âge jusqu'à nos

will be united. (17)

As far as the general public was concerned the conception of Spain most generally held was a result of the publications of Voltaire and Montesquieu, but it should also be remembered that it was in the eighteenth century that Masson de Morvilliers wrote, gained notoriety, and was answered. Despite literary responses to his question, and despite works like l'Etat présent de l'Espagne (18), the Tableau de l'Espagne moderne (19) and other works which appeared in the course of the century, the sting of the first attacks remained.

The development of the Moorish tradition in French literature of the eighteenth century is important. Translations from the Spanish continued to enter France. As early as 1699 Brémont and Baudot had written the Relation historique et galante de l'invasion de l'Espagne par les Maures (20) and Miguel de Luna (21) had been translated in 1680. The life of Gonzalve de Cordoba was translated in 1714. (22) Charenton had worked on the history of Spain and had brought out Chez Lemercier his

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- jours," in Etudes sur l'Espagne, Vol. I, p. 59.
- (17) J.M. Gautier, quoting Sainte-Beuve in l'Exotisme américain dans l'oeuvre de Chateaubriand, Manch., 1951, p. 1
- (18) Jean de Vayrac, Abbe, l'Etat présent de l'Espagne, Paris, 1718.
- (19) J. Fr. Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne moderne, Paris, 1789.
- (20) Relation historique et galante de l'invasion de l'Espagne par les Maures, Paris, 1699/1722, attributed to Sebastien (?) Brémont and Nicolas Baudot de Juilly.
- (21) Miguel de Luna, la Verdadera Historia del Rey Rodrigo, en la cual se trata la causa principal de la perdida de España, Çaragoça, 1603. The recit is supposedly a translation by Miguel de Luna of the Arabic manuscript by Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique. The French translation of 1680 acknowledges this. The book was retranslated in 1708.
- (22) Gonzalve de Cordoue, translated by le R.P. Duponcet, Paris, 2 vols. 1714.

Histoire Générale de l'Espagne in 1725, translated from Mariana. (23)

At regular intervals through the century, fruits of the work done on this aspect of the history of Spain continued to appear (24) and there was a continued demand for the publications of the previous century. The influence of the Moorish tradition spread also to England where it is reflected in the works of Pinkerton.

Between 1775 and 1789 was published one of the most important works of this era. This was the Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans (25), much of which was devoted to the works of Perez de Hita. This work provided an extensive field of reference for later authors and by giving brief resumés of several novels which could be called grenadins was of particular utility to Chateaubriand. Chateaubriand's place in this genre will be discussed in more detail in connection with his Aventures du dernier Abencérage.

In the literature of imagination, it was probably Beaumarchais who best understood Spain in the eighteenth century. Yet the opinions of the philosophes carried more weight publicly. Voltaire's comment on the lack of philosophy in Spain epitomizes this latter view:

"Les Espagnols, depuis le temps de Philippe II jusqu'à Philippe IV, se signalèrent dans

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- (23) Histoire générale de l'Espagne, traduction de Mariana, par J. Charenton, Paris, 6 vols, 1725.
- (24) See also Denis Dominique Cardonne, Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la domination des Arabes, Paris, 3 vols, 1765.
- (25) Bibliothèque universelle des romans, ouvrage périodique, dans lequel on donne l'analyse raisonnée des romans anciens et modernes, françois ou traduits dans notre langue; avec des anecdotes et des notices historiques et critiques concernant les autres ou leurs ouvrages; ainsi que les moeurs, les usages du temps etc. 224 vols, Paris, 1775-1789.

les arts de génie. Leur théâtre, tout imparfait qu'il était, l'emportait sur celui des autres nations; il servit de modèle à celui d'Angleterre, et lorsque ensuite la tragédie commença à paraître en France avec quelque éclat, elle emprunta beaucoup de la scène espagnole; l'histoire, les romans agréables, les fictions ingénieuses, la morale furent traités en Espagne avec un succès qui passa beaucoup celui du théâtre; mais la saine philosophie y fut toujours ignorée." (26)

This, in the eighteenth century context, was unforgivable. Nevertheless, whether it confessed to the fact or not, eighteenth century France remained indebted to Spain in a variety of ways; the vast pool of knowledge which had been gradually filling since the historic introduction of la Celestina into France in 1527 was ready to overflow.

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(26) Voltaire, Gouvernement et moeurs de l'Espagne, in Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations, Chapter CLXXVII, Paris, 1963, p. 632.

SUMMARY.

Looking back over the periods discussed before examining in detail the special case of Chateaubriand, it appears that three distinct phases of Spain's influence upon the literature of France may be noted.

The first period, from earliest times to the beginning of the sixteenth century, reveals interest in Spain and certain contacts which find only limited echoes in literature.

Spain's power on the political scene in the sixteenth century extended to literary influence as the fruits of the siglo de oro spread throughout European literature. This spread of ideas ensured that images of Spain based on sources of inspiration purely literary in form would continue on in French literature. Girard has claimed that transposition of this kind eternally benefits the source of original inspiration:

"Le riche trésor littéraire de l'Espagne a eu une singulière destinée. Assimilé par nos écrivains, il a reçu, de ce passage dans notre langue, un rayonnement qu'il n'eût, sans cela, peut-être jamais connu. Qui lit encore aujourd'hui las Mocedades del Cid, tandis que le Cid de Corneille, joué en français sous toutes les latitudes ou traduit dans toutes les langues, a répandu partout un goût de l'Espagne dont nos écrivains avaient donné l'exemple! Ainsi le personnage légendaire, dont la physionomie, au reste a tant varié le long du folklore castillan, prend sa silhouette définitive, épurée et humaine". (27)

It is interesting to note that the works translated into French during the period - a period of translation, transposition and assimilation, which begins at the date of the translation of la Celestina - will have a

(27) André Girard, "l'Espagne et les lettres françaises," Mercur de France, XLVIII, 15 November 1937, p.72.

stronger formative effect on French authors, even up to the present day, than works which were translated during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The debt of Maurice Barrès to the Guerres Civiles, discussed later, is an example of this long-felt influence.

Van Tieghem places the third phase between 1720 and 1820, when, he wrote "cette influence fut nulle".(28) But, although direct influence may have waned, references to Spain and Spanish characters continued to occur. In this period of consolidation the duality of attitudes has already been noted and it may be regarded as a time during which certain aspects of Spanish themes in French literature can be seen evolving. As the pressure from outside France decreased, her literature could develop further tendencies and trends which had been introduced earlier. As far as Spain is concerned, French authors seem to have preferred to work more introspectively upon the French developments of assimilations rather than to search out new material.

To conclude this brief overview of the literary relationship between France and Spain, it is necessary to stress the quite minor contribution made by reports of journeys into Spain by the French littérateurs whose works have been mentioned. Thus far the influences noted have principally been literary ones i.e. those exerted by Spanish works which had been made available in France. As will be discussed in detail later, the authors of the nineteenth century will have far more opportunity to travel and to view the country whose people they will include in their works.

(28) Philippe Van Tieghem, les Influences étrangères sur la littérature française, (1550-1880), Paris, 1961, p.36..

It is valid to note here that the detailed Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et en Portugal compiled by R. Foulché-Delbosc, although including references of accounts of some 858 journeys through the Iberian Peninsula, gives only one reference to an account by an author mentioned in this introductory review. I note here the entry as it appears in the bibliography:

- "157. 1764. Pierre-Augustin Caron, dit Beaumarchais (1732-1799)
 A - Lettre écrite par Beaumarchais au duc de la Vallière, à Madrid, le 24 décembre 1764, se trouve aux pp. 502-507 du Tome I de Beaumarchais et Son Temps. Etudes sur la Société en France au XVIIIe siècle, d'après des documents inédits par Louis de Lomenie. Paris, Michel Lévy frères, 1856, 2 vol. in -8.
 B - Fragment der Reise des Herrn Beaumarchais nach Spanien, dans le Deutscher Merkur, 1774, p. 153. Madrid - el Escorial. (29)

Van Tieghem draws an interesting comparison on this point:

"Ajoutons que les contacts sont beaucoup plus réduits: pour dix voyageurs allant sur place puiser à la source italienne, on en trouvera à peine un qui séjournera ou voyagera en Espagne."(30)

It has not been the object of this outline to examine the image of ^{Spain in} French literature from 778 to 1800, but rather to analyse some of the contacts and influences which will continue to condition the writings of succeeding literary generations. It is apparent that for the most part the influences were in the form of translations and direct borrowings and although the value of the individuality and originality of certain authors is incontestable, it is in the nineteenth century that invention will gain the ascendancy.

(29) Raymond Foulché-Delbosc, "Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et en Portugal", Revue hispanique, III, 1896, p. 113.

(30) Van Tieghem, op. cit., p. 37.

PART TWO

An analysis of Chateaubriand's role in the formation of an image of Spain, with particular reference to les Aventures du dernier Abencérage and the influence of Chateaubriand upon literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with Spanish themes and motifs.

CHAPTER IV

- CHATEAUBRIAND - INTRODUCTION -

Chateaubriand and exoticism - his travels - motives for visiting the East - Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem - Spain - the meeting with Natalie de Noailles - review of Laborde's Voyage pittoresque - conflict with Napoleon - Chateaubriand and French history - the attraction of Granada - les Aventures du dernier Abencérage.

- CHATEAUBRIAND - INTRODUCTION -

On the European scene in general there was a literary reaction which was gaining strength against the ideas emanating from France. Mainly directed against French scepticism and Anglo-German in its conception this reaction

"... clamored for nature instead of civilization, simplicity instead of artificiality, originality instead of imitation, religion instead of irony, passion instead of convention, lyricism instead of didacticism, literature of the heart instead of literature of the brain."(1)

As part of this general movement, Spain, which had been completely dominated by France from 1700 to 1814 - from the accession of the Bourbons to the end of the War of Independence - began to look into its own literature more closely, particularly its non-classical

(1) Werner P. Friederich, An Outline of Comparative Literature, Chapel Hill, 1954, p. 199.

literature. The might of France as a military power in Europe was broken in 1814; the growth in strength of other literatures was to ensure that France was no longer the undisputed leader of the literary world.

All this does not mean to say that Spain ceased to feel the influence of France but a definite change in the nature of the relationship was gradually and surely effected. In 1808, when Ferdinand VII ascended the throne, the Afrancesados were bitterly persecuted, but the situation stabilised and Spain was soon able to regard France as a friendly neighbour again instead of an occupying force.

This phase of the literary history of the relationship between France and Spain has been admirably summed up by Arturo Farinelli:

"Pour que la France s'affectionnât à l'Espagne et reprît la conception cornélienne de la grandeur d'âme, de l'héroïsme et de l'honneur des champions de Castille, il a fallu une suite d'expériences pendant les années de la révolution alors que les émigrés cherchaient un abri dans le Midi et contribuaient à l'échange des idées des deux peuples au deçà et au delà des Pyrénées. Une liaison spirituelle s'était établie, alors que les orages grondaient furieusement. L'Espagne ignorée, méconnue, dénigrée, dans les oracles de Montesquieu et de Voltaire, considérée comme inexistante par Masson, dédaignée en France, même après les études consciencieuses de l'Abbé de Veyrac, le Tableau de l'Espagne de Bourgoing, les Lettres de Beaumarchais, l'Espagne commença à agir. Aux yeux des étrangers, qui délivrés des ténèbres, pénétrèrent dans l'âme des frères qu'on venait de découvrir, et se vouèrent à une étude sérieuse de l'histoire et des mœurs d'une nation injustement vilipendée, l'Espagne grandissait toujours par la fermeté et la morale austère, pleine de charme et de mystère dans la nature de ses paysages, sauvages et superbes à la fois, une

nation révélant le caractère mystique et fier des hidalgos qui l'habitaient." (2)

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It is clear that with such literary activity in progress Chateaubriand alone did not cause the renewal in literary exoticism, for the spirit of the eighteenth century was already tending in this direction. The eighteenth century was the time of the great French voyages of discovery, and travellers, missionaries and others, from Baron de la Hontan to Bougainville contributed to the general flow of written accounts of other lands. There was also an unprecedented increase in the volume of correspondence between France and other countries. But Chateaubriand, by examining some themes which had either been totally ignored by the eighteenth century or imperfectly treated through the continuation of classical restraint, contributed to the beginning of the search for new and exciting content. Coming as he does in the main stream of the Hispano-moresque tradition, and at the same time indicating - mainly in the nature of his expression - new literary methods and subjects to the nineteenth century, Chateaubriand forms part of an increasingly complex pattern.

Chateaubriand's political career concerns us little here. The main area to be examined will be those works which are a direct result of his search for exotic material. That period of Chateaubriand's life which inspired Atala and René, (3) the period of his "literary

(2) Arturo Farinelli, "le Romantisme et l'Espagne," Revue de littérature comparée, 16, 1936, p. 674.

(3) Chateaubriand, Atala first published 1801, René first published 1802.

adolescence", of some of his secret dreams and youthful ambitions and of his difficult years of exile, is to some extent continued by the journeys in America. These were perhaps undertaken to satisfy his earlier ambitions to be a sailor or a missionary and he gained new experience. He was to adopt and reintroduce into French literature the truth of local colour. The real motive of this experience is hinted at by Pierre Moreau:

"...l'Amérique a transformé Chateaubriand; il lui doit une nouvelle expérience, de nouvelles couleurs. Le goût de son temps ne lui suffit plus." (4)

Whether or not the extracts of the great project les Natchez are examples of the most conventional kind of eighteenth century exoticism is open to question,(5) but Chateaubriand was to continue and develop this aspect of his literary art, for in the same way that he had sought in America the essential truth of the background he needed for les Natchez, it is to the East that he later directed his search for suitable material for les Martyrs. (6)

Out of this search, however, was to come not only material for les Martyrs, but l'Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem (7) and the incomparable Aventures du dernier Abencérage.(8) Since 1803 Chateaubriand had dreamed of being able to visit Athens; he needed experience

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- (4) Pierre Moreau, "le Romantisme," Vol 8 of Histoire de la littérature française, Paris, 1957, p. 33.
- (5) These finally appeared as Atala, Rene, some pages of le Génie du Christianisme, Voyage en Amérique and the épopée in prose les Natchez.
- (6) Chateaubriand, les Martyrs, first published, 1809.
- (7) Chateaubriand, l'Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem, first published 1811.
- (8) Chateaubriand, les Aventures du dernier Abencérage, first published 1826.

of the local colour of Greece, Egypt and the Holy Land. But there were other motives behind this journey too.

The first motive was the desire to seek a setting for the more complete development of the Merveilleux which Chateaubriand had begun in le Génie du Christianisme. He wanted to write an épopée of the early days of Christianity, and in true Chateaubriand manner, before having recourse to his reference books, he wished to visit the places he was to describe. In the Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem he comments upon this first motive:

"Je n'ai point fait un voyage pour écrire; j'avais un autre dessein: ce dessein je l'ai rempli dans les Martyrs. J'allais chercher des images, voilà tout." (9)

To this first motive was added a second; the desire to follow the crusade or pilgrims routes to the Holy Land. Chateaubriand has acknowledged this in a marginal note on the Mémoires d'outre-tombe and also suggests a a third motive for the journey - the search for personal glory.

"Mais ai-je tout dit dans l'Itinéraire sur ce voyage commencé au port de Desdémone et d'Othello? Allais-je au tombeau du Christ dans les dispositions du repentir? Une seule pensée m'absorbait; je comptais avec impatience les moments. Au bord de mon navire, les regards attachés sur l'étoile du soir, je lui demandais des vents pour cingler plus vite, de la gloire pour me faire aimer." (10)

(9) Chateaubriand, l'Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem, edited E. Malakis, Paris, 1946, Vol I, pp.1-2.

(10) This note was recopied by Sainte-Beuve and after some discussion was finally acknowledged to be authentic and was included in the Centenaire edition of Chateaubriand's works (Volume IV, p.406). For a brief discussion on this point cf. Atala, René les Aventures du dernier Abencerage, edited by Fernand Letessier, Paris, 1962.

The fourth motive is also revealed by Chateaubriand himself. In a letter to the Duchesse de Duras (11) he wrote "C'est Mme de Noailles qui a inspiré l'Abencérage." (12)

Chateaubriand left Venice in April, 1806 and it is in the Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem that one may follow the rapid journey he made through some of the lands which border the Mediterranean, thus fulfilling one of his dreams. (13) He visited Argos, Athens, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Egypt, Carthage and Tunis. He saw many places, but in passing only and at considerable speed. Wherever he went, Chateaubriand was haunted by his readings of Tacitus, Racine or Homer. The present never seemed to have the momentousness to live up to his imaginings of the past. Despite his disillusionment, he did come into contact with the contemporary life of the East a little. He received the order of the Holy Sepulchre in the Holy Sepulchre itself, but was most often concerned with seeking out the least reminders of French influence dating from the Crusades to Napoleon. The Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem is a curious mixture of an author seeking to ally his gloire to that of his country.

If it is considered that Chateaubriand travelled through the East at speed, once he alighted on European

(11) The Duchess of Duras (1777-1828) was an admirer of Chateaubriand. After the Restoration she re-established a brilliant salon. Author of Ourika, (1823) and Edouard (1825).

(12) Chateaubriand, Correspondance générale, ed. L. Thomas, Paris, n.d., Vol I, p. 353. Letter dated été, 1810.

(13) Chateaubriand, Mémoires d'outre-tombe, ed. Martial-Piéchaud, Paris, 1947, Vol I, p.52. "Depuis l'exhortation du bénédictin (le jour de l'Ascension 1775), j'ai toujours rêvé le pèlerinage de Jérusalem et j'ai fini par l'accomplir."

soil again - at Algeciras (14) - a word more suggestive of flight is required to do justice to this part of the journey. In the Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem and again in le Congrès de Vérone Chateaubriand gave the impression that the journey was a flânerie, but in the preface to the 1926 edition of les Aventures du dernier Abencérage Paul Hazard and Marie-Jeanne Durry comment decisively:

"Il n'a pas flâné, il s'est précipité; il n'a pas erré, il a galopé. En Espagne Chateaubriand court à une vitesse moyenne de plus de quatre-vingts kilomètres par jour. Il n'entre dans aucune maison; il ne visite aucune curiosité." (15)

Although he had travelled through Spain at considerable speed Chateaubriand was able to give to les Aventures du dernier Abencérage the flavour of a souvenir vécu. This was done, as will be shown later, not by simply addressing himself to his own memory, nor even supplementing this by reference to the written record of the journey which was compiled by his valet Julien, (16) but to impressions of Spain gathered by **other** writers.

At the end of March 1807, Chateaubriand was eighteen days out from Tunis on the way to the southern coast of Spain. Failing to reach Malaga as he had originally hoped, he disembarked at Algeciras where he remained from March 30 to April 4. Two days later,

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- (14) Chateaubriand, l'Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem, "Je descendis à Algeciras le lundi de Pâques. J'en partis le 4 avril pour Cadix..." Vol II, pp.201-202.
 (15) Chateaubriand, les Aventures du dernier Abencérage, edited Hazard and Durry, Paris, 1926, preface, p. XII.
 (16) Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem par Julien, domestique de M. de Chateaubriand, Paris, 1904.

after travelling overland he reached Cadiz where he stayed for three nights. Julien and Chateaubriand left the Port Sainte-Marie and travelled to Andujar - a distance of 323 kilometres - and Granada where they arrived on April 12. One day only was given up to visiting the Alhambra and the gardens of the Generalife. After Granada, Chateaubriand's journey - briefly described in the Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem - has less interest as far as this study is concerned. He finally arrived back in France on 3 May 1807.

The above itinerary has been established by Marcel Duchemin who while admitting "les dates, c'est peu élégant" seems to have established that Chateaubriand did not actually meet Natalie de Noailles in Granada.(17) A synthesis of modern views on this question, which has concerned critics since the publication of les Aventures de dernier Abencérage, and which is vital for a valid critical evaluation of sections of the book, is given by Letessier.(18) The latest study in the series is by Pierre Christophorov, writing in Connaissance de l'étranger. Mélanges offerts à la mémoire de Jean-Marie Carré. Following a minute study of dates, distances and speeds Christophorov concludes:

"... toutes les données et toutes les présomptions ne valent pas un témoignage explicite. En attendant ce témoignage, qu'il soit favorable ou défavorable à la recontre, rien, absolument rien n'empêche de revenir à la tradition et de penser que François-René

(17) Marcel Duchemin, "Chateaubriand à Grenade: un roman d'amour en 1807," Rev. des Deux Mondes, Jan. 1953, XIII, pp. 155-178.

(18) Chateaubriand, Atala, René, les Aventures du dernier Abencérage, edited Fernand Letessier, Paris, 1962, Appendix II, "Chateaubriand était-il accompagné ou non quand il visita l'Alhambra en avril 1807," pp. 389-398.

et Natalie ont préfiguré à Grenade l'un des plus émouvants épisodes des Aventures du dernier Abencérage." (19)

But, for the ordinary reader, the question remains academic:

"Quoi qu'il en soit, les pages immortelles dont Natalie même absente, a été l'inspiratrice, restent à jamais nôtres pour nous enchanter de leur rythme. Maintenant que les héros de chair sont retournés à la poussière originelle, c'est bien là ce qui importe au lecteur, plus soucieux de beauté littéraire que de discussion crudite." (20)

On the Spanish section of his journey Chateaubriand made little comment in the Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem. He went from Cadiz to Cordova - "j'admirai la mosquée, qui fait aujourd'hui la cathédrale de cette ville." Of Segovia all he noted was that the aqueduct "est un des plus grands ouvrages des Romains." At Miranda he saluted the Ebro and finally "je traversai Vittoria et les charmantes montagnes de la Biscaye." (21)

More attention, however, is given to Granada, the Escorial, and to Burgos, Of Granada, Chateaubriand wrote:

"Je remontai jusqu'à Andujar, et je revins sur mes pas pour voir Grenade. L'Alhambra me parut digne d'être regardé, même après les temples de la Grèce. La vallée de Grenade est délicieuse, et ressemble beaucoup à celle de Sparte: on conçoit que les Maures regrettent un pareil pays." (22)

(19) Pierre Christophorov, "le Voyage de Chateaubriand en Espagne, à propos d'une discussion littéraire," Connaissance de l'étranger, Mélanges offerts à la mémoire de Jean-Marie Carré, Etudes de littérature étrangère et comparée, Paris, 1964, p.223.

(20) Chateaubriand, ed. Letessier, p.398.

(21) Chateaubriand, l'Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem, Vol II, pp.201-203.

(22) Ibid.pp.201-202.

This brief comment was further developed in an article written by Chateaubriand for the Mercur de France, (23) in which he reviewed Part I and Part II of the Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne by Alexandre de Laborde, which had appeared in four volumes chez Didot between 1806 and 1811. While critically examining this work Chateaubriand made use of the opportunity which this publication presented to give his views on two questions which to him were of paramount importance.

The first was a political one concerning Napoleon, about whom Chateaubriand was uncomplimentary. Undeniably, in the eyes of Napoleon, references to the role of the historian, embellished with words like "monstre", "crime" and "tyran" constituted a positive danger. The emperor was intent on silencing Chateaubriand but finally was persuaded that the writer could be an ornament to his reign; a compromise was reached as a result of which the Mercur de France was sold to two nominees of the Government, and Chateaubriand retired to Châtenay-Malabry where he wrote les Aventures du dernier Abencérage.

The second question was a literary one. Although under pressure from Natalie de Noailles, an ardent royalist, to use the review of Laborde's book - he was her brother - to strike a blow against the tyrant, Chateaubriand could see that he could here develop, within the framework of a criticism, some of his own impressions of Spain, particularly those concerning the Alhambra and its associations with the Moors. The lyricism of the Aventures du dernier Abencérage is seen here in genesis, carefully integrated with the criticism:

(23) Chateaubriand, "Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne: par M. de Laborde," Mercur de France, July, 1807, pp. 7-21.

"Après la description des monumens de cette époque, M. de Laborde passera aux dessins des monuments mauresques: c'est la partie la plus riche et la plus neuve de son sujet. Les palais de Grenade nous ont intéressés et surpris, même après avoir vu les mosquées du Caire, et les temples d'Athènes. L'Alhambra semble être l'habitation des génies: C'est un de ces édifices des Mille et Une Nuits, que l'on croit voir moins en réalité qu'en songe. On ne peut se faire une juste idée de ces plâtres moulés et découpés à jour, de cette architecture de dentelles, de ces bains, de ces fontaines, de ces jardins intérieurs, où des orangers et des grenadiers sauvages se mêlent à des ruines légères. Rien n'égale la finesse et la variété des arabesques de l'Alhambra. Les murs chargés de ces ornemens ressemblent à ces étoffes de l'Orient, que brodent, dans l'ennui du harem, des femmes esclaves. Quelque chose de voluptueux, de religieux et de guerrier fait le caractère de ce singulier édifice, espèce de cloîtres de l'amour où sont encore retracées les aventures des Abencérages; retraites où le plaisir et la cruauté habitoient ensemble, et où le roi Maure faisait souvent tomber dans le bassin de marbre, la tête charmante qu'il venait de caresser. Ou doit bien désirer qu'un talent délicat et heureux nous peigne quelque jour ces lieux magiques. Nous en avons l'espérance."(24)

This delightful vignette, a personal reflection on the subject of Laborde's book, will be more fully developed in les Aventures du dernier Abencérage to form one of the central episodes of the work.

Chateaubriand also describes in some detail his impressions of the Escorial in terms which he will use again almost identically in the Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem and which will be developed later in the Congrès de Vérone:

"Je passai à l'Escorial, bâti par Philippe II sur les montagnes désertes de la Vieille-

(24) Ibid. p.14.

Castille. La cour vient chaque année s'établir dans ce monastère comme pour donner à des solitaires morts au monde le spectacle de toutes les passions, et recevoir d'eux les leçons dont les passions ne profitent jamais. C'est là que l'on voit encore la chapelle funèbre où les rois d'Espagne sont ensevelis dans des tombeaux pareils, disposés en échelons; de sorte que toute cette poussière est étiquetée et rangée en ordre comme les curiosités (25) d'un musée. Il y a des sépulcres vides pour les souverains qui ne sont point encore descendus dans ces lieux." (26)

The note made in the Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem on Burgos illustrates well the influence that Chateaubriand's "Frenchness" had on him as he travelled, and also the fact that he was ever mindful of writers of the past as he travelled through the present.

"A Burgos, une superbe cathédrale gothique m'annonça l'approche de mon pays. Je n'oubliai point les cendres du Cid:

Don Rodrigue surtout n'a trait à son visage
Qui d'un homme de coeur ne soit la haute image,
Et sortit d'une maison si féconde en guerriers,
Qu'ils y prennent naissance aux milieu des lauriers.
..... Il adorait Chimène." (27)

This remembrance of the Cid will be developed in the character of Blanca in les Aventures du dernier Abencérage.

Before proceeding to an analysis of the image of Spain presented in Les Aventures du dernier Abencérage, brief mention should be made of the position held by Chateaubriand in the tradition of the literary representation of Granada. Granada has always had a strong attraction for travellers.

(25) In the article in the Mercure de France Chateaubriand substituted "richesses" for "curiosités." Ibid.p.17.

(26) Chateaubriand, l'Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem, Vol II, p.202. See also Le Congrès de Verone, Paris, n.d. (1838), p.20.

(27) Chateaubriand, l'Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem,

"Granada es desde hace siglos el sueño acariciado de todos los viajeros del planeta, siendo así que, además, es una ciudad de retorno. Ver esta maravilla de ciudad, conocerla, es vivir nuevamente con la tentación de volverla a ver." (28)

From earliest times Granada was known as a centre of trade and travel and figured in travellers' accounts. Santa Teresa, San Juan de la Cruz and Cervantes had recognized in Granada a symbol of nationality. The seventeenth century saw travellers from outside Spain writing about Granada: among these from France were Bertaut (1659), Brunel (1655) and Madame d'Aulnoy, but it is not really until the nineteenth century that the passion for Granada, and this may be said perhaps of almost any city in Spain, reached its peak. It is in this group that the importance of Chateaubriand may be noted, for the love of Spain became entwined with orientalism:

"El sentido de lejanía que hemos resaltado como aportación del Romanticismo... es un acercamiento a la Edad Media: proyectado en la geografía, es una puesta en circulación de todo el Oriente. Y se inicia entonces otra de las grandes características de la literatura romántica: su desorientación geográfica. De otro modo, en gran parte Granada tiene la culpa de esta desorientación, siendo así que para el Romanticismo muestra ciudad y su Alhambra - es el Oriente." (29)

The literary tradition of Granada was to be continued by Chateaubriand, Washington Irving and Victor Hugo. Chateaubriand brought to this tradition the impossible Christian/Moor love, earlier sketched in Mathilde, and

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- Vol.II, p.202.
 (28) Antonio Gallego-Burín Morell, Granada, Madrid, 1965, p.3.
 (29) Ibid. p.7.

which was to become the leitmotiv of a succession of grenadin literary works. Victor Hugo explored Granada in a literary sense but on a very different level. Hugo was more interested in the sounds and literary possibilities attaching to Granada, Washington Irving was intent on resuscitating the real.

But for Chateaubriand, as for countless others, the journey to the East had brought him not only to Spain, but more particularly to the palace of the Alhambra:

"Otra vez - como siempre - todos los caminos del Mediterráneo nos llevan hacia la ciudad de la Alhambra ."(30)

It seems likely (31) that les Aventures du dernier Abencérage was written in 1810, but it was not for another sixteen years that the nouvelle was published. Although Chateaubriand found himself in pecuniary difficulties several times during this period, (32) it appears from his correspondence (33) that he was in no hurry to release this precious work to the public.

The public and the publisher knew of the existence of les Aventures du dernier Abencérage and it was nearly published in 1813 and 1814 when Chateaubriand gave readings from it to small groups of the social élite. Other events also diverted Chateaubriand's attention from the manuscript. Natalie de Noailles became ill in 1817, Chateaubriand was not engaged in any literary work and was becoming increasingly involved in politics; he

(30) Ibid. p.15.

(31) Fernand Letessier, ed. Atala, René, les Aventures du dernier Abencérage, Paris, 1962, p. LVII.

(32) Les Aventures du dernier Abencérage was security for loans in 1812.

(33) Chateaubriand, Correspondance générale, ed.cit., Vol II, pp. 354-355.

was writing only in political journals and fulfilling ambassadorial duties in Berlin and London.

Les Aventures du dernier Abencérage finally appeared with Atala and René in 1826, and Chateaubriand exclaimed:

"Ah! Mon pauvre Abencérage! Le voilà donc sorti de sa solitude et livré au monde. Cela fait saigner le coeur." (34)

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(34) Chateaubriand, Letter to Mme de Duras, 12 June, 1826, cited by Paul Hazard in "Comment Chateaubriand écrivit une nouvelle espagnole," Revue de Paris, 15 December 1924, p. 928.

CHAPTER V

- THE IMAGE -

LES AVENTURES DU DERNIER ABENCERAGE

THE IMAGE OF SPAIN IN LES AVENTURES
DU DERNIER ABENCERAGE

Chateaubriand had returned from his travels to Paris, where he arrived on 5 June 1807. It is impossible to say when exactly the Aventures du dernier Abencérage was written, although Sané's Guerres Civiles did not appear until 1809, and it is from this that Chateaubriand gleaned a great deal of his material. There were other works available to him too, some of which have been detailed above. These works may be divided into two broad groups - the récits de voyage and the work of the historians, historical novelists and dramatists.

The vast number of Voyages en Espagne which appeared at the beginning of the nineteenth century offered Chateaubriand much of the kind of material he was seeking. There were descriptions of character, anecdotes describing the gallantry and the noblesse d'âme of the Spaniard and the sense of class equality.

Their faults were also described in detail, their cruelty, laziness, pride, all reinforced by their love of singing and dancing. Chateaubriand was able to choose the details he required from several sources, among which one of the most important was Mathilde ou Mémoires tirés de l'histoire des Croisades by Mme. Cottin. (1)

For details of Moorish characters and traditions Chateaubriand was able to make use of Précis historique sur les Maures by Florian (2) and also his Gonzalve de Cordoue (3) in which the hero falls in love with the heroine at first sight. Although using Sané's translation of the Guerres Civiles partly as a source of information and partly as a support to his personal inspiration Chateaubriand was at the same time writing in the Hispano-moresque tradition. During the eighteenth century several attempts had been made to write a history of the Moors, providing information which was vital to Chateaubriand for the story of les Aventures du dernier Abencérage.

For the physical environment of Granada Chateaubriand was indebted to Travels through Spain by Henry Swinburne which had been translated into French in 1787. (4)

At the time of the French Revolution, writers began to look more towards antiquity for their heroes of virtue and prowess. Florian, already interested in the literature of Spain, having composed some

- (1) Marie (Sophie) Cottin, Mathilde, London/Paris, 1805.
 (2) Florian, Précis historique sur les Maures d'Espagne, an essay which appeared with Gonzalve de Cordoue.
 (3) Florian, Gonzalve de Cordoue, ou Grenade reconquise, 2 vols, Paris, 1792.
 (4) Henry Swinburne, (1752-1803), Travels through Spain

nouvelles in the manner of Cervantes, preceded his Gonzalve de Cordoue with an essay on Moorish traditions and culture. At this period in the history of France the book was certain of success - the Moors were presented as full of courage, defenders of liberty and intensely patriotic.

Florian published Gonzalve de Cordoue as a historical text but it is really a hybrid in form - a mixture of history, novel and epic poem. Some sources - Mariana, Garibay, Ferreras, Zurita, Cardonne and Cheroer - are identified, although the principal source, the Guerres Civiles is not mentioned. One episode upon which Chateaubriand drew was the visit to Granada by Zulema and Gonzalve. Following the itinerary of Perez de Hita, the history of Granada is described, with attention given to the beauty of the Moslem city and its inhabitants. The exactitude and at the same time the picturesqueness of the description of Granada, particularly the siege of the city, ensure the continuation of this tradition in French literature and enabled Chateaubriand to develop his theory of local colour along lines which were acceptable and established.

Sané's Guerres Civiles is rather an adaptation than a translation and, as Florian had done, Sané presented his work as a history rather than as a novel. Interest in Moorish questions was high in the first decade of the nineteenth century in both England and France and emphasis is placed on the fact that the Moors were aimables and vallants. (5)

(1775-1776), London, 1776, trans. J.-B. de La Borde, as le Voyage en Espagne, Paris, 1787.

(5) Jean Cazenave, "le Roman hispano-mauresque en France," Revue de littérature comparée, V, 1925, p.626.

Chateaubriand was to follow in this tradition of Hispano-moresque literature but by his careful research he gave the theme added brilliance and introduced a new personal element which was to be continued by Théophile Gautier and Maurice Barrès. Chronologically, Chateaubriand's work follows Mathilde, and although he abstracted details of local colour from the other works mentioned, the story of the Aventures du dernier Abencérage does in fact seem to be very closely related to Mathilde. Malek-Adhel loves Mathilde, an English princess, but neither will give up their faith. Montmorency, a suitor, retires from the contest as does Lautrec, while Richard, the brother of Mathilde, plays a similar role to that of Carlos. At the end of the story the Moslem Malek-Adhel dies and the Christian princess Mathilde stays by his tomb alone. There is similarity between Mathilde and Blanca who has only the souvenir of Aben-Hamet at the end of les Aventures du dernier Abencérage.

The main theme of les Aventures du dernier Abencérage is the delicate description of the love between a Christian and an infidel, in the year 1516, twenty-four years after the reconquest of Granada (1492). Aben-Hamet, the last survivor of the famous Abencérage tribe of Granada, lives in exile in Tunis. One day he returns to the fatherland of his ancestors. The main aim of his journey is to see the great city of Granada. The importance of this to Aben-Hamet is illustrated by his reaction on approaching the city.

"Lorsque Aben-Hamet découvrit le faite des premiers édifices de Grenade, le coeur lui battit avec tant de violence qu'il fut obligé d'arrêter sa mule. Il croisa les bras sur sa poitrine, et, les yeux attachés

sur la ville sacrée, il resta muet et immobile." (6)

During his visit to the city, Aben-Hamet catches sight of a young Spanish girl, so beautiful to his eyes that he believes he is looking at "l'ange Israfil ou la plus jeune des houris". (7) An affection for each other develops into a love which Chateaubriand describes as enchaining two noble hearts. Aben-Hamet is descended from the Moorish nobility, Blanca is descended from the Cid and Jimena.

Among the ruins of the city the lovers spend many happy hours talking of the illustrious past and of their own present. Religion, however, separates them. Each believes that to forfeit the faith of their ancestors would be dishonourable. "Que Blanca soit musulmane," says Aben-Hamet, "et je la sers jusqu'à mon dernier soupir". This conflict of religions is emphasised by the utilisation of the same form by Blanca, "Qu'Aben-Hamet soit Chrétien, qu'il m'aime, et je le suis au bout de la terre." (8)

Some weeks later Aben-Hamet leaves Granada when he learns of the death of his mother. When he returns, seeking Blanca again, he finds her with her brother Don Carlos and French nobleman Thomas de Lautrec who seeks Blanca's hand in marriage.

When Don Carlos learns of the love which Aben-Hamet and Blanca have for each other he challenges

(6) Chateaubriand, les Aventures du dernier Abencérage, in Atala, René, les Aventures du dernier Abencérage, ed. Fernand Letessier, Paris, 1962, p.262. All references to les Aventures du dernier Abencérage are to this edition.

(7) Les Aventures..., ed.cit., p.269.

(8) Ibid., p.281.

Aben-Hamet to a duel and is beaten. In vain the couple seek a solution which will satisfy the honour of both families. But stronger than their love for each other is their faith in their different religions and their respect for their ancestors. For Aben-Hamet:

"La tentation était grande; mais elle n'était pas au-dessus des forces d'Aben-Hamet. Si l'amour dans toute sa puissance parlait au coeur de l'Abencérage, d'une part il ne pensait qu'avec épouvante à l'idée d'unir le sang des persécuteurs au sang des persécutés. Il croyait voir l'ombre de son aïeul sortir du tombeau et lui reprocher cette alliance sacrilège." (9)

Rather than find happiness through treason, they resolve each to go their separate ways. Finally Blanca cries "Retourne au désert" and Aben-Hamet "se prosterna, adora Blanca plus que le ciel et sortit sans prononcer une seule parole". (10)

During the fourteenth century, when Castilian Spain was as yet only dreaming of the possibility of expelling the Moorish infidels from the peninsula, the phases of the unending struggle had been recorded by the writers of romances. Finally Granada was wrested from Moorish possession and this acted as a stimulus to produce greater numbers of writings. In the fifteenth century there was a perceptible shift of emphasis towards the chivalric and courtois aspects of the struggle for freedom. The Moors were depicted as members of a highly sophisticated, evolved society; they were cruel but also they were invested with high ideals, splendour and dignity - the Romantics it should

(9) Ibid., p.328.

(10) Ibid.

be noted often ascribed fifteenth-century Moorish characteristics to characters of Spanish nationality. The continuous thread of Hispano-moresque writings is, after 1492, the theme of the inconsolable Moor.

As with all major historical events, apocryphal stories sooner or later begin to mingle with the facts. Such a story concerns the Abencérages, their rivalry with the Zégris, and the massacre of their chiefs in a room in the Alhambra. It is this story which really forms the basis of Hispano-moresque tradition in European literature.

Throughout the story Chateaubriand keeps fresh the image of Granada as a paradise which the Moors have lost. When Boabdil was leaving Granada for the last time he looks back from Mont Padul:

"A la vue de ce beau pays et des cyprès qui marquaient encore çà et là les tombeaux des musulmans, Boabdil se prit à verser des larmes." (11),

The regret at losing Granada was eternal and the paradise lived on only as an image in the memory of the Moors:

"Loin des Tours Vermeilles, il n'y avait ni fruits agréables, ni fontaines limpides, ni fraîche verdure, ni soleil digne d'être regardé." (12)

When Aben-Hamet draws near to Granada Chateaubriand describes the position of the city:

"Grenade est bâtie au pied de la Sierra Nevada, sur deux hautes collines que sépare une profonde vallée. Les maisons placées sur la pente des coteaux, dans l'enfoncement de la vallée, donnent à la ville l'air et la forme d'une grenade entr'ouverte, d'où lui

(11) Ibid., p.254.

(12) Ibid., p.255.

est venu son nom. Deux rivières, le Xénil et le Douro, dont l'une roule des paillettes d'or, et l'autre des sables d'argent, lavent le pied des collines, se réunissent et serpentent ensuite au milieu d'une plaine charmante, appelée la Vega. Cette plaine que domine Grenade est couverte de vignes, de grenadiers, de figuiers, de mûriers, d'orangers; elle est entourée par des montagnes d'une forme et d'une couleur admirables. Un ciel enchanté, un air pur et délicieux, portent dans l'âme une langueur secrète dont le voyageur qui ne fait que passer a même de la peine à se défendre. On sent que dans ce pays les tendres passions auraient promptement étouffé les passions héroïques, si l'amour, pour être véritable, n'avait pas toujours besoin d'être accompagné de la gloire." (13)

Later, Aben-Hamet walks through the valley of the river Douro:

"Le coteau du midi soutenait sur sa pente fleurie les murailles de l'Alhambra et les jardins du Généralife; la colline du nord était décorée par l'Albaizyn, par de riants vergers, et par des grottes qu'habitait un peuple nombreux. A l'extrémité occidentale de la vallée, on découvrait les clochers de Grenade qui s'élevaient en groupe du milieu des chênes-verts et des cyprès. A l'autre extrémité, vers l'orient, l'oeil rencontrait sur des pointes de rocher, des couvents, des ermitages, quelques ruines de l'ancienne Ilibérie, et dans le lointain les sommets de la Sierra Nevada. Le Douro roulait au milieu du vallon, et présentait le long de son cours de frais moulins, de bruyantes cascades, les arches brisées d'un aqueduc romain, et les restes d'un pont du temps des Maures." (14)

Both these descriptions, which at first sight seem precise, reflect what Stinglhamber calls "le

(13) Ibid., pp. 261-262.

(14) Ibid., p.272.

paysage en chambre, le travail d'atelier." (15) Although there is the impression of a souvenir there are details which have been taken from Swinburne and Laborde. It would appear that the framework of Chateaubriand's description is based on Swinburne's description of Granada, but Chateaubriand composed the landscape, rearranged it to suit his own notions of composition. He added the elements of order, symmetry and picturesqueness and finally atmosphere.

In the description of the valley of the Douro Chateaubriand's technique is most clearly demonstrated. There is the combination of specific and vague; picturesque details are drawn from several sources. The notation of names, of rivers, plants and trees give precision and authenticity to the scene. He perpetuates the error in Laborde, "une grenade entr'ouverte", and "paillettes d'or" and "sables d'argent" invest the scene with colour. The scene is completed by the commentary of the author on the atmosphere, thus preparing the reader for the meeting between Aben-Hamet and Blanca.

The same process is evident in Chateaubriand's description of the Alhambra but in this case it is extremely difficult to disengage details of the three basic elements which make up the passage. These are Chateaubriand's own memories, the composed paragraph for the review of Laborde's Voyage Pittoresque and the literary sources previously mentioned. The description of the Alhambra begins with a letter of Chateaubriand:

"J'ai vu en Espagne les ruines de Grenade,
qui sont un véritable enchantement, l'Alhambra

(15) Louis Stinglhamber, "Chateaubriand à Grenade? ," Bulletin G. Budé, December, 1952, p.101.

est un palais des fées; c'est une chose dont je n'avais aucune idée et qui n'existe que dans ce coin du monde." (16)

The first literary sketch incorporating the details of the description is found in Chateaubriand's article in the Mercure de France, discussed in the previous chapter. What Chateaubriand has added in les Aventures du dernier Abencérage is the emotion peculiar to Aben-Hamet as he walks through the palace with Blanca:

"Après quelques instants de surprise et de silence, les deux amants entrèrent dans ce séjour de la puissance évanouie et des félicités passés... L'émotion d'Aben-Hamet augmentait à chaque pas... des larmes de la fidélité, de la loyauté et de l'honneur couvraient les yeux du jeune Maure." (17)

Many of the details of the description of the palace are inexact but throughout this central incident there is harmony in the composition and great sensitivity in the expression. Throughout the passage the reader is aware of the dual emotion experienced by Aben-Hamet. He is aware of the historical importance of the Alhambra in the history of his family, but like Blanca, he is also aware of the impossibility of their love.

The description of the Alhambra at night constitutes one of the most beautiful passages in the story:

"La lune, en se levant, répandit sa clarté douteuse dans les sanctuaires abandonnés, et dans les parvis déserts de l'Alhambra. Ses blancs rayons dessinaient sur le gazon des parterres, sur les murs des salles, la

(16) Chateaubriand, letter dated at Pau, 11 May 1807, Correspondance générale, ed. I. Thomas, Paris, n.d., Vol I, p.229.

(17) Les Aventures..., pp.285-286.

dentelle d'une architecture aérienne, les cintres des cloîtres, l'ombre mobile des eaux jaillissantes, et celle des arbustes balancés par le zéphyr. Le rossignol chantait dans un cyprès qui perçait les dômes d'une mosquée en ruine, et les échos répétaient ses plaintes. Aben-Hamet écrivit, au clair de la lune, le nom de Blanca sur le marbre de la salle des Deux-Sœurs: il traça ce nom en caractères arabes, afin que le voyageur eût un mystère de plus à deviner dans ce palais des mystères." (18)

This passage, delicately balanced evocation of sounds, shadows and the tracery of the light of the moon suggests an image which will remain in French literature in various forms - even as recently as les Bestiaires. The Romantics found particularly attractive his creation of atmosphere by negative words - "abandonné", "désert", "douteuse" - and were to develop especially non-concrete images created by expressions like "ombre mobile", "balancés par le zéphyr". Moonlight, although often associated with horrifying mystery, is here associated with a more benign, but melancholy atmosphere, reflecting perhaps Chateaubriand's mood in the Alhambra.

As with the description of the valley of the Douro, the landscape is used not simply as décor but is also represented as a force which draws the two lovers together. The harmony of character and scene is completed by the line "Et ces nobles amants sortirent de ce dangereux palais." (19) Several of the images composed by Chateaubriand will be incorporated by Hugo into his poem Grenade.

Although most descriptions of the physical décor centre upon Granada and its environs, Chateaubriand

(18) Ibid., pp.291-286.

(19) Ibid., p.293.

was not insensitive to the natural landscape and the power of the mountain ranges, a notion taken up and developed both by Alfred de Vigny and Victor Hugo:

"Il /Āben-Hamet/ partit de Malaga pour Grenade avec lēs plus trīstes pressentiments. Les montagnes lui parurent d'une solitude effrayante, et il tourna plusieurs fois la tête pour regarder la mer qu'il venait de traverser."(20)

Chateaubriand seems to be aware of the need for conciseness in presenting the physical décor for his stories and the way in which all the elements are blended into a harmonious whole, in which the life and power of the setting may be revealed, denotes a skill which he could not obtain from other writers. Details are presented in such a way that the impression on the mind is most vivid and that the emotional element is not obscured. His descriptions are important for aspects of local colour, but they are equally important when they reveal harmony or contrast with the central character. In this respect Chateaubriand successfully draws on two distinct kinds of landscape presentation, the sentimental exemplified by Rousseau and the picturesque exemplified by Bernadin de Saint-Pierre. Chateaubriand's descriptions blend two general tendencies of preceding generations, but he added a third element to natural scenes which the Romantics were to develop further. He replaced the psychological motivation of characters by an eclectic process which took into account the forces of natural scenery. In the works of Chateaubriand the use of environment as a motivating agent is still limited, but the notion is developed later by Balzac until environment exerts such force that occasionally characters are little more than

(20) Ibid., p.299.

living expressions of their surroundings. Allied to local colour this utilisation of landscape offered great possibilities to the Romantics, personification of physical forms and features appearing very close at times so powerful does the sympathy between man and environment become.

The central character of les Aventures du dernier Abencérage is Blanca. Almost every feature of her appearance corresponds to known descriptions of Natalie de Noailles. When Aben-Hamet first sees Blanca the vision is striking:

"Il vit sortir une jeune femme, vêtue à peu près comme ces reines gothiques sculptées sur les monuments de nos anciennes abbayes. Son corset noir, garnis de jais, serrait sa taille élégante; son jupon court, étroit et sans plis, découvrait une jambe fine et un pied charmant, une mantille également noire était jetée sur sa tête: elle tenait, avec sa main gauche, cette mantille croisée et fermée comme une guimpe au-dessous de son menton, de sorte que l'on n'apercevait de tout son visage que ses grands yeux et sa bouche de rose." (21)

Although Chateaubriand had available, for example in the Voyage Pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne by Alexandre de Laborde, details of dress of the sixteenth century, he has here utilized details of nineteenth century costume, as pictured in Goya's paintings, primarily for aesthetic reasons, since the costume of the sixteenth century as Paul Hazard notes (22) was "sombre et peu galant".

(21) Ibid., p.268.

(22) Chateaubriand, les Aventures du dernier Abencérage, ed. Paul Hazard and Marie-Jeanne Durry, Paris, 1926, Préface, p.xx.

Three physical characteristics described by Chateaubriand will have great currency in the later years of the nineteenth century. "Un pied charmant" will be attributed to any woman south of the Pyrenees by most authors even down to Montherlant. Natalie de Noailles, we are told was blessed with "un pied fin et délicat;" and "sa démarche... annonçait une femme fort distinguée." (23) The eyes and mouth are characteristics upon which the Romantics in particular will fix their attention to illustrate women of this land where passion is the key to seductiveness of appearance. Natalie de Noailles was beautiful with extremely fine and delicate features. Chateaubriand synthesizes her physical charm in a phrase describing Blanca:

"Tout était séduction dans cette femme enchanteresse." (24)

A phrase which reflects, almost exactly, an expression used by Hortense Allart in a letter to Sainte-Beuve:

"La seule femme qu'il a vraiment aimée, c'est la duchesse de M... c'était une enchanteresse qui lui a cédé tard. Il m'en parlait avec ravissement." (25)

Blanca is the descendant of a noble and illustrious family:

"Doña Blanca descendait d'une famille qui tirait son origine du Cid de Bivar et de Chimène, fille du comte Gomez de Gormas." (26)

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- (23) E. Delécluze, L. David, son école et son temps, Paris, 1885. p.34.
 (24) Les Aventures... p.276.
 (25) Letter from Hortense Allart to Sainte-Beuve, 17 July 1848, cited in Sainte-Beuve, Chateaubriand et son groupe littéraire sous l'Empire, Vol II, p.322.
 (26) Les Aventures..., p.274.

Here Chateaubriand has 'arranged' history a little to fit in more conveniently with his plan. At the same time the conflict between Spanish Catholic and Moslem is intensified by linking Blanca's name to that of the illustrious Cid Campeador, who in fact had no male descendant. The lack of accuracy of the historical facts, however, does not detract from this description in any way as the sonority and casticismo of the lines more than compensate. It is, moreover, in this parallel that the novel is discovered to be at the same time romanesque and true.

Natalie-Luce-Léontine-Joséphine de Laborde was born into a rich banking family in 1774. In 1790 she married Charles, comte de Noailles who later became duc de Mouchy. Her brother was Alexandre de Laborde, author of Voyage Pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne.

Natalie too was a lover of literature and very taken with Spain, particularly Andalucía and the Moors. For two months she stayed in Granada to paint the Alhambra. Chateaubriand has utilized the interest of Natalie and built them into characteristics of the nature of Blanca:

"Mais avec les charmes d'une Française, elle avait les passions d'une Espagnole, et sa coquetterie naturelle n'ôtait rien à la sûreté, à la constance, à la force, à l'élevation des sentiments de son coeur."(27)

The most complete investigation into the background of the principal source of inspiration for the construction of the character of Blanca may be found in the book Chateaubriand by Marcel Duchemin. (28)

(27) Ibid., p.277.

(28) Marcel Duchemin, Chateaubriand, Essais de critique et d'histoire littéraire, Paris, 1938. See particularly the chapter "un Roman d'amour en 1807:

Blanca has all the accomplishments: "sa voix était ravissante, sa danse plus légère que le zéphyr" (29), and at the "tertullia" /sic/ Blanca dances for the gathering, giving Chateaubriand the opportunity to describe with striking couleur locale the delights of the Spanish dance. However, dancing in public was a trait most unlikely to be encountered in a young Spanish noblewoman; that Blanca is but a thinly disguised portrait of Natalie de Noailles is substantiated in the connection in the Mémoires of Hyde de Neuville:

"J'ai cru souvent revoir l'amie commune qui nous avait charmés bien des fois en essayant les danses si attrayantes des pays que nous visitions ensemble." (30)

Chateaubriand gave Blanca black hair, in deference to a tradition of couleur locale established in the eighteenth century, but the rest of the description is applicable to Natalie. Pierre Louÿs, in his novel la Femme et le pantin, and other novelists in the intervening period will emphasise the same elements described by Chateaubriand as Blanca prepares to dance:

"La fille de don Rodrigue ôte son voile et attache à ses mains blanches des castagnettes d'ébène. Ses cheveux noirs tombent en boucles sur son cou d'albâtre; sa bouche et ses yeux sourient de concert." (31)

The juxtaposition of black and white and the repetition of the image suggest that already there is

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- Chateaubriand à Grenade, "published in Revue des Deux Mondes, 1 January 1933, pp.155-178.
- (29) Les Aventures..., p.276.
- (30) Jean Guillaume baron Hyde de Neuville, Mémoires et souvenirs, Paris, 1888-1890, Vol I, p.445.
- (31) Les Aventures..., pp.279-280.

conflict in the personality of Blanca. This is fully brought out when the music ends. Blanca and Aben-Hamet simultaneously realise the depth of their mutual attraction and the impossibility of the fulfilment of their love.

The constancy of Blanca and the impossibility of the continuation of her love for Aben-Hamet recalls the end of the relationship between Chateaubriand and Natalie de Noailles. On their return to France, the love which had occasioned long journeys in Spain, about which scholars have yet to reach full agreement, did not last. There were disagreements, breaks and reconciliations. Finally Natalie broke down; in 1817 she was committed to an asylum, and in 1835 she died having never regained her freedom.

The character of Blanca represents a mixture of truth, drawn largely from Natalie de Noailles and conventional images of Spanish characters drawn from récits de voyage. The same process is used in the creation of Aben-Hamet.

Aben-Hamet, who waits upon Blanca, is in many ways a reflection of Chateaubriand himself, or perhaps Chateaubriand as he would have wished to appear to others. At the beginning of the récit the reader is introduced to the noble Moor:

"Il réunissait en lui la beauté, la valeur, la courtoisie, la générosité de ses ancêtres, avec ce doux éclat et cette légère expression de tristesse que donne le malheur noblement supporté." (32)

These characteristics are typical of those ascribed to Moors after the reconquest of Granada, a historical

(32) Ibid., p.259.

fact which finds expression not only in Aben-Hamet's sadness, but also in his fatalism; when he first enters the venta he is submitted to scrutiny, but this does not disturb him:

"On ne lui parlait point, on ne le questionnait point; son turban, sa robe, ses armes, n'exitaient aucun étonnement. Puisque Allah avait voulu que les Maures d'Espagne perdissent leur belle patrie, Aben-Hamet ne pouvait s'empêcher d'en estimer les graves conquérants." (33)

When Aben-Hamet comes within sight of the Tours vermeilles for the first time - a view of the Alhambra is impossible from the direction he approached - he is reminded of the past glories of his people:

"Le guide mettant fin aux réflexions d'Aben-Hamet, s'écria: 'Marchons, seigneur Maure; marchons, Dieu l'a voulu! Prenez courage. François Ier n'est-il pas aujourd'hui même prisonnier dans notre Madrid? Dieu l'a voulu. Il ôta son chapeau, fit un grand signe de croix et frappa ses mules. L'Abencérage, pressant la sienne à son tour, s'écria: 'c'était écrit', et ils descendirent vers Grenade." (34)

Although, through the publication of numerous récits concerning the Moors, widespread understanding of the phrase "c'était écrit" must have existed, Chateaubriand included a marginal note to explain it. This phrase contrasts with the Christian "Dieu l'a voulu" and hints at deeper penetration of the Christian/Moor relationship.

Being descended from an illustrious family Aben-Hamet accepts an opportunity to prove his honour.

(33) Ibid., pp.260-261.

(34) Ibid., p.264.

His strict adherence to his faith and to the honour of his ancestors is shown throughout the story; he confesses his moment of weakness. Aben-Hamet is challenged to a duel by Blanca's brother Carlos, but Aben-Hamet is unable to accept until he receives the Order of Chivalry from the hands of his enemy. This recalls a similar incident in Mathilde where Malek-Adhel receives the order of chivalry from his Christian enemy. (35)

Aben-Hamet is victorious in the duel and spares the life of Don Carlos; Lautrec's wounds prevent him from taking up the challenge. Blanca, however, obtains a momentary truce and attempts to encourage Aben-Hamet towards conversion to Christianity. Chateaubriand at this point introduces a further element of conflict and reinforces the impossibility of the love between Aben-Hamet and Blanca. During the celebration given by Lautrec, Aben-Hamet's secret is revealed and Chateaubriand presents complications which cannot be simply contained in the duty-love conflict.

The characterisation of Aben-Hamet allows for no further development or psychological revelation: since this static image of the perfect Moorish chevalier was already fixed in literature, the only revelation possible is the unfolding of the story. In the Hispano-moresque tradition Aben-Hamet must remain true to his religion and to the memory of his ancestors without transgressing the code of manners.

The two characters Carlos and Lautrec play minor roles in this work. Although embodying certain individual characteristics, they are not sufficiently

(35) Cottin, Mathilde, Vol IV, p.165.

strongly developed to detract in any way from the principal conflict between Blanca and Aben-Hamet.

As has been shown, the story of les Aventures du dernier Abencérage was not Chateaubriand's invention. It was a conventional literary subject and the work could have become one of the many forgotten récits hispano-mauresques produced at this time. However, the mark of individuality of Chateaubriand's work, although not able to effect a complete renewal of this tradition, is due to the set of circumstances surrounding its creation.

When he wrote les Aventures du dernier Abencérage Chateaubriand's interest in couleur locale was highly developed; his love for Natalie de Noailles, his journey through Spain and other minor factors combined to make the composition of this work an intensely personal matter, yet at the same time it offered avenues for development outside the limitations of the Hispano-moresque tradition to the Romantics. One of the more obvious concepts taken up later was the Spaniard/Moor conflict which, allied to the notion of the two Spains, was later revealed by the writers of récits de voyage as visible equally in the nature of the landscape itself. Chateaubriand's involvement in the landscape, his utilisation of the panoramic view, his selection of detail and accurate appellation will be developed notably by Gautier.

In addition to his presentation of the suggestive power of the landscape and certain elements of characterisation, Chateaubriand in les Aventures du dernier Abencérage evokes aspects of life in Spain which will be developed through the nineteenth century. Chivalry, honour, pride, these Spanish characteristics

were well known, although they had been only grudgingly acknowledged in the eighteenth century. In his presentation of Spanish life Chateaubriand described particularly sensitively two aspects, the social gathering and religion.

When Aben-Hamet wanders alone through the valley of the Douro, he hears the voice of Blanca, recognises her and through music they are led to a second meeting. To celebrate her father's birthday, Blanca gives a tertulia and when all the guests are seated on the velvet cushions, the conversation centres on Aben-Hamet. Chateaubriand first describes the food:

"De nombreux serviteurs parurent: ils portaient le chocolat, les pâtes de fruits et les petits pains de sucre de Malaga, blancs comme la neige, poreux et légers comme des éponges." (36)

In the early nineteenth century chocolate was recognised as a favourite beverage of the Spanish, but in 1516, the time of the récit, both the food and the drink were unknown in Spain. Chateaubriand further confuses the definitions of tertulia and refresco and in his intent to link the occasion with the influence of the gitanos, mis-spells gitanas /guitanas/. It is clear, however, that the setting of the tertulia is of secondary importance and serves only as a background to permit a demonstration of Blanca's grace in her execution of a Zambra, an ancient dance of which certain movements show signs of Moorish influence.

One of the young ladies begins to play the guitare, although at this period the most usual instrument for the accompaniment of dances in society was the vihuela,

(36) Les Aventures..., p.278.

a kind of lute with some features in common with the guitar which developed from it and superceded it about 1600. The vihuela was an aristocratic instrument and almost certainly would have been used in this situation. Again the minor details are unimportant, the centre of the cuadro is Blanca, who sings as she dances:

"Quelle variété dans ses pas! quelle élégance dans ses attitudes! Tantôt elle lève ses bras avec vivacité, tantôt elle les laisse retomber avec mollesse. Quelquefois elle s'élançe comme enivrée de plaisir et se retire comme accablée de douleur. Elle tourne la tête, semble appeler quelqu'un d'invisible, tend modestement une joue vermeille au baiser d'un nouvel époux, fuit honteuse, revient brillante et consolée, marche d'un pas noble et presque guerrier, puis voltige de nouveau sur le gazon. L'harmonie de ses pas, de ses chants, et des sons de sa guitare était parfaite." (37)

Chateaubriand has here conveyed the sensuality of the dance without having recourse to the jeu de hanches which tends to dominate in later descriptions. His confusion of the strict and distinct roles of members of the cuadro, fixed as early as the sixteenth century, will not be taken up in this form by succeeding writers although the domination of the central position of the dancer will continue to be mentioned through the nineteenth century as the most obviously visual feature of the exoticism of the dance.

Chateaubriand was sensitive to the charm of Spanish music, which harmonised with his mood, even at the time of the recreation of this cadre:

"La musique espagnole, composée de soupirs, de mouvements vifs, de refrains tristes, de

chants subitement arrêtés, offre un singulier mélange de gaîté et de mélancholie. Cette musique et cette danse fixèrent sans retour le destin du dernier Abencérage: elles auraient suffi pour troubler un coeur moins malade que le sien." (38)

After this tertulia Blanca and Aben-Hamet realise the passion they have for each other and the effect of this realisation is heightened by the presentation of the dance and the alternately gay and melancholy phrases of the music.

Lautrec later gives a fiesta in the Generalife, in the Sala de los Reyes, mistakenly interpreted by Chateaubriand as the "Salle des Chevaliers".

Oriental fruits are served and as night falls, torches are lit and the stories begin. Don Carlos tells of the discovery of Mexico and Cortez's treatment of Montezuma, who died a prisoner in his own palace only eight years before the supposed time of this part of the récit. Granada was reconquered in 1492. Chateaubriand states that this story of Aben-Hamet's journey to Granada took place twenty-four years after the reconquest, i.e. in 1516. (39) However, the fact that Lautrec had taken part in the battle of Pavia in 1525 and that he can tell the story of Montezuma who died in 1520 suggest that the action takes place between 1526 and 1529. Aben-Hamet tells the story of the Ottoman Empire. After the stories Lautrec takes a guitar and sings the romance of exile, Du joli lieu de ma naissance, previously published with the title le Montagnard émigré in 1806. (40)

(38) Ibid.

(39) Ibid., p.258.

(40) Anon, "le Montagnard émigré," Mercure de France, 31 May 1806.

Aben-Hamet is then asked to sing, but excuses himself by saying that the only romance he knew would be "peu agréable aux chrétiens". (41) However, he does sing a ballad of the Abencérages. Carlos then takes the guitar and sings "les exploits du Cid, son illustre aieul". (42)

These songs, introduced not solely for reasons of local colour, precipitate the revelation of Aben-Hamet's secret - he is the dernier Abencérage. Despite the temptation to renounce his faith and to embrace Catholicism, he now finally realises that he can never marry Blanca. After the famous deeds recounted in the songs have revealed not only his identity but the identity of the Bivars:

"Le silence règne; la crainte, l'espoir, la haine, l'amour, l'étonnement, la jalousie agitent tous les coeurs;..." (43)

More important than aspects of couleur locale provided by the tertulia and the fiesta is the function of these interludes preceding the announcement of significant information. Chateaubriand thus integrates the music with the action and although details may be incorrect the whole takes on unity, the interest of the intrigue is maintained to the end and the continuity is enhanced. When the Romantics rediscover aspects of the music, colour and rhythm of Spain exemplified in the dance, the tendency at first is to present a separated interlude. It is not until Peyré and Montherlant that the functional or structural aspects of these elements approach more closely the intentions

{41} Les Aventures..., p.318.
 {42} Ibid., p.322.
 {43} Ibid., p.326.

revealed by Chateaubriand.

The basis of the conflict between Aben-Hamet and Blanca is a racial one, reinforced by the impossibility of reconciliation between Moor and Christian. Each can only accept the other in terms of complete acceptance of another faith. This conflict is hinted at by Hugo in occasional poems, but an enlargement of the theme does not inspire the creation of any major work until Barrès attempts a renewal of the Hispano-moresque tradition in parts of Du Sang, de la Volupté et de la Mort. Barrès adds the concept of volupté in religion and in association with religious objects, as well as with other aspects of life in Spain where the Moorish influence may be noted, and to some extent cuts off further development of the theme.

Within the framework of a theme which had been used many times before, Chateaubriand invested the story of the Abencérages with new life. This is largely due, as we have seen, to the close association of the story with his own experience. Chateaubriand also developed the concept of the conflict between love and duty, embellished by connection with Corneille's le Cid, although this aspect does not find a prominent place in the literature of the nineteenth century. For details of the heroic el Cid, Hugo, Leconte de Lisle and Heredia go back beyond Corneille to the original Romances or to nineteenth century adaptations or translations. After Heredia writers generally show greater interest in the psychological development of characters than in more colourful exotic characteristics; and since the Romances and the Hispano-moresque stories allow only very little scope for psychological developments, interest in these sources wanes.

There is a tendency, particularly in recent years, for literary criticism of the works of Chateaubriand to be concentrated on Atala, René and the Mémoires d'Outre-tombe. Nevertheless les Aventures du dernier Abencérage reflects a delicacy of expression and artistic consciousness often superior to what is found in the works of Chateaubriand's youth. In les Aventures du dernier Abencérage there is undeniably the complete and intense involvement of the author, not only in what concerns the perfection of the art of his récit, but also in the content. Marcel Duchemin, whose fascination with this work is well known, has better than most known how to express its essential beauty:

"C'est une fort jolie chose que le Dernier Abencérage et, dans notre littérature, le seul poème représentatif du genre troubadour dû à un écrivain de génie. Dans sa grâce un peu aprêtée, cette noble fleur de chevalerie, cueillie par un paladin breton aux jardins de Grenade pour s'épanouir sous le ciel de France, est le joyau littéraire de ce joli Moyen âge des châtelaines et des pages qui fit rêver nos grand-mères et dont les keepsakes du temps conservent l'image sentimentale et gracieuse."
(44)

In this work which occupies a minor place in the total creation of Chateaubriand, we find in genesis many of the images which will be developed later by the Romantics. Chateaubriand, in the compass of his own works, had shown how images can be developed from reality. The central passage of les Aventures du dernier Abencérage in its elaboration from a passage in a letter, influenced by the review of Alexandre de Laborde's book, Voyage pittoresque et historique de

(44) Marcel Duchemin, Chateaubriand. Essais de critique et d'histoire littéraire, Paris, 1938, p.271.

l'Espagne, supplemented by details from other works, is an excellent example of this process of construction. The Romantics and succeeding generations do not always apply such rigorous processes, but it is clear that Chateaubriand, in addition to the images themselves, had demonstrated a method of literary composition, a method capable of bearing infinite modifications. As we shall see in the following chapters of the present study, the exploration of Spain by writers of récits de guerre and of simple récits de voyage will provide the information, although a few authors attempt to work more closely "après nature".

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CHAPTER VI.

- CHATEAUBRIAND - SUMMARY -

- CHATEAUBRIAND SUMMARY -

What continuation there is in the nineteenth century of the Hispano-moresque tradition is due in no small measure to les Aventures du dernier Abencérage. In the poem entitled Grenade in les Orientales, Victor Hugo consciously recalls colours and images used by Chateaubriand and if the purely literary tradition weakened, the theme continued in evidence in other art forms.

In 1851 le Dernier Abencérage was played at the Théâtre Français. This drama in verse with a three-act structure was created by Pierre-François Beauvallet. In 1884, Aben-Hamet was presented at the Théâtre Italien de Paris by Détrouyat and Laugières in four acts. In Italy Giovanni Peruzzini wrote the libretto and Tessarin the musical score for the Ultimo Abencerragio. In Barcelona, at the Liceo, an opera with the same title was presented by Felipe Perdrell.

In the domain of the plastic arts Henri Regnault, who displayed more than a passing interest in Spain (1) represented the massacre of the Abencérages in his painting Execution sans jugement sous les rois maures de Grenade, which today hangs in the Louvre. The songs sung in the final sequences of Chateaubriand's récit by Lautrec, Carlos and Aben-Hamet have been set to music many times.

Despite this apparent continuation of interest, the works mentioned above, with the notable exception of Hugo's Grenade and Regnault's painting, are today forgotten - which leads one to conclude that Chateaubriand's influence in this sphere lies not so much in direct association with the stories of the Abencérages but with much broader aspects of literature and in certain images of Spain. Since its publication in 1826, however, Chateaubriand's Aventures du dernier Abencérage has retained widespread popularity. By the time of the Hazard-Durry critical edition (1926) the work had been translated into at least fourteen languages. (2)

Chateaubriand had revealed his understanding of nature in Atala and René and, although the public had previously had contact with Rousseau and Bernadin de Saint-Pierre, Chateaubriand extended the feeling for nature. This is most clearly evident in the early descriptive passages of les Aventures du dernier

(1) Henri Regnault (1843-1871) well-known for sketches of toreros and gitanos, travelled to Spain in 1868 with Clairin who later designed costumes for Bizet's Carmen. Mina Curtiss, Bizet and his world, London, 1959, pp.204-205.

(2) Chateaubriand, les Aventures du dernier Abencérage, ed. Paul Hazard and Marie-Jeanne Durry, Paris, 1926, pp.XXVIII - XXXIII.

Abencérage where Chateaubriand, at the same time as he reveals the physical environment to the reader, incorporates the emotion of Aben-Hamet and without insisting on the effect of the natural surroundings suggests contact and mutual influence.

The tone of les Aventures du dernier Abencérage is constant. The récit moves gently, evenly, the narrative line probes the emotions of Aben-Hamet and Blanca, and Chateaubriand has avoided the use of emotional contrast in the landscape, utilised in René, to preserve absolute harmony and unity. He is aware of the value of conciseness and of sound in the presentation of reality. In this sense he may be considered as a forerunner of Realism.

Chateaubriand realised the value of human participation in creating a harmonious literary representation of a natural scene, but this does not preclude the development of a particular mode of constructing a literary landscape involving both precision and vagueness. His technique was in some ways similar to that of a painter. Very often relying on written sources, supported by his own experience for the highlighted areas of a scene, Chateaubriand was constrained, in some cases by lack of information or detail in other cases by design, to present muted areas. This developed in les Aventures du dernier Abencérage into a method of landscape presentation which influenced Gautier and which Peyré utilises particularly for descriptions of city streets or crowded interiors.

Chateaubriand's skill in the presentation of colour and movement is also echoed in Gautier's work, but it must be acknowledged that, although some influence is almost inevitable, much of Gautier's

preoccupation with colour and movement, particularly when associated with the macabre, must be due to his own personality. Chateaubriand reveals a very highly developed sense of harmony and unity. He did not hesitate to change minor details for the preservation of rhythm or for the maintenance of the form of a flowing period; but although he did not, in the manner of Hugo, make considerable changes of dates or places in history, the situation of the récit of les Aventures du dernier Abencérage is historically confused and although the Cid died without issue his association with the Bivars is insisted upon.

Chateaubriand's influence is also seen in the representation of melancholy. Here the atmosphere of the environment is again important, and the atmosphere which Chateaubriand associated with the palaces of the Alhambra and the gardens of the Generalife remained in literature to be developed by Barrès. The broader associations of melancholy which Chateaubriand brought to French literature lie beyond the scope of this study, but its role in the range of emotions explored by the Romantics has in part its origins in his recognition of its literary potential.

An appreciation of other cultures is apparent in Chateaubriand's works and not only of the aspects which were of interest in the preparation of background material for his writings. Underlying his careful reconstruction of couleur locale is the firm belief in the worth of man, the value of the preservation of culture and consequently the value of history, historical objects and monuments. In this sense Chateaubriand prepared the way for an artist such as Mérimée and also, by the development of the creative

aspects of literary criticism for Sainte-Beuve and Taine.

Chateaubriand's influence may be seen in the works of writers of all genres, poets, critics, orators and novelists, not only from les Aventures du dernier Abencérage naturally, but from the complete range of his works. Les Aventures du dernier Abencérage was not his last word on Spain, and although le Congrès de Vérone is essentially a political essay there are several comments which reinforce Chateaubriand's previously expressed views on Spain or modify his opinions.

Most interesting in this work is a passage which reflects his attitude towards Spain at the time of the Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem. He found Spain quite civilised, since he had come from "la Barbarie". He found pleasure in listening to children sing:

"nous nous plûmes à entendre deux pauvres enfants nus chanter une longue complainte dans une route montagnaise entre Algésiras et Cadix..." (3)

This brief note had been elaborated in a marginal note in les Aventures du dernier Abencérage in which he reveals that the ballad of the Abencérages sung by Aben-Hamet is based on the song heard by Chateaubriand in the mountains.

Aspects of "typical" Spain charmed him:

"... tout cela nous charmait en fumant notre cigare, en voyant les taureaux se battre dans la campagne, en écoutant les accords lointains d'une mandoline." (4)

In le Congrès de Vérone is also developed the image of the Escorial; one sentence providing the basis for

(3) Chateaubriand, le Congrès de Vérone, Paris, n.d., p.412. (Vol XXII of St. Beuve's edition [1859-1861] .)

(4) Ibid.

Gautier's elaboration in his poem l'Escorial and for the symbol of asceticism rediscovered by Barrès:

"Après du redoutable édifice à face
d'inquisition chassée au désert est un parc
embarrassée de genêts et un village abandonné."
(5)

To this interest in the more exotic characteristics of Spain Chateaubriand during the course of his political career had added a political interest. He supported the Intervention not simply because Spain was monarchist and he was ultra-royalist, but because it was convenient for France to intervene at that time in order to reinforce her claim as the champion of legitimist causes and thus perhaps find again the initiative lost in the treaties of 1815. His political démarches were perhaps influenced by his simplistic view that the complexity of Spain was due to the mixture of blood:

"Rien n'arrive en Espagne comme ailleurs:
le sang des Maures, mêlé à celui des
Visigoths, a produit une race d'hommes moitié
européenne moitié africaine qui trompe tous
les calculs." (6)

In the final version of the Congrès de Vérone there is an entire chapter on "le caractère des Espagnols" in which he developed the same idea:

"Les Espagnols sont des Arabes chrétiens;
ils ont quelque chose de sauvage et d'imprevu.
Le sang mélangé du cantabre, du Carthaginois,
du Romain, du Vandale et du Maure, qui coule
dans leurs veines, ne coule pas comme un
autre sang." (7)

The mixed blood of the Spaniard, his Africanité,

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- (5) Ibid., p.20.
(6) Ibid., p.417.
(7) Ibid., p.9.

is a major concept of les Orientales, and is acknowledged by many of the writers whose work will be examined in the following pages. The Congrès de Vérone contains other commentaries based on Chateaubriand's observation and reading and he shows that Montesquieu had considerable influence upon him, particularly concerning his understanding of the gravity and individuality of the Spaniard. In this he reaches a conclusion similar to that arrived at by Ortega y Gasset and explained in Topografía de la soberbia española. (8)

Chateaubriand's works show the three phases of the development of an image. His récit de voyage, l'Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem, reveals basic ideas and impressions "après nature", several of which were elaborated for a work of literary criticism, the review of Laborde's book. The imaginative work les Aventures du dernier Abencérage reveals the images in their final form, carefully worked with attention to rhythm, colour and harmony. Side issues are illuminated by his correspondence and above all by le Congrès de Vérone. Following Chateaubriand, although several Romantics showed similar versatility, there is a growing tendency towards specialisation and, as we shall see in the introductory chapters to succeeding sections of this study, a gradual change in the nature of the récit de voyage, many of the diverse elements being briefly reunited in the works of Barrès.

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(8) José Ortega y Gasset, Topografía de la soberbia española, Madrid, 1924.

PART THREE

- 1800 - 1850 -

An analysis of the image of Spain in imaginative literature examined against the background of political and general cultural relationships between France and Spain in the period from 1800 to 1850.

CHAPTER VII

- THE BACKGROUND 1800 - 1850 -

Some aspects of Romanticism - the search for new content-Mme de Staël - foreign influences on French literature - Italy - the effects of the War of Succession - the invasion of 1808 - the Treaty of Paris - Ferdinand VII - the Intervention of 1823 - récits de guerre - récits de voyage - Mérimée - George Sand - Gautier - Quinet - Dumas - Vigny - Spanish literature - translations - Sané - general reviving interest.

- THE BACKGROUND 1800 - 1850 -

Throughout the eighteenth century, individualism continued its growth; it developed on two main fronts which are easily identifiable as the expansion of the free expression of sentiment or emotion and the full acceptance of the works of authors like Diderot and Beaumarchais. This development seems to have led to a welding together of the image of the outside world and the secret personal dispositions of the artist. Added to these features are the following, clarified by Gustave Lanson.

"Nous avons vu en Rousseau puis en Chateaubriand les facultés discursives, le raisonnement, les idées s'atténuer, l'émotion grandir et la puissance poétique. Des curiosités, des tentatives qui ne se rapportent plus aux modèles classiques apparaissent; et Mme de Staël, avec un style tout classique, a fait la théorie d'une littérature romantique." (1)

(1) Gustave Lanson, Histoire de la littérature française, (remaniée ... par Paul Tuffrau), Paris, 1967, p.933.

Chateaubriand had reintroduced to French literature a desire to explore themes and motifs which had been proscribed by the classicists. The way to a free development of literature and sentiment had been indicated. Lanson has shown clearly how the door to not only Romanticism but also later developments in the nineteenth century had been opened by Chateaubriand.

"Il a cette espèce d'ivresse devant la nature qui fait la peinture chaude, sans altérer la lucide précision de l'oeil ... Le ton local, le caractère singulier est partout attrapé avec une délicatesse puissante. Le sublime de la forêt américaine, la grâce nette des montagnes grecques, la grandeur du cirque romain, le tohu bohu bariolé du campement oriental, les ciels bas et brumeux de la Germanie et les riants soleils d'Italie, les architectures exquises et les vierges solitudes, toutes les formes que la nature et l'homme ont offertes à ses yeux, il a tout su voir et tout su rendre." (2)

In the conscious search for new and exciting content and new environments in which literary works could be situated, writers returned to explore France's own history, in particular the Middle Ages. Great themes of Christianity were utilised, while troubadour songs in Provençal for a time provided a source of inspiration. In this complexity of continually moving currents and trends there seemed to be a seeking after direction. A.J. George summarises the scene thus:

"They /The Romantics/ had conquered the ogres, refuted the detested rules and proclaimed the freedom of art. But they had forgotten one frightening question: freedom for what?" (3)

(2) Lanson, op.cit., p. 903.

(3) A.J. George, The Development of French Romanticism, Syracuse, 1955, p. 25.

It is not intended here to offer yet another definition of Romanticism and the dangers of discussing this period of French literature in terms which are too general are legion. One is of necessity brought to some discussion of Romanticism, however, as the period under review encompasses the expression of the exotic spirit of French literature in the first half of the nineteenth century. One must, of course, be wary of adopting a phraseology which is too narrow in the critical sense - Joseph Aynard indicates the difficulties which face the author of any enquiry into literature during this period.

"Il faut conclure tout d'abord que le romantisme, on plutôt l'idée que nous nous en faisons, est quelque chose de très incertain et de très discuté, qui excite nos passions intellectuelles, puisque les uns y voient la Révolution éternelle, les autres un mouvement associé à la religion catholique et à la poésie "véritable", comme s'il n'en existait pas d'autre véritable que la poésie romantique. Il semble que le romantisme n'appartienne pas encore à l'histoire et qu'on ne soit même pas du tout d'accord sur ce que signifie le mot." (4)

Later in his discussion Aynard suggests that Romanticism may be the expression of a mal d'esprit and touches on an aspect of this movement which principally concerns us here. He claims that Romanticism cannot be defined by using a checklist of characteristics (5) - lyrisme personnel, culte du passé, lutte contre le classicisme - but that:

"il faut ajouter à tout cela l'esprit romantique, l'esprit du temps... " (6)

(4) Joseph Aynard, "Comment définir le romantisme," Revue de Littérature comparée, Vol. 5, 1925, p. 642.

(5) cf. with the method of Ch. M. Desgranges, Histoire illustrée de la littérature française, Paris, 1920, p. 696.

(6) Aynard, op. cit., p. 649.

Exoticism seemed to relieve some of the more serious pains of the esprit du temps. Aynard continues:

"La vérité est que, dans cette crise de l'esprit européen, toute nation touchée de romantisme regarde en dehors de ses frontières. Le romantisme est, d'une façon générale, marqué d'exotisme; c'est, entre autres choses, une tendance à s'inspirer de l'étranger dans tous les pays." (7)

Thus it was not long before literary exoticism became part of the Romantic ideology. Conversely the early attempts at exoticism may be broadly referred to as Romantic.

The first attempts at introducing new content seemed to be part of the general revolt against the previous generations of writers, and indeed against the traditions and attitudes of the Ancien Régime - Voltaire and Diderot, among other philosophes, looked to England, English ideas and, inevitably though indirectly, to English literature. The influence of Mme de Staël in suggesting the direction of the search, i.e. towards other foreign literatures, is readily discernible, particularly in De la littérature (1800) and De l'Allemagne (1810). However, the leap across the frontier did not come at once, for France had, in the years which closed the eighteenth century and opened the nineteenth, passed through an exceedingly important period of her own history. France's own past, for a time at least, could provide material enough for the new generation, and many historical novels were written following the trend set by Sir Walter Scott. A.J. George comments on the situation at this stage:

"By the time budding romanticism had begun to recognize itself as a literary movement,

(7) Aynard, op. cit., p. 644

the roman had become almost a national rage. The vogue for Walter Scott's work inspired an army of imitators, and wise publishers with their hand on the public pulse kept printing historical romances as fast as the presses could move." (8)

A.J. George notes also that during the last ten years of the Restoration booksellers had to publish special catalogues to keep buyers acquainted with the mass of historical novels that was being produced. (9)

But, following the line suggested by Mme de Staël, it was almost inevitable that the search for content, which had in fact led to many a dead end, would take in broader horizons. Writers increasingly began to look abroad for inspiration. The analysis of exoticism at this period is as complex as the literary scene itself and it is evident that the duality of purpose behind these moves contributes to the complexity.

The literature of many countries and regions from Asia to the New World were explored and delved into, partly in a desire for the expansion of individualism - a trait to be sought after and expressed both in personal conduct and in art - and partly as a result of the desire to break completely with classicism. Gustave Lanson explains that Romanticism had to distinguish itself from what went before: it differentiated itself first by negation, then by antithesis. By negation, the writers eliminated the rules of definition of genres, the internal structural rules of each genre, and the demands of taste. Lanson concludes:

"Par antithèse, en faisant le contraire de ce qu'avaient fait les classiques. La littérature du XVIIIe siècle prenait pour

(8) George, op.cit., p. 139.

(9) George, op.cit., p. 32.

modèles les anciens et le XVIIe siècle français: le Romantisme leur substitue le moyen âge et les étrangers." (10)

Before focussing attention on the influence of Spain, which was to lead writers to write about the land beyond the Pyrenées and occasionally to travel there, a brief mention will be made of the other influential factors from foreign literatures which were acting at this time. Many studies have been made of the influence of one national literature upon another, and a synthesis of the overall scene in France would not serve to illuminate the particular position of Spain. For more detailed bibliographical suggestion one must turn to the production of Baldensperger and Friederich. (11) At this point mention will only be made of some main stream influences.

Influences from virtually all corners of the world poured into the melting pot of French literature in the early years of the nineteenth century. Contributions from America and the New World - notably Fenimore Cooper's influence upon Balzac, Eugène Sue and Edouard Corbière - are noted in the work of Van Tieghem (12) and on the roman d'aventure by Bosset. (13) Irving's influence, more vague perhaps, but interesting nevertheless, is noted by Pierre Jourda. (14) Germany at this time was able to provide a much stronger and more direct influence, partly because German writers enjoyed prestige throughout Europe; Goethe and Schiller

(10) Lanson, op.cit., p. 932.

(11) Fernand Baldensperger and Werner Friederich, A Bibliography of Comparative Literature, New York, 1960.

(12) Philippe van Tieghem, Influences étrangères sur la littérature française, Paris, 1961.

(13) G.C. Bosset, Fenimore Cooper et le roman d'aventure en France vers 1830, Paris, 1929.

(14) Pierre Jourda, l'Exotisme dans la littérature française depuis Chateaubriand, Vol II, Paris/Montpellier, - 1956.

continued to exert influence as did Hoffmann after his 'discovery'. Mme de Staël had kept alive an interest in heroic bandits, reformed courtisans and corrupt priests, while Schiller's local colour provided a rich legacy for hungry Romantics. Hoffmann's contribution was somewhat different in that his advent about 1823 strengthened a trend in French literature which had already been in existence for some time.

At this period the political relationship between France and England might not seem conducive to a fruitful literary relationship yet, again partly as a reactionary demonstration against classicism, Shakespeare was hailed as an example of what an unfettered romantic could produce in any genre. English actors in Paris in the 1820's supported the Romantics' contentions in practical terms but Shakespeare was to remain more as an esteemed ancestor than as a brother. Byron became a legend and strongly reinforced existing tendencies, while the powerful influence of Scott was transposed to poetry - the Romantics found his use of history and local colour particularly inspiring. The resultant vogue of the historical novel has already been mentioned.

At this time the influence of Spain's neighbour Portugal, seems to have been slight. The Inès de Castro theme, however, was taken up - its treatment in European literature has been fully explored by Nozick. (15)

Renewed interest in Spain and Italy had arisen through Chateaubriand. Mainly through re-examination of the authors of the Renaissance Italy attracted many: Stendhal's interest is well known, Lamartine learned Italian before he visited the country, Musset was inspired

(15) M. Nozick, "The Inès de Castro theme in European literature," Comparative Literature, III, 1953, pp. 330-341.

by writers of earlier generations. Certain influences are discernible in the works of Balzac and Vigny, while translations of Dante were made by Deschamps (1829), Briseux (1840) and Ratisbonne (1860). As is perhaps foreseeable, the literary fate of Italy was somewhat similar to that of Spain. The inhabitants were described by the same kind of generalities and in similar terms to those that we will find in the works of authors writing on Spain - profligates, faithless lovers, and hapless warriors were indispensable. (16) The land was treated in similar vein - a land of unbridled passions, of dreams and poetry. Another similarity with Spain may be noted - it was the land rather than the literature which attracted the writers of nineteenth century France and in addition to the works of imaginative literature in which Italian themes and motifs appear, there is a considerable literature of mémoires and récits de voyage.

French writers had always been aware of Spain, aware at least of its existence. After the harshness of the treatment meted out to the Iberian Peninsula, its people, traditions, literature and general culture, at the hands of Voltaire, Montesquieu and minor writers, Spain was re-established as a source of inspiration. Chateaubriand had found in the Alhambra and the gardens of the Generalife ideal settings for the expression of his melancholy and this opened the door again to a land which was still heroic, still existing with a civilisation which had more in common with the Middle Ages than with the nineteenth century. It seemed that Spain could offer all that the new generation needed in terms of themes, atmosphere, local colour and heroism. Furthermore,

(16) George, op.cit., pp. 33-34.

the political situation during the first quarter of the nineteenth century played a significant role in re-directing the attention of French writers to that country.

French presence in Spain had through the centuries been deemed a political necessity by the rulers of France. Three events of supreme importance indicated very clearly the nature of the influence in Spanish affairs sought by France and the reactions of the Spanish people to these incursions.

The first event had been the War of Succession, briefly mentioned above and although this had taken place a century before the period under discussion, all France was aware of the contrasts between the achievements of Louis XIV at Utrecht and Rastadt and those of the Duc d'Angoulême on his way to Cadiz.

The second event was the invasion of 1808. Despite the victories at Austerlitz, Jena, Auerstadt, Eylau and Friedland, England, the principal adversary of France, was not ready to capitulate since she had gained control of the seas at the battle of Trafalgar. Napoleon tried to starve England into submission, but in order to make the blockade effective he had to occupy more and more of Europe. Napoleon ordered Swedish Pomerania, Bremen, Hamburg, all of Holland, Tuscany and the Papal States to be occupied and took the further decisive step of invading Portugal. This last move inevitably brought France into direct involvement with Spain.

The Spanish Bourbons - Charles IV had been a mediocre king and influenced by Godoy - had lived for some time in very real fear of the mass of the Spanish people. The French were threatening the independence of Spain by their occupation of Lisbon and parts of Navarra and Cataluña. Flight had already been seriously

considered by Charles IV when the uprising at Aranjuez in 1808 forced him to give up his throne to his son Ferdinand. French troops under Murat were already advancing on Madrid and when Charles and Ferdinand made representations to Murat he sent them to Bayonne for an audience with Napoleon. The dos de mayo rising against the French troops began the War of Independence and Napoleon forced Charles and Ferdinand to abdicate. The words of José-Maria Jover clearly show why inspiration to writers was to come from both sides in this war:

"The second of May was a working class epic. It was an epic of ordinary people who fought and died - like the girls of Madrid battling against the French cavalry at the Toledo Gate - fired by a blind, uncontrollable passion." (17)

Subsequently Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed King of Spain, but the Spanish people took up arms in their thousands. Peasants and workers united to hamper Joseph's progress to Madrid, then came Bailén. In the Sierra Morena Dupont's army was defeated. Despite Napoleon's visit to Spain and the victories he won late in the year, the guerrilla war continued and the siege of Zaragoza was very costly.

A direct result of these manoeuvres was the Fifth Coalition which united England, Austria and Spain against Napoleon in 1809. The exploits of the Grande Armée were to inspire writers of the 20's and 30's, but the train of events continued and the French presence in Spain began to diminish when Napoleon's forces were defeated at Vittoria. Wellington entered Madrid and then turned north to march to France to press home a decisive campaign with the taking of Toulouse on 10 April 1814.

(17) José-Maria Jover, Conciencia Burguesa y conciencia obrera en la España contemporánea, Madrid, 2nd Ed. 1956, pp. 35-36. quoted (in English) in This is Spain by Vicente Cacho Viu, Madrid, 1965, p. 47.

One month later this chapter of Franco-Spanish relations temporarily closed when the Treaty of Paris was signed, but the theme was to be taken up again. The war of Independence had succeeded in revealing Spain to Europe. Pierre Vilar notes:

"Et quelle bonne humeur, quelle floraison d'esprit dans les épigrammes et les chansons! L'Espagne se révèle alors à l'Europe, au romantisme, à Stendhal. Et l'étonnant succès de ce moment historique combat un instant chez elle le complexe d'infériorité né du temps de la décadence. En revanche, elle ne subit pas de plus profonde transformation"(18)

Spain was brought to the attention of the public of France about 1820, for at this time Ferdinand VII (1814-1833), whose reign was characterised by brutality and mediocrity, had been obliged by a military revolt to re-establish the constitution of 1812 and to agree to the election of the Cortes. Virtually a prisoner, Ferdinand was confined to Madrid. An army was raised elsewhere to support his cause but had no success.

French diplomats and businessmen could see that in this situation there was an opportunity to reinstate France in the eyes of the world and at the Congress of Verona in 1822, the French foreign minister, Montmorency, succeeded in gaining support for his suggestion that a special force proceed to Spain with the object of re-establishing Ferdinand's position. Although Great Britain was not in agreement with this move an expedition was in fact dispatched. An army crossed the Pyrenees under the command of the Duc d'Angoulême to rescue Ferdinand.

Lack of organisation at first hampered the progress

(18) Pierre Vilar, Histoire de l'Espagne, Paris, 1958, p. 56.

through Spain of this expeditionary force; but, as the country was virtually in a state of anarchy, when the Duc d'Angoulême's troops approached Madrid the Liberal Government had no alternative but to escape towards the south, taking Ferdinand with them. Eventually the incident ended with the taking of the Trocadero at Cádiz where the government had taken refuge with their unwilling royal charge.

Despite criticism, before, during and after the military operation, this escapade undoubtedly enhanced France's international image at least in immediate European circles. Despite criticism too, the gates of Spain were open for further contacts.

Of the three events this last one is perhaps the least important but again it gave rise to excuses for military glorification by the younger generation. For some writers of the early nineteenth century it was the "ease of this military promenade" (19) which brought most glory. Literary France was ready to turn its gaze on a country such as Spain and the military contacts drew the attention of the whole of France to the other side of the Pyrenees.

Our main interest here is in imaginative literature with Spanish themes and settings, but other literary works deserve consideration first. They show the various definite stages by which historical events enter literature and give rise to creative works.

The first of these stages is composed of literature which is very closely linked to the military operations in the Peninsula. Soldiers and officers wrote mémoires

(19) J.P.F. Bury, France 1814-1940, London, 3rd Edition (reprinted) 1959, p. 31.

and récits de guerre . These are dealt with in detail by Victor L. Leathers in l'Espagne et les Espagnols dans l'oeuvre d'Honoré de Balzac . (20)

Leathers notes the appearance of typical reminiscences on the wars in Spain and quotes Mes Rémiscences de l'Espagne par le Petit Diable Boiteux (21) and Mémoires d'un apothicaire sur l'Espagne pendant les guerres de 1808-1814 (22) which covered many aspects of life in Spain and included observations on customs and traditions. Leathers summarises:

"C'est un tableau vraiment remarquable qu'il nous présente; il n'a rien oublié, depuis le petit scapulaire que sa maîtresse lui donne, et qui le protège contre les insultes de la canaille, jusqu'au vaste panorama de la retraite de Séville des troupes françaises encombrées de leur butin, de leurs suivantes, de leurs alliés espagnols, une caravane douloureuse." (23)

Among the military littérateurs of this period, mention must be made of Narcisse-Achille, comte de Salvandy (1795-1856) who contributed articles to the Journal des Débats and was inspired by the 1823 invasion to write Du parti à prendre envers l'Espagne and a long novel Don Alonso, ou l'Espagne (1824) which contested the correctness of the decision taken by France to move troops into Spain with the expedition of 1823. Isidore-Justin, baron Taylor (1789-1879), also a veteran of the war in Spain, wrote after his second visit his

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- (20) Victor L. Leathers, l'Espagne et les Espagnols dans l'oeuvre d'Honoré de Balzac , Paris, 1931.
 (21) Mes reminiscences de l'Espagne, par le Petit Diable boiteux , Paris, 1823.
 (22) Sébastien Blaze, Mémoires d'un apothicaire sur la guerre d'Espagne, 1808-1814 , Paris, 1828. This is the correct title, not as Leathers above, op.cit., p. 33.
 (23) Leathers, op.cit., p.34.

Voyage pittoresque en Espagne (1826-27) which was to be surpassed by Gautier and others at a later date.

This vast field of literature, essentially military in its conception, provided information and inspiration to the writers of the time. To his study on Balzac Leathers appended a list of thirty-seven typical writings on the wars in Spain. (24) To this list may be added la Guerre d'Espagne by Victor Hugo, (25) in which the poet praises the expedition to the Trocadero in Cádiz. Hugo at this time was an ardent supporter of royalist causes. The poem bears an epigram Sine clade victor (Victory without massacre.) Pierre Albouy makes this further comment:

"On pourrait dire sans combat! La "guerre" d'Espagne fut une promenade militaire. Pourtant, de grandes fêtes célébrèrent, à Paris, les victoires du drapeau blanc." (26)

Hugo believed that only good, notably for the artistic relationship of the two countries, could come of this expedition.

"Préparez, Castillans, des fêtes solennelles,
Des murs de Saragosse aux champs d'Almonacid.
Mêlez à vos lauriers vos palmes fraternelles;
Chantez Bayard; - chantons le Cid!
Qu'au vieil Escorial le vieux Louvre réponde;
Que votre drapeau se confonde
A nos drapeaux victorieux;
Que Gadès édifie un autel sur sa plage!
Que de lui-même, aux monts d'où se leva Pélage,
S'allume un feu mystérieux!" (27)

(24) Leathers, op.cit., Appendice A, pp. 155-157.

(25) Victor Hugo, la Guerre d'Espagne, written in November, 1823.

(26) Hugo, Oeuvres Poétiques, I, Avant l'Exil, Préface par Gaëton Picon, Edition établie et annotée par Pierre Albouy, Paris, 1964, p. 1244.

(27) Hugo, Oeuvres Poétiques I, pp. 354-359.

This stanza illuminates one of the typical instances of synecdoche of the time - the date of the manuscript is 13 November 1823 - Hugo wrote "préparez Castellans" and then refers to two cities, Saragosse and Almonacid which are in fact in Aragón. The word 'castillan' remained the synonym of 'espagnol' for a considerable time.

The second stage of this literary development comprises récits de voyages which are not essentially military. At this point it is necessary to emphasize that this development is in no way chronological, for mémoires on the wars in Spain continued to appear until 1829, whereas le Trappiste , which is the first poem of note to use material in a romantic manner, dates from 1822. Raymond Foulché-Delbosc (28) has noted no fewer than fifty-seven journeys into Spain reported and written in French between 1808 and 1850. Many others which appeared originally in German, Italian, Spanish or English have French translations noted.

These reports of journeys were an important contributing factor in the growth in popularity of Spanish themes and subjects. The variety of these reports is remarkable; and range from Souvenirs de Chasse by Louis Viardot (29) to specialised reports on botany, minerals and the state of Spain "telle qu'elle est sous les pouvoirs religieux et monarchiques." (30)

Although individual récits could be consulted for information on special topics, two works stand out as having had the broadest general influence during this

(28) Raymond Foulché-Delbosc, "Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et en Portugal," Revue Hispanique , III, 1896, pp. 1-349.

(29) Louis Viardot, Souvenirs de Chasse , Paris, 1823.

(30) Raymond Faure, Souvenirs du Midi, ou l'Espagne telle qu'elle est sous les pouvoirs religieux et monarchiques , Paris, 1831.

period. The first of these is by Alexandre de Laborde.(31) This was a magnificent work published between 1806 and 1820 in four volumes. Laborde travelled throughout Spain with a group of artists who, as well as himself, were to supply illustrations. He studied the ancient monuments and cities and produced what has been called a "statistique monumentale de l'Espagne." (32) The work was commissioned by means of subscriptions, the King of Spain having subscribed to one hundred and fifty, but the fall of the monarchy, the blockade and war threw the cost almost entirely on to Laborde.

Another influential work was the book produced by the duchesse d'Abrantès (33) whom Balzac had met at the home of Mme Surville and also in the salon of Mme Sophie Gay. (34) As the wife of the Ambassador to Spain the Duchesse had travelled a great deal in the peninsula; she knew and recounted many stories about the Spanish Royal family and the conduct of French troops. Her influence was considerable, particularly upon Balzac.

But more than at any other time Spain attracts travellers who are able to present their views in an interesting and distinctive manner, and who were prepared to make the effort of coming to terms with Spain, as Jules Bertaut points out:

(31) Alexandre-Louis-Joseph de Laborde, Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne, Paris, 1806-1820. Also published in Spanish, (Madrid, 1807) and German (Leipzig, 1809-1811). Both translations were of volume I only.

{32} Foulché-Delbosc, op.cit., p. 163.

(33) Mme Laure-Junot d'Abrantès, Mémoires de Mme la Duchesse d'Abrantès, ou souvenirs historiques sur Napoléon, la Revolution, le Directoire, le Consulat, l'Empire et la Restauration. Paris, 1831-1835. Also published as Souvenirs d'une ambassade et d'un séjour en Espagne et en Portugal, de 1808 à 1811, Paris, 1837.

(34) Madame Sophie Gay was one of the persons to whom the

"Est-il exagéré de souligner .., depuis combien peu de temps l'Espagne a été vraiment 'découverte' par nos écrivains? Ce sol toujours un peu rude à parcourir, mystérieux jadis, hostile même à l'étranger, ne s'est jamais offert avec cette nonchalance souriante que mettait l'Italie, par exemple, à se donner à nous. Il a fallu toujours plus ou moins le conquérir pour le posséder, et il n'en a été que plus cher à ceux qui ont tenté l'entreprise, mais tous les voyageurs français ne sont pas aventureux et patients." (35)

Before the Romantic period the occasional traveller, among them Saint-Simon (36) and Mme. d'Aulnoy, had produced work which was to last, but:

"-que sont ces voyageurs isolés en comparaison de la petite cohorte littéraire qui va envahir l'Espagne dès le début du romantisme? Heureux écrivains de cette époque ... ils auront découvert une Espagne unique pour sa beauté farouche et son originalité étourdissante." (37)

It is not possible here to comment on all the mémoires and journals written during the first half of the nineteenth century. Not all are significant and in order to complete the elements of this aspect of the literary scene mention will be made only of those travellers who made an appreciable contribution to other genres of literature and in whose imaginative writings the image of Spain appears.

Marquis de Custine had addressed letters from Spain. Others were Mme. Girardin, Mlle Bowles, Mme Récamier and Nodier. The letters, some sixty in all, were published as l'Espagne sous Ferdinand VII, Paris, 1838.

(35) Jules Bertaut, "l'Espagne et les voyageurs français," Le Temps, 10 November 1932.

(36) Louis de Rouvray, duc de Saint-Simon, Mémoires du duc de Saint-Simon, sur le règne de Louis XIV, et sur les premières époques des règnes suivants, Marseille, 1788.

(37) Bertaut, loc.cit.

PROSPER MERIMÉE (1803-1870) made his first journey to Spain in 1830. He had long been interested in the country and had already written le Théâtre de Clara Gazul (38) and the Etude sur Cervantes. (39) He was to spend five months in Spain, a part of his life which is well documented by the authoritative works of Trahard. (40) Mérimée travelled extensively in the peninsula and in this brief sojourn gleaned many details of life in the provinces of Castilla, Andalucia and Valencia. There are many documents extant which deal with this journey in the form of letters to the Countess Montijo, Albert Stapfer, Jenny Dacquín and one letter to Sophie Duvaucel. His letters to the Director of the Revue de Paris were published in that review and later appeared in Mosaïque and Dernières Nouvelles. (41)

The first letter has as its central theme the bullfight, which Mérimée witnessed with enthusiasm although not with analytical eye of a Gautier. But it is clear that his enthusiasm is directed more towards the people involved in such spectacles, men like the picador Antonio de Sevilla and the matador Montés. (42) Other letters also deal with the element of human participation; he describes a hanging, highway robbers and witches,

Mérimée's fourth, and last, letter appeared in 1833, which was followed during the next eight years

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- (38) Prosper Mérimée, le Théâtre de Clara Gazul, first published Paris, 1825.
- (39) Mérimée, Etude sur Cervantes, first published 1826, as preface to Filleau de Saint-Martin's translation of Don Quijote.
- (40) Pierre Trahard, la Jeunesse de Prosper Mérimée, Paris, 1925, (2 vols). Prosper Merimee de 1834 à 1853, Paris, 1928. La Vieillesse de Prosper Merimée, Paris, 1930.
- (41) Mérimée, Mosaïque, first published, Paris, 1833. Dernières Nouvelles, first published Paris, 1873.
- (42) Antonio de Sevilla and Montes were seen by Gautier also.

by several works of secondary importance, among them Edouard Magnien's Excursion en Espagne (1836-1838), and Antoine-Etienne Fontaney's Scènes de la vie castillane et andalouse (1835). (43)

GEORGE SAND's account, Un Hiver à Majorque published in 1841, has left what is perhaps the most romantic image of Spain. (44) She was not in Mallorca to observe the scenery, but nevertheless found a décor which the words of Jules Bertaut describe so well:

"Quel Byron rêva plus beau décor pour encadrer un épisode de sa vie que cette chartreuse abandonnée de Valdemosa? Cloître énorme, couloirs vides, site sauvage, exubérance de la gloire méridionale dans le jardin..." (45)

She describes the environs of Valdemosa and as many romantics had done, picked up the violent contrasts of light and shade which characterised all levels of life in Spain and the Islas Baleares. Her comments are those of a person who has come into close contact with the land and the people - "George Sand était fort occupée en raison de tous ces soucis d'ordre ménager et alimentaire." (46) Chopin was seriously ill during their stay and the group - George Sand, Frédéric Chopin, Solange and Maurice - were forced to change accommodation several times. Un Hiver à Majorque is complemented by

(43) The following are the dates of publication of the four letters in question:

1. No title, Revue de Paris, January, 1831, p. 30.
2. No title, Revue de Paris, March, 1831, p. 93.
3. "Les Voleurs en Espagne", Revue de Paris, August, 1832. p. 211.
4. "Les sorcières espagnoles", Revue de Paris, December, 1833, p. 288.

(44) George Sand, (1804-1876), "Voyage dans le Midi de l'Europe: un hiver à Majorque", Revue des Deux Mondes, XXV, 1841, pp. 165-192, 499-532, 781-837.

(45) Bertaut, loc.cit.

(46) Marcel Godeau, le Voyage à Majorque de George Sand et Frédéric Chopin, Paris, 1959, p. 129.

other correspondence and George Sand does not hesitate to contradict the "reliable guide" (47) with comments which have the appearance of being as true as they are frank. This was a complex period of George Sand's life. There were difficulties concerning her separation, difficulties with money, with Malesville, Chopin, the children and in addition to these mundane affairs, her work was in a period of transition which was leading to the series of romances of country life. Her writings on Spain are more a reflection of her own extraordinary courage and perseverance than an image of life and characters of Spain.

GAUTIER's Tra los Montes (48) is generally regarded as the most reliable account of Spain in this period (49) and can be contrasted with others in several ways. Hugo (50) had seen but little of Spain and Mérimée was not interested in paysages pittoresques, but with the eye of a painter Gautier undertakes the journey which Hugo would have wished for. (51)

Gautier describes churches, museums, streets, houses and local customs in detail. He analyses all aspects of the country which make it differ from France and becomes more Spanish than the Spaniards, a nineteenth century Alban de Bricoule, (52) but does find it possible to

(47) Ibid., p. 111.

(48) Théophile Gautier, (1811-1872), Voyage en Espagne (Tra los montes), first published 1843.

(49) André Girard, "l'Espagne et les lettres françaises," Mercure de France, XLVII, 15 November 1937, pp.67-89 and Pierre Jourda, "l'Exotisme dans la littérature française depuis le Romantisme," Revue des Cours et Conférences, année scolaire 1936-1937, 3e année, 1ère série, pp. 560-576 and pp. 649-667.

(50) Jourda, "l'Exotisme dans la littérature française depuis le Romantisme," p. 651.

(51) Jourda, op.cit., p. 651.

(52) cf. Gautier Voyage en Espagne, Paris, 1904, pp. 208 and 359.

observe minutely the contrasts of the land and its inhabitants:

"Le Valencien avec son teint cuivré, ses larges braies blanches, ses pieds chaussés d'alpargates, le Manchego avec sa veste brune, sa ceinture rouge, sa culotte courte, ses bas de couleur, sa cravate nouée en sautoir et son escopette fixée à l'arçon de la selle, l'Andalou avec son chapeau à bords retroussés et arrondis ornés de deux pompons de soie..." (53)

Gautier was also able by his skill in handling the content and the French language to invest something as languorous as the siesta with an urgency and strength seldom to be encountered in prose:

"La pavé brûle, les marteaux de fer des portes rougissent, une averse de fer semble pleuvoir du ciel ... la terre se fend comme l'émail d'un poêle trop chauffé, les cigales font grincer leur corselet ... les boutiques se ferment et pour tout l'or du monde vous ne décideriez pas un marchand à vous vendre quelque chose." (54)

QUINET's Mes vacances en Espagne, (55) which was published in 1846, appeared between Tra los Montes and Alexandre Dumas' Impressions de Voyage. De Paris à Cadix. (56) Three travel books, three points of view and three styles entirely different the one from the other. Most travellers in Spain commented at length upon the natural scenery; Quinet in this respect follows Chateaubriand - he notes the desolation of the Castilian plateau, the brilliance of the light in Andalucía. He describes Burgos and the Escorial, and admires - again as Chateaubriand had done - Granada. However, despite the colourful pages of Mes Vacances en Espagne, Gautier's

(53) Jourda, "l'Exotisme dans la littérature française depuis le romantisme", p. 658 and (n)2, p. 658.

(54) Gautier, Voyage en Espagne, p. 182.

(55) Edgar Quinet, (1803-1875), Mes vacances en Espagne Paris, 1846.

(56) Alexandre Dumas, Impressions de voyage. De Paris

descriptions had contained more detail and, although this is scarcely a literary consideration, were of greater value as a guide to monuments and museums.

Quinet soon discovered that he was able to establish a sympathetic understanding with the people of Spain, and the best and most original part of his work is that in which he reflects the results of his enquiry into "l'Espagne vivante de son temps." (57) However, Mes Vacances en Espagne is not to be regarded as a simple récit de voyage, as Boudout concludes:

"Quinet a trop vu sans doute l'avenir, et parfois le présent de l'Espagne, à travers ses conceptions personnelles et ses préoccupations du moment. Il reste à son honneur de ne pas s'être borné à l'aspect extérieur des choses si brillant qu'il put être; d'avoir eu le goût bien moderne de chercher un peuple non pas seulement dans son passé, mais dans les modes d'action de sa vie présente; de l'avoir abordé enfin avec une réelle chaleur d'âme; d'avoir souhaité pour lui un grand destin." (58)

DUMAS (1802-1870) on the other hand has left us a much more personalised account of his journey made in the company of six others, three of whom also wrote accounts of the journey. (59)

à Cadix, Paris 1847-1848.

(57) Jean Boudout, "Edgar Quinet et l'Espagne," Revue de littérature comparée, XVI, 1936, p. 85.

(58) Boudout, op.cit., p. 90.

(59) Accompanying Dumas on this journey were his son (1824-1895), Auguste Maquet (1813-1888), Adolphe Desbarolles, Eugène Giraud, Louis Boulanger (1806-1867) and Amédée Achard. Written accounts of the journey are: Adolphe Desbarolles (1801-1886) et Eugène Giraud (1806-1881), les Deux artistes en Espagne, Paris, 1855.

Amédée Achard (1814-1875) Un mois en Espagne (octobre 1846), Paris, 1847. (Republished, Paris, 1869 with the title La vie errante.) cf. Jean Sarrailh "Le Voyage en Espagne d'Alexandre Dumas Père," Bulletin Hispanique, Vol. XXX, 1928, No. 4, p. 289-327.

In his book Dumas notes the adventures of the small group of travellers in the towns where they stopped as well as describing landscapes and monuments of interest. The most interesting pages are those devoted to the often embellished activities of Dumas and his companions and to the literary reminiscences inspired in Burgos, the land of the Cid, or in Sevilla, Don Juan's city. In this way Dumas also follows a trend set by Chateaubriand. He followed Théophile Gautier even more closely and entire paragraphs resemble parts of Tra los montes not only in the general enthusiastic tone but also in minor descriptive or historical details.

After Dumas there were of course others but of minor importance. Among these were Antoine de Latour's report of his journey in Andalucía in 1848 (60) and Alexis de Valon's account of his visit to the same area. (61)

At last the country had been seen and examined in detail, but it appeared that there had been none of the wholesale dissipation of hopes and dreams which Gautier had feared:

"Encore quelques tours de roue. Je vais peut-être perdre une de mes illusions et voir s'envoler l'Espagne de mes rêves, l'Espagne du Romancero, des ballades de Victor Hugo, et des contes d'Alfred de Musset."

for as Gautier crossed the frontier he recalled the question put to him by Henri Heine:

"Comment ferez-vous pour parler de l'Espagne quand vous y serez allé?" (62)

(60) Antoine de Latour, Etudes sur l'Espagne - Séville et l'Andalousie, Paris, 1855.

(61) Alexis de Valon, "l'Andalousie à vol d'oiseau," la Revue des Deux Mondes, 1 December 1849, pp. 761-805.

(62) Gautier, Voyage en Espagne, p. 17.

At this point the special case of Alfred de Vigny should be noted. His writings on Spain, which will be discussed with others of the period, do not easily fit into any classification which can be clearly defined. Although historical novels were in fashion at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Balzac in the Feuilleton des Journaux Politiques of 1830 complained that their quality was not high. Balzac placed Vigny's Cinq Mars as the best. Between 1822 and 1830 Vigny makes several references to Spain. The country held a special attraction for the poet - he had hoped to achieve military glory in the Spanish expedition but his regiment was stopped at Pau and remained there. Vigny was never to enter Spain and thus had to rely on written sources for the information he used in le Trappiste, Dolorida and Cinq Mars.

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While writers and artists were filling their notebooks with details upon which they could draw later and which would also be available for others, the influence of Spanish literature - which was to form the third stage of this growth of interest in Spain - was expanding, following the work of critics, translators and literary historians.

Interest in Spanish literature had diminished through the eighteenth century, but with other factors already mentioned a renewal of interest developed in the early years of the nineteenth century to complement and reinforce developments which had taken place in other fields. And yet, although works on Spanish literature had appeared during this time, the direct sources remained the same as those which had been utilised in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The reason for this is clearly stated by Van Tieghem:

"La littérature espagnole n'avait plus produit depuis longtemps de chef-d'oeuvre de portée internationale et ne s'était guère renouvelée depuis le XVII^e siècle."(63)

In 1812 Bouterwek's history of Spanish literature(64) had been translated into French and this remained the most authoritative work until George Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature appeared in 1849. (65) Although Bouterwek's work is not complete as it was very difficult to obtain Spanish texts in Germany at the time, Thomas Hart has shown how superior this work was to its predecessors Nicolás Antonio, Sarmiento and Velasquez.(66) Bouterwek's importance lies in the fact that he brought out in his writings many of the individual characteristics of Spanish literature, above all, the powerful role of love, violence of passion, the pundonor, the piety of the nation and the strength of the Arab tradition, all of them facets of Spanish life and history which held particular appeal for the Romantics and represent influential and lasting "images." Sismondi's De la littérature du midi de l'Europe followed mainly in the classical mode of criticism and in this work he comments

(63) Van Tieghem, op.cit., p.205.

(64) Friedrich Bouterwek, l'Histoire de la littérature espagnole, see note 5 supra, p.4.

(65) George Ticknor, History of Spanish Literature, 3 vols, New York, 1849. This was translated into French by J.G. Magnabal, in 1864. A Spanish version, translated by D.P. de Gayangos and D.E. de Vedia with additional notes, had appeared Madrid 1851. Magnabal includes these additional notes in his translation.

(66) Thomas R. Hart, Jr., "Friedrich Bouterwek, a pioneer historian of Spanish Literature," Comparative Literature, vol V, 1953, p.351-361. Hart refers to Nicolás Antonio, Bibliotheca hispana nova, 2 vols, Madrid, 1783. Martin Sarmiento, Memorias para la historia de la poesía, y poetas españoles, Madrid,

on the restricted vogue of Spanish literature, remarking that "Les Allemands seuls se sont occupés avec zèle de l'histoire littéraire de l'Espagne." (67) In 1814 Mme Necker de Saussure had translated Cours de littérature by A.W. Schegel, a work which contained few new facts but which presented these in a manner more acceptable to nascent Romanticism. One should also note the appearance of l'Histoire de l'Inquisition which Llorente published in Paris in 1817-1820. Also of importance to this revival of interest in Spanish literature was Ladvoat's Chefs d'oeuvres des théâtres étrangers in twenty-five volumes published in the period 1822-1823 which continued the pioneering work of Linguet. (68) Five volumes of Ladvoat's series are devoted to works by Spanish authors.

In addition to these works, which contributed to the re-establishment of Spain on the literary scene, translations from Spanish occupied an important place and were utilised by French writers for inspiration and as models. Works of Spanish literature from earlier centuries were presented in new editions - among these the Poema del Cid, la Celestina, Lazarillo de Tormes, and Guzman de Alfarache. But perhaps the most significant is the new translation of l'Histoire chevalresque des Maures de Grenade. Sané's translation, or more correctly adaptation - considered by him to be not a roman but a true history - renewed interest in themes popular in previous centuries. (69)

1775, and Luis Joseph Velasquez, Geschichte der spanischen Dichtkunst (translated by Johann Andreas Dieze) Göttingen, 1769.

(67) J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi, De la littérature du Midi de l'Europe. Paris, 1813, Vol III, p.100.

(68) Simon-Nicholas-Henri Linguet, Théâtre espagnole, Paris, 1770.

(69) Jean Cazenave, "le Roman hispano-mauresque en France," Revue de littérature comparée, V, 1925, pp.625-626.

In 1814 Cr euz  de Lesser published le Cid, Romances espagnoles imit es en romances fran aises and in 1822 Abel Hugo perpetuated several misconceptions with his Romances historiques, traduites de l'espagnol. These misconceptions were given further currency by Victor Hugo's enthusiastic utilisation of his brother's doubtful texts.

It is in this period that one finds the work of the precursors of the modern school of Hispanists, and Louis Viardot's significant publications between 1834 and 1836 amply substantiate the contention that the awakening of interest in Hispanic studies in France was not simply a result of university development. (70)

Among other Hispanists of note whose works were published in this period are Alexandre de Laborde and Rosseeuw de Saint-Hilaire (1805-1889) the author of Histoire d'Espagne depuis les premiers temps historiques jusqu'  la mort de Ferdinand VII. (71)

Damas-Hinard (1805-1891) and Germont de Lavigne (1812-1896) were known particularly for their translations. Damas-Hinard translated Calder n's plays; these appeared in translation between 1841 and 1843, works by Lope de Vega in 1842 and le Romancero General in 1844. Germont de Lavigne is best known for his translation of la Celestina of 1844. Some consideration should also be given to the work of Chatelain (72) and D.J.M. Maury. (73)

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- (70) Sister A.C. Coutu, Hispanism in France from Morel-Fatio to the present (Circa 1875-1950), Washington 1954, p. 9.
- (71) Eug ne Fran ois Achille Rosseeuw Saint-Hilaire, Histoire d'Espagne depuis les premiers temps historiques jusqu'  la mort de Ferdinand VII, 5 vols, Paris, 1837.
- (72) Chatelain, see note 58, Chapter X.
- (73) Espagne po tique, choix de po sies castellanes, mis en vers par D.J.M. Maury, Paris, 1826.

These were the precursors of the modern school of Hispanists the work of whom will be briefly surveyed in a subsequent section.

Never before had such a wealth of information been available on Spain; the country was no longer unknown and the series of events outlined, both political and literary, hastened the change from the literature of war to imaginative literature. This change was accomplished in a short time, but it must again be mentioned that this was not a chronological development. As early as 1823 Félix Davin had written le Crapaud, roman espagnol (74) which has as its subject the adventures of a young officer in the expedition of 1823 and Salvandy's Don Alonso had been written in 1824.(75). Hugo's novel Bug Jargal (76) is an interesting comment on Spanish colonialism and contains many Spanish words and phrases, but this does not mean that Spain was no longer a mystery. The country was no longer unknown perhaps, but it was new, and Hugo's words in En Voyage: Alpes et Pyrenées sum up the feeling current at this time:

"Pays unique où l'incompatible se marie à tout moment, à tout bout de champ, à tout coin de rue."(77)

As an epigraph to le Crapaud Davin also attempted a synthesis of many views by republishing the text of an ancient ballad:

"Soleil joyeux, sombres courtines,
Larges manteaux, courtes basquines,
Noirs repaires, roses boudoirs,
Cris menaçants, molles oeillades,
Doux sourires, arquebuscades,
Fracas des jours; calme des soirs.

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- (74) Félix Davin, le Crapaud, roman espagnol, Paris, n.d. [1823].
- (75) Narcisse-Achille, comte de Salvandy, Don Alonso ou l'Espagne, Paris, 1824.
- (76) Hugo, Bug Jargal, written 1818 published (le Courrier) 1826. cf. François Piétri, "l'Espagne de Victor Hugo," Revue des Deux Mondes, XVI, 15 August. 1951, p. 601-618.
- (77) Hugo, En Voyage, Alpes et Pyrenées, Paris, 1891, p.182.

Affreux brigands sur la montagne,
Sous l'oranger tendre compagne,
Taureaux cornus, époux trahis,
Moines cafards, nonnes gentilles,
Coeurs pleins d'amour, austères grilles...
C'est l'Espagne... Quel beau pays!" (78)

This background of reviving interest is thus very complex and it is no easy task to make clear distinctions regarding influences and impossible to establish a strict chronology. The literary scene in general was in ferment and this particular aspect of literary interest reflects the same general state of unrest. Against the constantly changing background certain texts will need to be examined in an attempt to ascertain the kind of general image of Spain which was presented to the reading public between 1800 and 1850 in imaginative literature.

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(78) Davin, le Crapaud, épigraphe.

- THE IMAGE 1800 - 1850 -

"L'Espagne fut toujours la providence des amateurs de paysages littéraires." (1)

During the Romantic era, the dogma of couleur locale, which had been fixed by Chateaubriand, was continued and developed, yet Spain offered much more than simply paysages littéraires. All aspects of life beyond the Pyrenées was potential basic material, to be moulded and changed as the artist willed. In his study on Emile Deschamps, Gustave Lanson has shown how the Romantic spirit became attached to couleur locale and reinforced it, and how writers sought to represent in their works as many aspects of cadre and décor as they could find. (2) The Romantics were faced with many problems in this representation and some of the difficulties are examined

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- 1) Jean Boudout, "Edgar Quinet et l'Espagne," Revue de littérature comparée, XVI, 1936, p.83.
 - 2) Gustave Lanson, "Emile Deschamps et le Romancero: étude sur l'invention de la couleur locale dans la poésie romantique." Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, 1899, pp. 1-20.

by J.W. Hovenkamp in Mérimée et la couleur locale. (3)
 It is clear that in images involving descriptions of the natural features of the land of Spain, background and authenticity of environment play an important role in the expression of exoticism in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In their attempts to present Spain as a living background authors achieved varying levels of success. Jules Bertaut reveals that one of the problems was over-exuberance:

"On s'en aperçoit mieux en feuilletant les relations des auteurs de second ordre qui foisonnent. Edgar Quinet, dans un ouvrage intitulé Mes vacances en Espagne, s'est abandonné à la joie délirante d'accumuler toutes les épithètes, toutes les exclamations, tous les superlatifs que pouvait évoquer la vieille terre ibérique, mais il ne parvient guère, hélas! à la ressusciter. (4)

There was, as has been noted previously, a vast reservoir of knowledge recorded in French, which was available to anyone who wished to utilise the theme of Spain in a literary work. This compilation was not of pure fact, if indeed such a thing exists, but was coloured by the political and artistic temperament of the age of its creation. This point is developed further by Hovenkamp:

"Comme dans toute littérature on reconnaît deux courants, le courant réaliste et le courant idéaliste, de même une première distinction s'impose pour la couleur locale. Elle peut être soit réaliste ou objective et reproduire plus ou moins exactement la réalité d'après les données de l'observation directe et de la

(3) J.W. Hovenkamp, Mérimée et la couleur locale, Paris, 1928.

(4) Jules Bertaut, "l'Espagne et les voyageurs français," le Temps, 10 November 1932.

science, soit idéaliste ou subjective et ne donner qu'une vision personnelle de l'auteur, produit de son intuition ou simplement de son imagination." (5)

In the physical landscape, relatively unchanging over the centuries, the Romantic poets and novelists were to find something upon which they could hang their étalage du moi. Sympathetic environments, landscapes which could be adapted as expressions of emotion, these were sought all over the world. Exoticism was not a new facet of literature discovered around 1820 - but the old idea put to a new use.

For hundreds of years scholars and artists have sought the origins of national character in the physical environment. This theme is found as early as Hippocrates and was further developed in the Renaissance to gain even greater intellectual prestige with the writings of Montesquieu and Voltaire. Commonly writers and philosophers insisted that men and the institutions must be seen in relationship to their environment. While accepting this as a basis for enquiry, over-insistence on Darwinian concepts to explain differences in cultural levels, national characteristics and general economic activity led the Romantics into error. The present study while acknowledging the strength of the scientific movements of the early nineteenth century, will centre first on the landscape and physical environment as presented in literary works, before examining any expression of national character, thus following the pattern established in the previous section concerned with the works of Chateaubriand.

(5) Hovenkamp, op.cit., p.7.

In le Trappiste, (6) Vigny sets the scene by juxtaposing several elements which will become typical of the Romantic exotic landscape - dark mountains, shadows, the moon, reflections on a silvery lake. Spain, the land of mystery and passion; thus it was conceived and will remain. Events of significance - passionate or political - take place at night.

"C'était une des nuits qui des feux de l'Espagne
Par des froids bienfaisants consolent la campagne:
L'ombre était transparente, et le lac argenté
Brillait à l'horizon sous un voile enchanté.
Une lune immobile éclairait les vallées
Où des citronniers verts serpentent les allées." (7)

Here the atmospheres is all important, as it is in Musset's setting of Don Paez:

"Tout était endormi;
La lune se levait; sa lueur souple et molle,
Glissant aux trèfles gris de l'ogive espagnole,
Sur les pâles velours et le marbre changeant
Mêlait aux flammes d'or ses longs rayons d'argent."(8)

There is nothing in the opening lines of Vigny's poem which geographically fixes the location, but among these mysterious dramatic shapes there is one which overshadows all others:

"Mais aucun n'égalaît dans sa magnificence
Le Mont-Serrat, Paré de toute sa puissance." (9)

The power of the mountain is emphasised. This was the Mons Serratus, jagged and deeply eroded. In an extended image the mountain is invested with human or indeed heroic characteristics.

(6) Alfred de Vigny, le Trappiste, written 1822 at Courbevoie, published October 1822 "en plaquette"; appeared in Poèmes antiques et modernes, 1826.

(7) Vigny, le Trappiste, vv. 1-6.

(8) Alfred de Musset, Don Paez, vv. 44-48. This poem, written in 1829, appeared first in Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie in 1830.

(9) Le Trappiste, vv. 13-14.

"Quand les nuages blancs sur son dos arrondi
Roulaient leurs flots chassés par le vent du Midi,
Les brisant sur son front, comme un nageur habile
Le géant semblait fuir sous ce rideau mobile;" (10)

Vigny uses this awe-inspiring décor to lead in to the subject of the poem. The incident is an historic one. Ferdinand VII had agreed in 1820 to a constitution for the cortes. The French monarchists began a campaign for armed intervention which would re-establish him on the throne - even against his wishes. Vigny celebrates in this poem the heroism of a Spanish monk, Antonio Marañna (11) who, having gathered together a band of peasants, wished to take arms for the protection of royal absolutism. A young soldier announces to the assembly of revolutionaries that the king has capitulated. The monk, beaten before the fight could begin, resigns himself in advance to the inevitable humiliation which feeble monarchs bring to fanatic monarchists, proclaiming at the end his attachment to the sacred cause - "car tout vient du Seigneur, et tout retourne à lui." (12)

The dramatic actuality of this poem is inextricably linked with the physical dominance of the mountain. Historically there is a pathetic note. It was Ferdinand VII who authorised the rebuilding of the monastery of the Benedictines on Monserrat where they had been since 976. The French army had pillaged the monastery and partly destroyed the library in 1811. In 1835 the monastery was finally abandoned.

When the fateful news is brought to the gathered crowd the elements of physical landscape and emotion are brought together and Vigny puts the final touches to an

(10) Le Trappiste, vv. 15-18.

(11) Not Antonio Moravon as stated by Victor L. Leathers, in l'Espagne et les Espagnols dans l'oeuvre d'Honoré de Balzac, Paris, 1931, p.40.

(12) Le Trappiste, v.220.

image which links the power of the mountain and the spiritual strength of indefatigable Spain:

"Ainsi, se relevant, l'infatigable Espagne
Fait sortir des héros du creux de la montagne." (13)

The atmosphere of the mountain is utilised in a similar way by Balzac in El Verdugo. In this conte the action takes place in the small town of Menda on the Spanish coast; and again we are introduced to the physical setting at night:

"Le clocher de la petite ville de Menda venait de sonner minuit. En ce moment, un jeune officier français, appuyé sur le parapet d'une longue terrasse qui bordait les jardins du château de Menda, paraissait abîmé dans une contemplation plus profonde que ne le comportait l'insouciance de la vie militaire; mis il faut dire aussi que jamais, heure, site et nuit ne furent plus propices à la méditation. Le beau ciel d'Espagne étendait un dôme d'azur au-dessus de sa tête. Le scintillement des étoiles et la douce lumière de la lune éclairaient une vallée délicieuse qui se déroulait coquettement à ses pieds." (14)

The story epitomises the ferocity of the campaign of 1809 and at the same time vividly evokes the outstanding traits of Spanish character. As a result of a plot against the French occupation forces, the young French officer Marchand, having once been helped to escape by Clara the daughter of the Léganès, is charged with the task of restoring order in the region. The inhabitants of small villages are put to death if they offer any resistance but Menda surrenders. The price is high. In order to spare the lives of the inhabitants the leaders offer themselves for execution as long as one member of their family, the youngest, Juanito, is spared. The

(13) Le Trappiste, vv. 44-46.

(14) Honoré de Balzac, El Verdugo, written 1830. In Contes Philosophiques, edited Paul Bourget, London, n.d., p.230.

general agrees on condition that Juanito acts as executioner. Balzac, particularly in the final paragraphs of this story, depicts the nobility of spirit with which the members of the family face death. Juanito "accablé sous le fardeau de son admirable forfait" (15) is left to await the birth of his second son, an event which will allow him to rejoin the shadows which accompany him.

The mountain ranges of Spain have always held a special attraction for writers since the recognition of latent environmental power in la Chanson de Roland. Here was a powerful image which could be invested with all kinds of emotive attachments. At the same time the aridity of Spain is symbolised and the contrasts of the landscape described. Mérimée wrote:

"Arrangez des montagnes, des rochers, des châteaux en ruines, la mer (que vous peindrez avec le cobalt, le plus bleu) et un ciel tantôt d'un azur foncé, tantôt chargé de nuages d'orage bien noirs. N'allez pas vous aviser de mettre des arbres dans le paysage: les arbres lui ôteraient tout son caractère espagnol. Je vous permets les aloès et les cactus, nopals, higa, chumbera, dont je vous souhaite manger les fruits, avec de l'herbe sèche et quelques buissons par ci par là." (16)

This absence of trees, noted frequently in travellers' accounts, also attracted the attention of the authorities in Spain from about 1750. A law was passed by the Council of Castilla which was to force each inhabitant to plant five trees. However, it appears that the peasants remained suspicious of trees as Bourgoing has noted.

"Le voeu du gouvernement n'en fut pas moins trompé. En quelques endroits la malveillance, en plusieurs le préjugé, établit surtout dans la

(15) El Verdugo, p. 242.

(16) Prosper Mérimée, Correspondance générale, Paris, 1941, Letter to Sophie Duvaucel, 8 October, 1830, pp. 76-77.

vieille Castille, que les arbres attirent les oiseaux destructeurs des grains; en beaucoup d'autres, la maladresse rendit la mesure inefficace; ici les arbres qui commençaient à réussir, étaient coupés par les passans; là on en transplantait des lieux où ils prospéraient dans d'autres où ils ont péri faute de soins." (17)

It is in part the nudity of the landscape which encouraged writers to develop the physical affinities between Africa and Spain:

"Les grandes plaines tabulaires, les "páramos" de la meseta, paysage essentiel de l'Espagne, sont identiques à celle de la Meseta marocaine, elles sont, ou paraissent, nues..." (18)

The theories advanced by Bourgoing may also be found in the works of the Marquis de Custine and Roger de Beauvoir and although they may have a grain of truth in them when applied to the settled areas of Spain, hardly explain satisfactorily the vast expanses of Iberia sicca to the south of the Cantabrian cordillera. The causes are climatic, low rainfall and intensely hot, dry summers - conditions typical of about two thirds of the area of Spain. However, the observations are interesting and suggest genuine attempts at enquiry. Gautier also was impressed with the aridity of the landscape. In En allant à la Chartreuse de Miraflores written at Cartuja de Miraflores, he synthesises the landscape in a tightly knit sonnet:

"Oui c'est une montée âpre, longue et poudreuse,
Un revers décharné, vrai site de Chartreuse.
Les pierres du chemin, qui croulent sous les pieds,
Trompent à chaque instant les pas mal appuyés.
Pas un brin d'herbe vert, pas une teinte fraîche;
On ne voit que des murs bâtis en pierre sèche,

(17) Jean-François Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne moderne, 4th ed., Paris, 1807, Vol. I, p.41.

(18) Jean Sermet, l'Espagne du Sud, Paris, 1953, p.20.

Des groupes contrefaits d'oliviers rabougris,
 Au feuillage malsain couleur de vert-de-gris,
 Des pentes au soleil que nulle fleur n'égaie,
 Des roches de granit et des ravins de craie,
 Et l'on se sent le coeur de tristesse serré...
 Mais quand en est en haut, coup d'oeil inespéré!
 L'on aperçoit là-bas, dans le bleu de la plaine,
 L'église où dort le Cid près de dona Chimène!" (19)

Many details have been added to his original impression of the Cartuja de Miraflores. (20) The problem of the added image 'oliviers rabougris' has been commented on by Jasinski who concludes the "Le modèle peut être mal choisi, la couleur reste en partie vraie." (21)

Gautier also noted the harshness of the marble and granite of the mountain ranges, (22) the Sierra Morena, and in l'Escorial contrasts the work of the hand of man with the natural landscape:

"Posé comme un défi tout près d'une montagne,
 L'on aperçoit de loin dans la morne campagne,
 Le sombre Escorial." (23)

The emotive power of the mountains is noted in Dans la Sierra written in the Sierra Nevada, where the work of man is not as apparent:

"J'aime d'un fol amour, les monts fiers et sublimes!
 Les plantes n'osent pas poser leurs pieds frileux
 Sur le linceul d'argent qui recouvrent leurs cimes;
 Le soc s'émousserait à leurs pics anguleux.

Ni vigne au bas lascifs, ni blés dorés, ni seigles:
 Rien qui rappelle l'homme et le travail maudit.
 Dans leur air libre et pur nagent des essaims d'aigles,
 Et l'écho du rocher siffle l'air du bandit.

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- (19) Théophile Gautier, En allant à la Chartreuse de Miraflores, first published in Revue des Deux Mondes 15 September 1841.
 (20) cf. Théophile Gautier, Voyage en Espagne, Paris, 1904, pp. 53-55.
 (21) René Jasinski, l'España de Théophile Gautier, Paris, 1929, p.73.
 (22) Gautier, Italia, Paris, 1860, pp. 25-26.
 (23) Gautier, l'Escorial, first published la Presse, 3 September, 1840.

Ils ne rapportent rien et ne sont pas utiles;
 Ils n'ont que leur beauté, je le sais c'est bien peu,
 Mais moi, je les préfère aux champs gras et fertiles,
 Qui sont si loin du ciel qu'on n'y voit jamais Dieu." (24)

This notion of strength and nobility in isolation is developed further in le Poète et la foule which concludes with a parallel:

"L poète à son tour, répondait à la foule:
 Laissez mon pâle front appuyer sur sa main,
 N'ai-je pas de mon flanc, d'où mon âme s'écoule,
 Fait jaillir une source où boit le genre humain?" (25)

There is very little, apart from the known origins of these poems, which make them typical reflections of Spanish scenes or landscape. The secondary inspiration, the real message of these, could have resulted from close contact with mountain ranges in any country in the world. Martinenche had this possibly in mind when he wrote that Gautier really gets hold of the feel of Spain not when he is depicting landscape but when he writes in poetic forms which are Spanish in origin, as in Letrilla and Séguidille. le Cid et le Juif for instance is in the style of Sepúlveda. If there is, however, a general notion of landscape which could be Spanish in his España, the exactness of description we must extract from the less imaginative Tra los Montes. (26)

Just as Vigny had fixed upon two elements of ton local and used them in le Trappiste - the power of the Mountain and the mystery of moonlight on a shining lake - Gautier, in purely descriptive vein, notes in les Yeux

(24) Gautier, Dans la Sierra, first published Revue des Deux Mondes, 15 September 1841.

(25) Gautier, le Poète et la foule, first published in la Sylphide, 3 December 1840, vv. 13-16.

(26) Ernest Martinenche, l'Histoire de l'influence de l'Espagne sur la littérature française. l'Espagne et le romantisme français, Paris, 1922. p. 190.

bleus de la Montagne;

"On trouve dans les monts des lacs de quelques toises,
Purs comme des cristaux, bleus comme des turquoises."
(27)

The appearance of these lakes was recorded at the time and the poem was written very soon afterwards - "Ces flaques d'eau d'un bleu surprenant m'inspirèrent les deux strophes suivantes." (28) Gautier, like Hugo, often rearranged geography for the sake of rhyme and in la Petite fleur rose, based on observed reality - snowcapped mountains, clear streams, birds of prey - Gautier has added the observation:

"A l'horizon sans borne
Le grave Escorial
Lève son dôme morne,
Moir de l'ennui royal." (29)

But this is pure imagination - neither Madrid (stanza 3) nor the Escorial could be seen on the horizon.

The area surrounding Madrid is noted for its aridity, and Gautier isolated the main features of this landscape in Militona:

"Les environs de Madrid sont arides et désolés, une couleur terreuse revet les murailles des misérables constructions clairsemées le long des routes, ... A peine voit-on ça et là quelque trace de végétation. Les torrents desséchés rayent le sol d'affreuses cicatrices, les pentes et les collines n'offrent aucune verdure et forment un paysage en harmonie avec tous les sentiments tristes." (30)

A sympathetic scene, for through this barren landscape Juancho "ployant sous le poids de sa pensée" ran

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- (27) Gautier, les Yeux bleus de la montagne, first published la Presse, 21 August, 1840, vv. 1-2.
 (28) Gautier, "5^e Lettre d'un feuilletoniste," la Presse, 21 August, 1840.
 (29) Gautier, la Petite fleur rose, first published la Presse, 21 August, 1840, vv. 5-8.
 (30) Gautier, Militona, in Un trio de romans, Paris, n.d. p.139. cf. Voyage en Espagne, p.179 and *ibid.* p.70.

from Militona (31) "dans un état d'exaspération qui touchait à la démence." (32)

The arid nature of the landscape had been commented upon by numerous travellers, among them Manuel de Cuendias who, in l'Espagne pittoresque, artistique et monumentale, wrote:

"ce sont, le plus souvent, des plaines immenses, nues, sans un seul arbre, brûlées par un soleil dévorant, où règnent un silence éternel et la solitude de la tombe... Ou bien, ce sont des montagnes arides, aussi hautes que les nues, bornant l'horizon de ces plaines désertes, solitaires, comme les océans de sable qu'on voit en Afrique." (33)

The Marquis de Custine refers to the same features, but is inspired by a completely different sentiment to write of "heureuse Espagne".

"Heureuse Espagne, et plus heureux le poète... qui se laisse ... enivrer par ton air brûlant, enthousiasmer par la sublimité sauvage de tes sites dévastés par le soleil, qui boit tes eaux, et cache sous des bois de lauriers-roses le lit de tes torrents déséchés." (34)

In In Deserto Gautier, saddened by the open stretches of arid landscape, sees a reflection of his own spirit:

"Les pitons des sierras, les dunes du désert,
Où ne pousse jamais un seul brin d'herbe verte;
Les monts aux flancs zébrés de tuf, d'ochre et de marne,
Et que l'éboulement de jour en jour décharne,
Le grès plein de micras papillotant aux yeux,
Le sable sans profit buvant les pleurs des cieux,
Le rocher refrogné dans sa barbe de ronce;

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- (31) Militona, p.140.
 (32) Militona, p. 139.
 (33) Manuel de Cuendias, l'Espagne pittoresque, artistique et monumentale, Paris, 1848, p.2.
 (34) Adolphe de Custine, l'Espagne sous Ferdinand VII, Paris, 1838, Vol. IV, p.53.

L'ardente solfatare avec la pierre ponce,
Sont moins secs et moins morts aux végétations
Que le roc de mon coeur ne l'est aux passions." (35)

It is interesting to remark here that in the interpretation of the landscape the poet differs considerably from the traveller. Gautier, well aware of the oppressive heat and infinite aridity, finds the physical cadre in harmony with "tous les sentiments tristes." He emphasises the destructive force of the climate: with "éboulement", "décharné", the denuded or negative aspects with "refrogné" and the harsh onomatopoeia of "pitons", "marne", "grès", and "mica". The Marquis de Custine's interpretation, however, tends to be more positive and creative. This effect is created partly through the utilization of a longer flowing period and partly through the recognition of inspirational elements. The emphasis here is upon the happiness engendered by the sun: "heureuse Espagne", "enivrer", "enthousiasmer", "sublimité". The comment of Alexis de Saint-Priest emphasizes the power of the sunlight - "éblouit" "aveugle", "pénétrante" indicate precisely man's complete subjection to climatic conditions. It should be noted also that the Marquis de Custine's interpretation of the effect of the landscape upon the poet is not taken up by Gautier.

The poet tends to regard the landscape differently from the traveller and there is often conflict between the objective representation of the landscape and its subjective interpretation. This may be clearly seen by contrasting Gautier's poem l'Escurial with the accounts of the Escorial by Amédée Achard (36) Jean-François Bourgoing (37) or Manuel de Cuendias (38). In addition

(35) Gautier, In Deserto, first published Revue de Paris, 28 August, 1842, vv. 1-10.

(36) Amédée Achard, Un Mois en Espagne, Paris, 1847.

(37) Jean-François Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne, 4th edition, Paris, 1807.

(38) Manuel de Cuendias, l'Espagne pittoresque, artistique et monumentale, Paris, 1848.

to the objective-subjective dichotomy, it is clear that the notion of les deux Espagnes was widespread and that it was more than a fanciful idea. Jean Sermet has indicated that based on a cursory geographical analysis:

"... l'Espagne essentielle reste la Castille, celle que les maîtres de la pensée espagnole ont le mieux comprise; l'Andalousie, de son côté, a ses amoureux et même ses théoriciens. Aux poètes et aux philosophes, s'ajoutent les historiens et les archéologues, et aussi les sociologues". (39)

There are of course confusions to note. For Victor Hugo Andalucía symbolised Spain in its entirety. Orientale XXXII, les Bleuets, although a charming poem is typical of works which rely on the secondary inspiration rather than on geographic realities. Hugo wrote:

"Entre les villes andalouses
Il n'en est pas qui, sous le ciel,
S'étendent mieux que Penafiel
Sur les gerbes et les pelouses." (40)

Penafiel is not in Andalucía, but near Valladolid and Hugo further confounds reality by making Penafiel a site of pilgrimage in honour of Saint-Ambroise, who does not have any connection with Spain. But the geographical bévues committed by Hugo reinforce to some degree the theory that he was not intent upon reconstructing the physical décor.

Through the Odes and Orientales there is very little physical description of Spain. Hugo's knowledge of Spain came to him mainly through literature and the study of history for his only two visits to Spain occurred when he was nine years old - from May 1811 to the early months of 1812 and later when he penetrated into Spain only as far as Pasajes, a small port on the Basque coast where

(39) Jean Sermet, op.cit., pp. 9-10.

(40) Victor Hugo, les Bleuets, written 17 April, 1828, vv. 9-12.

little Castilian was spoken. (41) The Orientales are much richer in material with Spanish themes and motifs. In the préface Hugo explains that he includes "l'Espagne à demi africaine" in his view of the latter, contrary to the view held by Louis Bertrand. (42)

This confusion is not simply limited to effective synecdoche; Balzac constantly confused Provence, Italy and Spain and Simonde de Sismondi has remarked on the confusion of literary influences:

"Sous un autre rapport encore la littérature espagnole est pour nous un phénomène, et un objet d'étude et d'observation. Tandis que son essence est tirée de la chevalerie, ses ornemens et son langage sont empruntés des Asiatiques. Dans la contrée la plus occidentale de notre Europe, elle nous fait entendre le langage fleuri et l'imagination fantastique de l'Orient." (43)

Despite the large number of journeys made through Spain in the early years of the nineteenth century, travellers who reported upon their experiences constantly claimed that the country was not well known. In the introduction to his Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne Alexandre de Laborde demonstrates that Spain is one of the least known countries in Europe, (44) a statement which is echoed by Manuel de Cuendias:

"l'Espagne, dont tout le monde a parlé et que si peu de gens connaissent." (45)

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- (41) Lanson, "Un document espagnol sur le séjour de Victor Hugo à Madrid en 1811," Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, Vol. XXXIV, 1927, pp.189-206, and Fernand Gregh, Victor Hugo, Paris, 1954, pp.82-83.
- (42) Hugo les Orientales, ed. Elisabeth Barineau, Paris, 1952, Vol. I, p.11.
- (43) Léonard Simonde de Sismondi, De la littérature du midi de l'Europe, Paris, 1813, Vol. IV, pp. 258-259.
- (44) Alexandre de Laborde, Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne, Paris, 1806-1820, Vol. I, p.1.
- (45) Manuel de Cuendias, op.cit., p.1.

The images so far examined seem to be related to a land which is hardly populated. The natural landscape whether it be the harshness of Castilla or the more fertile Andalucía is without human associations. Spain is, to the Romantics, the ideal exotic land, with a hot climate and desolate aspect. Yet we do find that some links with humanity are present in the Romantic period. The first stage of this relationship of man to the land is the description of cities.

For Hugo, the city is first a name, rich in associations. He sought to introduce into many of his poems sonority which infused majesty. He had done this with the ships in Navarin (46) and in Canaris (47) and in 1823 he had included the names of Spanish cities in Mon Enfance:

"L'Espagne me montrait ses couvents, ses bastilles;
Burgos, sa cathédrale aux gothiques aiguilles;
Irun, ses toits de bois; Vittoria ses tours;
Et toi, Valladolid, tes palais de familles,
Fiers de laisser rouiller des chaînes dans leurs cours."
(48)

How far these impressions are based on Hugo's brief sojourns in Spain is difficult to estimate but it is clear that fact is subject to the demands of poetry. The same may be said of Grenade, in which the names of the other towns mentioned serve mainly to put into greater relief the beauty of the ancient Moorish capital. The direct source of the poem is not known but the mistakes, mainly of a geographical nature, tend to lead away from the contention that the prime source was a travel book or a book of pictures. (49) The stanzas on Granada itself

- (46) Hugo, Navarin, written in November, 1827, Orientale, V.
 (47) Hugo, Canaris, written in November, 1828, Orientale, II.
 (48) Hugo, Mon Enfance, written 1823, Odes, V, 9, vv. 81-85.
 (49) A list of possible sources is given in Victor Hugo, les Orientales, ed. Barineau, Paris, 2 vols, 1952-1954, Vol. II, p.107-109. See also Paul Berret, "Note sur une source de 'Grenade' dans les 'Orientales'," Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France, Année 23, 1916, pp.568-569.

have close affinities with les Aventures du dernier Abencérage.

The poem begins:

"Soit lointaine, soit voisine,
Espagnol ou sarrasine,
Il n'est pas une cité
Qui dispute sans folie
A Grenade la jolie
La pomme de la beauté
Et qui, gracieuse, étale
Plus de pompe orientale
Sous un ciel plus enchanté." (50)

Hugo then lists the outstanding features of thirty-two Spanish cities. The charm of this poem is not due to the historical or geographical accuracy, but to the movement in the lines. Foulché-Delbosc has summarized its effect:

"Des strophes de cette pièce, il ne faut retenir que l'admirable mouvement, les 'magiques syllabes', et ne chercher à élucider que ce que peut sembler obscur." (51)

Gautier among others who enthused about Granada - "gaie, riante, animée" (52) - shows in le Laurier du Généralife and in Les Trois Grâces de Grenade a utilisation of the city of Granada as a vehicle for his own subjective thoughts. (53) Gautier commented often upon the flowers of Andalucía in his Voyage, and other travellers, among them Manuel de Cuendias, noted the beauty of the palaces and gardens of Granada:

(50) Hugo, Grenade, vv. 1-9.

(51) Raymond Foulché-Delbosc, "l'Espagne dans les Orientales de Victor Hugo," Revue hispanique, Vol. 4, 1897, p.90.

(52) Gautier, Voyage en Espagne, Paris, 1904, p.206.

(53) Gautier, le Laurier du Généralife, first published la Presse, 11 December, 1843. Les Trois Grâces de Grenade, first published la Sylphide, 3 July, 1842.

"Entrons dans la cour des Lions: admirez avec nous ces innombrables arcades, ces pendentifs semblables à de la dentelle, et les eaux jaillissantes de la fontaine qui s'élancent en gerbes du sein de ces élégantes colonnes." (54)

The influence of Chateaubriand and Laborde can be clearly seen in the continuation of the description by de Cuendias:

"Quel lieu enchanté ! partout des fleurs, de l'or de l'azur: on dirait un palais construit par des fées et habité par des génies, les plus belles fictions de l'Orient réalisées par une main divine." (55)

But, since Chateaubriand's delicate evocation of the mood and atmosphere of the Alhambra in les Aventures du dernier Abencérage there is no better recreation of the physical beauty than that by Hugo in Grenade:

"L'Alhambra! L'Alhambra! palais que les Génies
Ont doré comme un rêve et rempli d'harmonies,
Forteresse aux créneaux festonnés et croulants,
Où l'on entend la nuit de magiques syllabes,
Quand la lune, à travers les mille arceaux arabes,
Sème les murs de trèfles blancs!" (56)

Alfred de Musset in his Premières Poésies felt more strongly drawn to extol the beauty of Madrid:

"Madrid, princesse des Espagnes,
Il court par tes mille campagnes
Bien des yeux bleus, bien des yeux noirs.
La blanche ville aux sérénades,
Il passe par tes promenades
Bien des petits pieds tous les soirs." (57)

For Stendhal, Spain and the Spanish character provided several themes which he included in his works, but although he professes to prefer the Spanish type to

{54} Manuel de Cuendias, op.cit., p.360.

{55} Manuel de Cuendias, op.cit., p.360.

{56} Hugo, Grenade, vv. 70-75, cf. Chateaubriand's description of moonlight in the Generalife. supra, p.73.

(57) Musset, Madrid, vv. 1-6, This poem appeared first in Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie, 1830.

the Italian, no clear picture of his impressions of Spain emerges from his writings. His travel notes on Barcelona, which he visited in September 1837, are to be found in the second volume of his Mémoires d'un touriste (58) but these are superficial and lacking the penetration of Gautier's Tra los Montes. He comments on Spanish cooking, inn servants, mules and muleteers but does not attempt to analyse life and mores beyond recording his view that life in Spain must be disagreeable: however he found the Ramblas in Barcelona very pleasing and referred to the avenue several times. (59)

In his imaginative works one should note a brief chapter in De l'Amour in which Stendhal superficially mentions Moorish architecture and briefly enumerates what he considers to be basic characteristics of the people of Andalucía - "dur, brusque, peu élégant, plein d'un orgueil sauvage, jamais occupé des autres," and, he concludes "il a le général no importa." (60) In le Coffre et le Revenant which has the sub-title of aventure espagnole the story is set in Granada and the surrounding district. Love, jealousy, devotion, cruelty, all the elements of a passionate Spanish intrigue are present, but description and physical local colour are almost totally absent. Le Philtre imitated from the Italian of Silvia Valaperta, is set in Bordeaux, but the main protagonists are Spanish. Stendhal never went further into Spain than Barcelona, yet in le Coffre et le Revenant and le Philtre he included characteristics and elements

(58) Stendhal, Mémoires d'un touriste, first published 1838; Oeuvres complètes, ed. H. Martineau, Paris, 1927-37, Vol XXVII, pp. 299-310.

(59) For further discussion of this see J. Deschamps, "Stendhal et l'Espagne", Bulletin hispanique, XXVIII, No.1, 1926, pp. 22-35.

(60) Stendhal, De l'Amour, first published 1822. ed. Henri Martineau, Paris, 1959, p.184.

of atmosphere which he considered typical of Spain but which are in reality a broad application of some characteristics of the inhabitants and décor of Cataluna. Synecdoche of this kind is commonly found in exotic literature of all countries, but in regard to Spain Balzac and Stendhal provide the most striking examples. (61)

It would appear that in this period Spain represented first and foremost the possibilities of exoticism of a literary kind. The writers of imaginative literature were interested in the physical cadre only as a setting for their subjective interpretations of a story. Gautier is outside this general view for he succeeds in making a complete identification of himself with his subject, particularly in his poems set in Granada, a city with a special fascination for him. There is always a curious mixture of fact and fantasy, of truth and inventiveness. What was lacking was however, in the works of Gautier and others any real interpretation of the effect of the environment upon character. It has been noted that there was a certain amount of confusion about Spain, but it must be insisted that contrasts in landscape were recorded and in some cases allied to contrast in character. This was on a superficial level in imaginative literature; it appears that writers of imaginative literature were not as interested in people as they were in discovering a suitable scenic background or vague associations with historical names. Naturally the external features were more attractive and demanded less analysis but one finds that travellers writing mémoires seem to have grasped the problem. Among these Manuel de Cuendias noted that:

"... L'Espagne est belle, malgré la solitude et l'aridité de ces plaines, malgré l'aspérité

(61) See Robert Vigneron, "Stendhal en Espagne", Modern Philology, XXXII, 1934, pp. 55-66.

de ses montagnes; belle peut-être à cause de cette solitude et de cette aridité mêmes qui, au premier coup d'oeil, inspirent la tristesse... Ne serait-ce pas que le caractère de l'homme tient d'une manière intime à la nature du sol qu'il habite, et n'en est pour ainsi dire que la conséquence". (62)

Bourgoing had noted the differences in the physical aspects of the landscape of Vizcaya and Castilla. He wrote of the area around Pasajes:

"Rien de plus riant que ses côteaux, rien de plus brillant que la culture de ces vallées. Pendant les trente lieues qui séparent la Bidassoa de Vittoria, on n'est pas un quart d'heure sans apercevoir quelque village, ou du moins quelque hameau..."

The physical décor has its effect upon the inhabitants who are:

"Libres, gais et hospitaliers; ils paraissent sentir leur bonheur, et vouloir le faire partager à ceux qui en sont témoins". (63)

Davin, in le Crapaud, roman espagnol, offered an interesting theory concerning the link between climate and character:

"Que les âmes, trempées dans le soleil d'Afrique y nourrissent des passions terribles! qu'elles y ont de sublimes éruptions! Brunnes et lascives, pensives et pâles, les femmes y sont belles... Ce n'est pas la grâce, c'est la volupté qu'exhalent leurs corps, souples et tenaces comme ceux des serpents; les extases qu'elles donnent sont délirantes." (64)

This is the stereotype of the Spanish woman which has existed in various forms in world literature for several centuries. The origins of the image are difficult

(62) Manuel de Cuendias, op.cit., p.2.

(63) Jean-François Bourgoing, op.cit., p.20.

(64) Félix Davin, le Crapaud, roman espagnol, Paris, n.d., Vol.I, p.7.

to identify but would seem to lie in the general belief that southern peoples are more 'hot-blooded'. This parallel with climatic conditions is reinforced in the case of Spain with the identification of the southern Spaniard with the gipsy. The gradual change from regarding the Spaniard as being intensely passionate in all matters - pride, honour, religion among these - to being sensual, voluptuous and lascivious reaches its highest point in Mérimée's characterisation of Carmen.

One may plot the course of the development of this phenomenon in literature, but finding the reason for these beliefs poses a much more complex problem. It would seem that through literature one may witness the creation of the myth of the sensuality of Spanish woman which is in direct opposition to the nature of Spanish society.

Spain has for centuries experienced the difficulties associated with a strongly individualistic society. The State has not exerted a strong enough cohesive effect upon the individual who throughout the history of the nation has exhibited tendencies of regional patriotism. This national characteristic has meant that the most effective social unit became the family, the power of which is based primarily on the sense of honour. Family honour in turn rests on the courage of the man and the chastity of the woman, the latter being in direct opposition to the myth of voluptuousness and sensuality which has developed in literature. We witness therefore a divorce between imaginative literature and objective reality, to a large extent because visitors to Spain were Romantics who sought in Spain the colour, excitement and sensuousness of exoticism. Comments abound similar to Bourgoing's and Quinet's and demonstrate each in their own way that the beauty of Spain and its

contrasts exerted a kind of fascination upon writers of récits de voyage and upon writers of imaginative literature, and that the latter group seized upon one or two significant and at the same time attractive details and proceeded to ornament and embellish the original source of inspiration until all but the most conventional details were lost. The process is similar to the Wordsworthian 'recollection in tranquility'; the result is more an image of the poet or novelist than an image of Spain.

Although the Spanish landscape made a deep impression on those who saw it, the Spanish character, contrary to the view current in the eighteenth century, often inspired respect and admiration. This was due once again to the curious contrasts between voluptuousness and cruelty, pride and passion which were facets of Spanish character regarded as typical of a southern exotic land.

Hoffman (65) has noted that it would be ridiculous to contend that the French view of Spanish character suddenly changed or that every Spaniard automatically gained the respect of everyone in France. Spain and Spanish characters continued through the nineteenth century to be the object of ridicule and satire and even became, in the théâtre de boulevard, traditional comic subjects. But during the period under review a new Spain was emerging. Baldensperger relates this to the opposition of Spanish troops to Napoleon's invasion:

"Quant à l'Espagne, vieille terre immobile de tradition et de foi, une partielle réhabilitation lui était venue de ses réactions contre-révolutionnaires, si surprenantes et si efficaces. Même les guerillas des campagnes napoléoniennes, s'ajoutant à la favorable légende

(65) Léon-François Hoffman, Romantique Espagne, New Jersey/Paris, 1961, p.117.

que l'Emigration française avait élaborée, servaient dans un certain sens le renom de farouche énergie d'un pays que les philosophes avaient naguère représenté comme 'énervé' par le monarchisme et un farniente quasi-musulman."(66)

Spaniards proved themselves to be much braver than the French population believed possible. Romantics were thus able to present an exotic past that was all the more acceptable in that it mirrored a more recent and widely recognised reality. Naturally in short stories, novels and poems there was more emphasis of characters who were typically Spanish, who had no equivalent in France and possessed exotic traits admired by the Romantics. Those commonly encountered were bandits, toreros, gipsies, hidalgos and proud, cruel protagonists of exotic love stories.

The bandit seems to have acquired the highest reputation in France. In Carmen "Mérimée a réussi à condenser en une cinquantaine de pages le rêve espagnol qui a hanté ses contemporains." (67) Don José has all the outward characteristics of a bandit:

"C'était un jeune gaillard, de taille moyenne, mais d'apparence robuste, au regard sombre et fier. Son teint, qui avait pu être beau, était devenu, par l'action du soleil, plus foncé que ses cheveux. D'une main il tenait le licol de sa monture, de l'autre une espingole de cuivre." (68)

There are many features of Don José borrowed from travellers' accounts. Manuel de Cuendias wrote that la Mancha was the province to avoid, and perpetuates another aspect of the public conception of the Spanish bandit by describing an imaginary meeting with a band of ruffians:

(66) Fernand Baldensperger, Orientations étrangères chez Honoré de Balzac, Paris, 1927, p.142.

(67) Hoffman, op.cit., p.129.

(68) Mérimée, Carmen, Paris, 1925, p.5.

"Mais ne vous fiez pas trop à ces hommes, constamment enveloppés dans leurs manteaux de drap brun, et la tête coiffée d'un montere /sic/ en forme de brioche; ils sont tous plus ou moins sournois, pointilleux, querelleurs, de mauvaise foi: un nava.jazo est bientôt donné; puis, si vous échappez à ce danger vous courrez toujours le risque d'être volé... Allez vous plaindre à l'alcalde, c'est un Manchego aussi, et par conséquent, voleur." (69)

In la Légende de la nonne Hugo tells the story of Dona Padilla del Flor who took the veil at Toledo and subsequently fell in love with a bandit - "un fier bandit de la contrée":

"Il était laid; les traits austères,
La main plus rude que le gant;
Mais l'amour a bien des mystères,
Et la nonne aima le brigand." (70)

At the moment when the nun is waiting at a secret rendezvous:

"Au lieu de la voix attendue
C'est la foudre qui répondit." (71)

Doña Coñcha, in the nouvelle written by Loève-Veimars, also falls in love with a bandit and is finally abducted by him to the great consternation of the conservative society in which Doña Coñcha lives. (72) All these characters are romantic inventions which conform, not really to the conception of Spain which the authors held, but more probably to a public conception, based on knowledge of the bravery of the guerrilleros and allied to the tradition of honour and courage originally applied to the defence of the family name. In literature their actions are predictable - Don José becomes incensed with

(69) Manuel de Cuendias, op.cit., p.306.

(70) Hugo, la Légende de la nonne, written in April 1828, Ballade, XIII, vv. 57-60.

(71) La Légende de la nonne, vv. 91-92.

(72) A. Loève-Veimars, Dona Concha, published in Revue de Paris, XI, 1830, pp. 5-17.

jealousy for the love of a woman, la nonne falls in love with a bandit, Doña Coñcha breaks away from her environment and is quite willingly abducted. The model for these bandits may be a single man, written about by scores of travellers who visited Spain. In an article "les Voleurs en Espagne" which Mérimée published in la Revue de Paris in 1832, the author describes in detail the bandit José Maria, whom, in fact, few people had seen. José-Maria was known as el Tempranito, he was described as being from twenty-five to thirty years old, open-faced with brilliantly white teeth and very expressive eyes. (73) These characteristics occur frequently in descriptions of bandits in the 1830-1850 period, but not only are they applied to bandits but to anyone who plays a role in an exotic cadre.

In Militona, Gautier presents as one of the main characters Juancho, a torero in love with the distant Militona. He displays many of the characteristics more befitting a bandit than the leader of a cuadrilla.

"C'était un homme de vingt-cinq à vingt-huit ans. Son teint basané, ses yeux de jais, ses cheveux crépus démontraient son origine andalouse. Il devait être de Séville, cette prunelle noire de la terre, cette patrie naturelle des vaillants garçons, des bien plantés, des bien campés, des gratteurs de guitare, des dompteurs de chevaux, des piqueurs de taureaux, des joueurs de navaja, de ceux du bras de fer et de la main irritée.

Il eût été difficile de voir un corps plus robuste et des membres mieux découplés. Sa force s'arrêtait juste au point où elle serait devenue de la pesanteur. Il était aussi bien taillé pour la lutte que pour la course, et, si l'on pouvait supposer à la nature l'intention

(73) Mérimée, "les Voleurs en Espagne," la Revue de Paris, August, 1832, p.211 et seq.

expresse de faire des toreros, elle n'avait jamais aussi bien réussi qu'en modelant cet Hercule aux proportions déliées." (74)

Of the other main characters, Andrés, who although a lover of the corrida could be of almost any nationality, and Doña Feliciano - "il va sans dire que sa toilette n'avait rien d'espagnol" (75) - are little more than puppets who assist in the acting out of the story. Militona is gracious, simple and compassionate, embodying the romantic idea of a Spanish girl:

"La seconde personne était une jeune fille de seize à dix-huit ans, plutôt seize que dix-huit: une légère mantille de taffetas, posée sur la galerie d'un haut peigne d'écaillé qu'entourait une large natte de cheveux tressés en corbeille, encadrait sa charmante figure d'une pâleur imperceptiblement olivâtre. Son pied, allongé sur le devant du calesin et d'une petitesse presque chinoise, montrait un mignon soulier de satin à quartier de ruban et le commencement d'un bas de soie à coins de couleur bien tiré. Une de ses mains délicates et fines, bien qu'un peu basanées, jouait avec les deux pointes de la mantille, et l'autre, repliée sur un mouchoir de batiste, faisait briller quelques bagues d'argent, le plus riche trésor de son écrin de manola et complétaient ce costume rigoureusement espagnol." (76)

there is an intriguing contrast between the gentility of Militona and the passionate fury of the jealous Juancho who fights Andrés and wounds him. Militona cares for Andrés as he recovers and gradually the couple realise that their happiness lies with each other. Juancho finally dies on the horns of the sixth bull of the corrida:

"Juancho, après avoir ménagé supérieurement le taureau et fait des passes de muleta inimitables,

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- (74) Gautier, Militona, ed. cit. pp. 28-29.
 (75) Militona, p.13.
 (76) Militona, p.25.

prit son épée, et au lieu de l'enfoncer dans le col de l'animal, comme on s'y attendait, la jeta en l'air avec tant de force qu'elle fut se planter dans la terre en pirouettant à vingt pas de lui.

'Que va-t-il faire? s'écria-t-on de toutes parts. Ce n'est pas du courage, c'est de la folie! quelle nouvelle invention est-ce-là? Va-t-il tuer le taureau en lui donnant une croquignole sur le nez?...

Juancho lança sur la loge où se trouvait Militona un regard ineffable où se fondaient tout son amour et toutes ses souffrances et resta immobile devant le taureau.

L'animal baissa la tête. La corne entra tout entière dans la poitrine de l'homme et en sortit rouge jusqu'à la racine.

Un colossal cri d'horreur, composé de dix mille voix, monta vers le ciel.

Militona se renversa sur sa chaise, pâle comme une morte. Pendant cette minute suprême, elle avait aimé Juancho." (77)

Despite a careful setting of the scene (78) the comment made by Roy M. Dineen is valid:

"Ce roman est donc parsemé de couleur locale mais qui n'influence l'action qu'extérieurement car cette lutte de caractères pouvait bien avoir lieu n'importe où ailleurs." (79)

In the works of Balzac no Spanish characters lead a tranquil existence. There are few stories in which the Spanish are not transported into France to take part in the action. (80) It is not the intention of this study

(77) Militona, p.168.

(78) Militona, p.9.

(79) Roy M. Dineen, la Technique romanesque de Théophile Gautier, Thèse, Université de Montpellier, 1968, p.364. Dr. Dineen's study includes an invaluable section (pp. 342 et seq.) concerning Gautier's use of local colour.

(80) The exceptions are El Verdugo and les Marana. Balzac appears to have preferred to involve characters of foreign nationality in French society.

to discuss the group of Créoles who figure in Balzac's works, although significant and interesting and including Paquita Valdés of la Fille aux yeux d'or, Mme Evangelista of le Contrat de Mariage, and Henri Montés de Montejanos of La Cousine Bette. Balzac reduces these to the level of types fondamentaux and they could easily be analysed as "incarnations de l'amour passionné, de la cupidité rusée et haineuse, et de la vengeance sauvage." (81)

Balzac's characters of pure Spanish blood are not as simply delineated as his Créoles. They are few in number and occupy but a small place in the Comédie humaine. One of the outstanding figures is the duke of Soria, Felipe Henarez. Balzac presents a portrait of this "dernier rejeton de la dernière maison hispano-Maure de Grenade" (82) with sympathy, and in Balzac's works he represents the hidalgo, proud of his family and his country, a slave to his mistress. (83)

Fario d'Issoudun plays only a secondary role but embodies many of the outstanding characteristics of the Spanish race as interpreted by Balzac. His physical characteristics are minutely described, and Balzac utilises the introduction of Fario to offer some generalities on Spain and its people. (84)

Nobility and constancy of purpose are the dominant traits of the captain of the Saint-Ferdinand, Gomez, (85) while constancy and devotion are revealed in the portrayal

(81) Victor L. Leathers, l'Espagne et les Espagnols dans l'oeuvre d'Honoré de Balzac, Paris, 1931, p.131.

(82) Leathers, op.cit., p.136.

(83) Balzac, Mémoires de deux jeunes mariés, first published 1841-1842, included in Scènes de la vie privée.

(84) Balzac, la Femme de Trente ans, first published 1831-1844, included in Scènes de la vie privée.

(85) Balzac, la Rabouilleuse, first published 1841-1842, included in Scènes de la vie de province.

of the Count Bagos de Feredía in la Grande Bretèche. A Soanish grandéé; Feredía is a prisoner during the war of 1808 and is released on parole. He becomes the lover of the Countess de Merret. To reach her room in the Grande Bretèche he has to swim across the river Cher. Monsieur de Merret suspects that the Countess has someone in her room and makes her swear on the crucifix that there is no-one in the cabinet. She does so, whereupon Merret orders the cabinet to be bricked up before her eyes. The Spaniard dies without uttering a word.

Charles Lecour maintains that in general, characters of foreign nationality take over the role which Balzac did not wish to give to citizens of France (86) and characters of Spanish origin including the créoles play their part in the more violent episodes. Paquita Valdés is murdered by Euphémie Porraberil, the wife of Don Higos, Marquis of San-Real; (87) Fario becomes involved in a vicious knife battle (88); the Léganès family is annihilated (89); the central character of la Grande Bretèche, on the surface a drame passionnel of a bourgeois family, is the Spaniard Bagos de Feredía; Trompe-la-Mort takes on the identity of the abbé Carlos Herrera after killing him in an ambush and lives in Paris for a period of seven years in safety. (90) Lecour, with ample justification, concludes:

"Le monde trouble de Balzac est livré aux étrangers, il s'explique par eux." (91)

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- (86) Charles Lecour, les Personnages de la Comédie humaine, Paris, 1966, p.98.
- (87) Balzac, la Fille aux yeux d'or, first published 1834-1835 included in Scènes de la vie parisienne.
- (88) Balzac, la Rabouilleuse.
- (89) Balzac, El Verdugo.
- (90) Balzac, Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes, first published 1839-47, included in Scènes de la vie parisienne.
- (91) Lecour, op.cit., p.100.

Balzac's Spanish characters were a part of his vast world but for other writers the description of a Spanish girl or woman assumed much greater personal importance. Many of the characters revealed in poetry seem to reflect a never-to-be-forgotten moment in the author's life.

In En passant à Vergara Gautier describes a young Spanish girl whom he met by chance; the description is delightful even though the poem moves into a macabre situation:

"Nous avons avec nous une jeune Espagnole,
 A l'allure hardie à la toilette folle,
 Au grand front éclatant comme un marbre poli,
 Où la réflexion n'a jamais fait un pli,
 Encadré de cheveux qui venaient en désordre
 Sur un col satiné nonchalamment se tordre;
 Des sourcils de velours avec de grands yeux noirs,
 Renvoyant des éclairs comme un piège à miroirs;
 Un rire éblouissant, épanoui, sonore,
 Belle fleur de gaieté qu'un seul mot fait éclore;
 Des dents de jeune loup, pures comme de lait,
 Dont l'émail insolent sans trêve étincelait;
 Une taille cambrée cavale andalouse;
 Des pieds mignons à rendre une reine jalouse;" (92)

The similes and metaphors are different but this is nevertheless an incarnation of the stereotype perfected by Mérimée in Carmen. Carmen had the kind of beauty which was almost invariably given to Spanish woman in imaginative literature.

"Je vis qu'elle était petite, jeune, bien-faite et qu'elle avait de très grands yeux." (93)

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- (92) Gautier, En Passant à Vergara, first published la Presse, 7 August, 1840, vv. 1-14, cf. Voyage en Espagne, p.92. "On se figure habituellement, lorsqu'on parle senora et mantille, un ovale allongé et pâle, de grands yeux noirs surmontés de sourcils de velours..."
- (93) Mérimée, Carmen, ed.cit., p.22.

A little further on in the story the description is more detailed with due deference to Brantôme:

"Sa peau, d'ailleurs parfaitement unie, approchait fort de la teinte de cuivre. Ses yeux étaient obliques, mais admirablement fendus; ses lèvres, un peu fortes, mais bien dessinées et laissant voir des dents plus blanches que des amandes sans leur peau. Ses cheveux, peut-être un peu gros, étaient noirs, à reflets bleus comme l'aile d'un corbeau, longs et luisants... C'était une beauté étrange et sauvage!" (94)

The final line of this description isolates two elements - "une beauté étrange et sauvage" - which are present in the interpretation of both the land and people of Spain by imaginative writers and perhaps summarises the essence of Spain's attraction. Carmen is also the incarnation of the Spanish dream of love which ends in death. Gautier's Militona is an attempt at the realisation of this dream, but Carmen is less melodramatic since Carmen lives for love and prefers to be stabbed by Don José rather than be humiliated. She is the essence of sensuality, voluptuousness and cruelty, characteristics that Meilhac and Halévy used as the basis of their libretto for Bizet's opera. Dolorida (Vigny) also ends in death as both Dolorida and her unfaithful husband die from the effects of the poison which she had prepared. This poem has been judged by Fernand Baldensperger as "le meilleur témoignage de l'intérêt porté à cet attrayant pays par Vigny qui jamais ne le verra." (95)

No writer of imaginative literature could be unaware

(94) Carmen, p.25.

(95) Vigny, Oeuvres complètes, edited Fernand Baldensperger, Paris, 1950, Vol I, p.293. Dolorida, first appeared in la Muse française in October 1823; the poem was written in the Pyrenees in the same year.

of the descriptions of Spanish women in travellers' accounts. Gautier found his true Manola in the Rastro at Madrid:

"Une énorme tresse de cheveux bleus à force d'être noirs, nattée comme le jonc d'une corbeille, lui faisait le tour de la tête et venait se rattacher à un grand peigne à galérie." (96)

Musset found his Andalouse in Barcelona, (97) but invests his Madame la Marquise with similar characteristics. (98)

The two less significant poems A Pépa and A Juana are addressed to Mlle Hermine Dubois and the Marquise de la Carte respectively, neither of whom were Spanish, and les Filles de Madrid gather in the Poésies posthumes is but vaguely linked to the title. A une Espagnole is of little interest and not definitely attributed to Musset. (99)

Bourgoing attempted to analyse the essential differences between English, German, French and Spanish women, without, however, concentrating on a single physical characteristic as Mérimée and Salvandy had done, or stressing the link between the hot climate and sensuality as Sebastien Blaze had attempted to do:

"Le charme qu'on éprouve à l'approche d'une belle Espagnole a quelque chose de décevant qui échappe à l'analyse. Sa coquetterie est plus

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- (96) Gautier, Voyage en Espagne, ed.cit., p.94.
 (97) Musset, l'Andalouse, first appeared in Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie in 1830 with the title Barcelone.
 (98) Musset, Madame la Marquise, first appeared in Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie, 1830.
 (99) Musset, A Pépa, This poem dates from 1831, and with A Juana (also 1831) was included in the first part of the Poésies Complètes of 1840. For a note on les Filles de Madrid see Poésies complètes d'Alfred de Musset, ed. Maurice Allem, Paris, 1957, p.859. For a note on A une Espagnole see ibid. p.918.

franche et moins apprêtrée que celle des autres femmes. Elle se soucie moins de plaire à tout le monde... Où trouve-t-on des tailles plus sveltes que la sienne, plus de souplesse dans les mouvements, plus de finesse dans les traits plus de légèreté dans la démarche? Grave, et même un peu triste au premier aspect, si elle ouvre sur vous ses grands yeux noirs pleins d'expression, si elle accompagne ce regard d'un sourire, l'insensibilité même tombe à genoux." (100)

Bourgoing does, however, allow that the climate has some effect on character and he considers that the east wind of Andalucía:

"... y cause une sorte de frénésie qui rend ces excès beaucoup plus fréquents qu'à aucune autre époque de l'année." (101)

The excès here referred to is the use of the dagger and the characteristic of the Spaniard to ally depth of passion to cruelty, a characteristic widely commented upon. For example, Valencia:

"... où il semblerait que la beauté du climat et les richesses de la nature devraient n'exciter que des passions douces, est souillé par des meurtres fréquents." (102)

From Bourgoing's writings it is not clear whether he subscribes to the views held by nineteenth century environmentalists or not. It is clear, however, that in the ranks of travellers and writers confusion reigned regarding the "true" Spanish character, provincial differences and the difficulty involved in reconciling beauty and cruelty.

In an article "El Puñal en la Liga" Morel-Fatio goes to some length to explain the myth of the stiletto in the garter. Many writers, among them Blaze, MÉRIMÉE,

(100) Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne moderne, ed.cit., Vol. II, pp.347-348.

{101} Bourgoing, op.cit., p.338.

{102} ibid., pp. 337-338.

Vigny, Dumas, Desbarrolles, Dembowski, Tanski, Musset, Fouché and Mme d'Abrantès, believed that the stiletto was an indispensable part of any Spanish woman's toilette. Morel-Fatio successfully destroys the myth in an amusing yet definitive manner.

He traces the myth as far back as the correspondence of the Maréchal de Tessé and the Duchesse de Bourgogne (1701) and shows how the fact that the woman of Brescia, noted by Alfieri in Le Leggi, and of Lombardi noted by Rossetti in the Last Confession, were responsible for the introduction of the idea of el puñal en la liga into literature. The voyage was extended by the récits de guerre of the early years of the nineteenth century since French soldiers in Spain came into contact more with manolas than with members of the upper classes. Through Mes réminiscences de l'Espagne par le Petit diable boiteux and other works - by Spanish authors as well as French - Morel-Fatio concludes that "les soldats de l'Empire français n'ont pas fait autre chose que d'étendre à toutes les femmes espagnoles el puñal en la liga, ce qui n'était que la mode des majas ou des manolas." (103)

It has been shown that the increase in interest in the landscape of Spain, assisted by growing numbers of récits de voyages , corresponded to a need among the Romantics to situate stories in new and exiting surroundings. This may also be true of the interpretation of the Spanish character in imaginative literature. The creation of characters so obviously exotic, based on a certain amount of truth, could correspond to a need to relate experiences and sensations unknown in France. In the first half of the nineteenth century it was not

(103) Alfred Morel-Fatio, "El puñal en la liga," Revue de littérature comparée, Vol I, 1921, pp. 473-483.

unusual to see French woman adopting a Spanish style of dress for, as Barbey d'Aurevilly noted:

"Etre Espagnole à cette époque-là, c'était quelque chose! C'était une valeur sur la place. Les romans d'alors, le théâtre de Clara Gazul, les poésies d'Alfred de Musset, les danses de Mariane Camprubi et de Dolores Serral, faisaient excessivement priser les femmes orange aux joues de Grenade; - et qui se vantait d'être Espagnole, ne l'était pas toujours, mais on s'en vantait." (104)

But in the field of literature the need seems to be more a problem of presentation and there was a certain attraction to writers in being able to present a character as an established type. Vigny in *Cinq-Mars* as early as 1826 had proposed a type in his comparison of the Spanish and Oriental character.

"Un Espagnol est un homme de l'Orient, c'est un Turc catholique; son sang languit ou bouillonne, il est paresseux ou infatigable; l'indolence le rend esclave; l'ardeur, cruel; immobile dans son ignorance, ingénieux dans sa superstition, il ne veut qu'un livre religieux, qu'un maître tyrannique; il obéit à la loi du bûcher, il commande par celle du poignard; il s'endort le soir dans sa misère sanglante, cuvant le fanatisme et rêvant le crime. Qui est-ce là, messieurs? est-ce l'Espagnol ou le Turc? devinez."

In this moral portrait Vigny has fixed on characteristics which will be developed by other writers later in the Romantic period. Notable elements are the references to the blood of the Spaniard and his readiness to defend or command with the dagger. Vigny continues the portrait with a physical description which contributed to the establishment of the stereotype in literature:

(104) Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, les Diaboliques, Oeuvres Complètes, Paris 1882, Vol VIII, p.415.

"Ah! ah! vous avez l'air de trouver que j'ai de l'esprit parce que je rencontre un rapport. Vraiment, messieurs, vous me faites bien de l'honneur, et cependant l'idée pourrait se pousser plus loin, si l'on voulait; si je passais à l'ordre physique, par exemple, ne pourrai-je pas vous dire: Cet homme a les traits graves ou allongés, l'oeil noir et coupé en amande, les sourcils durs, la bouche triste et mobile, les joues basanées, maigres et ridées; sa tête est rasée et il la couvre d'un mouchoir noué en turban; il passe un jour entier couché ou debout sous un soleil brûlant, sans mouvement, sans parole fumant un tabac qui l'enivre. Est-ce un Turc ou un Espagnol?" (105)

Stendhal professed great admiration for the Spanish people. Here at least is one writer who perhaps expresses the great satisfaction of many writers of imaginative literature in finding a type with characteristics ready-made for introduction into literature:

"J'aime l'Espagnol parce qu'il est type; il n'est copie de personne. Ce sera le dernier type existant en Europe." (106)

For the French traveller to Spain or for the writer seeking a cadre for a novel Spain represented the last country in Europe to throw off the yoke of the Inquisition and the last country in Europe where the struggle between man and wild beast could be witnessed as in the days of the Roman gladiators.

Writers had found in the 'typical' Spaniard elements of passion and cruelty but also an underlying sense of honour - noblesse d'âme. The French had no difficulty in identifying such a type which awakened echoes of don Rodrigue, don Diègue and other characters from the widely

(105) Vigny, Cinq-Mars, Oeuvres complètes, edited Fernand Baldensperger, Paris, 1948, Vol.II, p.181.

(106) Stendhal, Mémoires d'un touriste, Oeuvres complètes, ed. H. Martineau, Paris, 1927-1937, Vol. XLVII, p.304.

known le Cid. These same elements were found in the corrida and the dances of Spain: two aspects of life which were seized upon with enthusiasm.

While noting that the corrida de toros has an attraction even for foreigners, Bourgoing asserts that attending the spectacle does not have the effect of altering the characteristics of the Spanish race:

"Une autre preuve que ce spectacle n'influe en rien sur le moral de ceux que le fréquentent, c'est qu'on y voit assister de jeunes filles, des vieillards, des hommes de tous les âges, de tous les caractères, dans lesquels cependant l'habitude de ces fêtes sanglantes ne corrige ni la faiblesse, ni la timidité, et n'altère pas la douceur des mœurs." (107)

Although many travellers' accounts of the corrida centre on the more bloodthirsty aspects of the fiesta, some, Edgar Quinet among them, were able to note the more poetic aspects of the spectacle. This view has been paralleled in our own time by the work of Kenneth Tynan and Henry de Montherlant. Quinet noted the existence of a possible link between the corrida and the Spanish character, and contrary to Bourgoing suggests that the spectacle strengthens the character by the compulsion to emulate the bravery of the bull. (108)

It seems more likely that rather than identifying themselves with the toro Spaniards should identify with the torero, particularly since Pedro Romero's invention of the muleta and the perfection of technique (1720-1740) torero on foot possible. The centre of the action became the matador on foot - previously a peón - and no longer the mounted aristocrat. Until well into the nineteenth

(107) Bourgoing, op.cit., pp. 418-419.

(108) Quinet, Mes Vacances en Espagne, Oeuvres complètes, Paris, 1857, Vol IX, p.41.

century the matador on foot had been a kind of wandering frequenter of ferias but he was soon accorded status when the people's reaction against the aristocracy gathered strength. Since they were unable to reject the aristocracy through revolution, symbolic action was the only alternative. Even in the early years of the nineteenth century the matador had become a kind of folk hero, ready to assume this task of symbolic sublimation.

The description in l'Espagne pittoresque, artistique et monumentale reunites in a short statement the essential qualities of the corrida and suggests that the spectacle is a much more complicated expression of national character than Chateaubriand realised.(109) Cuendias here provides the basis for a continuing tradition of drama criticism:

"En bien, ce duel sera courtois,
chevalresque, plein de sombre poésie.
L'homme a sa ruse et son glaive; le
taureau sa force, ses cornes et sa fureur.
L'homme, nous direz-vous, est le plus fort.
Oui, il sera le plus fort, s'il lui était
permis de tuer le taureau comme il est permis
au taureau de le tuer, lui, c'est-à-dire
comme il peut et quand il veut; mais il n'en
est pas ainsi. L'art a des lois que le matador
ne peut violer." (110)

Cuendias' account is very sympathetic in that he sees the corrida as a vital expression of national character. Mérimée, in his first letter from Spain, had emphasized the national feeling which the corrida and outstanding performers like Pepe Illo, Montés and Pedro Romero inspired. (111) However, as will be shown here,

(109) Chateaubriand, le Congrès de Vérone, Oeuvres complètes, ed. Sainte-Beuve, Vol. 12, Paris, 1859-1861, p.13,

"l'Espagnol aime les spectacles sanglants."

{110} Cuendias, op.cit., p.208.

{111} Mérimée, No title, Revue de Paris, January, 1831, p.30.

the representation of the fiesta brava in imaginative literature does not approach the depth of understanding achieved in factual reports.

André Lubac suggests that "il ne paraît guère possible de prononcer les mot moeurs espagnoles sans évoquer la tauromachie". (112) The corrida proper existed nowhere else in Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century and while acknowledging the social and ethnic links between the Spanish corrida and the courses of the Landes, Provence or Portugal, images related to these do not come within the limits of this study.

Commentators in the art of toreo may, for the purposes of this study be divided into two groups, the aficionados and others. Of the former, Prosper Mérimée is undoubtedly one of the leaders and his españolismo was commended by no less a critic than Menendez-Pelayo. Mérimée was drawn to the arena in 1830 out of pure curiosity but it was not long before his enthusiasm was aroused: "Sachez qu'une course de taureaux est le plus beau spectacle que l'on puisse voir." (113) Although Montherlant nearly one hundred years later did not find himself in the plaza from curiosity his reaction was similar. (114)

Mérimée went to great length to understand the spectacle and to feel as a Spaniard would. His correspondence reveals that he was against the introduction of

(112) André Lubac, "Los Toros dans la littérature française," Revista de Filología española, Tomo XXX, 1946, p.54.

(113) Mérimée, Correspondance generale, Paris, 1941, Letter to Albert Stapfer, 4 September, 1830. Vol 1, p.72.

(114) Henry de Montherlant, saw his first corrida in Bayonne in 1909 at the age of 13. The correspondance has been gathered by J.N. Faure-Biguet in his book les Enfances de Montherlant, Paris, 1941.

the corrida into France, because the French people would not understand or appreciate the spectacle. (115) In addition to the mentions of the corrida in the four letters from Spain, (116) there is a torero in le Carosse du Saint-Sacrement, but in Carmen the significance of the corrida is slight.

Carmen seeks to present the life of the gipsies and bandits of Spain, not the milieu of the corrida. The picador Lucas, Carmen's last lover, does not play an important role. His fortune and his courage are mentioned, much in the same way that Mérimée wrote about Sévilla the picador he had seen in the arena, and Montés the matador. But Lucas remains not much more than a passing element of local colour; his fall in the arena occupies no more than two lines of the narrative.

In The Complete Aficionado, John McCormick offers the following judgment of Carmen:

"Mérimée wrote in the full flush of French romanticism, seeking out the remote, the exotic, and the unusual. Although there is virtually nothing of genuine toreo in the narrative, Carmen first as opera and a long second as narrative had the dubious distinction of establishing a convention and a cliché in the minds of generations to come of the 'toreador' as exotic, inexplicable, doomed and damned, his only humanity his erotic attraction and his mortality." (117)

Although there were imitators of Mérimée's story the

(115) Mérimée, Correspondance générale, Letter to la Comtesse de Montijo, 16 August 1853, Vol I, lère série, pp. 141-142. "Toute la poésie, toute la grandeur du spectacle serait perdue devant les ignorants. Les caquets et les calomnies seraient immenses." p.142.

(116) See supra. p.118.

(117) John McCormick, and Mario Sevilla Mascareñas, The Complete Aficionado, London 1967, p.232.

development of the 'toréador' personality in the conception of the public is due more to the efforts of Bizet than to those of Mérimée. In the same way that Mérimée had isolated and developed certain aspects of couleur locale for his story, Bizet chose his libretto with great care and wisdom. In the period following the Meilhac-Halévy-Bizet Carmen (1875) the non-aficionado tends to use the word 'toréador' - Loti does so - and thus reveals that the opera acted as a perpetuating stimulus to the popularity of Mérimée's work. The continuation of the vogue of the torero in literature was also due to Sangre y Arena, in which Blasco Ibañez set out to expose the romantic view crystallised in Carmen by utilising the methods of naturalism but his aims were not borne out and the narrative falls back on romantic flamenco Spain and a background that is more operatic than realistic.

It would be just to observe that the power of Mérimée's descriptions of the corrida in his imaginative works does not approach that of his factual reports. The same is true of Gautier. In 1840, on his arrival in Madrid, one of his first tasks was to seek tickets for the corrida. The reports of his feelings differ considerably from those of Mérimée, for Gautier, looking for colour and the pittoresque, was not in the arena able to be moved as a Spaniard. The descriptions of the crowds, of the parade of the cuadrilla highlight the picturesque, the different, but when Gautier attempts to analyse the sentiments of the public or the finer points of toreo his lack of understanding of both toreo and the Spanish language contribute to the unmasking of a false aficionado.

Further evidence of Gautier's lack of knowledge in this area is afforded by a study of his article la

Tauromachie based on la Tauromaquia by Montés, (118) not an entirely trustworthy source. The drawings accompanying Gautier's text bear the initials T.G. and are as ridiculous as the article. Similarly in the field of what may be termed reporting, Gautier contributed several articles to la Presse and le Moniteur universel, which are singularly undistinguished. (119)

In comparison with Joseph Peyré or Henry de Montherlant, Gautier's attempts at a psychological study of a torero and toreo in general, as presented in Militona, are almost pitifully stereotyped and conventional with little if any regard for the truth. It would seem that all Gautier sought was the movement and colour of the arena, and that he was fascinated with the macabre and bloody images. The description of Juancho's traje de luces epitomises the colourfulness which fascinated Gautier:

"Une large faja de soie rouge sanglait sa taille fine; les broderies d'argent qui ruisselaient le long de sa veste formaient au collet, aux manches, aux poches, aux parements, comme des endroits stagnants...

... ce n'était plus une veste incarnadine brodée d'argent, mais une veste d'argent brodée d'incarnadin. Aux épaules papillotaient tant de torsades, de globules, de filigranes, de noeuds et d'ornementés de toute sorte, que les bras semblaient jaillir de deux couronnes défoncées. La culotte de satin, enjolivée de soutaches et de paillons sur les coutures, pressait, sans les gêner, les muscles de fer et des formes d'une élégance robuste," (120)

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- (118) Francisco Montés, Tauromaquia completa, o sea el arte de torear a pie como a caballo, Madrid, 1836.
 (119) La Presse, 14 October, 1846, Le Moniteur universel, August, September, October, 1864.
 (120) Gautier, Militona, ed.cit., p.32.

and, describing the bull which Juancho was to face, Gautier recounts the animal's "successes" in a style which is still more imbued with romanticism than with realism:

"Sept chevaux étendus, vides d'entrailles et découpant sur le sable, aux différents endroits où l'agonie les avait fait tomber, la mince silhouette de leur cadavre, témoignaient de sa force et de sa furie." (121)

The details of the corridas presented in Militona display only too clearly the superficiality of Gautier's understanding and the dichotomy between the aspects of true and false afición which are found in his writings. André Lubac makes the point clear:

"Nous touchons ici à l'un des points les plus inquiétants de l'âme de Gautier, son goût des spectacles cruels. Gautier a aimé la corrida pour ce qu'elle comporte de pittoresque et de mouvement, mais aussi pour le spectacle de la souffrance qu'on peut y trouver." (122)

It is to be noted also that Gautier had demonstrated this taste in other works.

Gautier's taste for cruelty is revealed clearly in two chapters of Caprices et Zigzags. (123) "Voyage hors barrières" and "Chiens et rats" contain some of Gautier's finest descriptive writing but also indicate reasons for his interest in the corrida. In his analysis of the colour and movement of the corrida and of other aspects of life in Spain Gautier sought those images which appealed to his nature and were partly a reflection of it. His efforts to understand these images as an expression of life are limited, for like so many others Gautier was really seeking in Spain an expression of

(121) Militona, p.38.

(122) Lubac, op.cit. p.68.

(123) Gautier, Caprices et Zigzags, Paris, 1856.

his own nature. (124)

To Gautier and Musset belongs the honour of being the only poets of note to introduce the corrida into poetry. Although toreo continued to be an interesting subject to travellers and writers of fiction, poets of the Romantic era do not appear to have found in the fiesta brava a subject worthy of poetic treatment. Gautier's poetic contribution to this subject is limited to a few lines in En Passant à Vergara:

"A nous la vie, à nous le soleil et l'azur,
A nous tout ce qui chante, à nous tout ce qui brille,
Les courses de taureaux dans Madrid ou Séville,
Les pesants picadors et les légers chulos,
Les mules secouant leurs grappes de grelots,
Les chevaux éventrés, et le taureau qui râle
Fondant, l'épée au cou, sur le matador pâle!" (125)

These lines are a true reflection of the two aspects of the corrida which attracted Gautier, although "A nous la vie" suggests a depth of appreciation not attained by the poet, at least in the matter of the fiesta brava.

Musset's contribution is even slighter, and patently superficial:

"Nous allons voir le taureau
C'est aujourd'hui dimanche,
Quel bonheur et qu'il fait beau!

Voici le roi cousu d'or
Qui vient en cavalcade.
Monsieur le Corrégidor
Avec un vieux matador
Boit de la limonade.
J'entends le signal.
Le taureau s'élance;
Diego prend la lance
Et monte à cheval
C'est le plus brave qui commence
Ah! Ah!
Les filles de Madrid aiment ce garçon-là" (126)

(124) McCormick and Mascarenas, The Complete Aficionado, p. 232.

(125) Gautier, En Passant à Vergara, vv. 56-62.

(126) Musset, les Filles de Madrid, vv. 1-3, and vv. 49-60.

Hugo in Alpes et Pyrénées describes the arena at Pamplona, but as most of the details appear to have been copied from posters around the town there is little invention or interpretation to note. In no work of Hugo does the corrida appear as a central theme.

After 1850 toreo in Spain underwent a series of crises and Mérimée in his correspondence only noted inferior corridas. His enthusiasm waned and by the time the situation had returned to normal he was so advanced in years that he was unable to return to his previous level of afición. Descriptions of the corrida appear only in travellers' accounts until the second renaissance of interest with Barrès, Montherlant and Peyré.

To complete the scene mention should be made of the attempts by Alexandre Dumas (père) to depict and explain the corrida. However these attempts are little more than lightly disguised plagiarisms from Tra los Montes and display an absolute lack of knowledge of the intricacies of the spectacle. Other minor works of fiction in which the corrida plays a greater or lesser rôle are Don Alonso, by Salvandy, and Dago by Cuvelier de Trie. (127)

None of the above had any knowledge of toreo beyond what any ordinary tourist could be expected to acquire. Despite the fact that in a period of three days Gautier witnessed the death of twenty-four bulls and ninety-six horses in the arena, and that Mérimée was an admirer of the matador Montés and the picador Sevilla - he was proud to be the friend of the latter - both authors glorify the romantic aspects of toreo to

(127) Jean Cuvelier de Trie, Dago, Paris, 1806.

the complete exclusion of discipline and control. Nevertheless Gautier and Mérimée succeeded in establishing in the minds of readers and writers views and attitudes which have persisted even in Spain itself until today. Variations on Carmen, or stories written in the same journalistic style have been written by the Spanish authors Eduardo Lopez Bago, Joaquín Lopez Pinillos, Alejandro Pérez Lugin, José Más, and Alberto Insús. The latest in the line is El Torero by Javier Martinez Bedoya; "...A naively pretentious narrative which combined the most unfortunate influences of the nineteenth century with the most deplorable of the twentieth." (128)

In the corrida French writers were able to see aspects of Spanish life which coincided with their preconceptions of colour, movement, nobility and cruelty. The character of Spanish women, the dominant traits of whom appear to have been identified as pride, voluptuousness and sensuality inextricably linked with depth of passion and cruelty, they found symbolised in the dances and music of the Peninsula.

In his Tableau de l'Espagne moderne Bourgoing quotes from an unidentified book by a certain M. Fischer and comments that the description "ne manque pas... d'exactitude." The passage referred to reflects the sensuality which foreigners noted in the dances of Spain:

"Plein de désirs, le danseur s'élançe encore au-devant de la danseuse. Un même sentiment la rapproche de lui. Ils se dévorent des yeux; leurs lèvres vont s'entr'ouvrir; elle est encore faiblement retenue par un reste de pudeur. Le fracas de la musique redouble, et avec lui la vivacité de leurs mouvements. Une espèce de

(128) McCormick and Mascareñas, op.cit., p.234.

vertige, l'ivresse de la volupté, semble les avoir subjugués l'un et l'autre: tous leurs muscles appellent et expriment le plaisir; leurs regards se confondent." (129)

Bourgoing is here describing a bolero, but Cuendias utilizes a similar range of vocabulary to describe a fandango:

"Le fandango est une danse d'abord lente, incertaine, timide; mais bientôt les danseurs s'animeront par degrés: alors commencera une mimique souple, gracieuse, qui exprime de vagues désirs, des voluptés timides, des aveux muets; puis, à mesure que la musique deviendra plus rapide, les passions se dessineront avec elle; enfin, arrivée à son dernier paroxysme, une ivresse inconnue envahit l'âme des danseurs; leurs mouvements se déploient avec une liberté hardie; c'est le triomphe des sens sur la volonté." (130)

In imaginative literature the rhythm, colour and sensuality of the dance, not forgetting the beauty of the danseuse, inspired several passages which have endured as part of the image of Spain.

Musset's poem l'Andalouse enjoyed remarkable success. It was first of all set to music by Amédée de Beauplan. But the poem gained popularity when music for it was written by Hippolyte Monpou. Augustin Challamel has recorded the popular view.

"Nous chantions partout son Andalouse, mise en musique par Hippolyte Monpou, le compositeur du romantisme." (131)

The poem was adapted by Labiche for one of his most successful comedies Un Chapeau de paille d'Italie where it appeared as:

"Connaissez-vous dans Barcelone,
Dans Barcelone!

{129} Bourgoing, op.cit., Vol. II. p.362.

{130} Cuendias, op.cit., p.255.

{131} Challamel, Souvenirs d'un hugolâtre, Paris, 1885, p.156.

Une Andalouse au teint bruni,
 Au noir sourcil?
 En bien! ce portrait de lionne,
 Ce portrait de fière amazone,
 A l'oeil hardi
 Trop dégourdi...
 N'est pas celui de ma houri,
 Non, Dieu merci! ... " (132)

Musset also experimented with Spanish rhythms in Boléro.
 (133)

Of the most popular dances in Spain, the fandango, the volero or bolero, the cachuca and the seguidilla, the fandango seems to have aroused the most interest. Travellers did not fail to comment upon it, poets attempted to reconstruct the movement and rhythm of it. Bourgoing has commented upon its popularity:

"Rien ne contraste plus avec la prétendue gravité des Espagnols que leur danse favorite, le fandango, danse vraiment nationale, pleine d'expression, dont les étrangers un peu scrupuleux se scandalisent d'abord, mais sont bientôt enivrés eux-mêmes." (134)

In les Annales romantiques of 1833 appeared a poem written by P. Hédouin which was typical of the kind of lyric which the dance inspired. The poem follows closely the pattern described by Manuel de Cuendias:

"Tes yeux, à l'éclat velouté,
 Expriment la gaiété,
 L'ardente volupté:
 Ils ont charmé ma vie!
 Laisse-moi placer sur ton sein
 Tendre fleur de jasmin,
 Orgeuil de mon jardin,
 Que pour toi j'ai cueillie!

 O moment rapide, enchanteur!"

(132) Musset, Poésies complètes, edited Maurice Allem, Paris, 1957, p.623. Labiche, Un Chapeau de paille... Act I, Sc. IV.

(133) Musset, Poésies complètes, ed. cit., p.536.

(134) Bourgoing, op.cit., Vol. II, p.359.

Je sens battre ton coeur:
 D'un enivrant bonheur,
 Ah! saisissons la trace!...
 Mon Elvire, avec nos beaux ans,
 Les roses du printemps,
 Les soupirs des amans,
 Tout s'enfuit, tout s'efface." (135)

The following year, in the same publication a poem with the same title, le Fandango, by Emile Saladin, illustrated the same dance. Saladin utilises a rhythm without sufficient internal variety of cadence to successfully portray the music or movement of the dance and his poem emphasizes the sensuality of the performers:

"Comme de souples branches,
 Faites saillir vos hanches,
 Et vos gorges si blanches
 Que l'oeil va dévorant."

Throughout the poem the accent is upon the common physical aspect of the dancers:

"Là les peaux sont marbrées,
 Les tailles sont cambrées,
 Les haleines ambrées,
 Et les sens éperdus." (136)

Among the most successful poems of España are those in which the influence of Spanish music is not only apparent in the meaning but also in the form and rhythm of the poem. In Séguidille, Gautier utilises the form of the seguidilla, a short poem of invariable form, often improvised as an accompaniment to music and dance. Gautier's poem was as successful as Musset's Andalouse, with the difference that Gautier's Séguidille set to many different scores made a more rapid descent to the level of café-concert.

(135) P. Hédouin, le Fandango, Annales romantiques, 1833, pp. 216, 217, 218.

(136) Emile Saladin, le Fandango, Annales romantiques, 1834, pp. 63-64.

The serenade, with guitar accompaniment, was an aspect of Spain which could not be overlooked by a poet such as Gautier. He had noted in Tra los Montes the popularity of pelar la paba and in l'Echelle d'Amour utilises the details of what he had seen. The form, however, is not of the true serenade, which is more usually composed of detached coplas, and Gautier's poem is a hybrid which embraces aspects of both truth and fantasy. Letrilla is also a hybrid form and has its origins in two distinct coplas, which explains the rather abrupt change of subject:

"Enfant pourquoi tant de parure,
Sur son sein ces rouges colliers,
Ta clef d'argent à ta ceinture,
Ces beaux rubans à tes souliers?

—
La neige fond sur la montagne;
L'oeil bleu du printemps nous sourit,
Je veux aller à la campagne.
Savoir si le jasmin fleurit!

—
Pour moi ni printemps ni campagne;
Pour moi pas de jasmin en fleur;
Car une peine m'accompagne,
Car un chagrin me tient au coeur." (137)

When Gautier was travelling away from Granada he heard muleteers singing and transposed what he had noted at the time into J'allais partir, which was published as le Fil d'or (Boléro) with the music of Labarre. In the final version the colour of Andalucía has been almost entirely suppressed and although having its origins in the Spanish copla retains its charm through the rhythms Gautier imparted to the poem.

Gautier was greatly attracted by the popular poetry and songs of Spain and although the content of his poems of this kind is traditional in its conception he has

(137) Gautier, Letrilla, first published in the Poésies complètes of 1845.

succeeded in infusing his lines with the feeling for movement and rhythm. His poems are not strictly translations nor original creations yet:

"...reconnaissons que jamais adaptation ne fut plus achevée, que jamais inspiration plus purement espagnole ne trouva pour s'exprimer lyrisme plus français ." (138)

The demands made upon Spain as a source of inspiration for Victor Hugo for his poetic and prose works in the period between Hernani (1830) and Ruy Blas (1838) are limited to names and forms. For the most important scenes of Notre-Dame de Paris he is indebted to the Novelas Ejemplares of Cervantes, Guzman de Alfarache of Mateo Alemán, and a comedy by Antonio de Solis, la Gitanilla de Madrid, but his world is unreal, based on a few picturesque observations. Esmeralda, the gipsy girl of Notre-Dame de Paris, is a composite character largely modelled on Cervantes's Preciosa. The description of Esmeralda's dance also owes much to the original by Cervantes.

"Elle dansait, elle tournait, elle tourbillonnait sur un vieux tapis de Perse jeté négligement sous ses pieds, et chaque fois qu'en tournoyant sa rayonnante figure passait devant vous, ses grands yeux noirs vous jetaient un éclair. Autour d'elle tous les regards étaient fixes, toutes les bouches ouvertes; et en effet, tandis qu'elle dansait ainsi, au bourdonnement du tambour de basque que ses deux bras ronds et purs élevaient au-dessus de sa tête, mince frêle et vive comme une guêpe, avec son corsage d'or sans pli, sa robe bariolée qui se gonflait, avec ses épaules nues, ses jambes fines que sa robe découvrait par moments, ses cheveux noirs, ses yeux de flamme, c'était une surnaturelle créature." (139)

Hugo uses the dance to emphasize the sensuality of

(138) Jasinski, l'España de Théophile Gautier, Paris, 1929, p.43.

(139) Hugo, Notre-Dame de Paris, Paris, 1961, ed. Marius-François Guyard, p.74-75.

Esmeralda which makes the dance itself sensual.

Esmeralda, as well as being an exquisite dancer had a charming voice. Hugo uses the song as a means to portray the mobility of her mood and expression which vary from the wildest inspiration to the most virginal dignity. However, the song which Esmeralda sings seems to have been inserted with little consideration for the meaning of the words, much in the same way that he inserted a fragment later in the novel:

"Quando las pintadas aves
Mudas están y la tierra..." (140)

These lines are taken from Abel Hugo's Romancero, published in 1821, and form the opening of a Romance about Rodrigue.

Esmeralda sings:

"Un cofre de gran riqueza
Halloran dentro un pilar;
Dentro del, nuevas banderas
Con figuras de espantar.

—
Alarabes de cavallo
Sin poderse menear,
Con espadas, y a los cuellos
Ballestas de buen echar." (141)

Gringoire did not understand the words, and neither, or so it seems, did Esmeralda, for Hugo comments that the expression did not fit the scene. However, Esmeralda's expressiveness causes Gringoire's eyes to fill with tears. Hugo again utilises Abel Hugo's Romancero; these lines are from Romancero e historia del rey de España Don Rodrigo. postrero de los Godos.

A similar situation arises in Carmen. Don José takes the mandolin and sings a strange song - a zorzico in Basque. (142) But as with other aspects of the image

(140) Hugo, Notre-Dame de Paris, ed.cit., p.119.
(141) Notre-Dame de Paris, p.79.
(142) Merimee, Carmen, ed.cit., pp. 12-13.

of Spain which have been discussed Carmen best represents the image of collective imagination. Carmen has all the attributes and skills ranging from making love to handling a knife, Carmen takes part in a performance of romali at a senior officer's house. She is magnificently dressed:

"Elle était parée, cette fois, comme un chasseur, pomponnée, attifée, tout or et tout rubans. Une robe à paillettes, des souliers bleus à paillettes aussi, des fleurs et des galons partout. Elle avait un tambour de basque à la main." (143)

Mérimée has, in the description of the dance, mentioned only the significant details as seen or heard by the poor Don José. Lizzarrabengoa, on guard outside the colonel's house. He succeeds in depicting the atmosphere in a most realistic way and the rhythm of the prose suggests the snatches of music and comment which reach Don José:

"Toute la société était dans le patio, et, malgré la foule, je voyais à peu près tout ce qui se passait à travers la grille. J'entendais les castagnettes, le tambour, les rires et les bravos; parfois j'apercevais sa tête quand elle sautait avec son tambour. Puis j'entendais encore des officiers qui lui disaient bien des choses qui me faisaient monter le rouge à la figure. Ce qu'elle répondait, je n'en savais rien." (144)

Gautier's description of the fall of evening in Madrid is completed by a detailed evocation of the sounds which drift through the streets. A nostalgic representation which is heightened by the compact lyricism of the passage.

"Le jour baissait, les jolis nuages roses du couchant pommelaient le ciel. Dans le lointain

(143) Carmen, p.45.
 (144) Carmen, p.46.

l'on entendait bourdonner les guitares, ronfler les panderos sous les pouces des danseuses, frissonner les plaques de cuivre de tambours de basque, et babiller les castagnettes. Les ay! et les ola! des couplets de fandango jaillissaient par bouffées harmonieuses du coin des rues et des carrefours et tous ces bruits joyeux et nationaux formaient comme un vague épithalame au bonheur des deux amants." (145)

In the same way as there appeared to be inconsistency between Gautier's understanding of toreo in Tra los Montes and Militona there are certain differences between España in which he seized upon the essence of Spanish rhythms, and Militona in which music and dance are little more than elements in the plethora of couleur locale. This is true for other writers too, for as far as may be judged on the material examined, Spanish music and the dance were only understood by writers of the Romantic age at the level of providers of colour and movement, or as the vehicle of stock female sensuality.

For this period of 1800-1850, the corrida and music are aspects of life in Spain which reveal most clearly the elements of national character which prose-writers and poets seized upon most eagerly. This is not to deny that there were other features of equal importance, but the religious and political aspects of life in Spain did not seem to have strong and immediate appeal. This lack of interest is despite the fact that the intensity of religious feeling in Spain enabled Christianity to strike profound roots in the peninsula from earliest times with the result that religious sense has played an important role in all notable occurrences in Spanish history, art and architecture. Yet apart from incidental references to the mantilla as a symbol of purity or hispanidad, the rosary as an accoutrement, not always in

(145) Gautier, Militona, Un Trio de romans, Paris, n.d. p.138.

a religious connection, and deeply seated convictions again not always religious, there is no novel, short story or poem which has as its central theme the catholicity of the Spanish people. There are comments in the Marquis de Custine's l'Espagne sous Ferdinand VII and Quinet's Mes Vacances en Espagne which show that French writers were concerned with the interminable conflict between political and religious factions which existed in France and that they admired the faith of the average Spaniard, but the possibilities of this theme were not explored in imaginative literature.

As with religion, so with politics. Apart from works specifically based on political issues, really in the essay genre, there are no outstanding examples of imaginative literature with a cadre based on the realities of political questions.

In the following sections it will be shown that with some slight changes in emphasis the accepted image of Spain will remain based on the understanding and interpretation of the writers of the period 1800-1850. There are of course other aspects which could be taken into consideration, including the utilisation of Spanish history to furnish cadre and décor, a subject worthy of separate study. However, for the Romantic period the works studied here are representative of what Hoffman calls l'imagination collective, providing a standard image not far removed from the definition given by Boiste in the Dictionnaire portatif de géographie universelle, published in 1806.

"Les Espagnols sont grands, ont le teint brun, sont orgueilleux, loyaux et humains, paresseux et sobres, patients et spirituels, très-galans, moins jaloux qu'autrefois; les femmes sont

d'une taille petite et svelte, ont beaucoup
d'esprit et de vivacité: la langue espagnole,
dialecte du latin mêlé d'arabe, est sonore,
majestueuse et sublime." (146)

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(146) Dictionnaire portatif de géographie universelle,
Paris, 1806, p.327.

CHAPTER IX

- SUMMARY 1800 - 1850 -

- SUMMARY -

As we have seen, a series of events brought France and Spain closer together at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Spain, denigrated by Montesquieu and Voltaire, declared to be non-existent by Masson, disdained generally in France, began again to exert influence in the field of European literature. First of all the Peninsular War opened the eyes of the English Romantics, Southey, Wordsworth, Scott and Shelley, to the innate nobility of the Spanish race and the heroism of individuals. A new Spain was being discovered. Travellers had the opportunity to see the Spanish landscape; the ruins of the past recalled the great exploits of El Cid; Spain was revealed as a land full of colour and movement, the ideal refuge:

"Reconnaissons chez eux /les romantiques/
 le besoin parfois tourmentant de se distraire,
 de fuir le commun et le banal de la vie,
 l'horreur du présent, cette anxiété idéale qui

nous porte à une vie, à une patrie, à un ciel meilleurs, la grande nostalgie de l'âme, le "mal de l'avenir" comme l'appelait Quinet, une force secrète qui poussait vers les régions ignorées, où l'on attendait le bonheur, la chaleur désirée, la soif de grandes émotions et de frémissements." (1)

Mérimée best illustrates the instinct for Spain. Before he visited Spain for the first time in 1830 he had already published his Theâtre de Clara Gazul in which he experiments with conceptions of Spanish character and ensures that:

"... il saura, quand il en aura l'occasion et le moyen, de quel côté diriger l'effort de son analyse." (2)

In his later works Mérimée reaches a stage far more advanced than mere understanding of the essence of Spain. He experiences and describes the complexities of the Spanish temperament in which the strange mixture of voluptuousness, fantasy, fatality and nobility almost defies analysis. Mérimée's intuition is paralleled by that of Stendhal but has a very different basis. Stendhal's view of Spain stems from his belief in the chevalresque origins of the Spanish character, primarily the traits of pride and constancy. Mérimée comes to this conclusion but through the picturesque, thus attaining a deeper understanding than Gautier or Stendhal.

For Gautier, Spain meant colour. In the Voyage en Espagne Spain is almost a country without inhabitants; whereas for Mérimée Spain offered variety and interest in people, for Gautier the landscape suggested greater

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- (1) Arturo Farinelli, "le Romantisme et l'Espagne," Revue de littérature comparée, Année 16, 1936, p.671.
 (2) Ernest Martinenche, l'Espagne et le romantisme français, Paris, 1922. p. 111.

artistic possibilities. There is little evocation of the landscape in the works of Mérimée, he penetrates quickly to the soul of Spain, illustrating the point that with a common source of inspiration two writers reveal differences in their conception of their art and in their execution. Gautier's more flamboyant colourful style contrasts with Mérimée's sober, more rigid evocation of the paysage moral of Spain which Azorin praises as the most important aspect of Mérimée's work. (3) Gautier's approach to the exterior, his tendency to draw conclusions too rapidly, is explained perhaps by the suggestion that "Il était né peintre et il a voulu être poète." (4) This characteristic was soon noted in Spain and gave rise to a mention in Un Francés en Cartegena:

"...Si en hora menguada a alguno
Muerde en la calle un lebel,
Con mucha formalidad
Nos dirá luego Gautier:
'Todos los perros en España
Muerden...entre cinco y seis'." (5)

Musset's vision of Spain reveals the depth of his sensitivity; the rapid change from the height of enthusiasm to abject despair suggests that he was susceptible to the extremes of sentiment simply noted or described by lesser poets. Spain for Musset was the perfect touchstone for his philosophy as a poet, child-like and sentimental, but deeply involved.

Although influenced by the colour and the picturesqueness of Spain, Victor Hugo sees beyond the exterior to the people of Spain who had a place in his conception of

(3) Azorin, (José Martínez-Ruiz), "l'Espagnolisme des romantiques français," Mercure de France, Vol 121, 1917, p.626.

(4) Farinelli, op.cit., p. 687.

(5) Bretón de los Herreros, Un Francés a Cartagena, 1843, Act II, final scene.

humanity. More than in his poems or prose Hugo's interest in Spain is reflected in his dramas - in Hernani, Ruy Blas and Torquemada - which are outside the limits of this study. In the works discussed in this section, Hugo gives proof, despite his errors or deliberate modifications of geographical fact, of solid documentation rarely found in poetic works. In general the Spain of the drama is more real, more full of life than his other works, a contrast which led Piétri to conclude:

"Tout ce qu'on peut dire, dans l'ordre critique, c'est que Hugo a souvent joué avec sa propre et vaste connaissance d'un sujet où son romantisme - et, parfois, la tyrannie de la rime - trouvaient matière à d'innocentes jongleries." (6)

In the great works of Balzac, Spain has but a minor role and the tragic quality of stories with Spanish settings is the most striking aspect of his interpretation. Contrary to the view held by Hugo, Balzac saw Spain as being much more closely allied to Italy than to Africa or the East; what interested the author of la Comédie humaine was the meridional traits of character which he sought to incorporate into his vast analysis of French society. Physical décor, contrary to his usual practice, is kept to a minimum; his main goal is presentation of the interaction between people.

Spain first of all for writers of this period provided the exotic richness of colour and picturesqueness for which French literature seemed to be seeking. Despite differences of style and differences in approach to the subject, Spain inspired writers with enthusiasm which led to the formation of images of infinite variation. It is not possible to say that Mérimée's Spain contains

(6) François Piétri, "l'Espagne de Victor Hugo," Revue des Deux Mondes, XXVIII, Feb, 1952, p. 672.

more truth than the Spain of Gautier, or Hugo or Vigny. However, it is possible to say that Spain, via the inspiration of all the authors whose works have been briefly considered in this section, made a lasting impression on French literature. The general notion of Spain, as it was presented to the reading public between 1800 and 1850, rests on a few general elements: the picturesqueness of the physical décor, of the different mode of life, of the different temperament of the people.

Spain also gave new impetus to the literature of France as the Romantics made use of the works of Spanish literature as models for their own work; this is a less important issue in this context but significant, as it reinforces the view that the presence of Spain in European literature was re-established. Through this period Spain was also re-established among the societies of the world. Hoffman analyses the effect of the image of Spain as it was presented in the literature of this period:

"Nous prétendons que derrière les exagérations et les préjugés, derrière le snobisme de la mode et la persistance des idées toutes faites, c'est essentiellement avec respect et admiration que l'âme collective française imaginait l'Espagne." (7)

It matters little that details of life in Spain were misunderstood or that after an analysis of the image of Spain presented in imaginative literature of the period 1800-1850 one should conclude that, essentially, very little changed during this time apart from the general attitude to the country and its inhabitants.

(7) Léon-François Hoffmann, Romantique Espagne, Paris, 1961, p. 162.

The role of the inspiration of Spain in the development of the genius of writers of poetry and prose is probably more considerable than the evidence may show - the subtle effects of upbringing, reading, travel, environments and other conditioning agents are never easy to estimate. It is this problem which led Martinenche to conclude that:

"Nos romantiques n'ont pas toujours compris l'Espagne, mais ils ont toujours obscurément senti qu'elle était nécessaire à la pleine envolée de leur génie, et, parce qu'ils l'ont sincèrement aimée, il leur sera beaucoup pardonné. Et puis, où trouver critique qui vaille contre des erreurs qui s'épanouissent en beauté." (8)

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(8) Martinenche, op.cit., p.253.

PART FOUR

-- 1850 - 1890 -

An analysis of the image of Spain presented in the period 1850-1890, mainly in poetry, reflecting a decline in the interest of novelists and the beginnings of scholarly interest in Spain, her institutions, literature and people.

CHAPTER X

- THE BACKGROUND 1850 - 1890 -

The errors of the Romantics - the continuing dominance of Hugo - the Parnassians - new significance of couleur locale - continuing trends - new areas of interest - influence of Spanish literature - the results of the Spanish marriages - Napoleon and Eugenia - the Hohenzollern question - France's concern with north and east - colonial problems - récits de voyage - growth of Hispanic studies - translations - pre-Golden Age - Golden Age literature - Fernán Caballero - Valera - Pardo Bazán - Pérez Galdós - realistic interpretation of Spain.

- THE BACKGROUND 1850-1890 -

The Romantics claimed to have introduced exotic elements into their work and it has been shown that although the influence of Spain upon French literature and upon the socio-political scene had occasioned the appearance of a certain image of Spain in literature, this image was, in most cases, over-embellished by the imagination. It has been shown too that the image was firmly based on conceptions which had survived for a long time and which were firmly entrenched in the mind of the public and the inspiration of the writer.

Severe critics have noted that the Spain of the Romantics was riddled with errors and misunderstanding. Alfred Morel-Fatio criticised the Romantics for the lack of completeness in their knowledge:

"La plupart des Romantiques, presque tous, ont profondément ignoré la littérature espagnole, tant ancienne que moderne: ce

qu'ils ont pris à l'Espagne se réduit à des légendes, des noms, des coutumes, en un mot, à de la couleur." (1)

Menendez y Pelayo wrote of Hugo:

"En resolución, Victor Hugo no sabía nuestra lengua, ni tenía de nuestras cosas más que una idea fantástica, si bien algo más benévola que la que suelen tener los franceses." (2)

This criticism, as far as Hugo is concerned, is valid, sufficient evidence being given by Piétri in his article "l'Espagne de Victor Hugo," (3) which, although constructed as a defence of Hugo's Hispanisme, in fact highlights some of his more serious linguistic weaknesses.

Hugo's method of characterisation is also suspect:

"Los personajes de sus dramas, comenzando por el viejo Ruy Gomez de Silva, vigésimo descendiente de D. Silvio, cónsul de Roma, y siguiendo por el lacayo Ruy Blas, primer ministro de Carlos II, para terminar con el rey de Burgos que figura en Torquemada, son figurones de teatro de muñecos, que tienen tanto de españoles como de turcos, y que sólo puede admitir como auténtica representación de la raza algún americano del sur que haya estudiado nuestra historia y nuestras costumbres en Paris." (4)

There is no doubt that although Spain was partly the answer to the problem of new and exciting content, it

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- (1) Alfred Morel-Fatio, Etudes sur l'Espagne, Paris, 1888, p. 77.
 (2) Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de las Ideas Esteticas en España, Vol. IV, pp. 374-375.
 (3) Francois Pietri, "L'Espagne de Victor Hugo," Revue des Deux Mondes, XVI, August 1951, pp. 601-618.
 (4) Menendez y Pelayo, op.cit., Vol IV, p.375.

had also provided the ideal situation for the projection of the individuality of the author.

Not only Spain, but also Greece, Italy, the Far East, Germany and Africa had appealed to the imagination of Romantic writers. It has been noted also that Spain was considered as part of the Orient. Hugo had given a striking example of this with his Orientales. (5) Roger Delcambre, in his article on Parnassian poetry, wrote that the Romantics utilised Spain in the same way as they had drawn upon Greece or the East - and he suggests a reason:

"... car c'était pour les romantiques une obligation de promener ainsi leurs rêveries dans les pays lointains." (6)

It seems quite a natural progression that the Romantics should have as their greatest concern local colour. They claimed that they were able to indicate precisely individuals, races and customs - new facets of literature for the nineteenth century - and to do this they had to be able to evoke sufficiently strongly an authentic environment in which their characters could truly live. Mainly through the prestige and influence of Victor Hugo, Romanticism was prolonged for a further quarter of a century. Hugo dominated the scene, particularly in the field of poetry. After les Rayons et les Ombres (1840) he returned "après un silence espagnol de près de vingt ans" (7) to the subject of Spain as an inspiration for certain poems which appeared in the first

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- (5) Raymond Foulché-Delbosc, "L'Espagne dans les Orientales de Victor Hugo," Revue hispanique, Vol 4, p.83.
 (6) Roger Delcambre, "L'Hispanisme de deux Parnassiens: Leconte de Lisle et Jose-Maria de Heredia," Hispania, 5, 1922, p. 239.
 (7) Piétri, op.cit., Part IV, Revue des Deux Mondes, XXVIII, 1952, p. 650.

series of la Légende des siècles (1859). The first series contains Après la bataille, composed in 1850, le Petit Roi de Galice, composed in 1858, Bivar and la Rose de l'Infante composed in the year of publication. The second series contains notably Romancero du Cid which although composed in 1856 was held over until 1877. The second series contains more poems concerning El Cid - le Cid exilé (1859) Quand le Cid fut entré dans le Generalife - and others restating regional aspects of the history of Spain - Jour des Rois (1859), l'Hydre (1873), Paternité, (1875) and Masferrer (1859).

Victor Hugo apart, a change in French poetry was taking place even before 1850. Poetry was becoming less personal and poets tended to seek out a general expression of the world around them rather than to express in verse sentimental occurrences in an individual life. Le moi and intimate experience began to give way to objective views and even Hugo, in the Préface to la Légende des siècles expressed the humanitarian motives of his work. These were:

"L'épanouissement du genre humain de siècle en siècle, l'homme montant des ténèbres à l'idéal, la transfiguration paradisiaque de l'enfer terrestre, l'éclosion lente et suprême de la liberté, droit pour cette vie, responsabilité pour l'autre." (8)

In many ways the Parnassian development in French poetry is a continuation of Romanticism, but it would appear that Leconte de Lisle and Heredia possessed better basic preparation for the presentation of the image of Spain. It is known that Leconte de Lisle studied foreign languages while at Rennes;(9) but we

(8) Victor Hugo, la Légende des siècles, Préface, Paris, 1954, p.18.

(9) Maurice Spronck, les Artistes littéraires, Paris, 1889, pp. 198-199.

shall later examine more conclusive evidence found in six of his poems, some of which follow the Spanish original text closely and reveal a considerable knowledge of Spanish.

There is no such problem with Heredia. Born in Cuba, he remained there until he was eight; at the age of sixteen he returned to study at the Universidad de la Havana. Poems written by Heredia in Spanish were discussed by Harry Goldgar in an article written in 1963. (10)

From the tenets of Romanticism the Parnassians kept what they considered to be good while effecting a slight change in direction. Henri de Régnier explains this phenomenon.

"Le Parnassisme fut... l'arrivée, dans le Romantisme encore vivace ou déjà finissant, de poètes nouveaux et de tempéraments neufs. Le Romantisme, pour ainsi dire, fait escale au Parnasse. C'est toujours le même vaisseau qui continue sa route, avec, à son bord, de nouveaux matelots. Ce sont les mêmes voiles. La manoeuvre seule a changé." (11)

These changes seem to have involved four principles, the first two of which, announced by Gautier - l'art pour l'art and la perfection plastique - do not concern us here. The two remaining - (a) impersonality which should replace l'exaltation du moi and (b) objectivity to replace subjectivity - are inter-related and inter-dependent.

In the same way that the Romantics were obliged to see things subjectively since they were seeing them through their own personality, the Parnassians adopted

(10) "Three Spanish Sonnets of José-Maria de Heredia," Comparative Literature, XV, 1963, pp.23-32.

(11) Henri de Régnier, "Poètes d'aujourd'hui et poésie de demain," Mercure de France, Vol XXXV, August 1900, p.323.

necessarily the theory of objectivity because they aimed at impersonal writing and impassivity. One of the first requirements for constructing a cadre in the Parnassian sense was to know the situation; consequently local colour takes on a new significance, noted by Brunetière:

"La 'Couleur locale' a donc une toute autre valeur, comme une toute autre intensité, dans les Poèmes antiques et dans les Poèmes barbares que dans les Orientales ou dans la Légende des siècles. Supposez qu'elle soit fausse, elle n'y est pas cependant arbitraire." (12)

Brunetière discusses only the poems which are concerned with India, Greece and Rome, and does not make any mention of the way in which Leconte de Lisle prepared for the composition of his Spanish pieces - which form only a small part of his total work. But it is quite clear that the same concern with truth which led the poet to make considerable documentary preparation for his poems with Indian themes and subjects would have directed his thoughts in the same way when he composed the Romances. (13)

It has also been noted (14) that the fantaisie in les Orientales scandalised Leconte de Lisle, and there are many works which support the claim that l'érudition documentaire of the Parnassians, in particular of Leconte de Lisle and of Heredia should be recognised. Among these are statements by Jules Lemaître:

"Chacun... /de ses sonnets/ ... suppose une longue préparation, et que le poète a vécu des mois dans le pays, dans le temps, dans le milieu particulier que ces deux quatrains et ces deux

(12) Fernand Brunetière, L'Evolution de la poésie lyrique, Paris, Vol II, p. 164.

(13) Roger Delcambre, op.cit., p.243, discusses this more fully.

(14) André Baumier, "Les Parnassiens et les Symbolistes," Mercure de France, XXXVII, February 1901, p. 381.

tercets réssuscitent." (15)

and Gaston Deschamps:

"Il [Heredía] est demeuré grand lecteur de livres érudits, de brochures rares, de commentaires peu connus ... Successeur des poètes qui ont introduit l'Espagne en France, héritier d'une longue lignée qui va de Jean Chapelain à Pierre Corneille et d'Abel Hugo à Victor Hugo, l'auteur des Trophées se distingue cependant de tous ses devanciers par des traits qui lui ~~so~~nt personnels." (16)

The Romantic novel, which, during the first fifty years of the nineteenth century had often been dominated by personal imagination and individual sensitivity, was continued by the work of Barbey d'Aurevilly (1808-1889). But, in the same way that the complexities of Romanticism reveal themselves more as a study progresses, so any brief explanation of the literary scene between 1850 and 1890 becomes more complex as the evaluation proceeds.

In the progression Realism, Naturalism, Symbolism, Impressionism, Expressionism, New Classicism, Neo-Romanticism and neue Sachlichkeit, it is not possible to designate any one country as leader or as the originator of influences of images. Influences and currents in late nineteenth century European literature move with increasing speed from one country to another, due to scientific developments in the fields of communication and printing. There is a method, however, of discussing the literature of the period which is of interest here, as suggested by Friederich. He suggests that the mass of literature should be divided into two broad groups:

(15) Jules Lemaître, les Contemporains, Paris, 1885, Vol II, p. 56.

(16) Gaston Deschamps, la Vie et les livres, Paris, 5 vols, 1894-1900. Cited in Delcombre, op.cit., p. 244.

"... one class would include that literature which embodies essentially a continuation of the romantic concept of the nature and function of literature, and the other class would include that literature which embodies a reaction against the romantic concept of the nature and function of literature." (17)

It is primarily in the novel that the progression Realism-Naturalism may be noted. However, although an exotic current remained in French literature, imaginative works concerned with Spain decreased in number and volume while récits de voyage and scholarly works increased. The rather superficial 'colour' which the Romantics had found in Spain tended to become less frequent in literature as the Romantic interpretation of the nature of literature gradually lost currency. In the particular case of representations of Spain in French literature, this is also partly due to the increasing influence of literatures and cultures other than Spanish which became apparent after 1850 and to France's increasing preoccupation with political affairs in northern and eastern Europe.

Before discussing generally the influences at work upon French literature it seems appropriate to comment on the pattern which emerges if Friederich's method is applied to those authors who, after 1850, projected in their works an image of Spain.

Hugo must be considered as a Romantic, continuing the Romantic concept; Leconte de Lisle, Heredia and Baudelaire as supporting some aspects of Romanticism but generally seeking new emphases. Loti redevelops later the ideas of exoticism with more insistence on the varied nature of exoticism than upon the importance of

(17) Werner P. Friederich, Outline of Comparative Literature, Chapel Hill, 1954, p. 332.

the cadre as part of the general structure of the novel. The importance of these approaches, all of which are basically romantic can be clearly seen when one considers the post 1890 period of literature and the approaches to the subject of Spain by Bertrand, Louys, Larbaud, Barrès and Montherlant.

Between 1800 and 1850, Spain had figured largely in many aspects of French life. Hoffmann (18) has minutely examined the influence of Spain upon French society of the period and has gathered the titles of "des oeuvres lyriques et dramatiques ayant rapport à l'Espagne." (19) The volume of these works was in part a result of the considerable political and social contacts with Spain, but these were to diminish after 1850.

Just as the Romantic writers had made a deliberate search for new content, the exploration of older themes of European civilisation was given new impetus by the strong reaction against the Romantics' interpretation. A secondary impetus was provided by the fact that, as before, new forms and new modes of expressions were being sought.

There was first of all a return to the themes of antiquity, not only by French writers, examples of which may be found in the works of Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-1898) (20) and in the earlier poems of Leconte de Lisle. There are further instances in Gérard de Nerval's (21) Voyage en Orient, Edmond About's la Grèce contemporaine

(18) Léon F. Hoffmann, Romantisme Espagnol, Paris, 1961.

(19) Ibid. Appèndice III, pp. 167-178.

(20) Stéphane Mallarmé, Herodiade (1869), L'Après-midi d'une faune, 1876.

(21) Leconte de Lisle, Niobé, Hélène, Vénus de Milo, etc in Poèmes antiques.

and le Roi des montagnes. (22) Scholarly works contributed to this field also: Fustel de Coulanges had published his Cité Antique as early as 1864, the year following the appearance of the first part of Renan's les Origines du Christianisme. Leconte de Lisle and Hugo also reflected the growing interest in religious and mediaeval sources, the religious aspects of which were to be continued by Bourget, Coppée, Claudel, Barrès, Maurras, Mauriac and in a different way by Huysmans. The influence of the East is evident in the works of Leconte de Lisle and Rimbaud while the publication of Vogüé's le Roman russe, (23) reflected another interest.

However, while poets and prose writers were able to take advantage of the improvements in communications the influences on French literature during this period were generally speaking of German and English origin. Jourda (24) has examined the results of these influences which were to produce very little until Barrès, but the influence of forms and characters from Spanish literature continued, greatly reduced, in the work of Alfred de Musset, Joseph Bouchardy, Théophile Gautier and Alphonse Daudet.

In 1851, de Musset published les Caprices de Marianne, a prose comedy in two acts, which recalls los Melindres de Belisa by Lope de Vega and has many affinities with Spanish drama and the society which inspired la Celestina. Earlier, in 1834, Musset had written On ne badine pas

(22) Gérard de Nerval, Voyage en Orient (1856); Edmond About, la Grèce contemporaine (1854), le Roi des montagnes (1856), etc. There is also a variety of material in la Légende des siècles.

(23) Melchior de Vogüé, le Roman russe, Paris, 1886.

(24) Pierre Jourda, l'Exotisme dans la littérature française depuis Chateaubriand. Vol II, le Romantisme, Paris/Montpellier, 1956.

avec l'amour (25) produced in Paris in 1861. This comedy suggests by its title affinities with No hay burlas con el amor by Calderón.

The influence of Calderón (la Devoción de la Cruz) and Alarcón (Crueldad por el honor) may be noted in l'Armurier de Santiago by Joseph Bouchardy (1810-1870). There are also links with Spanish romances.

Gautier's Capitaine Fracasse (1863) shows Spanish influence but not directly. It is acknowledged that it is based on Scarron's le Roman Comique (1651) which itself was taken from the Spanish. Daudet shows the same kind of influence in Tartarin de Tarascon (1872) in which Tartarin is portrayed as a variant of Don Quijote; there are furthermore in this novel frequent references to Cervantes, Don Quijote and Sancho Panza.

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As we have seen, three events dominated the political relationship of France and Spain in the first half of the nineteenth century - the results of the War of Succession, the invasion of 1808, and the "Intervention" of 1823. There were also three events in the period 1850-1890 which could be considered as key points in the story of the relationship between the two countries, although in this period there was no military contact.

These key points were the results of the "Spanish marriages," Napoleon III's marriage to Eugenia de Montijo, and the Hohenzollern question, which although it occasioned war did not militarily involve Spain. There were few, if any, repercussions in literature comparable to those which the earlier contact had inspired. Consequently, it must be noted that, polemics and scholarly

(25) This was first published in the Revue des Deux Mondes, 1 July 1834.

writing apart, foreign relations, internal politics and literature in this period cannot easily be related. However, Spain and France undoubtedly grew close together and although Napoleon III (and Louis-Philippe before him) would have wished otherwise, events in Spain influenced French political questions more extensively than France was able to influence Spain.

Eager to cement a definitive relationship - "to renew the Bourbon pact" (26) between the France of the Bourbons and the Spanish Bourbon family (27), Louis-Philippe and Maria-Cristina forced Isabella to marry her cousin Don Francisco d'Assis, Duke of Cádiz. The scheme was perfected by the arrangement of marriage between Isabella's younger sister Luisa-Fernanda and Louis-Philippe's fifth son, the Duke of Montpensier. The bargaining and plotting which surrounded these marriages - which took place on the same day, 10 October 1846 (28) - by British, French and Spanish diplomats and members of royalty turned Isabella into a pawn in a game which can only be described as international political chess. The double marriage had been arranged to ensure Bourbon continuation of the Spanish monarchy as it was not expected that Francisco would father a child. But Isabella added to the complications when on 28 November, 1857, she gave birth to a son who was to become Alfonso XII. (29)

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- (26) Harold Livermore, A History of Spain, London, 2nd ed. 1966, p. 378.
- (27) The Spanish Bourbon family were descendants of the Duke of Anjou (Philip V) who had come to the throne in 1700, nominated by Charles II the last representative of the House of Austria.
- (28) Although this event falls chronologically into the previous period discussed, the effects on the Franco-Spanish relationship were not felt until after 1850.
- (29) "In November 1857, the wayward Queen had presented the nation with an heir, the future Alphonso XII whose paternity was attributed to a Catalan colonel." Livermore, op,cit., p. 383.

The "Spanish Marriages" question weakened the growing Anglo-French understanding and one of the more obvious effects was that it contributed to Louis-Philippe's loss of his throne. It also caused unrest in the Basque provinces and in Cataluña and a renewal of Carlist claims, but full scale war was avoided. The French Royalists were divided and the second half of the nineteenth century began with the death of Louis-Philippe (1850) and the coup de grâce for the short-lived Second Republic.

Under the conditions imposed upon France by Napoleon III, political action was stifled, but it seemed that Napoleon was eager to bring France and Spain closer together. In 1853 he married Maria-Eugenia de Guzmán, contessa de Teba (1826-1920) who was the daughter of the conde de Montijo and Maria Kirkpatrick y Grevigné. Since 1834 Eugenia had lived in England; her mother was reputedly the lover of Prosper Mérimée. The correspondance between Mérimée and the Contessa de Montijo (published in 1930) provides an illuminating commentary of social and political life in France and Spain between 1836 and 1870. (30)

With the re-establishment of a brilliant court, the Anglo-French entente, Russia's defeat (1856) and the European Congress (1856), France was without doubt the most considerable power in Europe, exerting influence, not receiving it.

Spain, on the other hand, did not enter as soon as other nations into the resumption of the cultural and economic progression which had begun in the eighteenth century. Without doubt the War of Independence (1808-1814), the reaction of Ferdinand's party between 1814 and

(30) See Maurice Bataillon, "l'Espagne de Mérimée d'après sa correspondance," Revue de littérature comparée, Vol 22, January-March, 1948, pp. 35-66.

1833, and the Carlist War (1833-1839) were responsible for the delay. Little attention was given to cultural or intellectual progress, but the law of 1859 contributed to the expansion of public education and the arts. Those Spanish liberals who had emigrated in 1833 were able to return to Spain, and although deeply affected by the literary movements of France, Italy and Germany, the literary renaissance remained intrinsically Spanish.

While French prestige was high, Spain was still troubled with peasant uprisings. Outbreaks in Castilla and Asturias in 1855, 1857 and 1861, in addition to the political coups and skirmishing between O'Donnell and Espartero, disrupted her influence in overseas possessions.

Meanwhile, French troops were to be found in almost every corner of the globe extending France's colonial empire and Napoleon's diplomatic aims were becoming even more far-reaching. By 1860, the year in which a series of trade agreements was initiated by a treaty with Great Britain, it was clear that Napoleon's European diplomacy was aimed at gaining territory at the expense of either Prussia or Austria.

As France's strength grew, Spain's imperial power declined. By 1823 Spain had lost all her former colonies and retained only Cuba, Puerto-Rico and the Philippines, all of which were in varying stages of agitation for independence. Only later in the century did Africa offer her new prospects.

Elsewhere in Europe events related to Bismarck's march towards German unity were beginning to dominate the scene and hold the attention of France. However, following Isabella's adventures in the Pacific in 1865, the insurrection of 1868 and the Spanish Queen's exile into

France, the French once more became involved in the question of the succession to the Spanish throne.

After the Spanish revolution of 1868, some groups favoured a new dynasty (31) and looked towards Germany to provide it. Napoleon III strongly opposed the candidature of Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, as he feared Prussian encirclement of France. Relations between Napoleon and Isabella II had been cordial; Eugenia had retained an interest in Spanish affairs and Napoleon did not wish to see several years of involved diplomacy come to nothing. French public opinion was aroused against Leopold who had accepted candidature for the monarchy. The French government secured the agreement of the King of Prussia to quash the move but the Ems telegram set hostilities in motion. The war was a disaster for France and for the second time in a period of some thirty years the question of the Spanish succession had toppled the regime in France. Amadeo, Duke of Aosta, the third son of the Italian king, became the new king of Spain.

The period between 1870 and 1890 is marked by France's increasing concern with the countries to the north and east of her borders and by the consolidation of colonial expansion. In Spain the Second Carlist War ended to bring a Bourbon restoration with Alfonso XII, who in 1878 married his cousin, the daughter of the Montpensiers. The satisfaction at the Restoration, felt by both the Spanish and the French nations, disappeared with the death of Alfonso's wife, Mercedes, only five months after their marriage. The balance of royal power in

(31) c.f. Livermore, *op.cit.*, p. 388., Altamira, Rafael, A History of Spain, trans. Muna Lee, New Jersey, 1962. p. 561.

Europe then shifted away from France. In 1879, Alfonso married Maria-Cristina, niece of the Austrian Emperor Franz-Josef. Alfonso visited Munich and Vienna and returned to Spain through France where demonstrations were held against him.

Since Mexico, Spain had taken little part in European affairs, but when other nations began to colonise Africa the Spanish government saw an opportunity to bring up the old question of Britain and Gibraltar and to arouse the feelings of the nation against France's incursions into Algeria and Morocco. A conference in 1880 partially settled the dual claims of France and Spain. The final blow for Spain was to come in 1898.

It can be clearly seen that the mémoires and récits de guerre which served as literary intermediaries in the first half of the nineteenth century have no counterparts in the second half. Military contacts with Spain were non-existent after 1823 and, apart from the anonymous Une Excursion au pays carliste, (32) war reminiscences did not as previously predate the travels of the tourist. Contributing to the corpus of material about Spain, reports of journeys reflect closely the growth of scholarly interest in Spain.

Improved communications and freedom of movement between France and Spain occasioned many récits de voyage which describe Guipúzcoa, le pays Basque espagnol, and Navarra and the Pyrenees region. (33) Facilities also

(32) This was published in three parts in le Contemporain: 1 November, 1874, 1 December 1874 and 1 January 1875.

(33) Justin-Edouard Mathieu Cénac Moncaut, (1814-1871) l'Espagne inconnue. Voyage dans les Pyrenees de Barcelone à Tolosa, Paris, 1860. E-M François Saint-Maur, Cinq jours d'un Parisien dans la Navarre espagnole, Pau, 1863.

extended to family travel. (34)

Short journeys were in vogue between 1865 and 1885 four separate accounts of travels in Spain each entitled Un Mois en Espagne appeared. (35) The development of facilities included establishment and expansion of the railways system. The first train in Spain ran in 1848 between Barcelona and Mataró, although projects had been under study since about 1833. In 1850 the railway from Madrid to Aranjuez was inaugurated and later extended to Alicante. Eugène P. de Bourambourg reported on railway development in his Inauguration du chemin de fer du Nord de l'Espagne. Dix jours en Castille. (36) Georges Demanche, in the course of a journey through Spain, through Vittoria, Miranda de Ebro, Bilbao, Santander, Valladolid, Madrid and as far south as Gibraltar, made a considerable study of communications. (37) Greater ease of travel is also noted by Jean-Pierre Bonnafont in l'Europe en train rapide (38) a beginning of the "exotisme des trains de luxe." (39)

Illustrated books about foreign countries were popular. In 1862, Jean-Baptiste Huysmans travelled through all the major cities of Spain and produced a book which included 175 engravings. The work, Voyage illustré, en Espagne et en Algérie, 1862, was published

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- (34) J.C. Viator, Voyages en famille, Notes et souvenirs, Paris, 1874.
- (35) These were by (1) Ernest Chauffard, Paris, 1865 (2) A. Gouverneur, Paris, 1878, (3) Paul Henry, Angers 1881 and (4) Ambroise Tardien, Hernant, 1885.
- (36) Published by Mussin and Unsinger, Coulommiers, 1864.
- (37) Georges Demanche, "En Espagne, les chemins de fer en montagne, Gibraltar," Annuaire du Club Alpin Français Vol 9, 1881, pp. 390-447. Also published separately, Paris, 1886.
- (38) Paris, 1886.
- (39) Jourda, L'Exotisme dans la littérature française depuis Chateaubriand, Vol II, du Romantisme à 1939, Paris/Montpellier, 1956, p. 214.

in Brussels in 1865.

The work by Jean-Charles Davillier, illustrated by Doré, was first published as a serial by Hachette in le Tour du monde. The series ran from 1862 to 1873, and in 1874 the full edition, an impressive book of 799 pages, with 309 engravings by Doré, was published. (40) This edition, with some alterations, was later published in Italian, English and Danish.

As these books appeared there was a growth of interest in Spanish art and architecture. Three works stand out in this period, works which coincide with the growth of scholarly Hispanism and with the growth of Hispanic studies in French universities. In 1864, Jules Salles published the results of a journey of exploration through Andalucía. Salles was a member of the Académie du Gard. Primarily concerned with the cities of Córdoba, Sevilla and Granada, Salles's essay was published separately in 1866 after having appeared in the Mémoires de l'Académie du Gard in 1864 and 1865. (41) Paul Sédille, who in March, April and May 1875 had delivered addresses to the Société Centrale des Architectes, published a résumé of the research he had undertaken in Spain in 1874, under the title Monuments, musées et paysages de l'Espagne. (42) Mention should also be made of the work of Fernand Petit (43) and the publication of

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- (40) L'Espagne, par le baron Ch. Davillier, illustré de 309 gravures dessinées sur bois par Gustave Doré, Paris, 1874. Doré also illustrated l'Espagne by Léon Godard (mœurs et paysages, histoire et monuments,) Tours, 1862, which went through four editions between 1862 and 1877.
- (41) Jules Salles, l'Andalousie, l'art arabe et le peintre Murillo, fragment d'un voyage en Espagne, Nîmes, 1866.
- (42) Paul Sédille, Monuments, musées et paysages de l'Espagne, Paris, 1876. This had previously appeared in Bulletin de la Société Centrale des Architectes, 4th series, Vol II, 1875.
- (43) Fernand Petit, Notes sur l'Espagne artistique, Lyon, 1877.

Paul Flat.(44) Studies of Spanish society also contributed to the growth of scholarly interest. Notable are the studies made by Antoine de Latour,(1808-1881) (45) Hermile Reynald,(46) Léo Quesnel,(47) and Germond de Lavigne,(48) Although correspondence published in this period is not considerable - that of Etienne-Emile Guimet (49) and Henri Regnault (50)deserve mention.

In contrast with the period 1800-1850, during which Chateaubriand, Mérimée, Hugo, Magnien, Fontaney, George Sand, Gautier, Quinet, and Dumas visited Spain and recorded their impressions, it seems that no author of note visited Spain in the latter half of the century. The visits of Loti and Barres both of which occurred in 1892, fall in the next period of discussion. In "Some French Travellers in Spain," Margaret Gilman states that we have to wait some fifty years for the next traveller to Spain after Gautier. (51) A similar statement is made by

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- (44) Paul Flat, l'Art en Espagne, Paris, 1891, (Report of research undertaken during a journey in 1890.)
- (45) Antoine de Latour, Etudes sur l'Espagne, Seville et Andalousie, 2 vols, Paris, 1855; Espagne, Traditions, moeurs et litterature, Paris, 1869.
- (46) Hermile Reynald, "Impressions de voyage, Madrid et les Partis politiques en Espagne," Revue politique et litteraire, 15 February 1873, pp.790-798.
- (47) Leo Quesnel, "l'Espagne, moeurs et caracteres," Revue Politique et Litteraire, 5 September 1874, pp.230-233. and 12 September 1874, pp. 251-255.
- (48) Germond de Lavigne, Itineraire descriptif, historique artistique de l'Espagne et du Portugal, Paris, 1859.
- (49) Etienne-Emile Guimet, A travers l'Espagne, lettres familiales, avec des post-scriptum en vers par Henri de Riberolles, Lyon, 1862.
- (50) Henri Regnault, Correspondance de Henri Regnault, recueillie at annotee par Arthur Duparc, suivie du catalogue complet de l'oeuvre de H. Regnault et ornée d'un portrait gravé à l'eau forte par Laguillermie, Paris, 1872.
- (51) Margaret Gilman, "Some French Travellers in Spain," Hispania, XIII, 1930, p. 514.

Jules Bertaut:

"Du romantisme, il faut sauter par-dessus plus de quarante années pour trouver un grand écrivain qui nous apporte de la patrie de Cervantes une vision inédite, originale, s'imposant à notre littérature pour un long temps." (52)

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If the writers of imaginative literature did not travel to Spain as much as the previous generation this could be taken to indicate that considerable documentary material, authentic and acceptable, was available in France. Yet this is not reflected in the novel or in poetry. The literary phenomenon of this period is the growth of Hispanic studies to proportions previously unknown. The first years of the nineteenth century had seen the Romantics prepare the way. Ernest Mérimée refers to this period as the vanguard preparing the way, for the scholars. (53) But, at the same time as the vanguard was active the first generation of modern Hispanic scholars were beginning their work. (54) However, it was not until Alfred Morel-Fatio began to publish that Hispanic studies received the impetus necessary to secure continuation and progress.

Literary positivism considerably influenced the generation of scholars active in the 1870's and it was Morel-Fatio who introduced a positivist approach to Hispanic studies. He initiated this with "Recherches sur le texte et les sources du Libro de Alexandre."(55)

(52) Jules Bertaut, "l'Espagne et les voyageurs français," le Temps, 10 November 1932, p.4.

(53) Ernest Mérimée, "De l'enseignement de l'espagnol en France," Revue des Pyrenees, Vol III, 1891, p.341.

(54) See supra Chapter IV, p.

(55) Alfred Morel-Fatio, "Recherches sur le texte et les sources du libro de Alexandre" was published in Romania in 1875. The previous year he had submitted the work to the Ecole Nationale des Chartes as a

In practical matters the impetus was given primarily by the preparative work done by Ernest Méricée.

Also to come to prominence in this period was Raymond Foulché-Delbosc. Sister A.C. Coutu (56) discusses the development of modern Hispanism in France, particularly in relation to university development, and critical works published in the period 1875-1952.

To complete this review of literary relations between France and Spain in the period 1850-1890 some mention should be made of French translations of works of Spanish literature thus making them readily available to French readers. The works translated fall into three well-defined groups. The first includes works from the periods of Spanish literature before the Golden Age. The most important translation is clearly a translation by Damas-Hinard of las Mocedades del Cid. (57) The second group is mainly concerned with the literature of the Golden Age. Damas-Hinard had translated the dramatic works of Lope de Vega in 1842, and in 1881 a second edition, slightly amended, was published. Eugène Royer brought out two translations of note in this period - le Théâtre de Cervantes, 1865, and le Théâtre d'Alarcón in 1865, which included a translation of la Verdad sospechosa, adapted by Corneille into le menteur. Between 1871 and 1873, Antoine de Latour published les Oeuvres dramatiques de Calderón.

Not strictly within the period of the Golden Age, but mentioned here for convenience, Leandro Fernandez

thesis for the Diplôme d'Archiviste Paléographe.

- (56) Sister Albert-Cécile Coutu, Hispanism in France from Morel-Fatio to the present, circa 1875-1952, Washington, 1954. For a brief summary of the work of the Hispanists see Chapter XIII.
- (57) Poème du Cid, traduit par Damas-Hinard, Paris, 1858.

de Moratín (1760-1828) made a considerable contribution to literary exchanges between France and Spain. He had translated some of Molière's work into Spanish and adapted some of Molière's plots and themes for use in his five comedies. These were translated into French by E. Hollander in 1855. (58)

As in France, certain elements of Romanticism continued, albeit redirected; but generally it was a short-lived movement and after 1850 there was a conscious movement towards Realism. Sketches on manners which developed into the cuadros de costumbres gave authors much greater opportunities to develop realism, soon evolving into Zolaesque novels. Generally speaking poems in translation are few in this period and translators concentrated on the works of Fernán Caballero, Juan Valera, Emilia Pardo Bazán and Benito Pérez Galdós, who form the third group.

Fernán Caballero is the pen name of Cecilia Böhl von Faber (1796-1877) who took this pseudonym in fear of anti-feminism. She was born in Switzerland and educated in Germany principally in the French language. Her first novel, la Gaviota (1849) was originally written in French and is the first Spanish regional novel of the nineteenth century. Among her most popular novels were la familia de Alvareda, (1856) Clemencia, (1853) Lágrimas, (1853) and Un servilón y un Liberalito (1857). La familia de Alvareda was translated by Auguste

(58) Moratín was especially interested in the problems associated with youth and age and the interaction between generations. He shows the influence of Molière particularly in la Mogigata (1804) an inferior version of le Tartuffe. His other plays were el Viejo y la Nina (1786), el Barón, (1803) la Comedia Nueva o el Café, (1792) and el Sí de las Ninas (1806). Chatelain had translated some of Moratín's work in 1822, in Chefs d'oeuvre, Moratin.

Dumas in 1862,(59) and Lágrimas by A.Marchais in 1861.(60)

Juan Valera (1827-1905) was an aristocratic cultured cosmopolite who, like Fernán Caballero, was strongly attached to his native Andalucía. His most important novel was Pepita Jiménez (1874), the story of a young priest who just before his ordination, returns to his home town and meets Pepita. Eventually they marry and are absorbed into the patriarchal system. This novel was translated into French only five years after its publication in Spanish in the collection Récits Andalous.

(61) Another of Valera's works, El Comendador Mendoza (1877), was translated by A. Savine in 1881. (62)

Emilia Pardo Bazán (1852-1921) is considered as the foremost exponent of naturalism in the Spanish novel. She approves of Zola's approach to his subject matter but does not concur with scientific physiological determinism. Pardo Bazán wrote short stories, novels, biographies and travel books, but of greater interest in France were her critical studies. (63)

Benito Pérez Galdós (1843-1920) is almost unquestionably recognised as Spain's greatest modern novelist. His output was impressive: 46 volumes of the historical Epsodios Nacionales, 34 social novels, 24

(59) La famille Alvareda, Meaux, 1962

(60) Un ange sur la terre, Paris, 1861. Other works translated were Clemencia, by A. Zappino and A. Marchais, Paris, 1863. Un été à Bornos, by Auguste Dumas, Paris, 1865, Une croisade au XIX^e siècle, by A.de Latour, Paris, 1868. Nouvelles Andalouses, by Germond de Lavigne, Paris, 1869, and Deux Nouvelles posthumes (Estar de Mas and Magdalena) by the Comte de Bonneau-Avenant, Paris, 1882.

(61) Récits Andalous, anon, Paris, 1879.

(62) Le Commandeur Mendoza, Paris, Aix, 1881.

(63) Le Naturalisme, translated by A. Savine, Paris, 1886 was a translation of la Cuestión Palpitante. Note also Bucolique, translated by Garcia Ramon, Paris, 1887.

plays and 15 volumes of miscellaneous works.

Two of his novels, Doña Perfecta (1876)(64) and Marianela (1878) (65) were translated into French a few years after they were first published. Doña Perfecta presents a rather sad picture of the results of religious fanaticism in a small town. The novel ends brutally when Doña Perfecta orders her nephew to be killed because he does not conform. The sympathy of Galdós for the underdog is shown in a Spanish Germinal: in Marianela the story is centred around the material difficulties of life in a small mining town in the north of Spain.

These translations reflected a growing rapprochement between the literary movements in France and Spain and are further evidence of the increasing interest in Spanish literature. Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature, which appeared in English in 1849 and has remained one of the most considerable contributions to American Hispanism, was translated into French in 1864 by Magnabal. Spanish literature of the Middle Ages was investigated by Dozy (66) and contemporary poetry by Tannenberg.(67)

One could have been forgiven for thinking that after the Romantic interpretation of Spain which had been presented to the reading public of the first half of the nineteenth century what would follow would be an interpretation by Realist and Naturalist writers. This is in fact what occurred, but the interpretation was no longer in the hands of writers of imaginative literature.

(64) Doña Perfecta, (translated by J. Lugol,) Paris, 1884.

(65) Marianela, (translated by Germond de Lavigne,) Paris, 1885.

(66) R. Dozy, Recherches sur l'histoire de la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen-Age, Paris, 1860.

(67) Boris de Tannenberg, la poésie castillane contemporaine, Espagne et Amérique, Paris, 1889.

As has been shown, the Romantics prepared the way for the scholars, and the realistic interpretation of Spain is to be found in the works of true Hispanists.

In France realism led to Naturalism and to a closer examination of French society, particularly those levels of society which previously had seemed to have no right to appear in literature. (68) In Spain the same movement can be detected, with more emphasis on regionalism. Spanish authors began to look to their own society and the regionalist novel developed strongly. The increasing social aims of literature were evident in both countries but the social novel offers little scope for literary exoticism; internationalism and cosmopolitanism, much wider fields and based more firmly upon political aspirations, developed in this period.

The Romantic spirit was still alive in French literature, however, to be developed in the following period in certain aspects of the work of Barrès and Larbaud and in the early works of Montherlant.

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(68) Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, Germinie Lacerteux, Préface. "Vivant au XIX^e siècle, dans un temps de suffrage universel, de démocratie, de libéralisme, nous nous sommes demandé si ce qu'on appelle 'les basses classes' n'avait pas droit au Roman; si ce monde sous un monde, le peuple, devait rester sous le coup de l'interdit littéraire et des dédains d'auteurs qui ont fait jusqu'ici le silence sur l'âme et le coeur qu'il peut avoir." Paris, 1864.

CHAPTER XI

- THE IMAGE 1850 - 1890 -

BAUDELAIRE - GAUTIER - HEREDIA - HUGO -
LECONTE DE LISLE - MERIMEE - VERLAINE

- THE IMAGE 1850 - 1890 -

As has been noted, the interpretation of Spain during the period 1850-1890 is no longer to be found predominantly in the works of travellers and writers of imaginative literature. The presence of Spain on the European and world scene had been re-established and scholarly works concerning Spanish history, Spanish literature and painting and other aspects of society in general assumed far greater importance.

The exception is Victor Hugo. For la Légende des Siècles, he was to find considerable inspiration in Spain again for several of the poems for this "espèce d'oeuvre cyclique." (1) But this inspiration is mainly literary or historic in origin. It would appear that the changes already noted in the treatment of Spain as a theme or

(1) Victor Hugo, la Légende des siècles, edited by Jacques Truchet, Paris, 1950, "Preface," p.3. All references to Hugo are to this edition.

motif are reflected by the small group of poets whose works will be discussed in this section. Whereas the harsh contrasts of the Spanish landscape had been utilised by writers in the period 1800-1850 as a cadre for poems and stories, as the basis of pathetic fallacy, or simply as added local colour, in the second half of the century landscape, even décor in general, is much less significant. Where natural features are presented they are not developed, there is no evidence of the over-exuberance which was notable in the works of earlier writers.

Le Petit Roi de Galice, one of the masterpieces of la Légende des Siècles, is memorable on three counts - the dramatic action, the verisimilitude of the décor and the apparent reality of the historic characters. The décor is constructed from notes which Hugo made at the time of his journey into Spain in 1843. Whereas the poems le Mariage de Roland and Aymerillot have their origins in the chansons de geste of the Carolingian cycle le Petit Roi de Galice and Eviradnus are based upon the Breton legends of la Table Ronde. The knights are no longer uniquely engaged in the service of their lord, their country or in the defence of Christianity but lead a wandering life - hence the group title les Chevaliers errants - protecting the weak and defenceless and bringing criminals to justice.

In addition to his own notes, mentioned above, Hugo utilised Moreri's Dictionnaire for geographical and historical details. Also important is the discovery of the manuscripts of la Chanson de Roland (in Oxford by Francisque Michel and in Paris by Henry Morin) in 1832. The first published edition appeared in 1850.

The ten uncles of the young king of Galicia have

kidnapped their nephew and intend to kill him. In the heat of the day they stop in the Ravin d'Ernula.

"Ils atteindront le fond de l'Asturie avant
Que la nuit ait couvert la sierra de ses ombres;
Ils suivent le chemin qu'à travers ces monts sombres
Un torrent, maintenant à sec, jadis creusa,
Comme s'il voulait joindre Espos à Tolosa." (2)

Hugo here illustrates salient features of the Spanish landscape similar to those which had been utilised in the previous period:

"Le sentier a l'air traître et l'arbre a l'air méchant;
Et la chèvre, qui broute au flanc du mont penchant,
Entre les grès lépreux trouve à peine une capre,
Tant la ravine est fauve et tant la roche est âpre;
De distance en distance, on voit des puits bourbeux
Ou finit le sillon des chariots à boeufs;
Hors un peu d'herbe autour des puits, tout est aride;
Tout du grand midi sombre à l'implacable ride;
Les arbres sont gercés, les granits sont fendus;
L'air rare et brûlant manque aux oiseaux eperdus.
On distingue des tours sur l'épine dorsale
D'un mont lointain que semble une course colossale
Quand, où Dieu met le roc, l'homme bâtit le fort,
Quand à la solitude il ajoute la mort,
C'est triste." (3)

This is a composite image built of mixed souvenirs of the gorge de Pancorbo, which Hugo had visited as a child, and the gorge de Tolosa which Hugo had seen during his visit of 1843. The name 'Ernula' has been invented by Hugo. Towards the end of the poem this is written as 'Armula.'

When Don Ruy is charged with not having posted any guards, his reply further intimates the nature of the terrain:

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- (2) Hugo, le Petit Roi de Galice, vv, 8-12, p.213.
Manuscript dated 12-20 December 1858. (First series.)
(3) Le Petit Roi de Galice, vv. 51-66, p. 215.

"J'ai la ronce et le houx,
 Et chaque pan de roche est une sentinelle;
 La fauve solitude est l'amie éternelle
 Des larrons, des voleurs et des hommes de nuit;
 Ce pays ténébreux comme un antre est contruit,
 Et nous avons ici notre aire inabordable;
 C'est un vieux recéleur que ce mont formidable;
 Sinistre, il nous accepte, et, quoi que nous fassions,
 Il cache dans ses trous toutes nos actions." (4)

As the ten infants discuss the way in which they will dispose of young Nuño, Roland, "pair de France," opportunely passes by. There is no single incident in history or legend which notes Roland's involvement in the affairs of the Asturo-Galician monarchy. Neither was there any young King of Galicia called Nuño. Hugo has invented the episode and invested the poem with authority by the inter-mixing of true and invented elements. No doubt the name Nuño appealed to Hugo for its sonority and vocalic affinities with Niño, but he seems to have chosen au hasard the names of the uncles - some are historical figures, others adaptations of common family names. Roland is no longer the Roland of la Chanson de Roland but resembles the hero of Orlando furioso; the episodes of Isabelle and Zerbin furnished details of the action which Hugo condensed into a single event while retaining elements of the merveilleux from both of Ariosto's sequences. Roland's enquiry is answered first by Pacheco "le fier" and then by Ruy le Subtil, the leader of the band. He warns Roland that in such a barren place no help is possible and here Hugo unites décor and action:

"Je vous fais remarquer que ce pays est nu,
 Rude, escarpe, désert, brutal..."

(4) Le Petit Roi de Galice, vv. 172-180, p. 218.

Les sorge-creux, qui vont aux chimères bayant,
 Trouvent les âpretés de ces ravins fort belles;
 Mais ces chemins pierreux aux passants sont rebelles,
 Ces pics repoussent l'homme, ils ont des coins hagards
 Hantés par des vivants aimant peu les regards,
 Et, quand une vallée est à ce point rocheuse,
 Elle peut devenir aux curieux fâcheuse." (5)

The image of the arid fierceness of the landscape is strongly reinforced by the relentless rhythm of the sequence of adjectives - "Rude, escarpé, désert, brutal..," which in turn is echoed by further carefully positioned words - "âpretés," "pierreux," "hagards," to complete a striking evocation of the cadre in which the complete range of senses is played upon.

Similar characteristics of the Spanish landscape had earlier been depicted by Baudelaire in la Béatrice, which is the fourth in the cycle based on Goya's etchings. The caricature, entitled Volaverunt (6) has as its subject the Vierge emmenée au ciel par les anges by Murillo. (7) A full description is given by Jean Prévost:

"Sous un nuage, les amants de la duchesse /d'Albe⁷ sont représentés comme des nains ou des diables au visage féroce, fouineur et lubrique. Le regard du diable, placé au milieu de ce nuage, a une expression violemment sardonique, difficile à supporter sans malaise. Ces diables emmènent la duchesse souriante sur leur nuage." (8)

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- (5) Le Petit Roi de Galice, vv. 324 - 330, p. 222.
 (6) Volaverunt appeared as one of the Caprichos in Lenguaje e idioma universal, by Francisco de Goya, 1799. The etching is reproduced in Goya, his complete Etchings, Aquatints and Lithographs, with text by Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, London, Third edition, 1968, p. 61.
 (7) Murillo, Vierge emmenée au ciel par les anges, c.1656.
 (8) Jean Prévost, Formes et Couleurs, Lausanne, 1943, cited in Commentaire des Fleurs du Mal by Robert-Benoit Cherix, Geneva, 1949, p. 419.

The beginning of the poem is a striking adaptation of the cadre:

"Dans des terrains cendreaux, calcinés, sans verdure,
Comme je me plaignais un jour à la nature,
Et que de ma pensée, en vaguant au hasard,
J'aiguissais lentement sur mon coeur le poignard,
Je vis en plein midi descendre sur ma tête
Un nuage funèbre et gros d'une tempête." (9)

This passage has a remarkable affinity with the cadre of Chacun sa chimère of the Petits poèmes en prose:

"Sous un grand ciel gris, dans une grande
plaine poudreuse, sans chemins, sans gazon,
sans un chardon, sans une ortie, je rencontrai
plusieurs hommes qui marchaient courbés." (10)

There is, of course, nothing which indicates that these passages are intended to represent a landscape of Spain. However, since the point de départ is a caricature by Goya it is a possibility that these descriptions are related and that they represent the only evocation of the Spanish landscape in Baudelaire's works. There are similarities between the details of Baudelaire's description and that of Hugo and therefore the possibility of influence. Baudelaire's poem la Béatrice was first published on 9 April 1851, with other poems, under the collective title of les Limbes; Hugo's le Petit Roi de Galice was composed in 1858, after six years of exile. Les Fleurs du Mal was published in 1857, and it appears that Hugo may have received a copy. There exists a letter from Hugo to Baudelaire, in which the exile mentioned the suppression of the six poems of les Fleurs

- (9) Charles Baudelaire, Oeuvres complètes, edited by Y.-G. Le Dantec, Paris, 1961. All references to Baudelaire are to this edition. La Béatrice, vv. 1-6, p. 110.
- (10) Baudelaire, Chacun sa chimère, p. 235. This first appeared in la Presse, 26 August 1862, with the title Chacun la sienne.

du Mal judged by the court to be indecent.(11) Paul Berret has established links between the décor of le Petit Roi de Galice and Hugo's En Voyage: Alpes et Pyrénées, first published in 1890. (12)

In le Jour des Rois (13) Hugo mentioned many Spanish place names, and, as Piétri noted, "nous oblige à une discrimination serrée entre le vrai, le vraisemblable, l'admissible, et le faux." (14) The opening lines of the poem situate the action at the foot of the Pyrenees:

"L'aurore, sur les grands monts, se leva, frémissante,
Le six janvier de l'an de Christ huit cent soixante,
.....
Une blême blancheur baigne les Pyrénées:
Le louche point du jour de la morne saison,
Par places, dans le large et confus horizon,
Brille, aiguise un clocher, ébauche un monticule."(15)

It is clear that in this poem sonority mattered more than geographical or historical fact for the names Hugo uses are drawn from all over the world, not only from the region of Cataluña. The effect is that the grandeur of the sound, the imposing presence of the mountain and the heroic deeds of the past are elements which are drawn together in "une ténébreuse et profonde unité." (16)

A similar effect is obtained with le Cid exilé, (17)

(11) cf. Luc Decaunes, Charles Baudelaire, Paris, 1964, p. 187.

(12) cf. Paul Berret, la Légende des siècles de Victor Hugo, Paris, 1957, p. 135.

(13) Hugo, le Jour des Rois, pp. 153-162. Manuscript dated 17-21 February 1859. (First series.)

(14) Francois Piétri, "l'Espagne de Victor Hugo," Revue des Deux Mondes, XXVIII, 15 February 1952, p. 656.

(15) Le Jour des Rois, vv. 6-9, p. 154.

(16) Baudelaire, Correspondances, v. 6, p. 11.

(17) Hugo, le Cid exilé, pp. 163-172. Manuscript dated 11 February 1859. (Second series.)

in which Hugo sacrifices historical and geographical truth in order to reinforce the grandeur of tone and atmosphere. Hugo images a traveller who seeks the Pic du Midi. He has travelled for so long that the mountain is almost a forgotten image in his mind. On the horizon he sees the Mount d'Oyarzun, but suddenly the majesty of the Pic du Midi is revealed to him and the poet suggests a comparison with le Cid:

"Soudain, presque tremblant, là bas, sur l'horizon
 Que le soir teint de pourpre et le matin d'opale,
 Dans un éloignement mystérieux et pâle,
 Au delà de la ville et du fleuve, au-dessus
 D'un tas de petits monts sous la brume aperçus
 Où se perd Oyarzun avec sa butte informe,
 Il voit dans la nuée une figure énorme;
 Un mont blême et terrible emplit le fond des cieux;
 Un pignon de l'abîme, un bloc prodigieux
 Se dresse, aux lieux profonds mêlant les lieux sublimes;
 Sombre apparition de gouffres et de cîmes,
 Il est là; le regard croit, sous son porche obscur,
 Voir le noeud monstrueux de l'ombre et de l'azur,
 Et son faite est un toit sans brouillard et sans voile
 Où ne peut se poser d'autre oiseau que l'étoile;
 C'est le Pic du Midi.

L'Histoire voit le Cid."(18)

In the course of his journey in 1843 Hugo saw the Pic du Midi d'Ossau and here effects a rapprochement between his own memory and the journey made by the Cid to join forces with the Emir of Zaragoza against the Count of Barcelona.

The most serious disarrangement of history occurs in this poem when Hugo cannot resist the compulsion to introduce facts from the 1808-1812 wars into the narrative. Again sonority seems to be his chief aim. The following example is typical:

"L. Reuss, Almonacid,
 Graos, tous ses exploits ressemblent a des songes;

(18) Le Cid exilé, vv. 402 - 417, pp. 165 - 166.

Les rois maures chassés ou pris sont des mensonges...
 Pancorbo, la bataille illustre de Givrez...
 Coca ... Gor ..." (19)

Almonacid and Coca were in fact towns captured by Alfonso VI during the campaign which gave him Toledo, but Almonacid would be more recently fixed in Hugo's memory because of the battle, won by Sebastiani, which took place there in 1809. Reus (this is the correct spelling) was a base camp for Suchet. Pancorbo, near Burgos, visited by Hugo as a child, would have been reinforced in his memory as the site of a battle in 1808; Gor near Granada was the scene of a battle in 1813. Coca, although figuring quite legitimately among the Cid's exploits, was one of the places where the family of Victor Hugo rested on their way to Madrid in 1808. Again we have evidence of a curious mixture of fact and fantasy, personal memories and literary inspiration. There is little doubt that Spanish names - more particularly the composition of sounds which were found in Spanish names - fascinated Hugo and he sought wherever possible this kind of couleur locale.

The aesthetic emotion of the traveller confronted by the spectacle of a high range of mountains is also analysed in Masferrer (20) while in les Raisons du Momotombe, (21) Hugo presents the mountain Momotombo in Central America and personifies it as speaking against the Inquisition and the excesses of the Spanish conquest of Peru. Hugo's anticlericalism is evident in the tone of the mountain's final words:

(19) Le Cid exilé, vv. 2-9, p. 163.

(20) Hugo, Masferrer, pp. 386-402. Manuscript dated 3 March, 1859. (Second series.)

(21) Hugo, les Raisons du Momotombo, pp. 444-445. Manuscript dated 6 February 1859. (First series.)

"J'ai regardé de près le dieu de l'étranger,
Et j'ai dit: - Ce n'est pas la peine de changer."(22)

In l'Accident de Don Inigo (23) Leconte de Lisle transformed sections of the Romancero. The ancient romance provided many of the details of local colour which Leconte de Lisle needed and here again one encounters the image of the aridity of the Spanish landscape:

"La guêpe au vol strident vibre, la sauterelle
Bondit dans l'herbe sèche et rase, le bruit grêle
Des clochettes d'argent tinte...." (24)

Details of the physical cadre are not given in the original text and Leconte de Lisle added:

"Donc, à travers les champs pierreux qui n'ont
point d'ombre," (25)

and:

"Vers midi, dans la plaine où l'air poussiéreux brûle"
(26)

From similar sources Leconte de Lisle composed le Romance de Don Fadrique (27) in which is drawn an interesting contrast between the dry heat of the plains and the perfumed freshness of a Moorish garden:

"De la plaine au coteau, durant douze journées,
Sous les chênes touffus, par les sentiers pierreux,
Avec ses chevaliers qui devisent entre eux,
Il fait sa route, allant où vont les destinées."(28)

(22) Les Raisons du Momotombo, vv. 55-56, p.445. Momotombo is in Nicaragua.

(23) Charles-René-Marie Leconte de Lisle, l'Accident de Don Inigo, Oeuvres de Leconte de Lisle, Paris, 1948-52, Poèmes barbares, 289-293. Ref. to Leconte de Lisle are to this edition. First published in la République des Lettres, 30 July 1876, then in Poèmes barbares of 1878.

(24) L'Accident de Don Inigo, vv.13-15, pp.289-290.

(25) L'Accident de Don Inigo, v. 22, p. 290.

(26) L'Accident de Don Inigo, v. 29, p. 290.

(27) Leconte de Lisle, le Romance de Don Fadrique, Poèmes tragiques ed.cit. pp. 159-163. Nlle Revue, 1-12-1883.

(28) Le Romance de Don Fadrique, vv. 33-36, p.160.

Leconte de Lisle here mentions trees to emphasize the contrast with the stony paths which the knights followed. The Romantics had found more interest in the aridity of the Spanish plateau - which perhaps suggested to them a greater affinity with Africa and the East. Parts of Spain which resembled known landscapes were ignored in the interests of exoticism. But in fact Spanish flora is marked by infinite variety. The oak is a common tree in the north of Spain - it is the symbol of Basque unity - however, Leconte de Lisle's phrase chènes touffus here marks an innovation, for usually in imaginative works the word designating a tree is followed by a qualifying "rare" or "gercé."

Fadrique arrives at the palace of the King, and, from a balcony, Don Pedro gives orders for Don Fadrique to be executed. As the King and Queen are dining, a dog brings in Don Fadrique's head and deposits it the table. The room is in the form of a semi-enclosed terrace:

"Et de l'aurore au soir, la fleur de l'oranger
Y mêle son arôme à celui de la rose.

La terrasse mauresque, aux trèfles ajourés,
Domine le jasmins et les caroubiers sombres
Qui jettent, çà et là, de lumineuses ombres
Où palpitent des vols de paillons pourprés." (29)

In the original romance there is no description of the room, no contrast in the setting, but Leconte de Lisle here follows the tradition which had been established by Chateaubriand in les Aventures du dernier Abencérage and taken up by Hugo in Grenade. Although Hugo and Chateaubriand had described the effect of the moon's shadows through the Moorish carvings, Leconte de Lisle here concentrated on the shadow without explicitly

(29) Le Romance de Don Fadrique, vv. 75-80, p. 162.

revealing the source of light.

Hugo employed a more subtle form of contrast in la Rose de l'Infante.⁽³⁰⁾ The most obvious contrast is between the figure of the innocent Infanta with her father Felipe II. The description of the child has the same qualities as the painting by Velasquez of the Infanta Margarita-Maria-Teresa, the daughter of Felipe IV:

"Elle se tient à bord de l'eau, sa fleur l'occupe;
 Sa basquine est en point de Gênes, sur sa jupe
 Un arabesque, errant dans les plis du satin,
 Suit les milles détours d'un fil d'or florentin.

 Quand l'enfant, allongeant ses lèvres de carmin,
 Fronce, en la respirant, sa riante narine,
 La magnifique fleur royale et purpurine
 Cache plus qu'à demi ce visage charmant
 Si bien que l'oeil hésite, et qu'on ne sait comment
 Distinguer de la fleur ce bel enfant qui joue,
 Et si l'on voit la rose ou si l'on voit la joue." (31)

Felipe II: "l'homme en qui vit et tremble le royaume"
 is not watching his daughter but "au fond de cet oeil
 comme l'onde vitreux,

.... Ce qu'on distinguerait, c'est, mirage mouvant
 Tout un vol de vaisseaux en fuite dans le vent." (32)

Hugo unites the vision of the Armada with the child's
 rose which, snatched from her hand by a brusque gust of
 wind, is broken and scattered over the pool:

"Ses cent. feuilles que noie et roule l'eau profonde,
 Tournoyant, naufrageant, s'en vont de tous côtés
 Sur mille petits flots par la brise irrités;
 On croit voir dans un gouffre une flotte qui sombre.
 - Madame, dit la duègne avec sa face d'ombre
 A la petite fille étonné et rêvant,
 Tout sur terre appartient aux princes, hors le vent."

(33)

(30) Hugo, la Rose de l'Infante, pp. 437-443. Manuscript dated 23 May 1859. (First series.)

(31) La Rose de l'Infante, vv. 17-30; p. 437.

(32) La Rose de l'Infante, vv. 91-92; p. 439.

(33) La Rose de l'Infante, vv. 242-248, p. 443.

The secondary contrast is between the limpid pools of the garden and the *sombre* palace:

"Dans le vaste palais catholique romain
Dont chaque ogive semble au soleil une mitre,
Quelqu'un de formidable est derrière la vitre." (34)

Two symbols representing Moorish and Catholic Spain which reinforce the double contrast in this exquisitely composed piece. In no way detracting from the beauty of the poem it is worth commenting that, as is his wont, Hugo has taken little cognizance of chronology. The figure of the child in the poem is Maria, born in 1580, the youngest daughter of Felipe II. She died in 1583, five years before the Armada set sail; Hugo has taken her physical details from Velasquez's painting of Felipe IV's daughter and ignored dates, as Morcéri had in his Dictionnaire which with Barrett's Voyage de Londres à Gênes was one of Hugo's principal sources.

Hugo and Leconte de Lisle, Baudelaire also to a lesser extent, present details of the Spanish landscape which had been most frequently utilised in the preceding period. The aridity and harshness of Castilla is emphasised, greater emphasis being obtained by the occasional mention of trees or gardens, creating the impression of rare oases in a burnt-out, mountainous desert. There is, however, more importance attached to the general décor, allied not as previously to individuals or precise situations, but rather to atmosphere, tone and mood. Contrasts within Spain, the concept of two Spains noted earlier, is absent from the descriptions with the exception of le Romance de Don Fadrique and la Rosé de l'Infante. The interest of the poems under consideration lies less with evocation

(34) La Rose de l'Infante, vv. 68-70, p. 438.

of the picturesque through décor than with evocation of the grandeur d'âme of Spain's heroes. As in the Romancero, physical décor is kept to a minimum and the action becomes the element of central interest. An outstanding example of this last point is the untitled poem of la Légende des Siècles which begins: "Quand le Cid fut entré dans le Généralife" (35) in which Hugo ignores the opportunity to extol the beauty of the Moorish gardens in order to concentrate on the simplicity of the action and the purposefulness of the Cid. The situation is summed up in the opening lines:

"Quand le Cid fut entré le Généralife,
Il alla droit au but et tua le calife." (36)

It is in this period that the Romancero exerted considerable influence on the works of Hugo, Leconte de Lisle and José-Maria de Heredia. Delving into the history of Spain and attempting to disengage the elements of nobility of Spain's heroes, they found in the Romancero the exploits of the characters clearly recounted. Characterization was simply and effectively presented.

The first of these poems to be briefly considered is le Romancero du Cid by Victor Hugo. (37) The King Sanche arrives at the Cid's stronghold and demands entry. The Cid warns him:

"Entrez en paix dans ma ville
On vous parlerait pourtant
D'une façon plus civile
Si l'on était plus content."

Hugo is here obviously labouring under the restrictions imposed by his choice of metre. The seven

(35) "Quand le Cid fut entré dans le Généralife," pp. 86-87. Manuscript dated 13 July 1875, (Volume complémentaire, 1882.)

(36) "Quand le Cid fut entré dans le Généralife," vv. 1-2, p. 86.

(37) Hugo, le Romancero du Cid, pp. 87-109, Manuscript

syllable line is rarely encountered in French poetry in following lines, it is more usually used to balance a longer line, or as a means of contrast. (38) It is interesting to note that Heredia, in his poem le Taureau abandoned the seven syllable redondilla form in favour of the more flexible eight syllable line. Hugo's historical documentation is sure, but again he introduces confusion. The King mentioned here is Sanche II, known as Sanche el fuerte, who reigned in Castilla from 1065 to 1072 but contrary to the notion presented in Hugo's poem constantly collaborated with the Cid. The Cid, born about 1030 had been taken into service as a page in the household of Sanche's father, Fernando I. The Cid led Sancho's armies against Alfonso VI and was exiled by Alfonso twice; his possessions were confiscated and Doña Jimena thrown into prison. Reconciliation between the Cid and Alfonso came in 1099, the year of the Cid's death.

The historical confusion, however, reveals a more heroic Cid. By making Sanche II his enemy, Hugo avoids situating the narrative in the Cid's youth, as would have been the case if Fernando had been a protagonist. The Cid's words of his exploits would then have been meaningless. Hugo also avoids presenting the Cid as a bitter old warrior as would have been the case had Alfonso been designated. Hugo's compromise, although historically unjust to Sanche, has aesthetic value which compensates for the historical juggling. Hugo also clearly wished to avoid mention of the fact that Jimena was much older than the Cid, and that despite her ugliness, he had married her for her money.

dated 5 July, 1856. (Second Series.)
 (38) Le Romancero du Cid, vv. 57-60, p. 89.

In Hugo's poem the causes of the Cid's displeasure are to be found in the past, even at the time of the marriage of the Cid with Chimène. The divisions of the poem - le roi jaloux, le roi ingrat, le roi défiant, le roi abject, le roi soudard, le roi couard, le roi moqueur, le roi méchant, - encompass a long tirade against the king. This long section is contrasted with but two passages concerning the Cid - le Cid fidèle and le Cid honnête. The tension builds up to the climax but it is not the physical courage of the Cid which is revealed. In the two final sections le Roi est le Roi, and le Cid est le Cid, the Cid demonstrates his grandeur morale, as he assures the king that he has nothing to fear:

"Roi, devant vous je me courbe,
Raillé par votre buffon;
.....
Devant vous fuyard, s'efface
Le Cid, l'homme sans effroi
Que voulez-vous que je fasse
Puisque vous êtes le roi." (39)

In this poem there are several nuances which lead to the conclusion that in addition to the enmity between the King and Rodrigue there is reflected here the bitterness of an exile on the island of Guernsey. A strong supporter of Louis-Philippe and Charles X, Hugo had campaigned in favour of the candidacy of the nephew of Napoleon I, no doubt in the hope that he would be given a ministry if the liberalism promised by Louis-Bonaparte eventuated. However, his conscience did not allow him to acquiesce and he forecast a coup d'état. It came, and Hugo was hustled from Paris to Brussels thence to Jersey and finally to Guernsey. The change in Hugo's political views permeates la Légende des siècles as it had les Châtiments and through other

(39) Le Romancéro du Cid, vv. 653-670, p. 107.

themes the work expresses the poets disdain of emperors, kings, priests and other enemies of the poet or man of politics.

Bivar (40) is a simple tableau with a simple subject. An Arab chief, impressed with the renown of the Cid, visits him at the castle of Bivar, where he finds him engaged in simple tasks because he is under the jurisdiction of his father. His exploits in battle are recalled by the sheik:

"Vous dominiez tout, grand sans chef, sans joug, sans
Absolu, lance au point, panache au front,"
digne,

to which Rodrigue replies:

"Je n'étais alors que chez le roi." (41)

The poem ends with a passage which recalls Paternité;
the sheik says:

"Mais Cid, aujourd'hui, quoi,
Que s'est-il donc passé? quel est cet équipage?
J'arrive, et je vous trouve en veste, comme un page,
Dehors, bras nus, nu-tête, et si petit garçon
Que vous avez en main l'auge et le caveçon!
Et faisant ce qu'il sied aux écuyers de faire!
- Sheik, dit le Cid, je suis maintenant chez mon père."
(42)

This poem is not based on an historical récit but consists of a simple tableau in which are intermingled elements of the image of traditional chivalry, Corneille's Cid, who is also obedient to his father, and oriental couleur locale in striking hyperbole.

The third poem by Hugo inspired from the Romancero is le Cid exilé which is, as has been noted, full of confusions, but which follows the general outline of the

(40) Hugo, Bivar, pp. 151-153. Manuscript dated 16 February 1859. (First series.)

(41) Bivar, vv. 67-79, p. 153.

(42) Bivar, vv. 70-76, p. 153.

task which Hugo had set himself.

In this group of poems Hugo has depicted the essential characteristics of ancient and noble Spain. Rodrigue is a soldier, a loyal chevalier, a faithful vassal and subject to his father's commands. His lack of social graces is a mark of his naturaleza. There are other elements with which Hugo succeeds in evoking the atmosphere of the heroic past for he depends not only on the re-creation of the scene visually but by (in le Romancéro) the adoption of the rhythm of the redondilla, insistence on the sonority of Spanish names and simplicity of form.

In his Poèmes tragiques, (43) Leconte de Lisle published three poems based on the Romancero. The first of these is les Inquiétudes de Don Simuel, (44) For the first part of the poem Leconte de Lisle was influenced by several early texts. The section of the poem which presents the arrival of the Moorish King at the court of King Pedro, however, is a close translation of parts of the Romancero. Two stanzas suffice to indicate the parallels:

"Devant eux, et par bonds de sa jument de Perse,
Don Pedro court, ayant, à l'arçon suspendu,
Un faisceau de djerrids aigus dont il les perce,
Joyeux que nul des traits dardés ne soit perdu.

Enfin, clouant l'émyr d'un dernier coup, il crie:
- Ceci le convient mieux qu'un trône grenadin,
Chien maudit! - Roi! petite est ta chevalerie,
Dit le maure, tranquille, en crachant de dédain." (45)

(43) Leconte de Lisle, Poèmes tragiques, first published 1884.

(44) Leconte de Lisle, les Inquiétudes de Don Simuel, Poèmes tragiques, pp. 154-158. First published Revue contemporaine 25 February, 1885.

(45) Les Inquiétudes de Don Simuel, vv. 85-92, p. 158.

"Alli vino el rey Don Pedro
 En un caballo, con lanza:
 Treinta y siete buenos moros
 Que vinieron de Granada
 Hizo luego hacer pedazos,
 A ninguno perdonara,
 Y llegando al rey Bermejo
 Dióle una mortal lanzada,
 Diciendo:- Toma, alvoso,
 Que jamás se me olvidara
 Que hice una pleitesia
 Con el rey de Aragon mala
 Por ti, yo perdi el castillo
 De Arizta y su comarca. -
 Respondiérale el rey moro
 En su lengua estas palabras:
 - Rey Don Pedro, rey Don Pedro,
 Hecho has corta cabalgada! " (46)

In le Romance de Don Fadrique, Leconte de Lisle has taken the general idea from the Romancero, suppressing some passages, developing others and taking supplementary details from the Ayala Chronicle. (47) In le Romance de Doña Blanca (48) the poet has utilised romances and following his adopted method abstracted details from each to construct his own poem.

In the Poèmes barbares (49) Leconte de Lisle adapted part of the Légende du Cid for three poems - l'Accident de Don Inigo, le Tête du comte and la Ximena. The first of these has no parallel in Trophées of José-Maria de Heredia, but la Tête du Comte corresponds to Heredia's la Revanche de Diego Laynez and la Ximena to le Triomphe du Cid.

(46) Romancero, cited by Roger Delcambre in "l'Hispanisme de deux Parnassiens; Leconte de Lisle et José-Maria de Heredia," Hispania, V, 1922, pp. 253-254.

(47) cf. Roger Delcambre, op.cit., p. 264-266.

(48) Leconte de Lisle, le Romance de Doña Blanca, Poèmes tragiques, pp. 164-168. First published la Nouvelle Revue, 1 December 1883.

(49) The third (1878) edition of the Poèmes barbraes included the three previously uncollected poems

L'Accident de Don Inigo contains several modifications from the original. The incident is centred on the refusal of Rodrigue to kiss the hand of the king. His father orders him to comply and Rodrigue does so, for his father, not for the king, but in l'Accident de Don Inigo the refusal is followed by a harsh reprimand from Diego Laynez, whom Rodrigue kills on the spot. This adaptation is less successful than the others mentioned since the heroic qualities of the Cid are belittled. He kills Diego Laynez and simply rides away and it appears that Leconte de Lisle has over-emphasised the brutal aspects of the Cid's character at the expense of the heroic aspects.

La Tête du Comte (50) follows the original, published in Damas-Hinard's Romancero general, (51) very closely, adding only a description of the room and developing the thoughts of Don Diego. Heredia was faced with the problem of avoiding too close an imitation of Leconte de Lisle when he composed his Revanche de Diego Laynez (52) since Leconte de Lisle had followed the original closely the only course open to Heredia was to move further away from the original. This he achieved by developing the interior décor and intensifying the grief of Diego Laynez.

La Ximena is, of the six poems by Leconte de Lisle based on the Romancero, the most faithful adaptation of the original fragments and Heredia was again faced

la Tête du Comte, la Ximena, and l'Accident de Don Inigo.

(50) Leconte de Lisle, la Tête du Comte, Poèmes barbares, pp. 285-288. First published Revue des Deux Mondes, 1874.

(51) Romancero general, traduction de Damas-Hinard, Paris, 1844.

(52) José-Maria de Heredia, la Revanche de Diego Laynez, les Trophees, Paris, pp. 163-166. All references to Heredia are to this edition. First published

with the same problem. (53) In le Triomphe du Cid, Heredia changes the cadre of the action from Burgos to Zamora and in order to give added stature to the figure of the Cid depicts him returning from conquering the Moors. (54) Other details are drawn from fragments not used by Leconte de Lisle.

The method of adaptation employed by Heredia in le Serrement de mains (55) differs considerably from that used in la Revanche de Diego Laynez and le Triomphe du Cid in that since Leconte de Lisle had not drawn from the Romancero for this incident Heredia was able to follow the original text more closely. Another consideration is that since Duran's Romancero provided only two versions of the story contamination was kept to a minimum. (56) Heredia has, however, made the poem much more dramatic. This may be illustrated by comparing the central passage of Heredia's poem with the original:

"L'enfant ne baissa pas ses yeux étincelants.
 Les yeux froids du vieillard flamboyaient. Ruy tout pâle
 Sentant l'horrible étai broyer sa jeune chair,
 Voulut crier; sa voix s'étrangla dans un râle.
 Il rugit; - Lâche-moi, lâche-moi, par l'enfer!
 Sinon, pour t'arracher le coeur avec le foie,
 Mes mains se feront marbre et mes dix ongles fer! "

(57)

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- Revue des Deux Mondes, 1 December 1885.
- (53) Leconte de Lisle, la Ximena, Poèmes barbares, pp. 293-296. First published la Renaissance, 5 October 1872.
- (54) Heredia, le Triomphe du Cid, les Trophées, pp. 167-173. First published Revue des Deux Mondes, 1 December 1885.
- (55) Heredia, le Serrement de Mains, les Trophées, pp. 159-163. First published Revue des Deux Mondes, 1 December 1885.
- (56) cf. Roger Delcombre, op.cit., p. 319.
- (57) Le Serrement de Mains, vv. 31-36, p. 161.

"Encarnizados los ojos,
 Cual furiosa tigre hircana,
 Con mucha furia y denuedo
 Le dice aquestas palabras:
 - Soltedes, padre, en mal hora,
 Soltedes en hora mala,
 Que a no ser padre, no hiciera
 Satisfaccion de palabras,
 Antes con la mano mesma
 Vos sacara las entranas,
 Haciendo lugar el dedo
 En vez de punal o daga." (58)

The Cid, Don Juan and Don Quijote are the three greatest themes which Spain gave to the literature of the world. The interest in the Romancero continues the attempts made in the first half of the century to find new sources of inspiration and to allow the first group of Romantic poets "de montrer sa liberté et même d'en affirmer l'outrance." (59) Abel Hugo had written in 1821 his Discours sur la poésie historique chantée et sur la romance espagnole, which he incorporated in Romances historiques, traduites de l'espagnol the following year. It was from these translations that Emile and Victor Deschamps obtained their models. In 1844, Damas-Hinard translated the Romancero general. In the Orientales, Hugo had made use of his brother's work or of the text by Emile Deschamps for such pieces as la Bataille perdue and Romance mauresque. In his early works based on the Romancero Hugo sought to maintain a sombre and tragic atmosphere, partly, it seems, because he was convinced that the récits were from Arab texts and partly as a reaction against the conventional general view of Spain based on the more colourful aspects of couleur locale.

(58) Romancero, cited by Roger Delcambre, *op.cit.*, p. 320.
 (59) Philippe van Tieghem, Les Influences étrangères sur la littérature française, Paris, 1961, p. 209.

After 1850, however, when Hugo made use of the translation by Damas-Hinard, the poems in la Légende des siècles became much less strictly confined to the models he chose. Hugo retained only the principal facts and re-created the atmosphere partly with the aid of his own travel notes.

The Romantic age had used the legend of Don Juan in two contradictory fashions. He was either applauded or vilified. In France, echoes of Don Juan are found in Mérimée's les Ames en Purgatoire and in Don Juan de Maraña by Dumas. In the period reviewed here the theme is continued by Baudelaire who, in 1853, drew up a plan for a scenario entitled la Fin de Don Juan. (60) This consists of less than a hundred lines of manuscript written in prose, but nevertheless Baudelaire does indicate his intentions clearly. Don Juan is depicted as having arrived at a state of boredom and melancholy with a son "pourri de vices et d'amabilité." Baudelaire gives notice of his intention to continue the "Carmen type," as in the scenario his description of a "Jeune danseuse" (to be given the name Soledad or Trinidad) is as follows:

"... enlevée, élevée et protégée par Don Juan, et malgré la différence d'âge, ne trouvant rien de plus beau, de plus aimable et dont elle ait le droit d'être plus fière, que son amant." (61)

Minor characters are listed without details as "une vieille zingara," "voleurs," "bohémiens," "danseuses," and "quelques belles femmes." Baudelaire's Don Juan aux enfers (62) should also be mentioned in which the

(60) Baudelaire, la Fin de Don Juan. First published in Oeuvres posthumes, 1887. The scenario could be dated as early as 1853. cf. Oeuvres complètes, p.1653.

(61) La Fin de Don Juan, p. 563.

(62) Baudelaire, Don Juan aux enfers, pp. 18-19. First

influence of Byron is clear.

The same subject is found with a new treatment in the works of Verlaine with the title Don Juan pipe. (63) The outstanding feature of Verlaine's poem is not, however, the characterisation of Don Juan but the use of the decasyllabic line which is often broken internally. The opening tone of the poem and the measure invest the poem with authority and places it in the same line of ancestry as the fabliaux :

"Don Juan, qui fut grand seigneur en ce monde,
Est aux enfers ainsi qu'un pauvre immonde,
Pauvre, sans la barbe faite, et pouilleux,
Et si n'étaient la lueur de ses yeux,
Et la beauté de sa maigre figure,
En le voyant ainsi quiconque jure,
Qu'il est un gueux et non ce héros fier,
Aux dames comme aux poètes si cher
Et dont l'auteur de ces humbles chroniques
Vous va parler sur des faits authentiques." (64)

During this period the Don Quijote theme is acknowledged as a continuing influence, but does not stimulate the production of literary works as closely linked with Spain as the inspiration of the Romancero. In 1863 Gustave Doré published Don Quichotte and Verlaine offered a poem Don Quichotte, which, as he noted, was written in the manuscript as Don Quijote - "... pour plus de couleur locale." (65)

published l'Artiste, 6 September, 1846 above the signature Baudelaire Dufays.

(63) Paul Verlaine, Oeuvres poétiques complètes, edited by Y.-G. Le Dantec, Paris, 1948. Don Juan pipe, pp. 265-271. All references to Verlaine are to this edition. Manuscript dated August, 1878.

(64) Don Juan pipe, vv. 1-10, p. 268.

(65) Verlaine, ed.cit., p. 895.

"O Don Quichotte, vieux paladin, grand Bohème,
 En vain la foule absurde et vile rit de toi:
 Ta mort fut un martyr et ta vie un poème,
 Et tes moulins à vent avaient tort, ô mon roi!

.....
 Hurrah! nous te suivons, nous, les poètes saints
 Aux cheveux de folie et de verveine ceints.
 Conduis-nous à l'assaut des hautes fantaisies,
 " (66)

Of the "hurrah" of the first tercet Verlaine wrote that he would replace it because the word was "par trop britannique." However, the "olle" [sic] suggested did not appear in the final version. (67) This indicates that Verlaine was aware of the value of son local, but the decision to leave "hurrah" cannot be explained, unless the poet believed that the "olle" would shock in a poem which, after all, is conventional and sober.

These works give few precise indications of the essential traits of character of the Spanish people as they appeared to writers of the time. From the literature of the past Leconte de Lisle, Hugo and Heredia had succeeded in conjuring not only images of grandeur, bravery and nobility, but also a sense of history. There are few works in this period which reveal that authors were attracted by the characteristics of the Spanish people which had so delighted the writers of the Romantic age. Physical appearance and characterisation in the pieces already mentioned follow very closely the chivalric notion of fundamental characteristics. but the centre of interest remains in the action. There is occasional evidence, however, that the Carmen type, established in literature by Mérimée, produced vague and often unconscious reflections.

{66} Verlaine, Don Quichotte, pp. 13-14.
 {67} Verlaine, ed.cit., p. 895.

In la Fanfarlo, (68) Baudelaire tells the story of the relationship between the dancer Fanfarlo and an author of magazine articles Samuel Cramer, "qui signa autrefois du nom de Manuela de Monteverde quelques folies romantiques." In a description of Fanfarlo's room Baudelaire mentions that the light of the lamp:

"...éclairait quelques peintures pleines d'une volupté espagnole; des chairs très blanches sur des fonds très noirs." (69)

It is easy to attach too much importance to isolated comments of this kind but it would seem that there are two ways in which such a comment may originate. The first is that in 1847 it was possible that 'volupté' should readily associate with 'espagnole,' given that the Romantics had laid so much emphasis on this element of exoticism. The second possibility is that Baudelaire's notion of Spanish voluptuousness was inspired purely by paintings. It is known that in the period immediately preceding the composition of la Fanfarlo, Baudelaire expressed as much interest in painting as he did in poetry. Thus it is likely that his association of Spain and voluptuousness is not first-hand:

"Dès ce temps-là (1842-1845), Baudelaire se préoccupait autant de peinture que de poésie. Je l'ai suivi quelquefois au Louvre, devant lequel il passait rarement sans entrer. Il s'arrêtait alors, de préférence, dans la salle des Espagnols. Il avait des toquades, était très attiré par un Téotocopuli, entraînait pour deux ou trois tableaux, s'en allait." (70)

(68) Baudelaire, la Fanfarlo, pp. 485-512. First published le Bulletin de la Société des gens de lettres, January, 1847.

(69) La Fanfarlo, p. 508.

(70) E. and J. Crépet, Charles Baudelaire, Paris, 1906, pp. 70-71.

In a similarly brief attempt at characterisation, Hugo in Après la Bataille (71) portrays the ferocity of the campaigns of the Peninsular War by his characterisation of a wounded soldier:

"C'était un Espagnol de l'armée en déroute
Qui se traînait sanglant sur le bord de la route." (72)

General Hugo offers the soldier a drink from his flask of rum and the Spaniard - or rather "un espèce de Maure" - seizes a pistol and:

"...vise au front mon père en criant: "Caramba!"
Le coup passa si près que le chapeau tomba
Et que le cheval fit un écart en arrière.
"Donne-lui tout de même à boire", dit mon père."(73)

The after-thought "un espèce de Maure" suggest that Hugo may have amended his father's story of the "Espagnol" since the action of the soldier is not in harmony with the noble image of the Spaniard projected elsewhere in Hugo's works. However it may be argued that by making the soldier Moorish, Hugo is reinforcing here his premise of the Orientales.

This poem obviously has as its aim the glorification of the poet's father rather than the commentary of national characteristics and Piétri has noted that it would be more vraisemblable if the cry of "Caramba" had come from the poet. (74) This word, probably brought back from Spain by French soldiers, had currency among French people with a superficial knowledge of Spanish as and equivalent of merde. It is a strange word, having no implicit meaning, and has now dropped from current idiom.

(71) Hugo, Après la Bataille, pp. 605-606. Composed 1850.
(First series.)

(72) Après la Bataille, vv. 7-8, p. 605.

(73) Après la Bataille, vv. 17-20, p. 606.

(74) Piétri, "l'Espagne de Victor Hugo," Revue des Deux Mondes, XXVIII, 15 February 1952, p. 672.

Its life has been prolonged, however, by literary fashion and it is still encountered in literature written in languages other than Spanish.

Prose works by major authors of this period reveal no characters of importance brought into the action from Spain in the manner of Balzac; neither are there any novels or short stories set in Spain which have retained a notable place in French literature. It would seem that following the enthusiasm for Spain of the writers of the Romantic period the approach to the country and its inhabitants became more intellectual and was inspired by different stimuli. It is difficult to obtain an overall impression of the view of the imagination collective as the image of Spain is fragmented and has to be gleaned from rare comments.

In Fusées, Baudelaire makes an isolated comment concerning religion in Spain:

"L'Espagne met dans la religion la férocité naturelle de l'amour." (75)

and in De l'Essence du rire, comparing the elements of comedy which have been contributed by various nations, he offers a brief judgement on the character and literature of Spain:

"Les Espagnols sont très-bien doués en fait de comique. Ils arrivent vite au cruel, et leurs fantaisies les plus grotesques contiennent souvent quelque chose de sombre." (76)

Here, in a few words, Baudelaire has summarised the elements of Spanish character which writers of the previous period had subdivided further to reveal contrasts

(75) Baudelaire, Fusées, p. 1259.

(76) Baudelaire, De l'Essence du rire et généralement du comique dans les arts plastiques, p. 988.

and contradictions. This is due more, one must conclude, to the superficiality of his knowledge than to a conscious knowledge of the Spanish character.

Concerning toreo, in which writers of the first half of the century had found the essence of Spain - a synthesis of beauty and cruelty - there are but few mentions. Mérimée's letters of the years 1853, 1859 and 1864 reveal that the standard had declined.

In a letter to Edouard Delessert he wrote, in 1853, towards the end of the tëmporada:

"Nous avons encore des taureaux assez passables, meilleurs que les matadors parmi lesquels le génie se perd. Il n'y a plus de ces coups d'épée foudroyants qui transportaient tout le cirque et faisaient hurler quinze mille bouches à la fois. Tout se fait à peu près; pas trop mal, comme vont les choses depuis les progrès du siècle qui unissent tout, je veux dire qui aplatissent tout." (77)

and later in a letter to Léon de Laborde:

"Les taureaux sont pitoyables. Il est venu de Sevilla une espèce de géant qui les tue d'une manière sublime. Tous les matadors de Madrid se sont lignés contre lui et l'ont obligé de s'en aller après une seule représentation." (78)

During his journey in 1859, Mérimée wrote to Jenny Dacquin:

"J'ai assisté lundi à un combat de taureaux, qui n'a fort peu amusé. J'ai en le malheur, de connaître trop tôt la beauté parfaite, et après avoir vu Montès, je ne puis plus regarder ses successeurs dégénérés. Les bêtes ont

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- (77) Letter to Edouard Delessert, 19 September 1853, Correspondance générale, 2e série, Vol. 1, p. 171.
 (78) Letter to Léon de Laborde, 21 October 1853, Correspondance générale, 2e série, Vol. 1, p.184.

dégénéré comme les hommes. Les taureaux sont devenue des boeufs, et le spectacle ressemble un peu trop à un abattoir." (79)

Mérimée has often made mention of Paquiro (Francisco) Montés (1805-1851) and had written a special eulogy of him which appeared as a post-script to his letter to the director of La Revue de Paris published in that journal in January 1831.

The complete degeneration of the corrida is revealed in Mérimée's letter to Madame de la Rochejaquelein:

"...les taureaux ont dégénéré. Nous en avons mis un à la porte, tant il était bête, ne sachant ce qu'on lui voulait, mais bien déterminé à ne faire mal à personne. Les autres n'ont pas montré beaucoup plus de courage." (80)

The only ray of hope for the survival of the fiesta brava, according to Mérimée, lay in the person of Francisco Arjona Herrera, who fought under the name of Cúchares. Mérimée considered him to be the best matador since Montés. (81) But in 1864, the corrida caused Mérimée to write to Fanny Lagden in a vein similar to his complaints of eleven years earlier:

"I have seen very bad bulls and worse matadors, so cowardly prudent that they never killed their beast but after four or five lounes [sic]. Everything is degenerating." (82)

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- (79) Letter to Jenny Daquin, 21 October 1859. Correspondance générale, 2e série, vol 3, p.279.
- (80) Letter to Madame de la Rochejaquelein, 22 October 1859, Correspondance générale, 2e série, vol 3. p. 281.
- (81) Francisco Arjona Montés (1818-1868) took his alternativa in Madrid after spending several years at the Escuela de Tauromaquia in Madrid. His son Francisco Arjona Reyes (Currito) took his alternativa in 1867.
- (82) Letter to Fanny Lagden, 24 October 1864, Correspondance générale, 2e série, vol 6, p.261.

In fact Cúchares, although he won riches, was not able to bring to the fiesta anything which tempted French writers to reintroduce torero into literature. It was not until the very end of this period that the great "Guerrita," who took his alternativa in 1887, started the regeneration of the corrida.

Baudelaire, describing Goya's lithograph Diversión de España (83) does not use the occasion to add any judgment or opinion of torero but limits his comments to a brief objective description of the scene:

"Au premier plan d'une de ces images, où règnent un tumulte et un tohu-bohu admirables, un taureau furieux, un de ces rancuniers qui s'acharnent sur les morts, a déculotté la partie postérieure d'un des combattants. Celui-ci qui n'est que blessé, se traîne lourdement sur les genoux. La formidable bête a soulevé avec ses cornes la chemise lacérée et mis à l'air les deux fesses du malheureux, et elle abaisse de nouveau son mufle menaçant; mais cette indécence dans le carnage n'émeut guère l'assemblée." (84)

Baudelaire's final comment may be compared with the words of Enrique Lafuente Ferrari on the same lithograph:

"They [the onlookers] are merely grotesque puppets, as if they were part of some tragic carnival full of drunkenness and cruelty." (85)

In Mort du Taureau, (86) Heredia adapted the rhythm of the redondilla, usually of seven syllables to compose his poem which reveals great sympathy for the martyred animal. The poem, thirteen stanzas of octosyllabic

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- (83) A reproduction will be found in Goya, his complete Etchings, Aquatints and Lithographs, London, third edition, 1968, p.287.
- (84) Baudelaire, Quelques Caricaturistes étrangers, p.1019. First published le Present, 15 October, 1857.
- (85) Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, in Goya, his complete Etchings... p. XXXII.
- (86) Heredia, Mort du Taureau, in Miodrag Ibrovac, José-Maria de Heredia, Paris, 1923, pp. 290-291. First published Minerva, 1 January, 1903.

quatrains, was the last poem to be published in the poet's lifetime, and although strictly outside this period part of the poem is included here:

"Alors, levant son mufle où coule
 La bave en un long filament,
 Le noir taureau, stupidement,
 Considère l'étrange foule...

 Il se redresse, tombe, beugle,
 Et balance son cou puissant.
 Il a soif. Il lèche le sang
 Mêlé de larmes qui l'aveugle.

Mais rien ne peut plus l'assouvir.
 Il meurt... et ses grands yeux inertes
 S'emplissent de visions vertes
 Où roule le Guadalquivir." (87)

Heredía, not writing here as an aficionado, and free from the easy enthusiasm of the Romantic, takes the line most often offered by opponents of the lidia and enumerates the pathetic elements of the bull's appearance.

Of the Spanish dance, the second synthesis of Spanish national character which has been noted in the Romantic age, Victor Hugo, in Masferrer, provides a brilliant re-creation:

"Dans les ombres
 Marche et s'émeut l'armée horrible de sierras;
 Secouant des tambours, courant, levant les bras,
 Des femmes, qu'effarouche une sombre allégresse,
 Avec des regards d'ange et des bonds de tigresse,
 Tâchant de faire choir les piastres de leur main
 A force de seins nus, de fard et de carmin.
 Dansent autour de rois; car ils sont les Mocènes
 De la jupe éffarée et des groupes obscènes.
 Parmi les femmes, deux, l'une grande aux crins blonds,
 L'autre petite avec des colliers de doublons,
 Toutes deux gitanas au flanc couleur de brique,
 Mêlent une âpre lutte au boléro lubrique;

(87) Mort du Taureau, Miobrag Ibrovac, op.cit., pp. 290-291.

La petite, ployant ses reins, tordant son corps,
 Rit et raille la grande, et la géante alors
 Se penche sur la naine avec gloire et furie,
 Comme une Pyrénée insulte un Asturie." (88)

However, in the two lines "Des femmes... bonds de tigresse" Hugo has in this sequence of oxymoron again touched on the complex implications of the dance and the dancers which writers and travellers earlier in the century had remarked.

In this intensely subjective re-creation of a scene Hugo concentrates on the sensuality of the dance and thus continues the view which had been current in the early years of the century. However, with 'sein nus,' 'obscènes,' 'lubriques,' 'ployant ses reins' Hugo fixes upon the grosser physical aspects of the dancers who are 'gitanes' in the true original sense of the word. The earlier voluptuousness of the Spanish female is accentuated in a physical way which belongs more truly to the realist period than to the early Romantic era, and it may be noted here that Mérimée's Carmen consisted of two parts: the imaginative story and the essay on the Calé. Hugo here reverts to the less savoury characteristics of the race as revealed by Mérimée's essay.

Re-creations of Spanish rhythms are rare. Verlaine's Séguidille (89) is composed of six stanzas of five lines each, whereas the true seguidilla has stanzas of seven lines - a quatrain and a tercet. Rather than to Spanish forms and rhythms it would seem that Verlaine's poem, which appeared in la Vogue in 1886, owes a great deal to Baudelaire's poem Chanson d'après-midi, (90)

(88) Hugo, Masferrer, vv. 423-439, p. 397.

(89) Verlaine, Seguidille, pp. 348-349. First published la Vogue, 1886, with the title Seguedille.

(90) Baudelaire, Chanson d'Après-midi, pp. 57-58.

which had been published in l'Artiste, 15 October 1860.

In Malagueña, (91) Heredia has adapted the Spanish rhythm as he was also to do in Redondillas. (92) The result was not entirely satisfactory to the poet and these two poems were not included as part of the Trophées. Malagueña and Redondillas are in octosyllabic lines and appeared as Chansons andalouses in le Monde poétique. Redondillas was first published separately in la Vie moderne, with the title la Fête de Paris-Murcie and the title was subsequently changed after the poem's publication in Le Monde poétique to Chanson de Torero and finally to Corrida. (93)

In addition to aspects of Spain revealed in Baudelaire's art criticism several poems have indirect links with Spain through the works of Goya. The first of the poems in this series, les Phares, (94) is a resumé of Baudelaire's philosophy of art in which he isolates the essentials of the art of Rubens, Leonardo da Vinci, Rembrandt, Michelangelo, Puget, Watteau, Goya and Delacroix. It seems unlikely that Baudelaire had seen any of Goya's work except the etchings Caprichos and the lithographs since no mention is made of any paintings in either Quelques Caricaturistes étrangers or les Phares. Baudelaire concludes his prose study of Goya thus:

"Le grand mérite de Goya consiste à créer le monstrueux vraisemblable. Ses monstres sont nés viables, harmoniques. Nul n'a osé

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- (91) Heredia, Malagueña. First published Monde poétique, 10 June 1884. Not included in Trophées.
 (92) Heredia, Redondillas. First published Vie Moderne, 20 December 1879. Not included in Trophées.
 (93) Supplément littéraire du Figaro, 21 September 1889, Chanson de Torero; Lecture, 25 October 1893, Chanson de Torero; Annales politiques et littéraires, 25 October 1905, Corrida.
 (94) Baudelaire, les Phares, pp. 12-14. Composed 1855.

plus que lui dans le sens de l'absurde possible. Toutes ces contorsions, ces faces bestiales, ces grimaces diaboliques sont pénétrées d'humanité. Même au point de vue particulier de l'histoire naturelle, il serait difficile de les condamner, tant il y a analogie et harmonie dans toutes les parties de leur être; en un mot, la ligne de suture, le point de jonction entre le réel et le fantastique est impossible à saisir; c'est une frontière vague que l'analyste le plus subtil ne saurait pas tracer, tant l'art est à la fois transcendant et naturel." (95)

These views are condensed in les Phares in the following stanza:

"Goya, cauchemar plein de choses inconnues,
De foetus qu'on fait cuire au milieu des sabbats,
De vieilles au miroir et d'enfants toutes nues,
Pour tenter les démons ajustent bien leurs bas."(96)

This stanza is also a startling juxtaposition of the subjects of Goya's Caprichos. "De foetus...sabbats" recalls Todos caerán and Obsequio al Maestro, the following line Hasta la Muerte and the last line Bien tirada está, Ruega por ella and Por que fue sensible.

Among the Caprichos Baudelaire notes one which particularly impressed him:

"...un paysage fantastique, un mélange de nuées et de rochers. Est-ce un coin de Sierra inconnue et inféquentée? Un échantillon du chaos?" (97)

The Capricho, entitled Allá va eso,(98) has as its subject a terrible battle between two witches, but Baudelaire develops this central idea into a three-act drama within the confines of a sonnet, Duellum. First

(95) Quelques Caricaturistes étrangers, p. 1019.

(96) Les Phares, vv. 25-28, p. 13.

(97) Quelques Caricaturistes étrangers, pp.1018-1019.

(98) A reproduction will be found in Goya, his complete Etchings... p. 66.

represented is love:

"Deux guerriers ont couru l'un sur l'autre; leurs armes
Ont éclaboussé l'air de leurs et de sang.
Ces jeux, ces cliquetis du fer sont les vacarmes
D'une jeunesse en proie à l'amour vagissant."

The second act is the growth of hatred:

"Les glaives sont brisés! comme notre jeunesse,
Ma chère! Mais les dents, les ongles acérés,
Vengent bientôt l'épée et la dague traîtresse
- O fureur des coeurs murs par l'amour ulcérés!

Dans le ravin hanté des chats-pards et des onces
Nos héros, s'étreignant méchamment, ont roulé,
Et leur peau fleurira l'aridité des ronces."

The final section evokes the permanence of a Hell of mutual hatred.

"- Ce gouffre, c'est l'enfer, de nos amis peuplé!
Roulons-y sans remords, amazone inhumaine,
Afin d'éterniser l'ardeur de notre haine!" (99)

In this sonnet Baudelaire has completely restyled the original source and the result is a drama with a much more broad application than the Capricho by Goya.

The affinities of la Béatrice with the Capricho entitled Volaverunt has already been noted and it is from another Capricho that Baudelaire drew his inspiration for la Lune offensée. Hasta la muerte, already mentioned in connection with les Phares, depicts an old lady facing a mirror and is a cruel commentary on the possibility of vanity outlasting the limitations of old age. (100) la Lune offensée concludes with a tercet directly inspired from the engraving:

"Je vois ta mère, enfant de ce siècle appauvri,
Qui vers son miroir penche un lourd amas d'années,

(99) Baudelaire, Duellum, p. 34. First published l'Artiste, 19 September 1858.

(100) A reproduction will be found in Goya, his complete etchings... p. 55.

Et plâtre artistement le sein qui t'a nourri."(101)

Finally, in this small group of poems, inspired not directly from Spain but from the contacts of artists with the country and Spanish characters, mention must be made of the quatrain Lola de Valence, which does not form part of the Fleurs du Mal. The lines were composed as an inscription to accompany the portrait of the Spanish dancer Lola de Valencia, painted by Edouard Manet during the 1862 season. A full description of the painting is given by Robert-Benoit Chérix:

"La danseuse est représentée debout, prête à entrer en scène, parée d'un riche costume national où chatoient les satins et les gazes. Son visage grave, au teint mat, est encadré par une chevelure floue et noire, et s'éclaire d'une regard sombre et langoureux." (102)

The simplicity of the four lines is deceptive:

"Entre tant de beautés que partout on peut voir,
Je comprends bien, amis, que le désir balance;
Mais on voit scintiller en Lola de Valence
Le charme inattendu d'un bijou rose et noir." (103)

From the image of "rose et noir" Baudelaire later developed the abstract poem Toute entière, (104) an application of his theory of synthesis which is revealed in Correspondances.

The poems by Baudelaire inspired by the works of Goya may be contrasted with España by Gautier, in which a group of poems are devoted to memories of Spanish paintings, some of which had been already described in Tra los Montes. Baudelaire isolates the essential features of Goya's approach to life in general and, although from this point a poem develops which has closer

(101) Baudelaire, la Lune offensée, vv. 12-14, p. 174.

First published l'Artiste, 1 March 1862.

(102) Robert-Benoit Chérix, Commentaire des Fleurs du Mal, Geneva, 1949, p. 94.

(103) Baudelaire, Lola de Valence, p. 152.

(104) Baudelaire, Toute entière, p.40. First published

affiliation with Baudelaire's personality than with the Spain of the original inspiration, the contact remains, diminished but positive. Gautier, however, in Ribeira, (105) has romanticised the painter through looking at his paintings, while in Deux Tableaux de Valdés Leal, (106) Gautier, fascinated by In Ictu oculi (107) and Finis gloriae mundi, (108) "n'a plus vu en Valdés Leal que l'évocatour implacable du néant humain," (109) and failed to recognise the complexity and range of the painter's talent.

Gautier's view of monastic life in Spain was based not on reality, although he had visited monasteries during the course of his travels through Spain, but on the canvases of Zurbaran, whom he considered to be the most Spanish of all the painters represented at the 1837 salon. From Zurbaran's work he reconstructs a meditation on the value of life as opposed to the "morne suicide" undertaken by monastic recluses and to which they remain condemned by their vows. Gautier cannot understand the motives behind the individual decisions.(110)

- la Revue française, 20 April 1857.
- (105) Theophile Gautier, Ribeira, first published la Revue de Paris, 11 February 1844. See also, Sur le Prométhée du Musée de Madrid, first published Fascicule 8 of les Beaux-Arts, 30 April 1843. The painting is reproduced in Rene Jasinski, l'España de Theophile Gautier, Paris, 1929, between pp.114-115.
- (106) Gautier, Deux Tableaux de Valdés Leal, first published in two separate parts in la Revue des Deux Mondes, 15 November, 1841 and 1 November 1842. The two parts were brought together with a link (vv. 63-77) in the Poésies complètes in 1845.
- (107) Reproduced in Jasinski, op.cit., between pp.222-223.
- (108) Reproduced in Jasinski, op.cit., between pp.224-225.
- (109) Jasinski op.cit., p. 226.
- (110) Gautier, A Zurbaran. First published la Revue de Paris, 21 January, 1844, with the title Zurbaran, terza-rima. Le Moine en prière is reproduced in Jasinski, op.cit., between pp. 234-235 and le

Of the paintings evoked in España Jasinski wrote:

"i..Il lui fallait suggérer plus que définir, orienter plus que conduire à proprement parler l'imagination du lecteur."(111)

In this Gautier differs from Baudelaire who, upon the first inspiration, constructed something not necessarily connected. For Gautier it was the picturesque which attracted him in the works of Goya. Margaret Gilman wrote:

"Gautier considère Goya avec son regard de voyageur primesautier, éveillé, curieux, qui cherche surtout ce qui est différent de chez lui." (112)

There is no doubt that Gautier's enthusiastic pages on Goya reveal a highly developed sense of appreciation of the exotic, but Baudelaire's appreciation is more cosmopolitan than purely exotic, as Margaret Gilman has concluded:

"Baudelaire n'a point l'air dépaysé; son esprit, ouvert à toutes les beautés, est attiré par l'oeuvre d'un grand artiste, il y court, il y pénètre, il s'y installe, il y est chez lui." (113)

This is also true of Mérimée, who between 1845 and 1851 wrote six articles on Spanish painting and literature.(114)

Repas des Chartreux, *ibid.* between pp. 238-239.

(111) Jasinski, *op.cit.*, p. 41.

(112) Margaret Gilman, "le Cosmopolitisme de Baudelaire et l'Espagne," Revue de Littérature Comparée, Vol. 16, 1936, p. 97.

(113) *Ibid.*

(114) These articles are: "Le pont de Tolède, à Madrid," Magazine pittoresque, January 1849; "Examen de la dissertation intitulée Memoria historico-critica sobre el gran disco de Theodosio...por Dr. Antonio Delgado," Revue archéologique, July 1849; "Les Arts en Espagne," Revue des Deux Mondes, XXIV, 1848; XLII, 1848; VI, 1850; "De la littérature espagnole; History of Spanish Literature, by George Ticknor," Revue des Deux Mondes, 15 April 1851.

These articles were overshadowed by Carmen and his Histoire de Don Pèdre ler, Roi de Castille, (115) but nevertheless reveal a deep understanding of Spain and the way in which society and its mores influenced Velasquez. There is naturally considerable personal reflection in these works which form a bridge between Gautier and Baudelaire.

It is curious to note, in conclusion, that Baudelaire, whose approach to the works of Goya is so different from that of Gautier, should have written in the opening lines in the section on Goya in Quelques Caricaturistes étrangers;

"A propos de Goya, je dois d'abord renvoyer mes lecteurs à l'excellent article que Théophile Gautier a écrit sur lui dans le Cabinet de l'Amateur, et fut depuis reproduit dans un volume de mélanges." (116)

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(115) Prosper Mérimée, Histoire de Don Pèdre ler, Roi de Castille, first published 1848.

(116) Baudelaire Quelques Caricaturistes étranger, p.1017.

CHAPTER XII

- SUMMARY 1850 - 1890 -

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Writers in the 1850-1890 period paid little attention to Spain, the major work in which images of Spain may be found being Victor Hugo's la Légende des siècles. In this work we note three distinct phases of his interest, which began with his journey of 1843. In the first stage two poems show that he had not completely succeeded in shaking off the influence of the idées reçues of the eighteenth century. In les Raisons du Momotombo (1) arises the Voltairian vision of the Inquisition while in la Rose de l'Infante (2) he presents the contrast between Moorish and Catholic Spain.

For the second phase Hugo is more deeply affected by his journey of 1843, and his vision of the Middle Ages is situated in the region of the Pyrenees or generally in the north of Spain. There is a continuance

(1) Hugo, les Raisons de Momotombo, pp. 444-445.
(2) Hugo, la Rose de l'Infante, pp. 437-443.

of the influence of décor noted in Chateaubriand and the Romantics in Gaiffer, (3), Masferrer, le Petit Roi de Galice and le Jour des Rois.

In the third phase, which is mainly literary in inspiration, Hugo is joined by Leconte de Lisle and Heredia. The three poets used fragments of the Romancero upon which their poems are based. These poems scarcely reveal a personal vision of Spain, as the object of the composition is to fix on certain elements of the greatness of Spain which had already been established and sung. Hugo, Leconte de Lisle and Heredia add details, but the overall impression of their works reinforces the characteristics of the Romancero, the simplistic nature of the characterisation, the insistence on action rather than décor and the heroic atmosphere.

Spain as an original source of inspiration seems to have been lost to poetry and prose. In the theatre, however, the romantic ideas were re-created although couleur locale was again reduced to the eighteenth century level and the sense of history disappeared. Martinenche has summarised the situation:

"L'Espagne n'est plus connue qu'à travers les erreurs et les préjugés d'une critique qui ne s'est pas renouvelée. On n'arbore son drapeau que pour justifier toutes les extravagances. Le drame romantique auquel elle avait d'abord communiqué un peu de son âme ardente s'achève et meurt en une grimace forcée. (4)

More particularly, Martinenche is here referring to the last play by Joseph Bouchardy, l'Armurier de Santiago, to which the public was indifferent. The author was

(3) Hugo, Gaiffer-Jorge, pp. 386-402. Manuscript dated 23-25 December, 1858. (Second series.)

(4) Ernest Martinenche, l'Espagne et le Romantisme français, Paris, 1922, p. 184.

humiliated by the lack of enthusiasm and wrote no more plays.

In the works of other authors briefly mentioned Spain does not have the importance it had in the first half of the century. Where comments on the life of the inhabitants or the customs of Spain are made, these are usually en passant. The description of Spain, moving on to a more academic and positivist level, is in the hands of the literary critics, historians and geographers.

It seems significant in this general shift of interest reflected in the works of writers of imaginative works that women, as in the chansons de geste, have little place or are unflatteringly depicted. The poetic recreation of a chance meeting, the delicatesse of young Spanish women have no place in the literature of the 1850-1890 period. The gentle features of a Velasquez painting can be reproduced in verse by a Hugo, but if one examines the characterisation of women in general in the works discussed here the sensation is of all-pervading ugliness. The old hags of Goya's Caprichos, the warlike dancers of Hugo's Masferrer, indicate a rejection of the aesthetic elements of couleur locale in favour of the grotesque. It is not easy to ascribe reasons for this shift but it is possible that Mérimée's disillusionment - he wrote rather vehemently to Fanny Lagden that he had "found all the young ladies I left slender-waisted grown as fat as pigs." (5) - reflected not merely the effect of age, but a sharpening of the observer's eye, that Spain was being seen no longer through the rose-coloured spectacles of Romanticism, but with growing realism. It is possible that the reaction against Romanticism was

(5) Mérimée, Letter to Fanny Lagden, 19 October, 1859, Correspondance générale, 2e série, vol.3, p. 276.

taking place unconsciously even in Victor Hugo's literary works, at least intermittently. Hispanists were beginning to investigate the sociological and historical aspects of couleur locale, and the efforts of a Frenchman, Barrès, and a Spaniard, Blasco Ibañez, were needed to find again some of the natural beauty and spontaneous hispanidad of Spain and its inhabitants.

The reasons for the lack of the utilisation of Spain as a source of inspiration for imaginative works is to be found partly in the nature of the development of French literature itself. In spite of the proclamations about objectivity and its claims to decorative perfection, Parnassian poetry became personal and confessional. Consequently, images of the real world were not sought after with the same enthusiasm and with poetry becoming more introspective Spain as any source, was needed as a point de départ or as a source of historical colour only. Following the Parnassus came revolution:

"By reason of the fact of Symbolism and of the five pre-symbolist dissidents, a new poetry was opposed not only or chiefly to Parnassus but to the whole body of French poetry from Ronsard to Hugo." (6)

In the novel the movement was towards Naturalism and the decade immediately preceding 1890 saw the publication of the finest examples of human documents based on the analysis of society in France. Literature did not need any powerful impetus from beyond the frontiers of France; local colour was becoming local in the strictest sense of the word; documentation was becoming more thorough and more scientific and authors rejected the touristic approach to the problems of society.

(6) Albert Thibaudet, French Literature from 1795 to our Era, (Translated by Charles Lam Markmann) New York, 1967, p. 428.

Concurrently with these developments in French literature Spain was ceasing to be such a powerful attraction. The country was beginning to catch up with the advance made in all fields by the rest of Europe, and as it did it became less interesting and less colourful. Mérimée who, as we have seen, felt profoundly for Spain, helps us to follow step by step the growing disillusionment. He travelled through the country in 1853, only six years after the publication of Carmen. In a letter to Madame de Lagrené he wrote:

"Hier je suis allé aux taureaux. Il n'y a plus de grands talents, mais d'honnêtes doublures." (7)

and in a letter to an unknown correspondent, he indicates that his disappointment is not limited to the arena:

"J'ai trouvé l'Espagne fort changée depuis six ans que le ne l'avais vue. Beaucoup de progrès matériels, mais d'un côté la poésie démanage grand train. On commence à s'occuper moins des femmes et un peu plus de l'argent, c'est à dire qu'on se civilise." (8)

In a letter to Mistress Childe, however, Mérimée shows that the people of Spain still represent the grandeur d'âme which he had noted earlier. With the phrase "gens du peuple" Mérimée is here perhaps reflecting the changes in emphasis which were to be revealed in the works of the Goncourts and the Naturalists:

"Vous ne sauriez croire, Madame, combien les gens du peuple sont aimables dans ce pays, combien d'esprit, et de grandeur d'âme on trouve dans des endroits où l'on ne s'imaginerait jamais les rencontrer." (9)

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- (7) Mérimée, Letter to Madame de Lagrené, 13 September, 1853, Correspondance générale, 2e serie, Paris, 1953, Vol 1, p. 164.
 (8) Mérimée, Letter to X..., 19 September 1853, Correspondance générale, 2e serie, vol 1, p. 165.
 (9) Letter to Mistress Childe, 16 October, 1853,

In October, Mérimée's letters gave evidence of even greater disillusionment: "Les taureaux n'ont pas de coeur et les hommes ne valent guère mieux," (10) but nevertheless he left Spain "le coeur gros." (11)

In 1859, Mérimée again visited Spain, but remained at Carabancel except for rare visits to Madrid. In November he wrote to Alfred Arago that "... tout est changé en Espagne, devenu prosaïque et français." (12) This last phrase summarises the change and the consequent disillusionment, for why should a writer seek abroad what is prosaic and French? In a letter to Jenny Daquin he noted:

"Il me semble que les moeurs ont changé notablement, et que la politique et le régime parlementaire ont singulièrement altéré le pittoresque de la vieille Espagne." (13)

The beauty of Spanish women, at least of those he had known, was lost:

"J'ai le désagrément de trouver les femmes que j'avais laissées il y a quelques années dans tout l'éclat de leurs jeunes ans, les unes grosses de moutards à venir, les autres déformées par les moutards déjà grandelets. Celles qui sont conservées vierges, pour moi

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- (10) Correspondance générale, 2e serie, Vol 1, p. 180.
Letter to Jenny Daquin, 25 October, 1853, Correspondance générale, 2e serie, Vol 1, p. 189.
- (11) Letter to Estebañez Calderon, 25 December 1853, Correspondance générale, 2e serie, Vol. 1, p. 232.
- (12) Letter to Alfred Arago, 11 November, 1859, Correspondance générale, 2e serie, Vol. 3, p. 302
- (13) Letter to Jenny Daquin, 21 October 1859, Correspondance générale, 2e serie, Vol 3, p. 278.
cf. "La civilisation y fait des progrès considerables pour nous autres amateurs de la couleur locale... Il n'y a plus de brigands et presque plus de guitarres." Letter to Madame de la Rochejaquelein, 22 October, 1859, Correspondance générale, 2e serie, Vol 3, p. 280.

probablement, ne me donnent aucune envie de leur ôter leur virginité, si j'en étais capable." (14)

Mérimée's final visit to Spain took place in 1864.(15) In some ways he was able to find again the pleasures of his youth, but, as Pierre Trahard points out, this was not enough:

"Hélas! Mérimée ne rapporte de l'Espagne ni pièce de théâtre, ni nouvelle, ni étude historique ou critique; la source est tarie et, sans le savoir, l'auteur de Carmen vient de dire adieu au pays qu'il a tant aimé et auquel il doit une partie de sa gloire." (16)

Three forces then, seem to have exercised influence on the image of Spain in imaginative literature. The first was the development of a school of Hispanists, modern and critical in outlook, and for whom Spain, its literature and its history, offered a vast field for research and commentary. This scholarly approach to the subject is seen also in the general movement of French literature and philosophy in the later years of the nineteenth century. The second influential force was the direction which literature in general seemed to be taking, briefly mentioned above. Added to these powerful factors was the gradual Europeanisation of Spain, noted by Mérimée. Writers of the period 1850-1890 were not desperately seeking new themes and décors as the Romantics had been and Spain at this time was not emitting a strong enough image to change the direction of the tide.

(14) Letter to Léon de Laborde, 5 November 1859, Correspondance générale, 2e série, Vol 3, p. 292.

(15) cf. Mérimée, Correspondance générale, 2e série, Vol 6, pp. 250-279.

(16) Pierre Trahard, la Vieillesse de Prosper Mérimée (1854-1870), Paris, 1930, p. 160.

During the period 1850-1890, the kind of image of Spain projected by the Romantics passed through years of quiescence, although Spain did not cease to be of interest to the public as the success of Bizet's Carmen indicates. With fin de siècle exoticism and the desire for evasion apparent in the early decades of the twentieth century, images developed by the Romantics will be re-examined and Spain will again be taken up as a source of inspiration worthy of notice by leading authors.

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PART FIVE

- 1890 - 1936 -

An analysis of the image of Spain in the works of novelists in the period from 1890 to the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, a period of increasing interest in European and world problems during which Hispanic studies are established and some Romantic conceptions continue.

CHAPTER XIII

- THE BACKGROUND 1890 - 1936 -

1890-1914 - interest in Europe - escapism - inspiration from foreign literature - Spanish literature - Pereda - Pérez Galdós - Ibañez - internationalism - dissatisfaction in France - generación de 98 - political contacts - Larbaud - Barrès - Loti - the Hispanists - 1914-1936 - internal politics in France - crisis in Spain - roman d'aventures - roman exotique - récits de voyage - Legendre - Pitollet - Lacretelle - translations - Cervantes - Ibañez - Valle-Inclán - Jaramuno - Azorin - Ayala - the image in the novel.

-- THE BACKGROUND 1890 - 1936 --

The final section of this study spans the years 1890-1936, but within this period there are further subdivisions which may conveniently be made. The limits of these are governed by two considerations. The first is the overriding influence of the Great War of 1914-18, when all Europe was thrown into confusion. The characteristics of post-war French literature reveal political trends which even now have not ceased to have their effect. The second consideration is that in French literary history to date, Symbolism may be said to be the last dominant movement which has had measurable influence. This is not to deny that trends and patterns since Symbolism were as pervasive, but to affirm that today's critic is not sufficiently far removed in time to be able to analyse the maze of currents and cross-currents which characterize twentieth century French literature. Symbolism is generally

considered to have held a dominant position from about 1890 - Moréas is credited with having proposed "le Symbolisme" in 1886 - to the outbreak of the Great War. The relationship between France and Spain in this period will be briefly discussed first.

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1890-1914

During the final quarter of the nineteenth century particularly following the repression of the Commune, internal politics lacked direction and although the Republic of 1875 appeared to be only provisional, colonial expansion consolidated it and established the position of France in a modern, expanding world.

Artists and writers tended to oppose this modern conception of society and revolted or took refuge in their work. Traditionalists like Barbey d'Aurevilly, mystics such as Huysmans, Léon Bloy - a catholic polemicist - impressionists, among them Monet and Sisley, and above all the Symbolists attempted a new spiritual examination of society, themselves, and the new world which was forced upon them. Zola and Anatole France took up the cause of the working class and through socialism effected a kind of engagement as the Romantics had done in the 1840's. The main object of their attacks were the classes who directed society, classes whose complacent attitude was engendering immobility and stagnation.

The twentieth century opened on a brilliant note. The general classification of this period as la Belle Epoque refers specifically to the bourgeoisie and there were still difficulties beneath the surface of society.

The construction of the Tour Eiffel, the first attempts at flight by Ader were august preliminaries to the Universal Exhibition of Paris in 1900. Despite the Dreyfus Affair, socialist pressures, the Moroccan crisis and the events of 1905 in Russia, the general feeling of optimism was not easily upset. Paris became the world centre of art and saw the birth of fauvism, cubism and other movements. The cinema, shown in public for the first time in 1895, began to establish its place as the seventh art.

In the literature of this period there is no great transformation, but the literature of ideas develops, and Maurras, Barrès and Léon Daudet express nationalism as strongly as Jaurès, Anatole France and Romain Rolland counteract it with their socialist ideas. Claudel, Péguy and Goyan are inspired by practical catholicism; Bergson re-animates a public interest in philosophy and psychology, but it is in the novel that all these currents and trends are reunited. Each trend, each individual author's viewpoint has its place, each contributing to the complexity of the novel genre.

Exoticism in literature did not die completely during the period of Naturalism, but seeking to counteract the more self-revelatory nature of this literature it tended to be introduced into works for its own sake. This in turn led to a group of amuseurs, the dilettante.

As early as 1872 Alphonse Daudet had foreseen the likely results of excesses of exoticism and after writing with the typically well-documented precision of a Naturalist opposed the growing fashion of exoticism, by exposing - in Tartarin de Tarascon - its more ridiculous aspects. The links with Don Quijote are clear. Tartarin is possessed by the dream of exotic

adventure; his favourite tree is the baobab, his favourite odour is gunpowder, his favourite author Fenimore Cooper. An attack on exoticism was also made by Gondinet in a vaudeville written in 1881 - un Voyage d'agrément. (1)

Between 1890 and 1914 novelists tended to return to Europe for their subjects, but at the same time the colonial movement was strong, as Jourda noted:

"Presque à l'heure où les romanciers fin de siècle revenaient en Europe ou dans le bassin méditerranéen, aux pays qui avaient enchanté les romantiques, une nouvelle forme de l'exotisme prenait un brusque et brillant essor; l'exotisme colonial qui n'avait encore touchée que l'Algérie." (2)

Victor Cherbuliez is a typical example of the influences which had most effect upon the new cosmopolites. In his novels he brought characters of different nationalities face to face - using the method advocated by Mme de Staël in Corinne. His settings are mainly France, Switzerland and Italy, but after 1890 the principles he demonstrated were applied more widely, the themes he rediscovered were taken up again and re-explored.(3)

Maurice Barrès (1862-1923) the first of the writers whose works on Spain are to be examined in detail, was

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- (1) Edmond Gondinet, (1829-1888), un Voyage d'agrément (1881), Théâtre complet, ed. M. Gondinet, Paris, 1892-1898, vol V. Un Voyage d'agrément was written in association with Alexandre Bisson.
 - (2) Pierre Jourda, l'Exotisme dans la littérature française depuis Chateaubriand, Vol II, Du Romantisme à 1939, Paris/Montpellier, 1956, p.217.
 - (3) Victor Cherbuliez, (1829-1899). The heroes of Miss Rovel (1875) are two English women, a Frenchman and an Italian; those of Meta Holdenis (1873) are German French and Italian. Notable among the works of Cherbuliez is l'Espagne politique, 1868-1873, Paris, 1874.

writing at the time when the new spirit of cosmopolitanism was establishing itself in France. Ronald Hilton describes the period as:

"... the fin de siècle period, when artistic Frenchmen were trying to stimulate their jaded nerves with doses of potent exoticism, extracts of anything from Tahiti to Spain." (4)

This stimulation by inspiration from foreign sources was but one way in which writers sought evasion. Barrès wrote: "Nous vivions sur nos nerfs sans reconnaître que nos réserves s'épuisaient." (5) The music of Wagner offered one form of evasion which had been eagerly sought since 1880; (6) escape was also offered through mysticism; neo-catholicism like morphine provided ecstasy. There was a growth in interest in Spiritualism and large numbers of conversions to occult sects.

It may be suggested that the literary search for escape has its origins in the work of Baudelaire. This desire for change was not a completely new phenomenon, but the intensity of the search at the end of the nineteenth century, due largely to political and social events, tends to lead back to a literary source where the cry is uttered in desperation. This may be found in Baudelaire's Anywhere out of the World, (7) and it is no coincidence that at this time he had already written part of Des Paradis artificiels. In Anywhere

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- (4) Ronald Hilton, "Maurice Barrès and Spain," The Romanic Review, 30, 1939, p. 280.
- (5) Maurice Barrès, Amori et Dolori sacrum, in l'Oeuvre de Maurice Barrès, ed. Philippe Barrès, Paris, 1965, Vol VII, p.66.
- (6) Keith G. Millward, l'Oeuvre de Pierre Loti et l'esprit "fin de siècle", Paris, 1955, p.25. cf. M. Beauvils, Wagner et le wagnerisme, Paris, 1946, p.343.
- (7) Charles Baudelaire, Anywhere out of the world, in Oeuvres complètes de Baudelaire, ed. Y.-G. Le Dantec, Paris, 1961, pp.303-304. First published Revue

out of the World Baudelaire explains the basis of his complaint:

"Il me semble que je serais toujours bien là où je ne suis pas, et cette question de déménagement en est une que je discute sans cesse avec mon âme."

and concludes:

"Enfin, mon âme fait explosion, et sagement elle me crie: 'N'importe où ! n'importe où! pourvu que ce soit hors de ce monde.'" (8)

In this investigation two aspects of literary escapism will be briefly discussed. Firstly, there is the growing number of works set in foreign lands, a process which represents the evasion of the writer through his material. Secondly one must note the influx of foreign literature into France, which enables the reader to escape into exotic realms and encourages French authors to provide similar escapist fare.

During this avant-guerre period the intellectual climate seemed to be dominated by the need to examine foreign civilisations, but this was in fact only part of the greater need at this time to explore all avenues of aesthetics - "cette fin de siècle esthétique et décadente, byzantine et parisienne, française et cosmopolite." (9)

Many authors travelled abroad, not necessarily in search of material for their works. During this period books on foreign countries and certain aspects of life abroad are innumerable. The interest in the East and

nationale, 28 September 1867.

(8) Baudelaire, Anywhere out of the world, pp. 303-304.

(9) Auriant (Alexandre Hadjivassilion,) Fragments, mélanges et souvenirs, Brussels, 1940, p. 193.

Italy, strong at the time of the Romantics, continued, but it is the work of Pierre Loti which is most representative of the exoticism in the fiction of this period. Between 1890 and 1914, Loti had written about Morocco, the Far East, Jerusalem, Galilee, the Basque country, Spain, Peking, India and Turkey. (10)

Pierre Jourda has analysed the currents of exoticism which existed in pre-war literature. (11) Superficially it would seem that the situation was similar to the early years of Romanticism, but writers of the twentieth century were not seeking merely couleur locale as the Romantics had been but were in the process of rejecting their actual environment in favour of the unknown. Lanson succinctly makes the process clear:

"On fuyait maintenant les réalités finies, les idées définies!" (12)

Inspiration from foreign literature continued to be acceptable in France and the dominance of Symbolism did not mean that foreign values were rejected. Just as the Romantics needed injections of foreign literature, writers in the Post-Naturalist period felt that works by writers who were not constricted by the French milieu could assist in the complete penetration of the innermost corners of the French mind. Among other influences were the English romantic poets, Carlyle, Schopenhauer - whose pessimism was opportune - and Russia, a country whose literature provided examples of the vague, mystical

(10) Pierre Loti (Julien Viaud), (1850-1923), Au Maroc (1890), Fantôme d'Orient (1892), Jérusalem (1895), la Galilée (1895), Ramuntcho (1897), Figures et choses qui passaient (1897), les Derniers jours de Pékin (1902), l'Inde (sans les Anglais) (1903), Turquie agonisante (1913).

(11) Pierre Jourda, op.cit., particularly pp. 185-242.

(12) Gustave Lanson, Histoire de la littérature française Paris, 1967, p. 1113.

quality sought after by French novelists. In fields other than literature the influence of Turner (1775-1851) and Wagner (1813-1883) may be noted.

The novel was the most imposing genre and novels from other countries were naturally in demand for the reading public. While the influence of Spain is not strong, the works of Pereda, Pérez Galdós, and Blasco Ibañez were translated and found some popularity. Although it is in the period following the 1914-1918 war that Cervantes's major works were re-translated, the vogue was gathering strength and owes much to Foulché-Delbosc's translation of el Licenciado Vidriera in 1892, which included not only a critical introduction to the Novelas ejemplares but also an inventory of previous translations. (13) Cervantes's farce los Dos habladores, first translated by Royer, was translated in 1900, by Henri de Curzon. (14) Adolphe Coster retranslated Rinconete y Cortadillo in 1909. (15)

The rapprochement between literary movements in France and Spain, noted in Chapter VIII, continued with the interest in the regional naturalism of José-María de Pereda, (1833-1906). His Sotileza (1885) translated into French in 1899, has only a slight plot which serves to hold together the sketches of character, customs and scenery. The attraction of Pereda, however, was not only in his use of the naturalist method; acceptable also was his mystical, almost Wordsworthian attitude to nature, present in his novel about life in a small

(13) Raymond Foulché-Delbosc, Cervantes. Le Licencié Vidriera. Nouvelle traduite en français avec une préface et des notes, Paris, 1892.

(14) Henri de Curzon, les Deux Bavards de Cervantes. Traduction nouvelle, Toulouse, 1900.

(15) Adolphe Coster, Cervantes. Coignet et Coupillé. Nouvelle traduite en français avec une introduction et des notes, Paris, 1909.

mountain village, Peñas Arriba (1895). (16)

Benito Pérez-Galdós, whose Mariandela and Doña Perfecta had been translated in the previous period, published in 1897 his last book on contemporary Spanish life. This was Misericordia, translated into French in 1900. Again it is the mystical quality of religious thought which made the book attractive to fin de siècle readers. The heroine is an old beggarwoman of Madrid, who, without any formal profession of faith, had practised to the full Christ's teachings of love and charity.

It was, however, the work of Vicente Blasco Ibañez (1867-1928) which most significantly contributed to a renewal of interest in Spain, particularly with Sangre y Arena (1908), translated into French as Arènes sanglantes in 1910. His greatest period of creativeness dates from 1894 to 1902. During these eight years, also the period of his greatest political involvement, he published five novels and one book of short stories. The most notable are la Barraca (1898) and Cañas y barro (1902).

Published in France in 1902 with the title Terres Maudites, (17) la Barraca is a novel about the peasants of the Valencian Vega. The centre of action is a continuous vendetta between tenants and landlords and undertones of growing socialism are evident. Cañas y barro, published in France in 1905 as Boue et Roseaux, (18) is a novel about the fishermen and rice-growers of the

(16) Dans la montagne; Peñas Arriba; roman, traduction de MM. Henri Collet et Maurice Perrin. Preface de M. René Bazin, Paris, 1918.

{17} Translated by G. Hérelle, Paris, 1902.

{18} Maurice Bixio, tr., Boue et roseaux, Paris, 1905.

Albufera. This novel, aesthetically and for its documentation, was the model which French writers were seeking in their quest for knowledge of other civilizations. It falls into the groups of novels which may be described as "pattern of culture," which show how the life of a primitive community is determined by geographic environment. Sangre y Arena, which does not maintain the high level of stylistic beauty of these novels, will be discussed in relation to the image of toreo in the following chapter.

The few works of Spanish literature translated into French during this period contributed to the knowledge of societies rather than to the knowledge of individual types. (19) The regional form of Spanish Naturalism thus had something to offer post-Naturalist France, and although the influence of the few writers mentioned does not constitute a major force in French literature at this time it assisted in keeping alive the presence of Spain in the collective imagination.

Lanson has summarized the reasons why such injections in literature are necessary from time to time:

"Nous recourions à eux /foreign writers/, comme il arrive toujours quand notre littérature, momentanément figée dans des formes surannées, ne correspond plus à l'état présent de nos âmes, pour leur demander les satisfactions esthétiques ou morales que nous ne trouvons plus chez nous." (20)

If there was a desire for escape, a need to plunge into foreign societies for inspiration, some brief examination of the political and social background of

(19) cf. H. Peseux-Richard, review of la Barraca (Hérelle's translation) in Revue hispanique, IX, 1902, pp.555 - 559
 (20) Lanson, op.cit., p.1113.

the pre-war years will reveal the causes of dissatisfaction.

Internationalism had made itself felt in fields of culture and religion and early moves towards European co-operation had been encouraging. There had been a tradition of unity in Europe - despite wars - dating back to the Roman Empire. This tradition had always been promoted by the Catholic church. At the dawn of the twentieth century, methods of travel and advances in communications tended to make it appear that frontiers were less meaningful. Nations were becoming more interdependent, although at times it appeared that economic rivalry outweighed co-operation.

The revival of the Olympic Games, the development of the International Red Cross, the growth of international Socialist movements all contributed to the unformulated, unexpressed policy of "know thy neighbour," which was made realistic by developments in techniques of railway and steamship construction.

In literature, Romanticism, Symbolism, the doctrine of l'art pour l'art did not completely disappear from the scene and, associated with ^{the} development of these, "le dégoût de la politique et de l'actualité " (21) led to the re-establishment in part of the artistic aims of literature.

Maurice Barrès was a leading figure in this period of French literature. Although there was a general movement towards the assimilation of foreign elements - and Barrès reveals this interest, - his attraction to Venice, Toledo, or the works of Leonardo da Vinci

(21) Ibid., p. 1117.

and el Greco was not motivated by a desire for self-enrichment. Barrès sought to analyse his intimate reactions in different situations and thus his exoticism is not a contradiction of le Culte du moi (22) but an extension of it.

Barrès's first journey into Spain in 1892 was to a country in which disillusionment was growing. The reforms of 1893 and 1895 contributed further to the general malaise and the Spanish-American war finalised the Spanish colonial disaster. The war ended with the Treaty of Paris on 10 December 1898; Cuba obtained independence and the United States gained Puerto Rico. By 1900 Spain possessed no major overseas possessions and was soon to become involved with France in the dispute over Morocco.

The loss of the dominions caused a spiritual shock throughout Spain. The generación de 98, writers who came to maturity at the end of the nineteenth century, claimed to represent the views of the Spanish nation, and many of them maintained that it was time for Spain to become more Europeanised. To a man they protested against lo viejo, but between Ganivet, who in his Idearium español sought to prove that there was no link between Spain and Europe, and Unamuno who saw Spain as the leader of European thought, there is contradiction. Vilar has summarized Unamuno's position:

"Il se complait à renverser les formules attendues, à proposer d'hispaniser l'Europe, à prendre le Quichotte comme modèle." (23)

(22) Pierre de Boisdeffre, Maurice Barrès, Paris, 1962, p. 51.

(23) Pierre Vilar, Histoire de l'Espagne, Paris, 1958 p. 84.

This contradiction tended to act as a barrier preventing any rapprochement on an intellectual level between France and Spain, since the generación de 98 was at the same time criticizing the Spanish complex and exalting the myth. The result was ^{that} the disciples of these writers simplified the arguments, retaining either aspects of national denigration or expressing pride. The complete synthesis of argument did not occur until the coincidence of a gifted writer like Federico Garcia Lorca with a national spiritual and material crisis - the Civil War.

In the period preceding the 1914-1918 war Spain experienced many problems in common with France, notably those concerned with the growth of unionism. Although, in 1906, Alfonso XIII married an English princess, Victoria Eugenia of Battenberg - the first Anglo-Spanish royal wedding since 1554 - the strongest political influence felt in Spain was from France and not as had been expected from England. At the time of the Restoration many political and religious questions had remained separated, but the Church had recovered much of its wealth. However, the anticlericalism of France, grown out of the laicism of the Third Republic, had caused the church in France to invest heavily in Spain. Many priests and Jesuit teachers had moved across the frontier to Spain and the different orders, contrary to the law, which was ignored, proliferated.

The French seizure of Fez in Morocco forced Spain into a position where she had to oppose France or collaborate. Being in no position to oppose and the desire for an entente being general, Spain collaborated, signing the treaty of 1912 which established a Spanish zone in Morocco, bordering the French protectorate on

the south. Further collaboration between France and Spain was effected in 1913 when Alfonso XIII and Romanones met Poincaré at Cartagena and declared unanimity on all matters of foreign policy. However, in the case of war, Spain refused to allow French troops to travel through her territory to Africa. In 1914 this policy was converted to full neutrality.

Between the colonial collapse and the outbreak of the First World War, Spain had remained on the edge of European politics and there was no single event which arose to force the attention of European writers upon Spain. However, with freedom of movement in pre-war Europe, writers visited Spain frequently. Indeed with Valery Larbaud we find the first instance of a French writer establishing residence in Spain for an extended period. Larbaud was the most indefatigable traveller of those who visited Spain and who made an appreciable contribution to literature concerned with their travels. The others were Loti, Barrès, Montherlant and Claudel.

LARBAUD's interest in Spain had been aroused by his reading of the poetry of Hugo, Musset and Gautier, undertaken as a child. In his Journal intime in a passage written 4 February 1918, Larbaud wrote, in English, what he intended to be an essay, reflecting his interest in Spain but which "turned out to be only a record of personal impressions, recapitulations," (24) which details his early journeys and contacts.

His first visit was made in 1896, when Larbaud was fifteen. With his mother he left Biarritz by train and spent a day in San Sebastián. He noted that San

(24) Valery Larbaud, Oeuvres complètes de Valery Larbaud, ed. Robert Mallet, Paris, 1954, Vol. 9, p. 207.

Sebastián was not as different from Biarritz as he had expected, yet "For me that day in San Sebastián was full of the excitement of being in a foreign town." (25) The countryside made a strong impression on him and occasioned the writing of a prose poem to be entitled Hernanda. (This piece has not been discovered.)

Larbaud's next journey, again with his mother, took place two years later, in 1898. This visit lasted about six weeks and they travelled through Madrid, Toledo, el Escorial, Cordova, Sevilla, Granada, Ronda, Algeciras, Gibraltar, Zaragoza, Tanger, and Barcelona. In his Journal Larbaud explains how he classified Spain as a third-class nation, his criteria being some of Gautier's and Quinet's observations. Larbaud was impressed with Spain as a land of contrasts. First of all he noted the "old and the modern side by side, as if there had really been a gap somewhere in the history of the Peninsula," (26) but the greatest contrast for him was between the modernity of Barcelona and the rest of Spain.

Larbaud's ideas about 'Romantic Spain' had been modified by his close observation of Spanish life:

"I had seen ladies in mantillas, the novias in the balconies, talking with their novios standing in the street below; I had heard many guitars, and in one of the hotels where we had stayed, the señoritas had organized a ball where several of them had danced national dances; I had been to one or two bullfights; and I had seen ferias and processions. Yet this was not quite like my old preconceived idea of Spain. Here too I had got hold of something genuine, imperceived by or unknown to the French Romantiques;

(25) Ibid.
 (26) Ibid., p. 217.

something which I could not define or express, but which I felt intensely, and which made me think: I must come again and have another look. However the dominant impressions left upon me was that of "a new world Spain." (27)

This "something genuine" which Larbaud noted having experienced in Spain "unperceived by or unknown to the French Romantiques" was also experienced by Montherlant, although the latter does not express this in the same way. It seems that in contrast with the Romantics, whose conscious search for new content led them to Spain, the twentieth century traveller sought escape from the dull, established yet unsatisfying ambiance in which he was forced to live. Whereas the Romantics-Gautier's Tra los Montes is the best illustration in this context - tended towards new physical experiences, hence the attraction of the arid landscape, the sensuality of the women and the movement and colour of the arena, the twentieth century traveller reflects a shift of experience on to the intellectual plane. Larbaud's "something genuine" therefore, would appear to be the authenticity of ambiance which was mentally, aesthetically and physically satisfying.

Apart from the notes in the Journal intime this second journey provided material for Rouge Jaune Rouge and a few of the Barnabooth poems. (28)

Larbaud's third journey to Spain took place in the winter of 1905 and the visit lasted until the spring of 1906. Larbaud noted that many things which puzzled him during earlier visits could be explained in 1906. This was a result of the fact that Larbaud made his "plunge deep into Spanish life" (29) - he spoke Spanish

(27) Ibid., pp. 221-222.

(28) Oeuvres complètes de Valery Larbaud, Vol.4.

(29) Ibid., Vol 9, p. 225.

fluently - and even learned a few words of Catalan and Valencian.

Again one may note the contrast with the Romantic approach to the appreciation of a foreign society. He translated works by Ramón Gomez de la Serna, Gabriel Miró and Ricardo Güiraldes into French, (30) whereas Mérimée was the only writer of the Romantic period to have a good knowledge of the language. Mérimée's "plunge deep into Spanish life," which came after Carmen, was not as profound as Larbaud's and produced no significant work with a Spanish theme.

During the 1914-1918 war Larbaud, working at this time as a correspondent for le Figaro, visited Barcelona, Valencia, Málaga, Cádiz, Sevilla, and Madrid, in a period of residence which lasted three and a half years. Details of this long stay in Spain are recorded in the diary which Larbaud kept from February 1917 to May 1920 when he returned to Paris. During this time he lived with a Spanish family, spoke Spanish, read Gabriel Miró, Ruben Dario, Alfonso Reyes, Angel Ganivet and thoroughly immersed himself in Spanish life. He constantly compared England and Spain -

"L'Angleterre: pays que je connais et que j'aime comme l'Espagne, les deux pays d'Europe qui se ressemblent le plus." (31)

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- (30) Ramón Gomez de la Serna: Echantillons, traduction de Mathilde Pomès et Valery Larbaud, Paris, 1923. Gabriel Miró: Semaine sainte, traduit de l'espagnol par Valery Larbaud et Noémie Larthe, Paris, 1925. Ricardo Güiraldes: "Poèmes solitaires," traduits de l'espagnol par Valery Larbaud, Commerce, XV, 1928. Ricardo Güiraldes: "Poèmes mystiques," traduits de l'espagnol par Valery Larbaud, Chroniques, 6, 1928.
- (31) Noted by Jacques Chevalier, in "Valery Larbaud, Bourbonnais au Pays d'Allen," les Cahiers bourbonnais, 2, 1957; cited in F. Weissman, l'Exotisme de Valery Larbaud, Paris, 1966, p. 124. (without reference.)

This unexpected rapprochement is explained by occasional notes in Larbaud's Journal. The Spanish countryside reminded him of certain English landscapes and filled him with nostalgia for the other country he loved.

Larbaud's final journey to Spain took place in 1923. He visited Barcelona and Madrid to give a series of lectures. Larbaud has recalled this visit to Rouge Jaune Rouge:

"... et dans une salle bien chauffée, un peu fanée, du Ministerio de Fomento, une jeune ministre de l'instruction publique nous a reçu l'autre jour, nous, déguisé en conférencier français de passage dans une capitale étrangère."(32)

Larbaud's notebooks contain the most intriguing details of his life in Spain, but the most important aspect of this part of his work is his love and enthusiasm for the country and its people. He made use of his notes often during the composition of his imaginative works.

BARRES's visits to Spain were of shorter duration than those of Larbaud. It is clear that the physical environment of Mediterranean countries is one of the powerful inspirational elements in the working of Barrès's imagination. Spain was also living proof of the past; contact with the country completed the mental circuit and enabled him to write as if the experience of contact was unrelated to any previous sensation. G. Marañon has suggested that Barrès was attracted to Spain by the vision of his grandfather, a soldier in the Grande Armée, and that through the reading of family papers carefully preserved by his cousin Gabriel "garda toute sa vie, allumé comme une lampe, le souvenir àpre et romantique de la terre

(32) Larbaud, Rouge Jaune Rouge, Oeuvres complètes, ed.cit., Vol 1, p.237.

espagnole et de son peuple." (33) But stronger still is the attraction of Spain as the "antichambre de cette Afrique et de cet Orient vers lesquels s'orientait son âme..." (34)

The first journey which Barrès made into Spain was in 1892 and he brought back notes which were to be formed into Du Sang, de la Volupté et de la Mort.(35) His second journey was possibly in 1893. In her book l'Orient de Maurice Barrès, Ida-Marie Frandon reports that Menendez Pidal recalled having seen Barrès in Toledo in 1893, but no further documentation exists.(36) Mme Frandon also briefly notes Barrès's visit of 1895. (37)

Two brief visits to San Sebastián in August 1900 and in February 1901 precede Barrès's stay in Toledo in 1902. He remained in Toledo from 8 October to 19 October in the company of the painter Beruete and from his experiences wrote el Greco, ou le secret de Tolède.

Barrès also reveals a new approach to the description of Spain. He does not describe the different regions of Spain in the form one would expect in a récit de voyage; he does not follow the 'classic'

(33) Gregorio Marañón, "Barrès et l'Espagne", les Nouvelles littéraires, 26-11-1953, p.6. In his introduction to Du Sang de la Volupté et de la Mort, Philippe Barrès wrote: "Ce qui attirait Barrès alors, c'était un sentiment nourri des souvenirs de son grand-père soldat de Napoléon mêlés aux sources de Corneille;..." L'Oeuvre de Maurice Barrès ed. Philippe Barrès, Paris, 1965, Vol II, p.7.

(34) Marañón, loc.cit.

(35) Barrès, Du Sang, de la Volupté et de la Mort, first published 1894.

(36) Ida-Marie Frandon, l'Orient de Maurice Barrès, étude de genèse Geneva, 1952, p.54.

(37) Ibid.

itinerary which had been established by Gautier or Quinet, but concentrates his attention on those parts of Spain which represent best for him the essence of the country with the result that:

"C'est Barrès tout entier que nous trouvons dans ses impressions de l'Espagne, aussi bien que dans ses impressions d'Italie ou d'Orient."
(38)

PIERRE LOTI travelled into Northern Spain in 1892. His brief contact with the Pays basque furnished material for an article in the Revue de Paris (39) for Ramuntcho (40) and for Figures et choses qui passaient. (41)

From Hendaye Loti could see the old city of Fuenterrabia across the Bidassoa and his strongest impression of Spain - its medieval architecture - has its origins in this view. He wrote:

"Le vieux Fontarrabie d'en face, son église, son château-fort, roussis par des centaines d'étés." (42)

Loti travelled through Zumarraga, Loyola, Aspeitia, and Azcoitia. Throughout his travels he was attracted by the red stones of the old buildings, particularly at Loyola. Loti never really penetrated into Spain, and his work contains but a few impressions of local Basque customs, but with no serious attempt at interpretation or analysis.

- (38) Elie Lambert, "Maurice Barrès et l'Espagne," Revue de littérature comparée, 20, 1940, p.34.
 (39) Loti, "Au couvent de Loyola," Revue de Paris, 1 February 1894, pp. 26-36.
 (40) Loti, Ramuntcho, first published 1897.
 (41) Loti, Figures et choses qui passaient, first published 1897.
 (42) Loti, Figures et choses qui passaient, Paris, n.d., p. 49.

Although Spain occupies a position of some importance in the works of CLAUDEL, particularly in le Soulier de satin (43) and le Livre de Christophe Colombe, (44) his Mémoires reveal that his contact with the realities of the country were slight:

"... je connais mal l'Espagne; je n'y ai guère passé que trois ou quatre jours en me rendant au Brésil." (45)

Yvonne Batard, in an article in Littératures, notes that in his correspondence with Francis Jammes, Claudel mentioned a further visit to Spain on his return from Tokyo. (46)

There were others of course who contributed to the dissemination of knowledge of Spain - Montherlant's contacts will be discussed in the next chapter. Sister Albert-Cécile Coutu has noted the attempts "by individual writers and Hispanists to interpret, to describe and to appreciate the Peninsula!" (47) Such attempts had been made before, not always successfully, as witnessed by the preconceived ideas which tended to remain in imaginative works. It is noteworthy that throughout this group of critical and interpretative works the general approach is more scholarly, more informed, than

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- (43) Paul Claudel, le Soulier de satin, composed 1919-1924, first performed Comédie-Française, 27 November 1943. First published 1928.
- (44) Claudel, le Livre de Christophe Colombe, first performed Staatsoper Unter den Linden, Berlin, 30 June 1930. First published Commerce, Autumn, 1929.
- (45) Claudel, Mémoires improvisées, Paris, 1954, XXXIII, p. 319.
- (46) Yvonne Batard, "Claudel et l'Espagne," Littératures. VIII, 1959, Fascicule 1, p.137.
- (47) Sister Albert-Cécile Coutu, Hispanism in France from Morel-Fatio to the present: circa 1875-1950, Washington, 1954, p.65.

in previous periods. The change in approach is exemplified by Morel-Fatio's Etudes sur l'Espagne. In the context of this study the most relevant section is the first part of the 1888 edition - "Comment la France a connu et compris l'Espagne depuis le Moyen-Age jusqu'à nos jours." (48)

René Bazin (1853-1932) celebrated the earlier success of Une Tâche d'Encre by travelling through countries bordering the Mediterranean; a journey which produced Sicile, Terre d'Espagne (49) and les Italiens d'aujourd'hui.

Georges Lecomte (1867-1958) wrote Espagne (50) partly as a touchstone for his analysis of French society which he described in les Valets, and more particularly le Veau d'or. Espagnols et Portugais chez eux by Marie Quillardet (51) and le Touriste français en Espagne by Jules Laborde (52) also deserve mention. Generally speaking however, the work of the Hispanists overshadows the récit de voyage.

THE HISPANISTS.

The group of French Hispanists who contributed most to the criticism of Spanish literature includes four professors - Morel-Fatio, Mérimée, Cirot and Martinenche

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- (48) Alfred Morel-Fatio, "Comment la France a connu et compris l'Espagne depuis le moyen-âge jusqu'à nos jours," in Etudes sur l'Espagne, Paris, 1888, pp. 1-106.
- (49) René Bazin, Terre d'Espagne, Paris, 1895. This also appeared earlier in the same year in Revue des Deux Mondes.
- (50) Georges Lecomte, Espagne, Paris, 1896.
- (51) Marie Quillardet, Espagnols et Portugais chez eux, Paris, 1905.
- (52) Jules Laborde, le Touriste français en Espagne et dans les pays de langue espagnole, Paris, 1909.

who by example and encouragement assisted in the establishment of Spain as a considerable force in European literature. There were others of course who, while they did not occupy teaching positions, also played an outstanding role, the most notable being Raymond Foulché-Delbosc.

The importance of this aspect of French literary history has been the basis of a series of modern works which first deserve mention. The first study of note was "Hispanófilos y hispanistas" by J. Menendez y Arranz (53) which was followed by "El hispanismo literario francés en nuestros días," by Eugia Ruiz which appeared in Razón y Fe in 1928, (54) although a brief mention of the growing importance of Hispanic studies was given in a short article by J.M. de Acosta in 1926. (55) In 1935 Raymond L. Grismer published his Bibliography of Articles and Essays on the Literature of Spain and Spanish-America and included details of the work of nine French Hispanists. (56) It is interesting to note that Barrès was included. In a thesis, published in 1939, Mme A. Server (née Wilson) discussed Spain's place in a brief period of the history of la Revue des Deux Mondes (57) and with more biographical data J. Roger's article

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- (53) J. Menéndez y Arranz, "Hispanófilos e hispanistas," España: semanario de la vida nacional, VIII, September, 1922, p. 9.
- (54) Constancio Eugia Ruiz, "El hispanismo literario francés en nuestros días," Razon y fe, LXXXIV, 1928, 154-170.
- (55) J.M. de Acosta, "Galería de hispanofilos ilustres," Consultor bibliografico, III, 1926, pp. 393-402.
- (56) Raymond L. Grismer, Bibliography of Articles and Essays on the Literature of Spain and Spanish America, Minnesota, 1935, pp. 264-268. This compilation was intended to complement the work done by Raymond L. Grismer, Joseph E. Lepine and Richard H. Olmsted published in Minnesota, 1933, A Bibliography of Articles on Spanish Literature.
- (57) Alberta Server, l'Espagne dans la Revue des

"El Hispanismo francés" was published in 1947. (58)
 Sister Albert-Cécile Coutu's work, a continuation of the task undertaken by Mme Server, brought details of French Hispanism up to the year 1950. (59)

To comment on the work of all Hispanists mentioned even in these works, which are a representative sample and not a complete list, would be an impossible task. Some comment is offered, therefore, on five who may be taken to be representative of the significant upsurge in the serious analysis of Spain and its people, literature, history and art. Their work illustrates the constant struggle of the Hispanists, particularly of the twentieth century, to give to the public

"... des connaissances précises, sans lesquelles le public, heureux de persister dans ses ignorances ou dans ses préjugés, volontiers se trompe et s'égare." (60)

The development of critical and historical studies of Spanish literature is largely due to the inspired leadership of ALFRED MOREL-FATIO (1850-1924). His literary output was prodigious. In 1875, the date usually accepted as the starting point of modern French Hispanism, he published "Recherches sur le texte et les sources du Livre d'Alexandre." (61) It was with

Deux Mondes, 1829-1848, Paris, 1939.

(58) J. Roger, "El hispanismo francés," Arbor, VIII, 1947.

(59) Sister Albert Cécile Coutu, Hispanism in France from Morel-Fatio to the present, circa 1875-1950,

Washington, 1954.

(60) Paul Hazard, "Ce que les lettres françaises doivent à l'Espagne," Revue de littérature comparée, 16, 1936. p. 22.

(61) Morel-Fatio, "Recherches sur le texte et les sources du Livre de Alexandre," Romania, IV, 1875, pp. 7-90.

this work that Morel-Fatio also initiated the comparative literature approach to the study of sources. He subsequently published numerous studies, a full bibliography of which was published in 1925, (62) and it is worth mention that as well as publishing studies on individual works of Spanish literature he was an outstanding teacher at the Collège de France and occupied the chair previously held by Edgar Quinet, (from 1841-1853 and after a period of exile from 1870 to 1875) (63) and by Paul Meyer (from 1875 to 1907, except for 1895 when Morel-Fatio replaced him.) Morel-Fatio was professor "de langues et littératures de l'Europe méridionale" from 1907 until his death in 1924. (64)

RAYMOND FOULCHE-DELBOSC (1864-1929) contributed frequently to the Revue hispanique. In 1899 he published a substantial study of the novel la Tía fingida. (65) However, his main interest was la Celestina and the problem of attribution. The complete bibliography of Foulché-Delbosc's works was compiled by Isabel Foulché-Delbosc and Julio Puyol and published in 1931. (66)

Among the most outstanding of Foulché-Delbosc's contributions to French Hispanism was his compilation of bibliographies. The best known of these is the

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- (62) Revue hispanique, LXV, 1925, pp.1-75.
 (63) Although reinstated in 1870, Edgar Quinet did not teach any courses between 1870 and 1875.
 (64) Marcel Bataillon, "l'Hispanisme au Collège de France; Alfred Morel-Fatio, " inaugural lecture, 4 December 1945, published Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, Vol 24, 1947, pp. 132-139.
 (65) Raymond Foulché-Delbosc, "Etudes sur la Tía fingida," Revue hispanique, VI, 1899, pp. 476-538.
 (66) This was also published in Revue hispanique, LXXXI, 1933, pp. 70-192.

"Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et en Portugal" (67) but equally useful have proved the Manuel de l'Hispanisant, which lists books, collections and manuscripts of use in research, (68) and the thirteen volume Bibliographie hispanique which alphabetically catalogues all works pertaining to Castilian, Catalan and Portuguese literature, language and history between 1905 and 1917. (69) Foulché-Delbosc's obituary, written by G.L. van Roosbroeck, stated with justification that "Foulché-Delbosc's real monument will be his work." (70)

ERNEST MERIMÉE (1846-1924) was responsible for much of the university development of the teaching of Spanish language and literature. In 1886 the first chair of Spanish language and literature was established in the Faculté des Lettres at Toulouse as a result of his pioneering work. In 1890 he published the first part of Guillen de Castro's Mocedades del Cid which was edited with modern punctuation and an introduction. (71)

Specially written for French students of Spanish literature, Mérimée's Précis d'histoire de la littérature

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- (67) Foulché-Delbosc, "Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et en Portugal," Revue hispanique, III, 1896, pp. 1-349.
- (68) Foulché-Delbosc and Louis Barrau Dihigo, Manuel de l'Hispanisant, 2 vols, New York, 1920-1925.
- (69) Foulché-Delbosc, Bibliographie hispanique, 13 vols, New York, 1905-1917.
- (70) G.L. van Roosbroeck, "Obituary: Raymond Foulché-Delbosc," Romanic Review, XXI, 1930, p. 92.
- (71) Ernest Mérimée, ed., Première partie des Mocedades del Cid de Don Guillén de Castro publiée d'après l'édition princeps avec une étude critique sur la vie et les oeuvres de l'auteur, un commentaire et des poésies inédites, Toulouse, 1890.

espagnole was published in 1908. This work was later translated into English and has remained a standard work, mainly, perhaps, because Mérimée's thesis is that literary history is but an aspect of the unfolding of history in general. General Spanish history and the history of art as well as the history of literature are considered in this work. (72)

Mérimée's outstanding contribution in the field of translation was his translation of extracts from the Poema del Cid, with extracts from Rodrigo and las Mocedades del Cid. (73) Sister Coutu notes that "the bibliography of the works of Ernest Mérimée is not as imposing as that of Morel-Fatio," (74) but his contribution to administration was considerable.

The main interests of GEORGES CIROT (1870-1946) were literary and historical analysis, but his place in French Hispanism is largely due to his efforts to maintain the Bulletin hispanique, a task which he undertook until the year of his death. During the 1914-1918 war his specialist knowledge of Spanish affairs enabled him to undertake several missions in the special services division of the diplomatic corps.

Giro't's teaching career began in 1896 at Bordeaux with a post as maître de conférences. He was given a chaire d'Etat in 1906, became Dean in 1922 and Directeur de l'Ecole des hautes études hispaniques in 1933. His most significant publications include Histoires

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- (72) Mérimée, Précis d'histoire de la littérature espagnole, Paris, 1908. Ernest Merimée and S.G. Morley, A History of Spanish Literature, New York, 1930.
- (73) Mérimée, tr., le Poème du Cid, extraits, traduction, introduction et notes, Paris, 1919.
- (74) Coutu, op.cit., p. 23. For a bibliography see Grismer, op.cit.

générales de l'Espagne. (75)

ERNEST MARTINENCHE (1869-1941) represents Hispanism in the University of Paris. His most outstanding contributions, really in the field of comparative literature, are la Comédie espagnole en France de Hardy à Racine, (76) Molière et le théâtre espagnol (77) and his last work Histoire de l'influence espagnole sur la littérature française. L'Espagne et le romantisme français. (78) He had in 1905 published a more general work, Propos d'Espagne. (79)

To complete this brief mention of Hispanic studies in France cognizance should be taken of the contribution made by la Revue hispanique, founded by Foulché-Delbosc in 1894 (80) and le Bulletin hispanique which first appeared in 1899. (81) Many valuable contributions by Hispanists have appeared in la Revue de littérature comparée, founded by Paul Hazard and Fernand

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- (75) Georges Cirot, Etudes sur l'historiographie espagnole. Les Histoires générales d'Espagne entre Alphonse X et Philippe II, (1284-1556), Bordeaux, 1904.
- (76) Ernest Martinenche, la Comédie espagnole en France de Hardy à Racine, Paris, 1900.
- (77) Martinenche, Molière et le théâtre espagnol, Paris, 1906.
- (78) Martinenche, Histoire de l'influence espagnole sur la littérature française. L'Espagne et le romantisme français, Paris, 1922. This work is largely devoted to the theatre and although the author wrote that a section on the novel would appear "dans un autre ouvrage" (p.14) this was not completed before his death.
- (79) Martinenche, Propos d'Espagne, Paris, 1905.
- (80) La Revue hispanique, published by the Hispanic Society of America from 1894 to 1933. After 1930 there were only two issues.
- (81) Le Bulletin hispanique, published by the Faculté des Lettres of the University of Bordeaux since 1899, developed from the Revue des Lettres françaises et étrangères.

Baldensperger in 1921.(82) Other journals which have appeared from time to time are les Langues méridionales (1906-1937) which became les Langues néo-latines, (83) Hispania, published by the Institut d'Etudes hispaniques of the University of Paris, (84) and of lesser importance le Bulletin de l'Institut français en Espagne. It is clear that the scholarly enquiries of the first generation of modern French Hispanists, by their administration, critical proficiency and enthusiasm, played a significant role in French literary history and that their influence continues today.

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1914 - 1936.

Although in some fields of literature the 1914-1918 war caused some disruption, through the early death of some of France's most promising young writers, the work of the Hispanists continued, providing an uninterrupted flow of scholarly material about Spain. With acknowledgement to the continuation of this strong formative element, the second period examined in this chapter begins with the outbreak of the First World War and closes with the year 1936, the beginning of the Spanish Civil War.

The outbreak of war found the people of Spain with divided sympathies. Generally speaking the upper classes and the aristocracy favoured Germany, because

(82) La Revue de littérature comparée, published by Didier, Paris, continues, having ceased publication only between 1940 and 1946 since 1921.

(83) Les Langues néo-latines, published by la Société des langues néo-latines, Paris.

(84) Hispania, appears to have been published only

if the allies were defeated the influence of English ideas would be lessened - and Gibraltar might conceivably be returned to Spain. The Socialists and the Liberals supported the Allies. In fact Spain stood neutral during the conflict. Neutrality proved to be profitable as the sale of foodstuffs and minerals to the engaged countries enriched the landowners. The seemingly disastrous national debt which had accrued after the Cuban crisis was liquidated and gold reserves trebled.

Prosperity, however, brought difficulties and instability, civil suppression and censorship. Primo de Rivera's first attempts at political manoeuvre were successful only in that the dictatorial régime settled more firmly into position.

Historians writing on the period of French history following the First World War seem to have invested their writings with an aura of gloom. France came out of the war glorious but seriously weakened, whereas Spain was entering a period of prosperity. The north of France had been ravaged, the leaders of the Third Republic had difficulty in adapting to modern conditions. No strong political figure emerged, as Primo de Rivera promised to be, and the multiplication of political parties contributed to the riots of February 1934.

France and Spain joined forces in 1925 against the Rifis. This move led to a significant increase in the prestige of Primo de Rivera. In October 1925, he took command of the Spanish Moroccan Army and the combined force quickly restored peace in the area. However, the episode in Tangier, during which Spain

between 1918 and 1922.

was forced to take second place to France in the international city, embittered relationships between the two countries and in 1926 Spain withdrew from the League of Nations.

Whereas the major theme of French history between the wars may be said to be the increasing lack of preparedness for war and increasing fear of Germany, in Spain the major theme is the failure of the political system to create a society adaptable to modern ideas and its failure to attack the basic causes of misery and poverty.

In Spain, in the period preceding the Civil War, the Church gained significant power, but despite this largely conservative element in Spanish society, there was diverse opposition to Primo de Rivera, and after alienating the army, he resigned and died in Paris in 1930. In France internal political conflict became more violent in the 1930's accompanied by widespread moral disquiet. The already complicated political situation in France became even more complex when the Spanish Army revolted against the Popular Front Government.

Nearly in its entirety the French right sympathised with the Spanish Army, while the French Communists tried every conceivable method to force French intervention on the side of the Republican Government. Non-intervention became the official policy of France and of her British ally, and after some sporadic French arms deliveries in the early days of the Civil War contact between France and Spain officially ceased with the closing of the frontier.

The immediate post 1914-1918 war period in French

literature was very fruitful. If, as Edmond Jaloux has noted, the war tended to create a very narrow kind of patriotism, it was also responsible for:

"...Un certain courant de curiosité réciproque et d'interpénétration intellectuelle qui se développe partout et qui fait un utile contrepois à la xénophobie générale." (85)

Other benefits are summarised by Henri Clouard:

"La guerre est écrasement des ornières, rupture des conventions, aiguïsement des curiosités, elle a provoqué, dès le seuil de la paix, une aération du langage écrit, un essor du génie inventif, une refonte de la tradition, un départ pour les aventures." (86)

It is fair to say that in all fields literary observation became deeper; writers penetrated the subconscious, the unconscious, and Freud came into prominence in all genres, even the theatre. In the context of this study two general classifications of the novel must be considered - the roman d'aventures and the roman exotique.

The adventure novel, born of the demands of the reading public and the writer for some kind of escape, continued after the war although not in a unified stream. The fully imaginative adventure novel was initiated by Pierre Benoit (1886-1962) with Koenigsmark (1918) and Atlantide (1919) a genre which was developed by Véry, Vindry and Simenon.

Adventure stories based on factual reports constitute the second branch of this group. Works by Blaise Cendrars (1887-1961), Pierre Mac Orlan (1883 -) - in particular la Bandera - and Louis Chadourne

(85) Edmond Jaloux, "le Voyageur", Intentions, I, 1922, p.37.

(86) Henri Clouard, Histoire de la littérature française,

- la Maître de navire (1919) - depend for their success on action and intrigue or mystery, rather than on the presentation of an image of another land. Foreign influences exercise far greater power on the exotic novel. In this genre one may discern the influences of Kipling, Conrad and Maugham among others. But influences aside, description tends to be more exact and characters more completely identified with their environment than in any previous period. In the final analysis of an image, the origins retain little importance; the author's final product is the most significant consideration. Full documentation was available, with greater contact with foreign countries, ease of communication, vast numbers of interpretive works by Hispanists - yet, through the works which have Spain as a cadre, an unmistakable romantic attachment can be perceived.

Albert Thibaudet has remarked that in the period between the Great War and the years of depression the author who did not spend a part of the year "on the highways of the world" made himself conspicuous. (87) North America attracted Louis-Frédéric Rougnette, Louis Hemon and Maurice Constantin Weyer. Joseph Peyré, before turning to Spain, set his Escadron blanc (1931) and le Chef à l'étoile d'argent (1934) in Africa. Asia was the background for André Malraux's les Conquérants (1928), and Fauconnier's Malaisie (1930). With these novels of adventure and exoticism writers reflected the desire for evasion, the desire to seek

du Symbolisme à nos jours, 2nd ed., Paris, 1947-62, Vol.2, De 1915 à 1960, p.17.

(87) Albert Thibaudet, French Literature from 1795 to our era, trans., Charles Lam Markmann, New York, 1967, p. 473.

the unknown. Dissatisfied with their own environment they searched for new experiences and new sensations. Larbaud's Barnabooth is the ideal creation for this group, seeking "anywhere out of this world" aesthetic satisfaction.

Barrès was the first in the period 1890-1936 to move away from the pure récit de voyage, and into Greco, ou le secret de Tolède and Du Sang, de la Volupté et de la Mort he incorporated elements of imaginative writing. This pattern is confirmed in the post-war period by the works of Benoit, Morand, Larbaud and Montherlant. Essays, rather than récits de voyage, reveal the reaction of writers to Spain, while in imaginative works personal observation becomes intermingled with invented episodes. Paul Morand's Ouvert la nuit is a most successful synthesis of post-war Europe, a reconstruction which could hardly be achieved by a purely factual work.

However, serious observation and factual recording continued and, between 1918 and 1936, several works which may be very generally classified in the same genre as Tra los montes, were published. The approach is no longer the same, for since Gautier the growth of Hispanism had confirmed the positivist approach to analysis and clear distinction between travel books and sociological studies becomes increasingly difficult. Writers in the period 1918-1936 are no longer content to comment superficially upon the civilisation of Spain, but seek to examine seriously the structure of society.

Typical of this approach is the work of Maurice Legendre, a director of the Casa Velasquez. In 1930, he wrote Littérature espagnole, a descriptive work

centred on the siglo de oro of Spanish literature. In his Portrait d'Espagne, his aim was to fix:

"... l'Espagne de toujours et non pas celle d'un moment, et non pas, tout particulièrement, celle du moment présent." (88)

Legendre typifies a new approach to Spain also found in the works of Larbaud. Spain in the past had been approached with the full range of sentiment from disdain to admiration, but seldom, if ever, with a spirit of amitié. Legendre gives proof of this new attitude in En Espagne, a richly illustrated book in which he sought to inspire a love of Spain in others. Towns, cities, the architecture and above all the people of Spain, attracted Legendre and reflected for him the eternal Spain, the Iberian tradition. (89) This aspect of Spain's richness was later more fully explained by him in the preface to his Nouvelle histoire d'Espagne:

"La tradition ibérique, sortie de la préhistoire vigoureuse et disposée aux enrichissements que lui ont infusés la colonisation, puis le prédication de l'Évangile, s'est nationalisée à l'épreuve des invasions barbares venues par le Nord et par le Sud, pour prendre au Siècle d'or une valeur impériale et universelle, qui la désignait aux assauts de la Révolution, mais qui lui a donné la force de triompher de cette Révolution, d'abord sous sa forme primordiale, la forme religieuse, au XVIIe siècle, puis sous ses formes diverses, la forme politique, au début du XIXe siècle, et la forme sociale, dans la présente crise." (90)

A synthesis of views of Spain by other travellers is given in J.J.A. Bertrand in his book Sur les vieilles

(88) Maurice Legendre, Portrait d'Espagne, Paris, 1923, p. viii.

(89) Legendre, En Espagne, cent cinquante huit photographies, Paris, 1935.

(90) Legendre, Nouvelle histoire d'Espagne, Paris, 1938.

d'Espagne. (91)

It would seem that several efforts were made in this period to foster a taste for Spain, works like Camille Pitolllet's Hispania (92) complementing the works of the Hispanists. To bring the attention of the French reading public to the aesthetic qualities of Spain's landscapes and to the artistic treasures Camille Mauclair wrote a series of essays, collected in 1931 with the title l'Après et splendide Espagne, evidence indeed that the dichotomy 'beauté sauvage' of the essence of Spain, reinforced by the Romantics, still remained a fascinating topic. (93)

The explanation and interpretation of Spain was the aim of many authors. Their methods varied from purely visual to purely literary and among so many it is dangerous to select a sample which will illustrate the significant characteristics of this genre. However, as representative of the process of vulgarisation and at the same time representative of writers intent on presenting Spain to the public, mention may be made of Henri Guerlin and Gaspard Delpy. Both writers used similar techniques, Guerlin in his Espagne moderne vue par ses écrivains (94) and Delpy, in association with A. Viñas, in his Espagne par les textes. (95)

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- (91) J.J.A. Bertrand, Sur les vieilles routes d'Espagne, Paris, 1931.
 (92) Camille Pitolllet, Hispania, una introducción al conocimiento práctico de España, su lengua, su historia, su literatura, y su vida toda, Paris, 1930.
 (93) Camille Mauclair, l'Après et splendide Espagne, Paris, 1931.
 (94) Henri Guerlin, l'Espagne moderne vue par ses écrivains, Paris, 1924.
 (95) Gaspard Delpy and A. Viñas, l'Espagne par les textes, Paris, 1929.

There is, however, one traveller who does not correspond precisely to modern categories. Jacques de Lacretelle (1888 -) is a direct descendant of Mérimée for he contributed, in 1926, a series of "Lettres espagnoles" to la Nouvelle Revue Française. These were published in book form later in the same year. (96) Lacretelle travels with little evidence of preconceived ideas, his judgments are fair and unbiased, he is a keen observer, yet his writing is pervaded by a sense of légèreté, one is left with an unanswered question, particularly concerning Toledo, - is he sincere? (97)

The récit de voyage grew in complexity and it becomes a major problem to separate the reported fact from the imagined detail. In all critical works which attempt any kind of literary analysis of twentieth century works, today's author tends to warn his reader of the difficulties of discerning clear patterns and making conclusive judgments. This is also true when one attempts an analysis of the importance of Spanish literature in the formation of the image of Spain. Since the 1914-1918 war the overall volume of published works has increased so much that publishing houses have tended towards specialisation. Pierre Jourda has summarised the situation:

"Jamais, sans doute, il n'a paru autant de romans. Et de tous genres... il y a eu le

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- (96) Jacques de Lacretelle, "Lettres espagnoles," Revue de Paris, 15 May 1926. (Also published Nouvelle Revue française June and October, 1926.)
- (97) cf. Douglas Alden, Jacques de Lacretelle, an Intellectual Itinerary, New Brunswick, 1958, "Perhaps the principal shortcoming of Lettres espagnoles is to have suggested the sensuality of Spain by writing to an ex-mistress in Paris while brandishing a cane. Mérimée had a better idea when he created Carmen." p. 116.

roman genre N.R.F... le roman type Albin Michel... ou le roman Flon Nourrit. Sans parler des collections: tel éditeur se fait une spécialité de traduire des romans étrangers; tel autre lance une série de romans policiers. Le genre se diversifie; l'espèce se divise."

(98)

Following the pattern established elsewhere in this section some comment will be offered on a representative sample of Spanish works which became available in French in this period. The translations made may be divided into two broad groups: translations of works from previous periods and translations of the works of contemporary Spanish writers.

The perennial vogue for the works of Cervantes, noted in the pre-war period, continued with Henri Collet's translation of seven novels and plays by Cervantes in Oeuvres Choiesies de Cervantes, published in 1920. (99) This was followed in 1921 by the translation, by Xavier de Cardaillac and Jean Larbarthe, of the first part of Don Quijote; (100) de Cardaillac translated the second Part. in 1927. (101) Jean Cassou translated Cervantes's Novelas ejemplares in 1928 (102) and the following year saw the publication of a further

(98) Pierre Jourda, "Tendances du roman français, 1919-1939", Annales de l'Université de Montpellier, 1944, XI, Nos 3 and 4, p. 171.

(99) Henri Collet, Oeuvres choisies de Cervantes. Traduction et introduction, Paris, 1920.

(100) Xavier de Cardaillac and Jean Larbarthe, l'Ingénieur Hidalgo Don Quichotte de la Manche par Miguel de Cervantes. Nouvelle traduction intégrale et annotée. Première Partie, 2 vols, Toulouse, 1933.

(101) Xavier de Cardaillac, l'Ingénieur hidalgo Don Quichotte de la Manche par Miguel de Cervantes. Nouvelle traduction intégrale et annotée. Deuxième Partie, 2 vols, Toulouse, 1926-1927.

(102) Jean Cassou, tr., Cervantes. Nouvelles exemplaires, 2 vols, Paris, 1928.

version of Don Quijote by Jean Babelon. (103) Finally in 1935 a new translation, Cervantes. Don Quichotte de la Manche, was published by Francis de Miomandre. (104)

1919 was an important year for Hispanic studies as Ernest Mérimée's edition of las Mocedades del Cid translated into French was published in that year. Gongora's Fabula de Polifemo y Galatea (1612) was translated into French by Marius André in 1920. (105) In 1934 appeared the selection Poètes espagnols edited and translated by Mathilde Pomès. (106)

However, it may be said that academic interest aside, the public imagination was caught by the works of Vicente Blasco Ibañez. In 1921 René Lafont published a new translation of Cañas y Barro with a more commercially appealing title. (107) Les Ennemis de la femme, translated by Alfred de Bengoechea appeared in 1926 (108) and in the same year Jean Carayon published Tandis que le soleil se couche. (109) These latter works - which presented a superficial view of Spain - damaged the reputation of the author in his own country

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- (103) Jean Babelon, tr., Cervantes. l'Ingénieux hidalgo Don Quichotte de la Manche. Traduction nouvelle précédée d'une introduction, 4 vols, Paris, 1929.
- (104) Francis de Miomandre (F. Durand), Cervantes. Don Quichotte de la Manche, illustré par Berthold Mahn, 4 vols, Paris, 1935.
- (105) Marius André, tr., Góngora. Polyphème et Galatée, Paris, 1920.
- (106) Mathilde Pomès, tr., Poètes espagnols d'aujourd'hui Poèmes choisis et traduits. Introduction de L-P. Thomas, Brussels, 1934.
- (107) René Lafont, tr., la Tragédie sur le lac, (a new translation of Cañas y Barro), Paris, 1921.
- (108) Alfred de Bengoechea, tr., les Ennemis de la femme, (los Enemigos de la mujer), Paris, 1926.
- (109) Jean Carayon, tr., Tandis que le soleil se couche, (Collection of short stories), Paris, 1926.

since his works were judged to be sentimental and melodramatic. His successful novel of the First World War, los Cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis (1916), was translated into French by G. Hérèlle in 1917. (110)

It was some time before the works of Ramón del Valle-Inclán (1866-1936) penetrated into France. Between 1902 and 1905 he had written the Sonatas. Each sonata described a love affair which corresponded to one of the four seasons of the year; each is set in a different country. Two of the sonatas were translated by Albert Glorget in 1924. (111)

One of the most striking personalities of this era was Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936) who was banished in 1928 by the Primo de Rivera régime. Five of his essays were translated into French by Marcel Bataillon, professor at the Collège de France, whose more usual field of interest was the sixteenth century. Unamuno's title, En torno al casticismo was rendered by Bataillon as l'Essence de l'Espagne. (112)

'Azorin' (José Martínez Ruiz), (1874-1967) was the outstanding critic of the generación de 98 and as such the most reliable interpreter of the spirit of Castilian Spain. Apart from brief incursions into the political arena, his life was devoted to writing. Espagne, a translation of España (1909), was published by G. Pillement in 1929, (113) and Felix Vargas was translated by Francis de Miomandre in 1931. (114)

(110) Blasco Ibañez, les Quatre cavaliers de l'Apocalypse, roman traduit by G. Hérèlle, Paris, 1917.

(111) Albert Glorget, tr., Sonates de Printemps et d'Eté, Paris, 1924.

(112) Marcel Bataillon, tr., Miguel de Unamuno, l'Essence de l'Espagne. Cinq essais, Paris, 1923.

(113) G. Pillement, tr., Espagne. Prosateurs étrangers modernes, Paris, 1929.

Ramón Pérez de Ayala (1880-) was undoubtedly the most intellectual novelist of his day in Spain and perhaps demonstrates the most complete range of talent. His story of the strange careers of a shoemaker-philosopher and a shoemaker-dramatist, Belarmino y Apolonio, first published in 1921, was translated by Jean and Marcel Carayon. (115)

In the Spanish novel at the time of the generación de 25 (116) it is interesting to note that regionalism was dead and there is ample evidence of great diversity in the novel form as there was in France. There was also some evidence of the closer contacts of the intellectual communities of France and Spain, typified by Ruben Dario (1867-1916) and the work of Hispanists in France and Spain.

In the rough draft of an unpublished speech which Barrès proposed presenting to the Assemblée nationale but which his death prevented, the author's views on the traditional links between France and Spain served as the basis of his argument in favour of the teaching of Spanish. (117) Earlier Barrès had written:

"La France ne m'a rien appris: Florence m'a donné le goût de l'art. C'est en Espagne que j'ai compris la vie: la hardiesse et la liberté sèche." (118)

(114) Francis de Miomandre, tr., Felix Vargas, éthopée, Paris, 1931.

(115) Jean and Marcel Carayon, trs., Appolonius et Bellarmin, Paris, 1923.

(116) Nicholson B. Adams and John E. Keller, Spanish Literature, a Brief Survey, New Jersey, 1960, p. 163. explains this grouping.

(117) Barrès, "les Liens spirituels de la France et de l'Espagne," Revue des Deux Mondes, 21, 1924, pp. 913-918. Barrès had previously written "Amitié espagnole," in le Gaulois, 13 August 1913.

(118) Barrès, Mes Cahiers, ed. cit., Vol. XIII, p. 117.

Here perhaps is the key to the twentieth century's understanding of Spain - "C'est en Espagne que j'ai compris la vie" - the key to successful evasion, and a successful return. There is in this period, which opens with Barrès' Du Sang, de la Volupté et de la Mort and closes with Joseph Peyré's Sang et lumières, an image of Spain, a reflection of the collective imagination which is not, as Ronald Hilton has stated, simply Gautier's disease breaking out all over again, (119) but a complex re-examination and restatement of themes which in the early years of the nineteenth century had been given new life by the Romantics. In this new approach the dominant feature will be "le goût des choses de l'âme." (120)

The emphasis on the novel in this introductory section to the final period under discussion is a reflection of the literature of France in general. Poetry no longer needed the exotic cadre in the way that Romantic poetry did, since mental revelation was often not linked to the realities of the outside world in any direct way. Although occasional poems written between 1890 and 1936 have slight connections with the image of Spain, the most interesting and complete images are to be found in the prose works of Larbaud, Barrès, Louÿs, Morand, Benoit, Peyré and Montherlant. This fact reflects equally the aims of the authors and the demands of the public for light escapist literature, tending towards the commercial and superficial, especially in the works of Louÿs and Benoit.

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(119) Hilton; "Maurice Barrès and Spain," The Romantic Review, 30, 1939, p. 285.

(120) Lanson, Histoire de la littérature française, Paris, 1967. p.115.

CHAPTER XIV

- THE IMAGE 1890 - 1936 -

BARRES - BENOIT - BERTRAND - BLOY - CARAYON
- GRAPPE - LARBAUD - LOTI - LOUYS - MONTHERLANT
MORAND - PEYRE.

- THE IMAGE 1890 - 1936 -

It has been shown in the preceding chapter that Spain and Spanish literature occupied a place of increasing importance in the academic society of France and with the strengthening of the roman exotique and the roman d'aventures writers were seeking inspiration from all corners of the world. However, it is largely for personal reasons that the dominant personalities of the period 1890-1936 turned to Spain.

The leading figure in this group, Barrès, who before his 1892 journey had already been influenced by his grandfather and his reading, went to Spain to find the fulfilment of what he had dreamed and read about. His writings show a change of attitude which developed from the carefully worked lyrical expression of his writing in the period immediately preceding the Great War to a political position deriving from his hatred of Germany. Some elements of the general atmosphere of his earlier works may still be found, however, in a récit

of his later years, Souvenirs d'un officier de la Grande Armée. (1)

After his voyage to China on the Triomphante in 1885, Loti married Blanche de Ferrière and his journeys were no longer undertaken at the orders of the Navy. His career as an officer continued in the Reserve and after brief periods in command of the Formidable and the Courbet at Toulon, he was posted to the Javelot anchored in the estuary of the Bidassoa. He bought a villa at Hendaye and during this period wrote Ramuntcho (2) and Figures et choses qui passaient. (3) His journeys to India in 1899 brought this stage of his writing to a close.

In 1894 Pierre Louÿs was advised by his doctors that he had tuberculosis and having just received his inheritance decided to travel as much as possible while he was able. On 6 January 1895 he left Paris with Ferdinand Hérold for Sevilla, where he arrived on 10 January. He remained there until 20 March, when he left for Algeria. From this brief stay Louÿs gathered invaluable material for his novel la Femme et le pantin. (4)

Valery Larbaud, whose introduction to Spain had been literary, came into contact with Spanish-speaking South American students at the Collège Sainte-Barbe-des-Champs at Fontenay-aux-Roses, and was immediately influenced by the glory of Spain:

"C'est parmi les souvenirs d'une des plus

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- (1) Maurice Barrès, Souvenirs d'un officier de la Grande Armée, Paris, 1923.
 (2) Pierre Loti, Ramuntcho, first published, 1897.
 (3) Loti, Figures et choses qui passaient, first published, 1898.
 (4) Pierre Louÿs, (Louis), la Femme et la pantin, 1898.

glorieuses nations de la terre que nous y avons grandi; le monde castillan fut notre seconde patrie." (5)

As has been noted in Chapter XIII, Larbaud's first visit to Spain in 1897 was with his mother at the age of 16. It should be remembered also that he had been brought up in a family where contacts with foreign writers and personalities were frequent.

In the course of his diplomatic career Paul Morand was sent in 1918 as temporary attaché to the French Embassy in Madrid. Following closely upon his postings to London (1913-1916) and Rome (1917) Morand was given the opportunity to study the essential differences between Italians, Englishmen and Spaniards. During the years following the war (1919-1925) he remained in France, clarifying his observations, verifying the contrasts in national characteristics and writing Tendres Stocks (6) and Ouvert la Nuit.(7)

Henry de Montherlant's interest in Spain was aroused first by Quo Vadis? and was confirmed by his visit to the corridas in Bayonne in 1909. After this experience torero dominated his life until 1926 and continued as a developing theme throughout his works.(8) In Bayonne,

(5) Valery Larbaud, Fermina Marquez, Oeuvres complètes, Vol II, pp. 33-34. All references to Larbaud are to this edition, ed. Robert Mallet, 10 vols, Paris, 1954.

(6) Paul Morand, Tendres Stocks, Paris, 1921.

(7) Morand, Ouvert la Nuit, Paris, 1922.

(8) In 1909, Montherlant wrote to J.N. Faure-Biguet: "Je sors des corridas de Bayonne. Je ferai certainement quelque chose là-dessus. C'est une des choses les plus émouvantes et magnifiques qui soient." For details of this period of his life see les Enfances de Montherlant, by J.N. Faure-Biguet, Paris, 1941. See also le Torero, (Nîmes), 8 October 1911, le Feu (Aix-en-Provence), March 1923, and les Journaux, 7 November 1925 for reports of Montherlant's experience

in September 1909, there were two corridas: the first, on September 5, with Vicente Pastor and Bombita Chico, the second on September 19, with Bombita and Cocherito. (9)

It would appear that ^{Joseph} ~~Henri~~ Peyr 's attraction to Spain came via Africa, for although he was born in the B arn, his first cycle of adventures was set in the Sahara. Sang et lumi res (10), a title reminiscent of and probably influenced by Iba ez's Sangre y Arena, and De Cape et d' p e (11) belong to what Peyr  calls the Spanish period of his life, before July 1936. (12) During 1934 and 1935 Peyr  lived in the milieu taurin and experienced at close quarters the lives of the matadores and their cuadrillas which furnished him with reliable basic material for the psychological studies found in his works.

Despite Barr s's claims that the mood of Du Sang, de la Volupt  et de la Mort was a natural and spontaneous result of his contact with Spain, his friend the painter Ignacio Zuloaga recognized the fact that he did not cross the frontier to examine the land and people objectively, for in his painting of the author, with Toledo in the background, the dominant element of the painting is Barr s, not the Spanish landscape. Zuloaga's interpretation is applicable to other authors of this period as, in the works to be examined here, the concept of couleur locale changes and demonstrates a development in harmony with the deeper aspects of life which concern novelists at this time. Pierre Bornecque has noted that exoticism wears itself out unless it helps in a spiritual renewal of the individual. (13) For Larbaud,

in the arena.

(9) Communicated; Biblioth que municipale de Bayonne,

(10) Joseph Peyr , Sang et lumi res, Paris, 1935.

(11) Peyr , De Cape et d' p e, Paris, 1936.

(12) Peyr , De Cape et d' p e, p.9.

(13) Pierre and Jacques-Henry Bornecque, la France et sa

however, this process was scarcely necessary as his works all seem to reflect his enthusiasm and a love of travelling which is constantly renewed. Larbaud's goal is self-revelatory and automatically renewed. One of his poems summarises this:

"Je chante l'Europe, ses chemins de fer et ses théâtres
Et ses constellations de cités, et cependant
J'apporte dans mes vers les dépouilles d'un nouveau monde:
Mes vers, vous possédez la force, ô mes vers d'or,
Et l'élan de la flore et de la faune tropicales,
Toute la majesté des montagnes natales,
Les cornes du bison, les ailes du condor!" (14)

For Larbaud escape itself brought new challenges, new loves and fulfilment in itself, thus seeming to contradict the general suggestion put forward by Bornecque.

It is true, however, that in Barrès's case, contact with Spain had brought about certain noticeable changes. In 1913 he wrote:

"Alphonse Daudet, qui avait la bonté de s'intéresser à moi me disait qu'il m'avait vu transfiguré par mon premier voyage en Castille. Pourquoi le nier? Pourquoi me contraindre?"(15)

This is a note made some eleven years after Barrès's first journey into Spain and contradicts the point made in his Cahiers, at a time when his nationalism was growing stronger:

"De temps en temps, il m'arrive de trop céder à ma passion orientale, à mon goût

littérature, Lyon, 1968, p. 767.

(14) Larbaud, Ma Muse, Oeuvres complètes, Vol 4, p.87, vv. 1-3, and vv. 9-12.

(15) Barrès, "Amitié espagnole," le Gaulois, 3 September 1913, l'Oeuvre de Maurice Barrès, ed. Philippe Barrès, Paris, 1967, Vol VII, pp 412-413. All references to Barrès are to this edition.

malsain pour l'Espagne et de laisser prendre en moi le dessus à des éléments négateurs de la vie moderne et de ses principes moraux. Alors je devais me rappeler que je suis Français."(16)

This "goût malsain pour l'Espagne" is more fully explained by Barrès at a later date:

"Je ne dominais pas ces Espagne, ces Venise que j'ai caressées non sans bonheur. Je ne les comprenais pas dans leur formation. Elles m'étaient une ivresse."(17)

But, as the following anecdote illustrates, this ivresse was, at least in part, the result of a conscious and deliberate mental effort.

In reply to the question: "Ne descendez-vous pas des Arabes?" put to Barrès by Garabed Bey, Barrès said:

"En effet, ma famille est espagnole et beaucoup de ses membres y vivent toujours..."

From this and subsequent exchanges Garabed Bey concluded that Barrès's replies always began:

"J'en conviens, si tu veux, oui, parce que... et il poursuit ses rêves." (18)

This comment reveals the very process which Barrès utilised in his appreciation of Spain and shows that there is a definite link with his attitude and that of Alban/Montherlant revealed in the early pages of les Bestiaires. (19)

Barrès himself has confirmed that ^{his interpretation of the} ~~the~~ Spain he

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- (16) Barrès, Mes Cahiers, Vol XIII, p.213.
 (17) Mes Cahiers, Vol XIII, p.325
 (18) L.G. Guerdan, un Ami oriental de Maurice Barrès, Tigrane Yergate, Paris, 1936, p.121.
 (19) Henry de Montherlant, les Bestiaires, Romans et oeuvres de fiction non théâtrales, ed. Roger Secretain, Paris, 1959.

Observed owed much to his dreams and aspirations. In "Amitié espagnole" he wrote:

"J'aime l'Espagne depuis toujours, et, comme il arrive souvent, je l'ai aimée d'instinct avant même de la connaître. Elle m'inspire un étrange attrait, quasi physique, et dont je ne conçois pas de meilleure expression qu'un trait que je lisais, ces jours-ci, dans une vieille chronique oubliée d'Alfred de Musset."(20)

The inspiration Barrès refers to here is composed of three elements, all of which have been briefly mentioned. The first is derived from exotic dreams and rêverie; the second element is his reading, coloured by family involvement. However, it is only by the fusing of these two elements with the third, physical contact, that the inspiration can finally become literary creation. In this confused process, which Barrès himself failed to recognize, his views of Spain and the East merge into a single composite ideal, represented in his works most frequently by Toledo, but often by Granada.

In Du Sang, de la Volupté et de la Mort, when Delrio and Simone arrive at Granada, the strongest images are those of the East:

"Parmi les figuiers, les magnolias, les chênes verts, les pistachiers et les lauriers fleuris, l'Orient bientôt se nuance et la jeune lumière prodigua ses effets." (21)

(20) "Amitié espagnole," le Gaulois, 3 September 1913. Ed.cit., Vol, VII, pp.401-402. Barrès is here referring to Musset's Concert de Mademoiselle Garcia. On hearing Pauline Garcia sing Musset wrote: "C'est le même timbre clair, sonore, hardi, ce coup de gosier espagnol qui a quelque chose de si rude et de si doux à la fois, et qui produit sur nous une impression à peu près analogue à la saveur d'un fruit sauvage." Revue des Deux Mondes, 1 January 1839. Oeuvres complètes en prose, ed. Maurice Allem and Paul Courant, Paris, 1960, p.987.

(21) Barrès, Du Sang, de la Volupté et de la Mort, first published 1894, ed.cit., Vol II, p.36.

This reveals the influence of Chateaubriand, but it is also a continuation of the idea of Hugo's Orientales, which he had explained in the preface:

"...l'Orient soit comme image soit comme pensée, est devenu pour les intelligences autant que pour les imaginations une sorte de préoccupation générale." (22)

Barrès acknowledged the universal attraction of Granada, which is the main thesis of Antonio Gallego-Burín Morell's book, (23) and the question of subjection to the landscape was not difficult:

"Le charme de Grenade n'est point compliqué: c'est de posséder les plus beaux arbres du Nord et des eaux vives, sous un soleil africain. Son nom attire l'univers, mais elle n'est qu'une tente dans une oasis, et, sous un parasol délicieusement brodé, un des plus mols oreillers du monde." (24)

Granada attracts the whole world, with the exception it seems, of Montherlant, who in "la Déception de Grenade" explains how he has been unable, in spite of repeated attempts, to become captive to the charm of the city. The reconstruction of parts of the Alhambra reminds Montherlant of a pavilion at an international fair, but the main problem for him was that the view is really nothing out of the ordinary.

"Rien n'est plus commun que la vue de Grenade, prise des hauteurs de la Alhambra, et vers le Sud comme vers le Nord, Montrez au premier venu la carte postale d'une de ces vues, en en dissimulant la légende, et demandez-lui quelle ville c'est là, il vous répondra, que sais-je, Moulins ou Poitiers." (25)

It has been shown in the preceding pages that the attraction felt for Spain by Barrès was not as spontaneous as he would have his readers believe since it is largely in association with the East and with literature and history that he appreciates the country:

(22) Victor Hugo, les Orientales, ed. Elizabeth Barineau, Paris, 1952, Vol I, p.11.

(23) Antonio Gallego-Burín Morell, Granada, Madrid, 1965.

(24) Du Sang..., ed.cit, p.37.

(25) Montherlant, "la Déception de Grenade," (1828), Essais, ed. Pierre Spirot, Paris, 1963. p.411.

"Aussi Delrio, soucieux d'utiliser toutes les vertus de cette station, et pour que le paysage prît un sens complet dans l'âme de la jeune fille, excitait le guide à leur raconter tant d'incidents mêlés de délices et de peur qui tâchèrent ces dalles de sang et d'amour." (26)

Montherlant's attraction to Spair does not generally derive from the landscape or from the charm of particular cities - with the exception of Barcelona. His comments on places which had special attraction for Barrès contrast markedly with Barrès's comments. Approaching Barcelona, Montherlant wrote:

"Au sortir de ces villes étouffées et étouffantes, Madrid étouffante de monarchie (province! province! et que la rusticité pénètre de toutes parts), Tolède (cent beautés, cent baillements), Grenade (la plus belle déception de la Méditerranée), Saragosse (un cri d'horreur), Séville elle-même (pourtant vraiment vive), une grande ville, enfin! la seule d'Espagne!" (27)

Montherlant's view of Barcelona is opposed by Morand's opinion, which is that the city is "affreuse." (28)

Everywhere Barrès found images which reminded him of the East. The plants, the perfumes, the heat, even the house which Delrio takes in Toledo, are described with words which evoke images closely linked to the Orient. The mosque at Córdoba, as would be expected, has an eastern atmosphere, allied to voluptuousness. But this aspect of Spain's attraction to Barrès is not fully developed in Du Sang, de la Volupté et de la Mort; the images are frequent, but superficial. In "A la pointe

(26) Du Sang..., p.38.

(27) Montherlant, la Petite Infante de Castille, Romans et oeuvres de fiction non théâtrales, ed. Roger Secrétain, Paris, 1959, p. 597.

(28) Morand, "la Nuit catalane," Ouvert la Nuit; Fermé la Nuit, Paris, 1957, p.55.

extrême d'Europe" Barrès wrote of Spain: "C'est une Afrique." (29) As Delrio contemplates a barrio of Toledo the image is Eastern:

"Et puis en bas, voici le fleuve, comme un lourd serpentement de fièvre, et les ruines au faubourg d'Antequeruela, aussi bouleversantes pour l'imagination, dans cette chaude nuit, que les cris et l'odeur des hyènes dans les cimetières d'orient!" (30)

Toledo itself is described as "un cri dans le désert." (31)

In these examples there is evidence of two major influences which most profoundly affected Barrès in the composition of his landscapes. The first was a book re-published shortly before Du Sang, de la Volupté et de la Mort, Théodor Simon's l'Espagne, described in Hommes d'aujourd'hui as "le plus beau livre publié sur ce pays. Un magnifique volume in-folio orné de 335 belles gravures sur bois." (32) It is to this book that Barrès owes the mystical interpretation of the Spanish scene.

The second major influence is the composite influence of Hugo, Gautier and Quinet. Hugo's comment that "l'Espagne, c'est encore l'Orient; l'Espagne est à demi africaine, l'Afrique c'est à demi asiatique" (33) is clearly the starting point of Barrès's analysis. There is also the thesis held by Gautier which he expressed in Tra los Montes:

"L'Espagne qui touche à l'Afrique comme la Grèce à l'Asie, n'est pas faite pour les moeurs

(29) Du Sang..., p.112.

(30) Ibid., p. 45.

(31) Ibid., p. 24.

(32) Hommes d'aujourd'hui, VI, No 301; Théodor Simons, l'Espagne, trad. Marcel Lemerancier, first published, 1881.

(33) Victor Hugo, les Orientales, ed.cit., Vol I, p.11.

européennes. Le génie de l'Orient y perce sous toutes les formes, et il est fâcheux peut-être qu'elle ne soit pas restée moresque ou mahométane." (34)

Quinet had demonstrated his awareness of the links between Spain and the East in Mes Vacances en Espagne but was more interested in the inhabitants than in the landscape.

It should be noted that Montherlant occasionally makes use of Eastern images to add force to a brief description, as in les Bestiaires, describing the countryside which Alban passed through on his way to the ganadería:

"Et c'étaient des hommes, toujours des hommes, comme en Orient. On ne rencontrait des femmes que les Gitanes jaunes et poisseuses, sentant fort, aux cheveux durcis de saleté. Elles traînaient des mâles pas beaux, qui avaient le type des parias de l'Inde". (35)

Similarly, Pierre Loti, who, in the full realisation of his love for the Pays Basque had bought a villa at Hendaye, was able to feel the links between Spain and Africa from the terrace of his house which overlooked the estuary of the Bidassoa, the boundary between France and Spain:

"L'immobilité des choses et l'éclat lumineux des teintes donnait à cette côte espagnole un peu de la tristesse ensoleillée du Maroc; aujourd'hui, du reste, on sent l'Afrique, presque voisine, - comme si les limpidités de l'atmosphère, qui atténuent les distances visibles, avaient eu le pouvoir aussi de la rapprocher de nous." (36)

(34) Théophile Gautier, Voyage en Espagne, Paris, 1904, p.192.

(35) Montherlant, les Bestiaires, ed.cit., p. 433.

(36) Loti, Figures et choses qui passaient, Paris, n.d., p. 49.

Loti mentions the same feeling, in connection with the mountains, elsewhere in Figures et choses qui passaient and in Ramuntcho.

Africa, the East and Spain are still confused images for Barrès in his later work Greco, ou le Secret de Tolède. Reminiscent of the way that Loti came to feel the close proximity of Africa, Barrès constructs a similar image:

"A Tolède, je fus rejoint par un air qui vient du Midi. Comme d'autres au fond des terres tressaillent, s'ils ont senti la brise salée de l'Océan, j'avais respiré l'Orient." (37)

And further on the image is taken up and developed:

"Ceux qui nourrissent leur sang des beautés de l'Espagne savent que rien n'est inactif sur cette terre africaine." (38)

This process, referred to earlier and commented on by Garabed Bey is here crystallised with the progression "Tolède - un air du Midi - l'Orient - terre africaine." "Sur cette terre africaine", in Greco as in Du Sang..., Barrès finds more attraction in the Eastern aspects of the city. Walking through the streets, he leaves the higher part of the city:

"Je veux gagner le Tage, et j'entre dans la misère d'une ville arabe. Je descends une côte africaine... Peintes à la chaux /les maisons/ flamboient. Leurs portes ouvertes laissent voir une cour briquetée: des fleurs, des enfants et des femmes accroupies à l'Arabe, dans des voiles blancs très sales, sur des marches blanches." (39)

(37) Barrès, Greco ou le secret de Tolède, ed.cit., Vol VII, pp 353-354.

(38) Greco..., ed.cit., p. 353.

(39) Ibid., p.361.

Barrès seeks physical evidence of the Eastern presence in Spain and in some passages, through over-emphasising the Eastern aspects of the image, loses contact with the link which is crucial to the success of a sustained image of this kind. Montherlant is aware of the link and in a more subtle manner brings out the same notion that seems to trouble Barrès by concentrating on the human aspects of race:

"Et cela /une impression de correction et de distinction/ rappelle l'Orient, ou la bonne tenue, la dignité de la foule, un soir de Ramadan, alors pourtant qu'a sonné l'heure du désir, fait honte à nos foires de Neuilly. Espagne, Islam, c'est la même chose, et c'est une race noble." (40)

Montherlant does not lose control of his image and by the use of "rappelle" instead of Barrès's adjective juxtaposition keeps the récit moving while bringing in comparative detail. Barrès's method holds up the narrative while the reader is invited to look at a piece of Africa in the centre of Toledo.

The view held by Hugo and Gautier, demonstrably followed by Barrès and echoed by Loti and Montherlant, is supported by Unamuno, who although Basque in origin, professed castilianism. In a letter to Barrès he wrote:

"... Dans les livres de Dumas ou de Gautier sur l'Espagne, remplis de méprises, de fantaisies, de petites erreurs, il y a plus de vérité que dans n'importe quel gros in-folio doctoral d'un Wolff quelconque... Je ne veux rien dire de Prosper Mérimée qui descendit profondément dans notre âme espagnole. Victor Hugo même, qui affectionnait l'espagnolisme, et qui disait

(40) Montherlant, la Petite Infante de Castille, ed.cit., p. 600.

des choses si drôles et si fantasques sur l'Espagne, la comprenait, au fond très bien, parce qu'il l'aimait."

Further in the same letter, Unamuno comes to the point which provides the element of continuity from Dumas to Barrès:

"Il y a des expressions que notre naturel pointilleux n'a pas su apprécier justement. On répète ici une phrase, une espèce de plaisanterie de Dumas: l'Afrique commence aux Pyrénées. Et j'ai dit maintes fois que c'est une phrase même flatteuse pour nous. Oui, je suis fier de l'africanité espagnole. J'aime mieux être un Africain de premier rang - comme Saint Augustin ou Tertullien - qu'un Européen de huitième rang." (41)

Unamuno, of course, was in conflict with other authors of the generación de 98 on this specific point. Barrès was undoubtedly welcomed by him as an ally and the opinion expressed by Barrès against the Europeanisation of Spain (42) would have been read sympathetically by Unamuno, particularly his condemnation of incursions by English industrialists.

In la Femme et le pantin Don Mateo explains his attachment to his country and Louÿs, concentrating on the honourable characteristics which the Moors have brought to Spain, summarises the debt of modern life to the early occupiers of Andalucía:

"Nous ne devons guère qu'aux Arabes les qualités exceptionnelles qui ont dessiné dans l'histoire la grande figure de notre passé. Ils nous ont légué leur mépris de l'argent, leur mépris du mensonge, leur mépris de la mort, leur inexprimable fierté. Nous tenons d'eux notre attitude si

(41) Ida-Marie Frandon, l'Orient de Maurice Barrès, Geneva, 1952, p.57.

(42) Barrès, "le Page des chiens courants", Du Sang..., pp. 107-111.

droite en face de tout ce qui est bas, et aussi je ne sais quelle paresse devant les travaux manuels. En vérité, nous sommes leurs fils, et ce n'est pas sans raison que nous continuons encore à danser leurs danses orientales au son de leurs "féroces romances".(43)

Many of the elements mentioned here had been seized upon by the philosophes as the only characteristics of the Spanish people. The Romantics concentrated upon others and it is clear that in literature tone and emphasis are important in the emergence of an image. Louÿs, through Don Mateo, has here presented an unbiased though essentially sympathetic view of the Spanish character, which - although the premise may not be wholly true - is not out of place in a novel and certainly harmonises with the character of Don Mateo.

Gautier's influence on succeeding interpretations of Spain was not limited to textual notions which found currency later. Gautier's obvious delight in colour and movement has influenced the descriptive process in all fields of literature. However, it is surprising to find that Montherlant reveals elements of Gautier's technique in one of his rare descriptive passages:

"Les oliviers, l'herbe aride où ils naissent, les rochers couverts de mousse qu'ils surplombent sont presque de la même teinte de chlore; et, en bas, quelques arbres fuselés ont eux aussi ce vert affaibli, comme si tout le paysage avait été noyé dans une eau-légèrement teintée de vert. Ces pays du Midi sont pâles; on dirait que le feuillage en a été mangé par le soleil, comme sont mangées les briques éteintes qui sont la seconde dominante dans la palette de Tolède." (44)

{43} Louÿs, la Femme et le pantin, Paris, 1958, p.48.

{44} Montherlant, "Barrès s'éloigne", Essais, ed.cit., p. 275 .

Here we have aspects of the landscape which had fascinated the Romantics, the colours noted by Gautier, and Gautier's technique, yet this description reflects profound attachment, an eye which is realistic and analytical, determined to brush away romantic interpretation and forced images. Montherlant, in this essay "Barrès s'éloigne" could not have chosen a more fitting title.

Barrès, in "Un Amateur d'âmes" has described the same scene:

"Tolède sur sa côte, et tenant à ses pieds le demicercle jaunâtre du Tage, a la couleur, la rudesse, la fière misère de la sierra où elle campe et dont les fortes articulations donnent, dès l'abord, une impression d'énergie et de passion. C'est moins une ville, chose bruisante et pliée sur les commodités de la vie, qu'un lieu significatif pour l'âme. Sous une lumière crue qui donne à chaque arête de ses ruines une vigueur, une netteté par quoi se sentent affermis les caractères les plus mous, elle est en même temps mystérieuse, avec sa cathédrale tendue vers le ciel, ses alcazars et ses palais qui ne prennent vue que sur leurs invisibles patios." (45)

Barrès has here given a striking image of a city in the sierra. He is almost overcome by the passion of Spain, reflected in the landscape and the energy which is highlighted by "la lumière crue." However, in the region of Toledo there are no sierras, making the image a literary composition, not without charm, but giving the impression that Barrès saw what he imagined he would see, and emphasising the parallel with Gautier's technique.

Barrès, as other travellers had been, was aware of

(45) Barrès, Du Sang..., p.24.

the contrasts of the 'two Spains'. He has clearly defined the way in which he regarded Spain in "le Génie contrasté de l'Espagne." He wrote in le Gaulois:

"Il ne faudrait d'ailleurs jamais dire l'Espagne, mais les Espagnes. A chaque pas le voyageur trouve là-bas de l'inattendu, du nouveau." (46)

This idea of the opposition of the north and south had also been mentioned by Henri Cornille and for the Romantics the two faces of Spain were symbolised by Castilla and Andalucía. Castilla for the Romantic writer was the brutal Spanish landscape, steep mountains, desolate plateaux and rocky vistas unrelieved by vegetation. Castilla was also the silent, meditative Spain. Andalucía is a fertile region, where the trees are varied, the climate pleasant. The landscape is characterised by gardens, Moorish palaces and abundant water. The contrast is further heightened by the sounds of Andalucía, running water, cigales, guitars. The Romantics, finding more exotic elements in the landscape of Castilla and the moeurs of Andalucía, tended, while at the same time acknowledging the two Spains, to construct an amalgam. Barrès, both in Du Sang... and in Greco gives equal treatment to both regions, and, as the Romantics had done, links the character of the inhabitants to the physical landscape. In "les Jets alternés de l'Espagne" Barrès presents a synthesis, a method used by Mérimée and others before him:

"Au Nord, les Espagnes sont sécheresse:
fécondes, abondantes quand même, leur
aridité étant faite de sensibilité

(46) Barrès, "le Génie contrasté de l'Espagne," le Gaulois, 13 August 1913, ed.cit. Vol VII, p.402.

contractée. Au midi, c'est un fleuve irrésistible de sensualités; - mais qui craindrait de s'y souiller? il nous emporte dans le sens de la nature." (47)

The dual nature of the land is, for Barrès, most aptly expressed in the struggle between Moor and Castilian:

"Dans ce pays double, toute mollesse et puis rien que ressort, la lutte est éternelle des Castellans contre les Maures et contre l'enchantement de l'Andalousie." (48)

This idea is developed further in "A la pointe extrême de l'Europe", where Barrès wrote: "Cet interminable et héroïque débat a façonné les arts, les mœurs et le caractère de la race." (49) This interpretation of the landscape is continued in Greco, but Barrès has succeeded in pursuing the development further than a discussion of the visual aspects. These differences in character lead to mysticism, to the theatre and to the arts.

Louis Bertrand in le Sang des races developed and modernised this theory by presenting the points of contrasts discovered in the analysis of a Spaniard exposed to the civilising influences of colonial life in Algeria and the Valenciano, poor, bound to the land, imprisoned in his routine, a French interpretation of the characters of Cañas y barro. (50)

The contradiction of Spain was apparent to Barrès principally in the contrast between the Escorial and Granada. For Montherlant, however, the problem does not appear to be one of incompatibility or of wide

(47) Du Sang..., p. 33.

(48) Ibid.

(49) Ibid, p. 115.

(50) Louis Bertrand, le Sang des races, Paris, 1899.

differences which it is necessary to synthesise, for he approached Spain with the theory of synchrétisme which he had already partly formalised in 1926. (51) "The harmony produced by the union of two opposing elements" (52) was considered by Montherlant to be incarnate in Spain. He did not find it necessary to find visual or physical proof of this as it existed for him in the essence of Spain. There is scarcely any description of the landscape in les Bestiaires or in la Petite Infante de Castille, but both are constructed around the premise: "le refus de choisir, le besoin de tout éprouver successivement ou simultanément." (53)

This freedom from having to seek in the landscape some physical expression of the essence of Spain allows Montherlant to link his descriptions very closely with the action. In most cases in les Bestiaires the central idea to which the landscape is linked is Alban's passion for the bulls. The pastures, the description of the scenery as Alban travels to the ganadería, are closely allied to the object of the journey:

"La route courait entre les agaves, des figuiers de Barbarie aux gris bleuâtre de choux. Au delà s'étendait l'Andalousie heureuse, d'une admirable simplicité dans ses lignes, comme dans ses coulours violemment tranchées: rouge et verte avec quelques maisons très blanches, sous le grand ciel bleu." (54)

Using colour here almost as a guide

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- (51) Montherlant, "Synchrétisme et Alternance," (1926) Essais, ed. cit., pp. 235-247.
- (52) Sidonia C. Rosenbaum, "Henry de Montherlant and Spain," Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, XXIX, 1952, p. 139.
- (53) Jean Joubert, "Montherlant et l'Espagne," Montherlant vu par les jeunes de 17 à 27 ans, Paris, 1959 p. 41. /textes réunis par J.-J. Thierry.?
- (54) Les Bestiaires, p. 433.

we are with Alban brought closer to the object of his search:

"Au loin chantait à présent la symphonie coutumière: le bleu du ciel, le jaune étendu des boutons d'or et dans ce jaune les taureaux éclatants de noirceur." (55)

The colours of Spain served as the starting point for some of Montherlant's most remarkable descriptive passages. The similarity with Gautier's technique has been noted, but one must add that Montherlant's control of the medium allows him to make a description move towards a point, or to revolve around it. One never loses sight of the aim of the description, the thread of the narrative is never broken.

Valery Larbaud's approach to the landscape of Spain differs considerably from those of Montherlant and Barrès, although his debt to previous descriptions is evident in Luis Losada, an unfinished novel, in which he picks up the dominant features of the landscape:

"Et malgré tout, ce qui domine, pensait Luis, c'est l'impression de sécheresse; ces lignes nettes, ces contours purs... et ces monts arides, ce grand éboulement de roches blanches dévorées d'azur et de lumière..." (56)

Larbaud is here describing Lucenta, which is but a thinly disguised Alicante, the streets have the same names - e.g. la calle Canalejas - and he describes in detail the Esplanada. The colours of Alicante fascinated him. From a more detailed description of Lucenta the phrases are rich and varied: "rideaux multicolores",

(55) Ibid., p.434.

(56) Larbaud, Luis Losada, fragment published (ed. Frida Weissmann) Nouvelle Revue Française, 1 July 1962, and in Frida Weissmann, l'Exotisme de Valery Larbaud, Paris, 1966, p. 138.

"les ombres roses deviennent bleues puis noires", "objets d'ivoire sur une lame de verre." (57) The predominant colours of Lucenta, and Alicante, for Larbaud gold and blue, occur again in an article published after his death on Gabriel Miró. (58)

Larbaud's method seems to be founded on the principal of eliminating the known or unnecessary detail. In the preface to his translation of Gabriel Miró's Semana Santa Larbaud summarises the Alicante landscape from notes made in his journal and rough notes of Luis Losada:

"les plaines blanches sous l'ombrage très léger des oliviers et des amandiers escaladant les terrasses des collines cultivées; les villages, les pueblos, avec leur grand air de fragment de ville, leur vieillesse patinée d'or; les vallées vertes et fraîches, les sierras stériles et celles dont les pentes sont couvertes d'un manteau de sapins;" (59)

This and other descriptions are based largely on notes in the journal kept at Alicante, and in the passages mentioned the parallel is clear, no significant characteristics of the landscape have been eliminated. In Douze villes et paysages, however, the technique of elimination completely changes the character of the scene. In the notes on Biar, the dominant characteristics are aridity and the bare land, but by selection among his notes Larbaud has given Biar a completely different, happier environment:

"Biar (province d'Alicante). - Sur le

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- (57) Luis Losada, Weissmann, op.cit., p. 139.
 (58) Larbaud, "Souvenir de Gabriel Miró," Nouvelle Revue Française, LI, 1 March 1957, pp. 575-576.
 (59) "Semaine Sainte" de Gabriel Miró, traduit de l'espagnol par Valery Larbaud et Noemie Larthe, Paris, 1925, Preface.

versant occidental de sa peña, avec son château au sommet. Blanc et brun, à peine rosé, au couchant. Dans la vallée et sur les pentes, repos de la lumière loin du réflecteur aveuglant de la mer, à l'abri du lamiñoir (bleu acier) du vent d'Afrique. Elle éclaire avec patience l'herbe tendre, les clôtures de pierre, la descente angélique des oliviers. Biar est une haute fontaine, cent fontaines, coulant de rue en rue, de terrasse en terrasse, avec des reposoirs d'ombre: les grands balsas de pierre. A Biar, on vit au chant de l'eau courante." (60)

The work of condensation is also evident in Muchamiel and without recourse to the Journal one would be unaware that Larbaud uses this poem as a vehicle for the rapprochement of his thoughts on Spain and England. In general Larbaud's descriptive passages emphasise the softness of Andalucía. Although Larbaud is aware of the landscape contrast, for him the most striking contradiction of Spain is the juxtaposition of the old and the new, already mentioned as one of the major themes of the Journal. Just as Loti's descriptions of northern Spain are dominated by red and Montherlant's description tend to bring out contrasting colours, Larbaud describes, rarely in long passages, but commonly in short interpolated comments, the dry reddish hills of Andalucía, the green fertile valleys, and Alicante "la ville de porcelaine".

Larbaud's landscapes are bathed in light; he prefers the dazzling brilliance of the early morning sunlight or the soft shaded glows of twilight and does not, in the manner of the Romantics, fix on the harsh "inondation de soleil" or the "douce clarté de la lune" as a symbolic link between land and people.

(60) Larbaud, Douze villes et paysages, Oeuvres complètes, Vol 1, p. 132.

Montherlant's descriptions owe much, if only by repulsion, to Barrès. Barrès, as we have shown, was influenced by the technique and theory of Gautier and Quinet and by the rather over-simplified "Spain is Africa" theory of Hugo. One may easily trace the line of influence back to Chateaubriand. But there is one clear example in which both Barrès and Montherlant reveal a debt to Chateaubriand direct.

In les Aventures du dernier Abencérage the visit of Aben-Hamet and Blanca to the Alhambra gave rise to several Romantic imitations based on the light of the moon, the effects of the shadows on Moorish tracery, the pervading melancholy. However, there seems to be no Romantic link which provides a transitional image of two lovers together in these idyllic surroundings. Barrès, in Du Sang... has considerably condensed the elements used by Chateaubriand and the central passage emphasises the effect of the gentle light, the perfumes, and by association the past, as Delrio and Simone walk together through an unidentified part of Granada:

"Ils sortirent. Tous deux étaient émus de bonheur de vaguer dans cette demi-nuit parfumée, et dans ces lieux qu'elle abordait pour la première fois... Le manque de sommeil, qui n'est pas une souffrance dans ces pays légers, les alanguissait et faisait leurs corps plus sensible aux délices de la nature." (61)

In les Bestiaires Alban and Soledad walk together in Sevilla, in daytime, yet the description of the fountains and pools, the coolness, the overall effect of the environment owe much to Chateaubriand:

"il y avait des vasques mortes, vides. Et d'autres avec une eau pleine de sourires, qui

(61) Du Sang... p. 36.

envoyait danser des figures de lumière sur l'arc arabe qui la surplombait, et des pétales étaient tombés au fond, se trouvaient bien là. Dieu les garde." (62)

Chateaubriand's influence is also clearly indicated in Barrès's interpretation of the Escorial, and he was not the first to note the contrast between the palace and Andalucía. Quinet had chosen the Escorial to symbolise northern Christian Spain; Gautier had described the setting in detail in Tra los Montes and in his short poem l'Escorial. Gautier had commented notably on the effect of "froid glacial" which the immense palace had upon him - "le sombre Escorial... posé comme un défi." (63) Barrès retains only the general notion of what his predecessors had written and limits the descriptive passages. He insists on the "empire catholique de la douleur" (64) although he cannot completely erase Gautier's impressions, which are reflected in:

"... tandis qu'ils circulaient à travers les cours lugubres, sous des voûtes glacées où manque l'air." (65)

It is evident that in the works examined here the landscape has a more important function than merely to assist in the presentation of a visual image. In Barrès's Du Sang... as in Greco, descriptions have a deal in common with the récit de voyage, although the récit reveals much of his own personality. Hilton's comment that "Barrès' Hispanism is a troubled stream of passion incapable of bearing any intellectual trade"(66)

(62) Les Bestiaires, p. 468.

(63) Theophile Gautier, l'Escorial, la Presse, 3 September 1840.

(64) Du Sang..., p.34.

(65) Ibid.

(66) Ronald Hilton, "Maurice Barrès and Spain," The Romanic Review, XXX, 1939, p.288.

equals any generalisation that Barrès himself may be guilty of. One must agree, however, that in spite of all the information which was available during the period in which Barrès wrote, some interpretations are quite false. One can but note in passing that Barrès has completely misread the history of the Escorial, over-emphasised the height of Toledo cathedral and as will be noted later reveals poor taste in his appreciation of the art treasures of Spain.

For Barrès Toledo is the place which holds the privileged position in Spain, for it is in this city that he encountered the meeting point of the landscape and people of the north and south. Delrio takes Simone on a journey through Spain because he "voulait exalter sa soeur dans les âpretés de Castille avant de la fondre dans la mollesse d'Andalousie." (67) Having returned to Toledo, he finds that the journey has had the desired effect upon her:

"Apreté de Castille où passe un long soupir d'Andalousie! Sur cette ville à la fois maure et catholique, les parfums qui montent de la sierra se marient à l'odeur des cierges échappés des églises. Les sensations de l'Escorial et de l'Alhambra gonflaient à la fois le sein de la Pia, et de leur mélange équivoque, loin de s'affaiblir, elles prenaient la puissance, la tristesse des passions combattues." (68)

The effect of Toledo upon other writers, notably Montherlant, has been quite different from this purely romantic sensation. He wrote that "De plusieurs séjours à Tolède je ne garde que des sensations incohérentes." (69)

(67) Du Sang..., p. 35.

(68) Du Sang..., p.45.

(69) Montherlant, "Du Sang, de la Volupté et de la Mort (pour rire)," Essais, p.270.

but nevertheless retains enough to directly negate the romantic interpretation of the cigarrales by Barrès and others by writing that "Rien ne suggère moins les délices que ces enclos brûlés et pauvres, cultivés seulement par les littérateurs." (70) In Comme le temps passe, Robert Brasillach brings his heroes to Toledo, "déjà à la mode depuis quelques années, et dont ils craignaient beaucoup de déception, à cause de Barrès," (71) but "à cause de Barrès" perhaps, the description is flat and colourless and ends with a quotation from Barrès.

Barrès's views on Toledo as a synthesis of "les Espagnes" is supported in a book written by his friend Enrique Larreta, translated into French by Rémy de Gourmont as la Gloire de Don Ramire. (72)

The spirit of Toledo is best expressed in the paintings of el Greco, Barrès considered. It was el Greco who revealed to him the essence of Spain. This secret is the basis of both Du Sang... and Greco and is also revealed in a number of now forgotten articles. (73) Barrès was undeniably caught up in a kind of romantic enthusiasm similar to that felt by Victor Hugo, in which the violence and the passion of Spain - latterly for Hugo revealed in the Romancero - is revealed to Barrès everywhere. Barrès found this same enthusiasm again when he discovered the spirit of the Conquistadores:

(70) Ibid., p.275.

(71) Robert Brassilach, Comme le temps passe, Paris, 1937. Cited in Visitez l'Espagne, Paris, 1968.

(72) Enrique Rodriguez Larreta, la Gloria de Don Ramiro; una vida en tiempos de Felipe Segundo, Madrid, 1908; trad. Rémy de Gourmont, la Gloire de Don Ramire, Paris, 1910.

(73) Hilton, op.cit., p.296. Hilton notes that these articles were probably written after a visit to Spain which Barrès made in order to perfect his book on el Greco.

Francisco García Calderón wrote of this period:

"Il connaissait plusieurs aspects de notre histoire, il admirait beaucoup les Conquistadores, leur farouche énergie, le culte barbare du moi chez ces êtres fanatiques. Il lisait souvent la biographie de Cortès par Bernal Diaz dans la traduction de Heredia... le romantisme, la violence, l'individualisme, la vie dangereuse des Espagnols d'Amérique le passionnaient." (74)

But at the time of Greco, his chief interest was Spain, an understanding of which he reached via el Greco, Toledo and, among others, Théophile Gautier, as he confessed:

"... le charmant Théophile Gautier (de qui le souvenir invinciblement mélancolique apparaît sur le fond de tous nos plaisirs espagnols)." (75)

For other writers the décor does not have the same importance. For Loti, the ambiance of the Basque country is created not by long descriptions of the landscape but by integration of character and action in a way that the rather special society and the fleeting glimpses of history are evoked clearly at the level he intends. However, Loti does concede to his literary ancestors in noting the grandeur of the mountains in Ramuntcho, but still carefully integrated with the récit:

"...ces hautes terres qui montaient dans le ciel, c'étaient les Pyrénées espagnoles. Tout cela était les Pyrénées espagnoles. Tout cela était l'Espagne, la montagneuse Espagne, éternellement dressée là en face et sans cesse préoccupant leur esprit." (76)

(74) Francisco García Calderón, "Maurice Barrès et l'Amérique latine," Revue de l'Amérique latine, 1 January 1924, p.2.

(75) Barrès, Greco..., p. 367.

(76) Loti, Ramuntcho, Paris, 1959, p.28.

Spain, in the middle-distance is there, defiant, a constant challenge to the contrebandiers:

"et vers le sud-ouest, la partie de l'Espagne qui est visible, la cime dénudée et rousse, familière aux contrebandiers, se dresse toute voisine dans le beau ciel clair." (77)

But there is also the mystique of the mountains, the quality which Vigny had noted when his regiment was garrisoned in the Pyrenees, briefly noted by Loti in Figures et choses qui passaient:

"De tous côtés, la forêt monte s'y plonger, dans cette nuée, et s'y perdre; là-haut les arbres, les rochers qui frôlent ce grand voile de ténèbres semblent mêlés à d'immobiles fumées et leur tête se noie tout à fait dans les épaisses choses grises. Nous nous élevons, semble-t-il, sur les parois d'un grand gouffre fermé; des masses oppressantes nous surplombent de partout." (78)

Loti was sensitive to the effects of landscape and the adjectives he uses suggest the mystery and fear he experienced along the seemingly endless path to Beruete- "frôlent", "voile", "ténèbres", "choses grises", "oppressantes" and "surplombent" convey the sense of the unknown with acknowledgement to the majestic power of the Pyrenees. Loti was able to appreciate the soul of a country through the landscape and although one is aware that in comparison with other writers his travels placed him in an advantageous position he was not solely concerned with the picturesque as certain passages from Figures et choses qui passaient indicate:

"A certains heures, longuement amenées, spéciales et rares, le caractère des pays

(77) Ibid., p. 35.

(78) Loti, Figures et choses qui passaient, Paris, n.d., pp. 103-104.

tout à coup se dégage pour nous de l'uniforme banalité moderne. Sous nos yeux, une âme sort du sol, des arbres, des mille choses: l'âme antique des races, qui dormait, affaiblie par le grand mélange universel, et qui pour un instant s'éveille et plane..." (79)

Transposed into fiction this thought is found again in Ramuntcho, when Loti describes the interior of the church and contrasts the richness of the sanctuary with the plain white of the lateral walls:

"Mais un air de vieillesse extrême harmonisait ces choses, que l'on sentait habituées depuis des siècles à durer en face les unes les autres." (80)

Barrès, having fixed on Toledo as the absolute synthesis of Spain, the meeting point of all currents and contrasts, found the soul of Spain in the cathedral at Sevilla:

"Mais le secret de l'Espagne, si jamais je l'entrevis, c'est aux profondes alcôves de ses églises sans gloire..." (81)

Despite his depth of feeling, however, Barrès's conception of the essential Spanish city - "abattoir, prison, lumière" - is over-simplified, and even in the terms of his own narrative untrue. (82) Loti, although aware that the cathedral of Burgos offered him the whole of Spanish history, found that something was lacking. He found the sensuality, the contrasts, the richness - what was lacking was peace, "... aucune paix religieuse... au contraire le sentiment d'une magnificence écrasante, orgueilleuse, implacable; ... pas même du calme ... pas même une reposante unité." (83)

(79) Ibid., p.47.

(80) Ramuntcho, p.31.

(81) Du Sang..., p.109.

(82) Ibid., p.31.

(83) Figures et choses..., pp. 136-137.

Montherlant expresses his attachment to Spain most clearly in his essays, in which he also corrects misinterpretations which have occurred in literature from the Romantics to Barrès. In les Bestiaires, however, it is through Alban that this attachment is revealed. The work in its entirety is really praise of aspects of Spanish life, but the following passage demonstrates clearly the depth of this feeling:

"Alban est vaincu. Il sent que jamais il ne pourra en vouloir à rien de ce qui sortira de cette terre. Comme un être de son sang bouge dans le ventre de la femme, sa race, son sang, toute sa matière a bougé d'amour au fond de lui." (84)

Larbaud encountered the essence of Spain easily through his involvement in daily life and although the visual and spiritual attractions of the Spanish landscape are discernible through his works, description is secondary to sensation which comes through his work as a whole.

For Joseph Peyré, as for Montherlant, the physical aspects of the cadre are a secondary consideration unless closely linked to the narrative, in which case narrative and description tend to fuse together. The central point of the picture remains of prime importance - whether this be a person, a thought or a feeling - the centre piece of the work. Peyré, in De Cape et d'épée and in Sang et lumières is at ease describing the elements which make up the milieu taurin - the arena, the clinic, the bars and the night clubs. Description is purely functional, and Peyré is capable, as one brief passage in Sang et lumières shows, of evoking the essentials of the Spanish landscape, but

as with Montherlant, the reader is never allowed to lose sight of the central objective, the period of the life of a torero in the troubled days immediately before the Civil War. Peyré describes Manzanares el Real:

"Le village de pierres brutes, empoisonné par les tas de fumier et raviné par le purin et les eaux de neige, n'avait pas dû changer depuis cinq cents ans. Des vieilles au bord de la tombe prenaient le soleil sous des lambeaux d'affiches électorales de l'Action Populaire et du Parti Socialiste qui pendaient des granits. Je me demandais qui les avait lues ou même regardées." (85)

Pour Don Carlos, by Pierre Benoit, is set in the Basque Country, and although this novel is not simply a roman d'aventures, the emphasis is clearly upon the action and the pace is sustained. The action is based on the Second Carlist War and whether the scene is the old town of Estella or the road to Tolosa the effect is of constant movement, the all-pervading atmosphere one of fear and distrust. Benoit is not in this novel seeking couleur locale in the picturesque sense but authenticity in the actions and reactions of his characters. The feeling he had for Spain, derived from Barrès, is thus coupled with his personal interpretation of what the roman d'aventures should be.

Benoit's debt to Barrès is acknowledged in an article which he sent to Philippe Barrès in 1947:

"Pour Don Carlos est tout entier dans la brusque anecdote du chapitre intitulé "la Haine emporte tout."

Although Benoit had seen and experienced Spain and remarked upon the "montagnes brumeuses" which form much

(85) Joseph Peyré, Sang et lumières, Paris, 1935, p.49.

of the background of Pour Don Carlos, the major influence is literary:

"Ces montagnes me parlaient sans doute, car je savais que c'était, derrière elles, la Galice, avec le petit roi captif de ses dix oncles. Plus tard j'ai longé en mer la côte catalane. A douze ans, dans un enthousiasme que je ne retrouverai plus, j'ai applaudi avec dix mille spectateurs Guerrita et Reverte, deux des plus grands estoqueurs de taureaux que l'Espagne ait jamais eus. Mais cette Espagne, malgré mes origines /albigeoises/ malgré le Cid et Gil Blas, malgré Carmen et Militona, je ne l'ai comprise et aimée vraiment que du jour où j'ai eu Barrès pour guide." (86)

Paul Morand, in the brief episode "la Nuit catalane" of Ouvert la Nuit, reveals that he is more interested in the points of contact between his characters than in describing the physical surroundings, which are generally the Europe of trains, taxis and cities. Henri Clouard summarises the cadre and atmosphere created, or rather utilised, by Morand in his cosmopolitan stories as:

"... gai, mais d'une gaieté de bar, au rez-de-chaussée d'une maison de fous. Sous les lampes de casinos, c'est brillant et triste comme la crête d'une écume marine." (87)

The relationship of Concepción and Mateo is the centre of interest in Pierre Louÿs's la Femme et le pantin. The movement and pace of the story, due partly to Mérimée's original creation, is sustained by the superbly estimated mixture of eroticism and the picturesque. The picturesque in this novel does not,

(86) Pierre Benoit, "Barrès et l'Espagne," l'Oeuvre de Maurice Barrès, ed.cit., p.334.

(87) Henri Clouard, Histoire de la littérature française du Symbolisme à nos jours, Paris, 2nd ed., Vol II, 1962, De 1915 à 1960, p.229.

however, take the form of description. As with Montherlant, Benoit, Peyré and Morand, the essentially European atmosphere of this novel is created through dialogue and action. Pierre Benoit acknowledged his debt to Barrès regarding Don Carlos, but he did not acknowledge the influence of Mérimée which continues into the twentieth century. Above all in characterisation is the stereotyped view of Spain present. We have seen that in the interpretation of the landscape there are unmistakable echoes of the Romantics. Of the group of authors under consideration here only Montherlant and Peyré seem to be able to break free from the descriptive conditions imposed by Mérimée. This is most obvious in la Femme et le pantin but may also be noted in the works of Barrès, in certain aspects of the characterisation of Soledad in les Bestiaires, and in Un Soir à Cordoue by Georges Grappe. (88)

Barrès in Greco, describes the typical Spanish beauty in a passage in which he attributes a daughter to el Greco:

"On connaît les beaux yeux, l'ovale pur,
le teint mat de la fille du Greco, mais, de
sa voix et des sentiments de cette émouvante
fiévreuse, rien ne nous est parvenu." (89)

In Du Sang..., Barrès gives similar characteristics to Simone, (90) and her dress reflects sensual pleasure. In true romantic manner Barrès wrote that Simone was "une fille romanesque" and she dies by her own hand like Dolorida, but not for the same reason. (91) With Violante in "Un Amour de Thule" we find the same characteristics, and even more closely associated with

(88) Georges Grappe, un Soir à Cordoue, Paris, 1926.

(89) Greco..., p. 348.

(90) Du Sang..., p. 26.

(91) Ibid., p. 49.

Mérimée's Carmen is "les Bijoux perdus", the cadre of which is the cigarrera in which five thousand Sevillanas work: "qui... font voir (sans plus de gêne que leurs yeux incomparables, leurs beaux cheveux ou leurs petites mains brunes), des bras ronds, des seins dorés, toute leur gorge, leurs mollets et par-ci par-là ces jolis bijoux..." (92) Barrès thus isolates the essential element - passion - which he encountered in, and found typical of, the cities of Andalucía, particularly those attractive to the Romantics - Granada, Córdoba, and Sevilla. It seems as though Barrès is convinced of the sensuality and voluptuousness of the inhabitants and seeks to represent this in images to support his premise. The result is the same as if he had chosen his title and then written the book.

Continually seeking documentation for his basic ideas leads Barrès to a forced simile or a strained image in poor taste, as for example: "Quel décor eût mieux convenu à ces émouvantes images que Cordoue... où toute femme nous assassine d'un regard et d'un tour de hanche sarrasins?" (93) or "Nous sommes une centaine qui regardons, à travers les grilles dorées, le prêtre dire sa messe, et j'appuie ma main sur la balustrade de jaspe, précieuse au toucher comme un beau corps de femme." (94)

As was his habit, Barrès has constructed his own synthesis and commentary on what he considered to be a typical Spanish woman:

"Tu es une fille d'Andalousie, une petite mule comme elles sont toutes, avec des pieds qu'enfermeraient aisément la main, mais qui

(92) Ibid., p.100.
 (93) Ibid., p. 97.
 (94) Greco..., p.358.

sont, après tout, moins des pieds dessinés de chrétienne que de gentils sabots tout ronds faits pour sonner à terre et scander les provocations dans les danses. Transportée de ta belle patrie, de Málaga, par exemple, où les femmes, les chevaux et le vin sont somptueux et lourds de vie, dans l'indigente Castille, tu manifestes par un contraste violent quelle opposition il y a entre ton génie libre et facile et ascétisme de la vieille Espagne." (95)

This synthesis is admirable in that it is an accurate résumé of Barrès's notions about Castilla, Andalucía, the dance, the physical characteristics of Spanish women and the general volupté he encountered everywhere. The sense of what Barrès found in Spain is conveyed by the essentially sensual vocabulary. Yet this passage also reveals the extent to which Barrès was dependent upon idées reçues, upon Spain as seen through the eyes of others, so that the result of his constant search for synthesis is a kind of voluptuous human Toledo. It seems as though Barrès was obsessed with the idea of volupté, he found it everywhere, and in almost every image there is a clear but distant echo of a Romantic who had preceded him. (96)

When Barrès has the opportunity in "Une visite à Don Juan" to develop the idea of volupté he demonstrates clearly that he understands the process of the rejection of pleasure and passion. In "Une Visite à Don Juan" the emphasis is not upon the early life of the man who "pour satisfaire sa frénésie de sensualité, assassina des hommes et fit pleurer toutes les femmes pâmées de sa séduction," (97) but upon the

(95) Du Sang..., p. 95

(96) e.g. the beggars in Du Sang..., p.38, and the children, *ibid.*, p. 96.

(97) Du Sang..., pp.103-104.

period of repentance which resulted in the paintings of Valdés Leal. However, as with other aspects of Barrès's commentary on Spanish subjects one is aware of the precursors - in this case Barrès's view is securely founded on Gautier, whose description of the same painting is found in España (Deux Tableaux de Valdés Leal) and in Tra los Montes.

Spanish characters have little importance in Du Sang..., or in Greco and the principal function of the occasional reference to people is to reinforce his general image of the proximity of Spain and the East - hence the recurrence of the word "garrasin" or his general image of volupté. In the Albaycin or at Sevilla his attention is taken by the tziganes or gitanes.

Joseph Peyré seems to be immune from Romantic influence, especially in his short stories. In le Savonneux, in which the narrator takes Evelyn, an American visitor, to see a corrida, he has some difficulty in explaining that the days of romantic Spain are past and that the twentieth century had arrived:

"J'eus assez de mal à expliquer à Evelyn que le temps des éventails, des castagnettes et du boléro était passé, et qu'elle aurait beau fouiller la foule d'Alcala qui longeait devant nous la terrasse d'"Aquarium", elle n'y verrait pas de toreros en costume court et le feutre cordouan posé sur le chignon." (98)

One is reminded here of the opening paragraphs of les Bestiaires, when Alban, after having blackened his hair with a leaden comb and bought Spanish clothes, arrives in Madrid to find that the style in vogue was the

(98) Peyré, le Savonneux, De Cape et d'épée, Paris, 1938, p.126.

same as in Paris - "le feutre disparut." (99) But the same cannot be said for Pierre Louÿs, who, in la Femme et le pantin wrote:

"Et au milieu d'injures violentes, elle cria 'Sois tranquille! tu ne me toucheras pas deux fois!' Elle fouillait dans sa jarrettière où tant de femmes cachent une petite arme..." (100)

Louÿs has taken the stereotype of Carmen, which had been immortalised by the Meilhac-Halévy-Bizet opera which was first performed in 1875, and brought the story up to date. The description of Concepción is pure Mérimée:

"Son corps souple et long était expressif tout entier. On sentait que, même en lui voilant le visage, on pouvait deviner sa pensée et qu'elle sou levait avec les jambes comme elle parlait avec le torse... Ses cheveux n'étaient que chatain foncé; mais à distance, il brillaient presque noirs en recouvrant la nuque de leur conque épaisse. Ses joues, d'une extrême douceur de contour, semblaient poudrées de cette fleur délicate qui embaume la peau des créoles. Le mince bord des ses paupières était naturellement sombre." (101)

To Mérimée's Carmen new erotic overtones have been added but the image remains basically the same. Louÿs could have called his creation Carmen, Pilar, Juana or Rosario as his correspondence with Claude Debussy reveals (102) but his choice of Concepción, or in its abbreviated form Concha was a reflection of his own

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- (99) Les Bestiaires, p. 393.
 (100) La Femme et le pantin, p.228.
 (101) Ibid., pp. 20-21.
 (102) Henri Borgeaud, ed., Correspondance de Claude Debussy et Pierre Louÿs, 1893-1904, Paris, 1945. Pierre Louÿs à Claude Debussy, 26 January 1895, p. 43.

erotic tendencies. (103) As in Barrès's "les Bijoux perdus" there is a visit to the cigarrera where the girls work" presque toutes... le torse nu" (104) which gives Louÿs the opportunity to offer some generalities about the beauty of Spanish women:

"... et je m'arrêtai plus d'une fois devant un admirable corps féminin, comme vraiment il n'y en a pas ailleurs qu'en Espagne, un torse chaud, plein de chair, velouté comme un fruit et très suffisamment vêtu par la peau brillante d'une couleur uniforme et foncée, où se détachent avec vigueur l'astrakan bouclé des sous-bras et les couronnes noires des seins."
(105)

In addition to the more erotic nature of the image, Concepción differs from Carmen in that her cruelty is not simply part of the process of retaining her freedom and individuality but is a deliberate construction to bait and frustrate Mateo, as he explains to André:

"Eh bien, en s'habillant chez elle, cette petite misérable s'était accoutrée d'un caleçon, taillé dans une sorte de toile si raide et si forte, qu'une corne de taureau ne l'aurait pas fendue, et qui se serrait à la ceinture ainsi qu'au milieu des cuisses par des lacets d'une résistance et d'une complication inattaquables."
(106)

(103) "Ceci dit une fois pour toutes, avoue qu'une jeune fille qui s'appelle 'Concha', comme ma dernière petite amie, réunit vraiment dans son nom tout ce qu'on peut exiger d'elle." Ibid. cf also: "C'est dans la rue du Candilejo que Carmen conduit don José pour se livrer avec lui à des exercices bien connus. Tu penses si j'ai voulu habiter là. Je n'en ai rien fait de peur des coups, car Candilejo il faut le battre. /quand il est chaud/ Ibid. and: "Je continue à ne rien faire de mes dix doigts, sinon des choses inavouables." Pierre Louÿs à Claude Debussy, February 1895, Ibid., p.43.

(104) La Femme et le pantin, p.86.

(105) Ibid., p. 89.

(106) Ibid., p. 151.

Montherlant, who generally, at least in the cycle following les Bestiaires, did not lose an opportunity to denigrate women, falls under the spell of Mérimée for his description of Soledad, although in this passage there are affinities with Manet's portrait of Lola de Valencia and Galli-Marié's stage creation:

"... Elle entre, elle est tout en noir, sur la hanche gauche une grande rose rouge, qui ondule avec la hanche dans le balancement de sa marche. Au bas de la robe courte, sous les éffilochages de la robe, apparaît le jupon de satin rouge, d'un rouge doré comme la blessure vive du taureau. Et sa bouche aussi est rouge. Il n'y a que ces trois rouges dans tout son être qui est pâle et noir. Pâle son visage poudré, pâle ses bras nus, pâles les bijoux d'argent dans ses cheveux noirs... Sa poitrine jaillit avec force du corset, et il y a au milieu une ombre, une vallée douce. Est-elle jolie... elle est parfaitement féminine."(107)

Presenting an image of a Spanish girl in the early part of the book, Montherlant uses words and phrases which had been part of the stock Romantic vocabulary. But gradually the reader becomes aware that she is not the familiar stereotype. Alban is not immediately captivated by her, in fact he finds her ugly, but after a visit to Isla Menor he comes to recognize her sensuality:

"Il la devinait sensuelle sans être perverse, comme les belles créatures de Murillo ont de la pureté sans idéalisme. Et l'avenir était ouvert. Elle était comme certains airs de musique, qui vous font croire que tout est possible." (108)

Although Soledad has many of the characteristics of the typical Spanish girl, including small feet, depth

(107) Les Bestiaires, pp. 443-444.

(108) Ibid., p. 450.

of passion is not one of them. (109) Carlos Galan Lores has noted that she cannot be considered as the "prototipo de la mujer española," (110) she is cold and coquettish, but with a highly developed sense of honour which does not take into account individual or national characteristics or differences. (111) Montherlant's characterisation is not completely successful, however, since the secondary aim of les Bestiaires, a slowly developing attack on the romantic presentation of themes of this kind, causes Soledad to disappear from the action, although this is necessitated by what McCormick has called the "shattering of the romantic pattern" (112) when Alban decides he will face the novillo and have nothing to do with Soledad. Although there is much in common between the Alban-Soledad relationship and the relationship between Concepción and Mateo and even Carmen and Don José, the characterisation of Soledad remains incomplete since the reader never knows the effect of Alban's decision upon her.

In la Petite Infante de Castille, the dancer has very little resemblance with a stereotype as Montherlant noted:

"Seules la petitesse et la maigreur de ses mains dénonçaient sa race: j'en aurais caché une tout entière dans la mienne." (113)

(109) Ibid., p. 418.

(110) Carlos Galan Lores, "lo Español en Montherlant," Cuadernos de Filosofía y Letras, Zaragoza, Serie I, No. 49, 1963.

(111) cf. Les Bestiaires, pp. 493-494.

(112) John McCormick and Mario Sevilla Mascareñas, The Complete Aficionado, London, 1967, p. 247.

(113) La Petite Infante de Castille, p.606.

This image had been used by Barrès in "Excuses à Bérenice", but in relation to feet. La Petite Infante really plays a very simple role in that she is the object of desire and at the last moment of renunciation - as in les Bestiaires - almost an object of piety. Michel Mohrt has commented that the hero of la Petite Infante de Castille is Alban, fifteen years older; Soledad has become a cabaret dancer. Since Alban tired of the arena he has lost his fervour and serious approach to things Spanish and seeks only pleasure. In essence this is a justifiable conclusion, but one must also take into account that this development is alternance on a grand scale, whereas les Bestiaires or la Petite Infante de Castille judged individually reveal the same process in a limited period of time.

Allegria, in Pour Don Carlos, is based on "la Haine emporte tout" by Barrès. After giving her fortune to support the cause of Don Carlos, Allegria becomes the mistress of fourteen soldiers and finally surrenders to Olivier. She is scarcely described in the novel but throughout one is aware of the dual nature of her personality. Alternately, there is revealed her almost manly toughness and pride which contrast with moments of docility and gentleness. However, since the success of the novel depends on intrigue and pace, characterisation remains at a superficial level.

Joseph Peyré's conception of an Andalusian woman does not fall into the romantic stereotype although Pilar is a dancer. Peyré's presentation of her is realistic, almost mundane:

"Amincie par son manteau noir aux épaulettes larges, au col bordé d'un lisère d'astrakan, elle avait un profil délicat, des cheveux

blonds mal décolorés, dont on apercevait à la tempe la racine brune. Un maquillage trop hâtif des lèvres prouvait qu'elle n'avait guère regardé son miroir. Je fus surtout sensible à son naturel, à l'impression de fragilité qu'elle laissait, et à laquelle ne m'avaient guère habitué les femmes en chair de Madrid." (114)

The Romantic dream is coming to a close. In this world of men, the only women to have any importance are purely functional, mistresses or mothers. Sensuality is no longer a matter of appearance, voluptuousness is not an attractive characteristic. Peyré's world is the world of reality and fear, the background is one of nascent revolution. In addition the tone of Peyré's descriptions of Spanish women is coloured by his belief that modern dress negates the attractiveness of them :

"Lorsque la danseuse gitane, devenue une petite Madrilène, portait, comme ce dimanche d'octobre, un tailleur de laine beige, jupe longue et jaquette de mauvaise coupe, il fallait de la tendresse pour l'emmener." (115)

Pilar of Sang et lumières and Maricruz of Maricruz are women who have a job to do. They are both dancers, both caught up in the engrenage of the corrida and the pattern of their lives is governed not by their own whims but by the long hours and exacting toil of the night-club entertainer. Yet they remain essentially feminine, contrasts in a world of men, where men dominate and eventually cast them off voluntarily as Pablo finally rejects Maricruz, or involuntarily as Ricardo is killed in the arena.

Morand's Doña Remedios personifies Spain in his

(114) Sang et lumières, p.66.

(115) Peyre, Maricruz, De Cape et d'épée, p.165.

eyes, although physically she bears little resemblance to the literary stereotype.

"A ses mains... à ses pieds... à ses cheveux... au chignon tordu comme un linge, ruisselant de strass on retrouvait l'Espagne." (116)

But no aura of romantic Spain surrounds the image of the Spanish woman in general. At the corrida, seeking out Doña Remedios among the crowded barreras, the narrator describes the scene:

"... désormais l'une de ces mille lueurs flexibles, l'un de ces corps repus de siestes, gonflés de sucre, émus de vœux et de présages, un femme espagnole." (117)

The beggar, one of the commonplaces, with the robber chief, of the Romantics, particularly in the theatre, is represented en passant by Barrès, Larbaud, Peyré and Montherlant. In Du Sang... Simone encounters "des mendiants demi-nus, de tous sexes" (118) who followed her crying "Bonita caramella" and "merito, senora, cinco centesimos." (119) Larbaud's representation appeals more to the readers' sensitivity in a delicate evocation of his memories:

"Entre Cordoue et Séville est une petite station, ou sans raisons apparentes. Le Sud-Express s'arrête toujours.

.....
Et au bruit du train une marmaille loqueteuse en sort. La soeur aînée les précède, et s'avance tout près sur le quai.

Et, sans dire un mot, mais en souriant,

Elle danse pour avoir des sous.

Ses pieds dans la poussière paraissent noirs;

Son visage obscur et sale est sans beauté;

Elle danse, et par les larges trous de sa jupe couleur de cendre,

{116} Morand, "la Nuit catalane", p.19.

{117} Ibid., p.44.

{118} Du Sang..., p. 40.

{119} "Bonito caramelo"; "merezco, señora, cinco céntimos."

On voit, nues, s'agiter ses cuisses maigres,
Et rouler son petit ventre jaune;" (120)

In Sang et lumières Peyré gives two brief vignettes of street scenes in which beggars play a part. The colourful posters advertising Ricardo Garcia's return to the arena attracted small groups of people, but there were larger groups around a small child who, helped by his mother, picks out the melody of l'Internationale on a harmonium. The refrain is taken up by a blind accordionist - "L'Hymne Socialiste était en ce temps-là l'air des rues le plus aimé de Madrid." (121)

The second brief evocation of the visible poverty of Spain occurs just before Ricardo is to leave for the arena. An old lady plays Ricardo's pasodoble on a barrel-organ in the street below his balcony; the effect upon him is immediate and in harmony with the growing fear which grips him. More important than the conventional beggar portrait, which in Romantic literature tended to become fused with the presentation of the bandit, Peyré's vignettes are added elements very closely allied to the central theme of the novel and also fill in background detail essential to the climate of Madrid in the throes of growing revolution.

In les Bestiaires Montherlant briefly sketches the poverty of the country districts by presenting a scene similar to that drawn in Larbaud's poem Images. As Alban travels in the train towards Huelva he notes that each station has its beggars. Alban is touched - "il aimait les enfants, les vieillards, les pauvres,

(120) Larbaud, A.O. Barnabooth, Poésies, Oeuvres complètes, Vol 4, pp. 94-95, Images.

(121) Sang et lumières, p. 198.

et ne détestait que les gens qui prétendent (et aussi ceux qui le gênaient)." (122) This brief episode is but tenuously linked to the main thread of the novel, but is effective, since Montherlant presents, in a few lines, a variety of types, a selection of those with whom Alban comes into contact during his journey.

The view of beggars as poor as against picturesque may reflect the realisation that Spain was out of step with the standard of living in the rest of Europe and consequently reveals aspects of the new social conscience of the twentieth century. Beggars are commonly children or women, and they retain a certain charm despite the reality of their representation.

Larbaud had often made notes about the grace and beauty of Spanish girls and in his Journal inédit he recorded, in English as usual, his general impressions:

"This morning I got up early, still full of that song, - the small clear voice, so easy, so laughing - and the manner, that "de soslayo" way of passing by, of smiling; the thing I like best in Spanish girls is their way of walking, of talking." (123)

From the girls who live in the bourgeois families of Lucenta, Luis Losada made his friends and sought his "moitié d'orange." Luis falls in love with Lolita Carbonella, Carmen Noguera and Amparito Llorca, descriptions of whom are based on notes in Larbaud's Journal. (124)

Contrary to the collective image of the previous period of literature the dominant Spanish personalities

(122) Les Bestiaires, p. 457.

(123) Larbaud, Journal inédit, Vol 9, p.267.

(124) cf. Frida Weissmann, l'Exotisme de Valery Larbaud, Paris, 1966, pp. 145 - 146.

in imaginative literature from 1890-1936 seem to be women. There are few male Spanish characters described. In Montherlant's les Bestiaires the dominant character is Alban de Bricoule, who, though affecting Spanishness, is French. Of the other characters, el Duque de la Cuesta is a typical señor de Andalucía, who owns his ganaderías, a man of the land as well as moving in city society. Don Ali, Esparraguerra, Jesús, Buñuelo, all are secondary characters moving only in relation to Alban. Jesús is drawn most sympathetically by Montherlant. He is young, courageous, ambitious, displaying characteristics which Montherlant admired.

Barrès, represented in Du Sang..., by Delrio, is French. Loti's Ramuntcho is "contrebandier et joueur de pelote - deux choses d'ailleurs qui vont bien ensemble et qui sont basques essentiellement," (125) and Gracieuse says "Je suis Basque comme toi." (126)

In la Femme et le pantin the action centres on the contact of André Stévenol with Don Mateo Diaz - "un Espagnol d'une quarantaine d'années... surtout connu par l'histoire de sa chambre à coucher." (127) The character of Don Mateo, however, is drawn by deduction from his relationship with Concepción.

Morand's "la Nuit catalane" is a further examination of the relationship between a first person narrator of French nationality and a Spanish woman. In Larbaud's unfinished Luis Losada, the characteristics

(125) Ramuntcho, p.19.

(126) Ibid., p. 59.

(127) La Femme et le pantin, pp. 43-44.

of Luis and Salvador are briefly presented. As for other aspects of this novel, Larbaud has drawn upon his experience and notes for details of the inhabitants of Alicante and la Mancha who are thinly disguised with invented names. Larbaud himself noted the technique he used:

"Luis et Salvador, je les connais bien. Deux modèles vus et observés fournissent à Luis son histoire, son aspect physique et quelques traits de son caractère; le reste est une invention. Quant à Salvador, des traits empruntés à tous les Levantins que j'ai connus de Valence-du-Cid à Orihuela se combinent aisément pour former cet homme tout extérieur, au fond duquel il n'est pas difficile de retrouver Sancho Panza." (128)

But although Luis is Spanish he is not any more essentially Spanish than Barnabooth is essentially South American. Luis Losada feels that he is a citizen of the world:

"Pour moi je me sens de jour en jour plus désaffectonné, plus indifférent à tout ce qui m'entoure, et pour tout dire, moins d'ici, moins lucentin, et même moins espagnol. Allons donc! Je suis Catalan, je suis Français, je suis Américain, je suis citoyen du monde." (129)

Losada, having received his inheritance, settles in Barcelona to study law and to enjoy the intellectual environment, but four years later he is tired of this ambiance and goes to live in Lucenta. In Lucenta he lives with an old widow who despises the town and its inhabitants. While working in the Hotel de Ville Losada meets Salvador Ramos who becomes his closest

(128) Larbaud, "Sa moitié d'orange," Oeuvres complètes, Vol I, p.99.

(129) Larbaud, Luis Losada, fragment published in Frida Weissmann, op.cit., p.141.

friend. The novel follows Losada through his relationships with a variety of girls of Lucenta and the fragment ends with a disenchanted hero and no hint of what would follow. Although incomplete, the ideas contained in Luis Losada indicate that this would have been Larbaud's most exotic work, the principal character is international in conception, the cadre essentially Spanish constructed from closely observed and well-documented reality. The main characters Losada and Ramos are complementary since Ramos, as mentioned above, is "un homme tout extérieur".

Hemingway's influence is clear in Peyré's novel Sang et lumières in that Peyré makes use of a narrator very much like Jake Barnes in The Sun also rises. (130) The narrator, Peyré himself, is called José, a business man who comes to Spain to meet an old friend, the aging matador Ricardo Garcia. Garcia plans a re-emergence from retirement and to do this has to face the rivalry of the younger matadores Niño de Coria, Manuel Gomez and Villareno. Garcia's wife is in hospital with tuberculosis, his mistress is suspected of being involved with a drug-peddling group in Barcelona's night-life.

Garcia has been badly injured in a corrida and has to face the bulls again to finance his business affairs and to support his mistress. The development of his character in the novel is closely linked to the approaching corrida, his increasing fear and the demands of the public. Garcia is seen as an object

(130) Ernest Hemingway, The Sun also rises (Fiesta in England), first published 1927. This technique is also used by Peter Viertel in another novel about the corrida, Love lies Bleeding, New York, 1964, in the person of Belden.

of sacrifice demanded by the crowd, and his death is inevitable; the inevitability is recognised by Garcia as he is carried from the arena after his cornada:

"La voix de Ricardo, venant de loin, de très loin déjà, répétait en avant de nous, comme une leçon apprise d'un autre, de Varellito, de Varellito lorsqu'on l'emportait: - Vous l'avez voulu, vous l'avez... vous l'avez voulu, vous l'avez... Il me l'a donné, vous l'avez..."
(131)

This final demand for sacrifice, a vivid portrayal of the crowd, whom Ibañez considered to be the true and only wild beast in the arena, has been developed in literature in several ways. (132) Barnaby Conrad's Death of a Matador (1952) is probably the latest in the series devoted to this aspect of the corrida (133) but the basic idea is also presented in W.H. Auden's poem Horae Canonicae. (134) Although there are reminiscences of Ibañez in Sang et lumières, the reference to Varellito is factual.

Ricardo Garcia's world is one of night-clubs and Hispanos, the outward signs of easy living, but he is gripped by fear, ridiculed by the press and public alike. Peyré's characterisation technique is dominated by the milieu in which his toreros move, and as with the bulls, he tries to present as many types as possible within the framework of his récit.

(131) Sang et lumières, p.250.

(132) Vicente Blasco Ibañez, Sangre y Arena, Valencia, 1908, the final line of the book.

(133) Barnaby Conrad, Death of a Matador (Matador in U.S.), London, 1953, p.127.

(134) W.H. Auden, Horae canonicae, in W.H. Auden, selected by the author, London, 1958, pp. 177-194. particularly in "Nones", "All if challenged would reply, - 'it was the monster with one red eye, A crowd that saw him die, not I." (p.185).

In "Dimanche Six Pablo Romero" the background of the Cuadrilla is presented as one of pervading dismal lassitude, summarised by Peyré in the préface in the words of Miguel:

"José, j'ai toréé à Barcelone, et j'ai toréé à Burgos. J'ai défilé avec les miliciens. J'ai défilé avec les maures. C'est toujours le taureau qui sort." (135)

Le Messie has as its hero Paco - Niño de Vallecas in the arena - whose professional career ends ignominiously at Candelaro in his first corrida. This story influenced Angel M. de Lera who from the basic idea developed los Clarines de Miedo. (136) Rafaë in le Jour de Raphaë resembles Ricardo Garcia. At the end of the story Raphaë was still repeating:

"Aujourd'hui, c'est mon jour... je coupe l'oreille ou j'y reste... je coupe l'oreille ou j'y reste. Et il tint sa seconde promesse." (137)

Jorge-Juan also returns to the arena, but first he is faced with a manso, then a resabio. The same theme is taken up in Deux Revenants.

Peyré's world is peopled by a great variety of types based on closely observed models, each having a function closely linked to toreo. He succeeds in making his characters live not because they are complete characters but because, in the closely-knit society he describes, each character has a carefully defined but strictly limited role. In Sang et lumières Peyré presented an overall view of the milieu taurin:

(135) De Cape et d'épée, préface, p.10.

(136) Angel M. de Lera, los Clarines del Miedo, Madrid, 1960. trans. Ilsa Barea, The Horns of Fear, London, 1961.

(137) Peyré, le Jour de Rafaë, De Cape et d'épée.p.160.

"Banderilleros secs et durs comme des lads, ou obèses comme des femmes, cheveux collés, mentons bleus rasés jusqu'au sang, picadors poids lourds, qui écrasaient les marbres sous leurs coudes et sous leurs poings lacés de cuir, adolescents brûlés comme des havanes, toreritos aux pochettes et aux foulards voyants... managers aux doigts chargés de chevalières, paysans des plateaux de Castille, Basques... Andalous..." (138)

Peyré is here concerned with showing the variety of types in a rather special society and introduces this image, which in its structure resembles a glance around a crowded room, with the comment that since he did not know their names "je ne distinguais d'eux que des images types." (139)

All Peyré's récits are influenced by the chain of events in the milieu, which took place in 1934. On 5 August 1934, Juan Jimenez, a banderillero, was killed, as was an espontáneo. The same day in la Coruña, Belmonte's sword, inaccurately placed, sprung from the bull's neck and killed a spectator. Ortega, fighting in the same arena as Belmonte, received the news that his brother had been killed in Madrid. Returning by car from la Coruña, Ortega's car catapulted into a gorge and his cousin, Francisco Caballero, was killed instantly. Ortega could not fight in Mazanares the following week and Ignacio Sanchez Mejías, who had made a comeback that season agreed to take his place, against the advice of his cuadrilla. Sanchez Mejías drew his own bull at the apartado, the first time he had done so. He died in the clinic at Madrid - his friend Federico Garcia Lorca, destined to live only two years longer, wrote the masterpiece in

(138) Sang et lumières, p.32.
 (139) Ibid.

miniature Llanto por Ignacio Sanchez Mejías, with its haunting repetition of "a las cinco de la tarde" to lament and commemorate the death of this popular matador. (140)

These events, added to the fact that revolutionary activity, particularly in the major cities in Spain, was increasing, cast a gloom over society in general and deeply affected the people with whom Peyré came into contact. The public came to realize that the brilliance and glitter of the arena was a facade behind which the actors in the drama lived lives often haunted by fear, uncertainty and financial insecurity. Both sides of the spectacle are presented by Peyré, principally through Ricardo Garcia.

As we have noted the cadre and Spanish character were utilised in different ways, yet the overall impression is that certain tenets of the Romantic interpretation of Spain remained in various guises. There is, however, a much closer integration of character and action. Generally the same judgement may be applied to the utilisation of certain aspects of Spanish life found in imaginative works - toreo and the music in particular - although more attention is given in this period to religion in Spain than previously.

Barrès's reaction to the corrida was immediate fear - the reasons, however, are not clear. Montherlant affirms that Barrès left the arena after the death of the first bull. In his description of the lidia, Barrès again has recourse to Gautier's impressions:

(140) Federico Garcia Lorca, Llanto por Ignacio Sanchez Mejías, The Penguin Book of Spanish Verse, London, 1st ed. revised, 1960, pp. 386-396.

"D'abord quatre chevaux furent éventrés. Sur le silence de cette foule, j'entendais, sourde comme un éclaboussement, l'entrée des cornes dans ces ventres. Impression sinistre de convoquer la mort dans une fête! Je ne sentais plus qu'une par-dessus nous tous, et j'en étais contracté de terreur. Puis le jeune dieu de la nature, le taureau aux naseaux sanglants, ramassé, furieux, plus beau qu'un homme passionné, secoua sur ses cornes une pauvre loque, si molle et lamentable, de cavalier." (141)

Barrès was unfortunate in his first encounter with the corrida, as he reports that the matador was "maladroit, trop comédien dans ses broderies collantes" and that he "laissa quatre épées dans la bête, héroïne qu'il fallut poignarder par dessus la barrière." (142) There are also affinities between Barrès's interpretation and that of Quinet but it is for Barrès to exclaim: "La course de taureaux, c'est la banalité de l'Espagne. (143) Barrès lacked depth in his appreciation which displays a lack of fundamental knowledge. It is only when, in another context, he draws a comparison that we may see the brilliant image of the final tercio:

"Au dernier acte d'une course en Espagne, quand l'espada a mal planté son épée et que, demi-assassiné, le taureau blanchi d'écume et beugle, on voit, pour en finir, le cachetero sauter par-dessus la barrière. Le coup de grâce! Le couteau court et atteint la moelle: la bête tombe, lourde, foudroyée." (144)

Although during the period 1850-1890 the corrida had degenerated, polemical works had continued to appear, and further attempts to introduce the spectacle into northern France took place towards the end of

(141) Du Sang..., p. 112.

(142) Ibid.

(143) Ibid., p.113.

(144) Barrès, Leurs figures, ed.cit., Vol IV, p.350.

the century. It was this turn of events which led Léon Bloy to write Christophe Colomb devant les taureaux. However, Bloy undermines any validity his arguments may have by his opening statement:

"Je ne me souviens pas d'avoir jamais visité l'Espagne, et je n'ai jamais assisté, même en rêve, à une course de taureaux. J'entends une de ces vrais courses où la bête furieuse éventre des chevaux et parfois des hommes, à la délirante joie d'un vrai public espagnol."
(145)

Bloy is obviously the kind of critic Montherlant refers to in les Bestiaires:

"... mais les taureaux n'étaient pas 'reçus' par les gens qui, à l'heure du fumoir, portent des jugements sur la façon de vivre des autres, et s'irritent qu'ils osent avoir des goûts qu'eux n'ont pas." (146)

The literary regeneration of toreo was occasioned by Sangre y Arena by Blasco Ibañez, translated by Hérèlle with the title Arènes sanglantes. The appearance of this work, which coincided with corridos of an exceptionally high standard being organised in the south of France brought attention once again to this typical aspect of life in Spain. Pierre Louÿs left Spain before the beginning of the 1895 season and thus did not have the documentation to introduce toreo into his Spanish novel. If he had seen a corrida his writing gives the impression that it would have suggested some digression or image. (147)

(145) Léon Bloy, Christophe Colomb devant les taureaux, first published 1890. Oeuvres, ed. Joseph Bollery and Jacques Petit, Paris, 1964, Vol I, p. 261.

{146} Les Bestiaires, p. 389.

{147} There is of course one image connected with toreo in la Femme et la pantin, supra, n.106.

Sangre y Arena, in which Blasco Ibañez attempted to follow the processes of Flaubert and Zola, presents with authority the observed truths of some aspects of the life of a torero, although there are several misinterpretations of details. It is, however, on the level of a grand plan that Ibañez contributed not only to a literary regeneration of the interest in toreo but also a projection into the twentieth century of the Romanticism of fifty years before, since his realistic approach could not be sustained. From the point of view of toreo, Ibañez, through ignorance or disinterest, does not quite know what to do with Juan Gallardo when he is face to face with the bull. However, in the process of bringing into the action Plumitas, the bandit, and Doña Sol, the aristocratic object of Juan Gallardo's love, the Romantic cliché is confirmed. The influence of Sangre y Arena is not to be found in these details. It is because Ibañez wrote with power and authority that the list of his imitators is long.

In "la Nuit catalane" Morand briefly depicts the atmosphere of the arena, but in his move by move enumeration of the acts there is no afición, no knowledge, consequently the emoción of the drama cannot be transmitted by the narrative. Short staccato statements with little colour and a great deal of irony lead to the final phrase:

"Est-ce d'une fin d'après-midi parfumée
d'anis, d'un chômage sentimental ou de cette
boucherie déchirante que je suis malade."(148)

"Cette boucherie déchirante" is a surprising phrase and is not in harmony with the preceding details of the corrida, in which is described a perfect kill. That

(148) Morand, "la Nuit catalane," p.46.

Morand's ignorance of the corrida was almost total is obvious from the statement that "Le rideau s'écarte et voici qu'un homme a passé au travers du soleil, laissant au taureau quatre banderilles en papier d'étain" (149) - banderillas are placed without the aid of the cape and in pairs, not four at once - and "l'homme recule de trois pas, essuie la sueur sur sa figure bleue et jaune, rejette sa coiffure en arrière d'un coup de tête théâtrale; il est chauve". (150) The matador takes off his montera at the beginning of the final tercio and would not risk a gesture of this kind which, besides being forbidden by the traditions of the arena, would be construed as an insult to the President.

Loti's comments on toreo are limited to descriptions of the course de taureaux which take place in the streets of Fuenterrabia and other towns during a fiesta. The fiesta described in Figures et choses qui passaient is the Alcalde de la mar. Larbaud's interest in toreo was slight; it is known that he visited the arena to see a corrida (recorded in the Journal inédit) but his reflections on the spectacle are limited to one or two inconsequential comments in his Journal.

The representation of the corrida is most clearly presented in the works of Montherlant and Peyré. The details recorded by these authors are naturally of much greater authenticity since both had close contact with the arena and the milieu.

Montherlant's les Bestiaires is largely autobiographical, particularly concerning the education of

(149) Ibid., p.45.
 (150) Ibid., p. 46.

Alban. Since the age of 13, when Alban saw a Corrida in Bayonne, the young man has felt a strange attraction to the arena. The following year he went to Spain and saw several corridas. A stay in the Camargue preceded his next visit and he arrived in Madrid complete with Cordoban hat impatient to get to the arena.

Alban is introduced to the Duque de la Cuesta, visits his ganadería and takes part in a tienta. His horsemanship attracts the attention of Soledad and with the cape his veronicas draw praise from the Duke and his companions. The novel continues with the theme of the Alban-Soledad relationship closely linked to Alban's growing skill in toreo. The novel moves via novilladas and the Semana Santa to the final sponsored novillada at Medina de los Reyes where Alban accepts to face Mal Angel, the bull chosen by Soledad to test his gallantry.

Montherlant's descriptions of the lances and pases in the novillada reveal his intimate knowledge of close cape work and the theory of terrenos. His writing has therefore a much greater sensation tauromachique than one encounters in Hemingway, whose wide knowledge is often obscured by sheer virtuosity. Hemingway's The Sun also rises is irretreivably marred by the introduction of Belmonte, subjected incidentally to a vicious verbal attack, into the narrative. Montherlant's description of the lidia is bettered only in le Chaos et la nuit, (151) in which toreo is used in a much more subtle way.

In the opening tercio of the spectacle at Medina de los Reyes, Montherlant presents a living picture of man and beast welded together in a series of lances:
(151) Montherlant, le Chaos et la nuit, Paris, 1963.

"Plus vite qu'il ne pensait, il l'eut dans sa cape comme un rude coup de vent qui lui fit de l'air, et il cligna des yeux. Mais ses pieds ne bougèrent que pour pivoter sur leur pointes: une force supérieure les rivait, bien indépendante de sa volonté. Il tordit les reins, étira les bras avec une lenteur, une douceur une puissance voilée incomparables; la cape, soulevée par les cornes, traîna sur le dos hirsute." (152)

Montherlant, knowing the sensation of emoción which is produced when matador and bull link in lances, gradually draws the two together until the bull stops. The second tercio is also realistically described; Patata, Gutierrez and Jesús each place one pair of banderillas. The final tercio is presented as part of the ritual of death. Alban has dominated the bull:

"Les passes rituelles se firent posées et majestueuses, semblèrent faciles comme les actes qu'on fait dans les rêves, douées de la noblesse et de la liberté surhumaines qu'ont les mouvements filmés au ralenti... la souveraineté de l'homme apparut à tous."(153)

Allied to this conception of toreo in its purest sense one must also recognize the exaltation of the physical, the cult of the body, which Montherlant had used in les Olympiques and which figures as a major theme in Marcel Carayon's now forgotten novel la Vie et les travaux de Manuel Henriquez, Matador de novillos. (154)

Peyré's conception of toreo is quite different from that of Montherlant. In his description of the atmosphere of the milieu in which the toreros live

(152) Les Bestiaires, p.556.

(153) Ibid., p.560.

(154) Marcel Carayon, la Vie et les travaux de Manuel Henriquez, matador de novillos; récit orné de bois gravés d'Hermann-Paul, Nîmes, 1924.

Peyré writes with authority and conviction. In the arena, however, the control which is apparent in his writing tightens so much that there is no life in the description. Manuel's first bull is killed quickly:

"Aussi Manuel le fit-il banderiller rapidement par ses peones, et, après une brève besogne de mulata, se disposa-t-il à l'achever, sous un redoublement de huées." (155)

Later in the corrida the crowd shouts for Garcia to execute "le quite de l'Eternité", but this rather vague notation is never brought to fruition. It is significant that as the final movements of the drama unfold the narrator covers his eyes and hears only the sounds from the arena. Peyré's strict control, his unwillingness to commit a bévue, perhaps strangles the narrative which is only brought back to life with "Ce fut le dernier son que j'entendis avant le choc." (156)

The same faults are apparent in the short stories which form the collection De Cape et d'épée. Although Peyré ensures variety by presenting a novillero, a torero even a torera, Maria-Isabel, the espontáneo, bulls which are manso or resabio, and a torero who kills recibiendo, there is no real detail, as the following extract, describing Florentino's attempt at a kill recibiendo, demonstrates:

"Lorsqu'il eut fini son travail de suicide, son travail fou entre les cornes, et qu'il lia l'étoffe rouge, vit-il la mort "en recevant", la grande mort que donnait Frasuelo, et qui couronnant de son éclair oublié une faena courageuse, pouvait jeter le public au délire?... La chose se passa contre les planches du deux. Le drap pourpre toucha le mufle.

(155) Sang et lumières, p.219.

(156) Ibid., p.249.

- Non, non! avaient hurlé des voix.

On distingue mal les phases d'un drame aussi rapide. Mais on entendit, de la barrera la plus proche, le craquement de côtes et la plainte de l'homme troué, et lorsqu'il retomba de la corne, on vit ses mains presser la plaie qui respirait." (157)

Peyré here uses the same technique as in the final act of Sang et lumières, the visual image gives way to an image constructed by sounds and the interpretation of them. He seems to avoid deliberately a visual description of the moment of death.

In the only description in which Peyré succeeds in transmitting emoción through his words, he reveals clear dependence upon the narrative of Montherlant's les Bestiaires, the particular instance mentioned earlier:

"D'un seul élan, baissant les cornes au sol, avec un souffle que nous entendîmes de notre barrière, le 'colorado' fonça dans la soie rose, et disparut au coeur de ses plis... Immobile, maître du rythme, Ricardo tournait sur ses talons à peine écartés, et pivotant, par le seul mouvement des ses bras, des poignets qui gouvernaient le leurre dans son essor et son repli, il retournait la masse fauve, et la ramenait à sa gauche, ralentie, conduite, envoutée. Et ainsi une fois, deux fois, trois fois... Quatre, cinq, six, elles y étaient les six passes liées, les six passes immobiles qui affirmaient à nouveau la signature admirable, l'art qui avait émerveillé Madrid." (158)

The similarities in vocabulary, movement and structure of this passage with Montherlant's description are obvious. Peyré has added a slow lance to the left, but does not give the total picture of man and bull linked as Montherlant had been able to. In addition to the

(157) Peyré, Deux Revenants, De Cape et d'épée, p.239.

(158) Sang et lumières, p.240.

influence of Montherlant, Peyré's work owes much to Sangre y Arena, more than the similarity of title, but there are important differences. Peyré's novel concentrates on the decline of Ricardo Garcia, whereas Sangre y Arena recounts the life of Juan Gallardo. Both novels end with death in the arena; death brought about by the failure of the matador to appreciate the decline of his physical capabilities and by the state of his mind troubled by the love of a woman. Sangre y Arena has as its setting Sevilla and Andalucía, whereas Sang et lumière takes place almost entirely in Madrid.

It may be fairly stated then that the value of Peyré's novel does not lie in the presentation of toreo but in the psychological analysis of the fear which grips Garcia, while as a secondary consideration much merit lies in the evocation of the unsettled atmosphere of the years preceding the Civil War.

The novel begins with the aftermath of a communist-guardia civil confrontation. Throughout the novel there are references to incidents of violence, perpetrated by the anarcho-sindicalistas. Local mayors are assassinated, there are bomb explosions, and outside Madrid the crops are burnt. These brief touches are more constructive than the trail which leads from one bar to the next and evoke sadly and sensitively the atmosphere of Madrid. The incident with the beggar singing the "Internationale" already mentioned above is an example of this technique. The short stories of De Cape et d'épée have the same documentary value in parts, but links with the picaresque, at times forced and unreal in their conception, tend to diminish the total effect.

The foregoing analysis of the presentation of the

corrida as a visual synthesis of certain aspects of Spanish life has emphasised attempts to portray the spectacle with realism. The torero is regarded as the symbol of courage, no longer as a symbol of Spain. There are, however, other considerations which must be taken into account, particularly in the works of Montherlant - the use of toreo as a symbol of sexuality and as a religious symbol. Barrès's comments are so brief that his narrative allows little scope for symbols; he does, however, refer to the bull as "le jeune dieu de la nature". Mindful of any possibility to link a visual image to the theme of volupté which he seeks to reinforce, Barrès in Leurs figures extends the image of the final tercio:

"A cette seconde /c'est le moment du coup de grâce/, un jour, aux toros de Séville, près de Sturèl, une belle jeune fille trouva l'un de ces gestes impurs de volupté qu'il y a dans les danses espagnoles, pour révéler, par un mouvement involontaire de tout son corps, que le douleur, le plaisir, quelque chose de suprême enfin avait pénétré!" (159)

The image is concluded rather tenuously and unsatisfactorily with a parallel with parlementarisme.

In les Bestiaires, torero is used not only as an essential element of the milieu in which Alban's education takes place but also as a support to the development of the theme of sexuality. Montherlant has examined, in this novel, the many possible links between toreo and sexuality. Alban's passions for the bulls is represented as an aspect of the lust of adolescence and this theme is continued through the novel until the moment of his rejection of Soledad. The

struggle between Alban and Soledad takes on much greater proportions when Mal Angel is implicated, and the pattern which evolves is three-cornered, involving conflict between Alban and Soledad, the pundonor of Spain and France, and Alban and Mal Angel. It is in the intensity of the confrontation between Alban and Mal Angel that this theme is most richly illustrated:

"... il n'y avait plus qu'une seule bouscoulade tragique des deux êtres fondus en un seul être, il n'y avait plus qu'une seule caresse brutale et continue où le garçon, rétrécissant à mesure la cape, serrait toujours plus le monstre contre lui, le rapprochait toujours plus de lui, comme on rapproche une femme qu'on va faire entrer dans sa chair." (160)

This image is taken up again in the final tercio, in the series of passes before Alban kills the bull. Alban can dominate Mal Angel because he feels that bonds of love bind them together:

"Tel le poète que secoue l'inspiration, tel le compositeur qui improvise, tel, dans le lit, l'homme tenant son bien-aimée nue lui fait prendre la forme qu'il veut avec ses longues caresses tâtonnantes, tel Alban caresse le taureau, son élan et son âme, façonne la vie qui se dévore elle-même à mesure, dans l'ivresse et la douleur de la création." (161)

This parallel between love and the classical theory of parar, templar y mandar is continued up^{to} the moment of death. Alban places the second sword and Mal Angel sinks to the sand; death is the supreme moment in the arena as sexual release is the supreme moment in love:

"Elle /La bête/ arriva avec emphase à la cime de son spasme, comme l'homme à la cime

(160) Les Bestiaires, p.555.
 (161) Ibid., p.560.

de son plaisir, et, comme lui, elle y resta immobile. Et son âme divine s'échappa, pleurant ses jeux, et les génisses, et la chère plaine. Et l'oeil brun et bleuâtre se fixa, grand ouvert sur la nuit." (162)

There is also a parallel in the relationship between Alban and Soledad and toreo. Alban's fascination for Soledad develops close to the bulls, they are drawn together at a tienta, and Alban demands that Soledad be worth fighting and overcoming. The images scattered through the narration emphasise the parallel between Soledad and la bête and although images are mixed - Montherlant is fascinated by images involving bovine and feline characteristics - he emphasises animality. When Soledad reveals that she is prepared to accede to Alban's demands subject to conditions which Alban considers dishonourable - his conception of honour is not Spanish, he explains - he definitively rejects Soledad.

Toreo as a symbol of religion is less successfully handled by Montherlant since in addition to occasional images there are considerable intrusions into the narrative. It is clear that Montherlant has sought out almost every possible connection between the bulls and phenomenology, anthropology and mythology. As with the theme of sexuality the final faenas provide the climax to this aspect of the novel. Alban is Catholic, but he honours Christ not as the Son of God but in his derivation from Mithra, the God of the Sun to whom bulls were sacrificed.

Mal Angel is the final bull to be faced by Alban, who, in a moment of indecision, cannot decide to whom he should dedicate the bull:

"Alban s'arrête au milieu de l'arène et se tourne vers Celui qui plane dans les airs. Comme il s'est pris un peu au dépourvu, il dit lentement, à voix forte, les premiers mots qui lui viennent à l'esprit: "Je dédie ce taureau au Soleil vaincu." Quelques personnes, qui n'ont pas compris, applaudissent."
(163)

This act is the culmination of Montherlant's exploration of the cult and the religious aspect cedes to the sensual in the final playing out of the drama.

The theme of torero is best presented in Montherlant's work in les Bestiaires of this period and in le Chaos et la nuit of more recent times, but before the outbreak of the Civil War, other works include views of this aspect of Spanish life. In "Barrès s'éloigne" Montherlant levels criticism at Barrès for not having understood the corrida, but this essay contains no positive revelation of details. In a series of essays, published as le Génie ou les fumisteries du Divin, Montherlant presents several profiles of the toreros practising between 1914 and 1929. (164) Among them are el Gallo and Belmonte, two men who between them occasioned a second renaissance of torero between the wars.

The essentially romantic attraction of the fiesta brava still remains apparent in descriptions of the corrida; there is still colour, movement, passion, and with Montherlant evidence of realistic emoción, but writers in the twentieth century have added a further dimension, which has been added to almost every

(163) Ibid., p.558.

(164) Montherlant, le Génie et les fumisteries du Divin, Paris, 1929. In the essay mention must also be made of Ombres et soleil d'Espagne, in which Raymond Recouly, in his presentation of the matador, Marcial Lalanda, counteracts the popular view that toreros are noceurs. Paris, 1934.

other theme. Not content with the purely visual presentation of the spectacle, Montherlant and Peyré in particular have continued the examination of the individuals who make up the milieu. The psychological processes undergone by the torero, the underlying conflicts, are now the raison d'être of a novel which has the corrida as a major theme. The world is very different from the world examined in Militona. Montherlant's work is also the means of self-revelation - he acknowledges his debt to Barrès in the face of violent sensation. Peyré's interest is more in the secret drama behind the glittering facade of Sang et lumières, but a drama which inevitably affects the outcome of the final confrontation in the arena.

Although in la Femme et le pantin, and la Petite Infante de Castille the action centres around a character who is a dancer, the representation of the Spanish dance and Spanish music is but incidental and with Loti and Barrès serves as a further reinforcement to the images linking Spain and the East. Loti notes that the Basques sing "en fausset nasillard, comme les Arabes" (165) but when presenting a visual scene Loti is more at ease describing the South-American dance, the Sema-Couëque, (166) or the Basque sword dance (167) than in his description of the guitarists, for which he has to rely on well-worn clichés:

"Maintenant les guitaristes chantent, tout en promenant sur les cordes des mains effrénées; la tête rejetée en arrière, les yeux clos comme par ivresse, la bouche largement ouverte, montrant des dents de loup, à demi pâmés, ils reprennent indéfiniment les mêmes vieux

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- (165) Figures et choses..., p.50.
 (166) Ibid., p.183 et seq.
 (167) Ibid., p.117 et seq.

airs, avec une sorte de furie, sur des notes trop hautes." (168)

It is not clear what kind of music is presented here as Loti refers to it as 'la chaude musique d'Espagne... Des fandangos, des jotas, des habaneras."

For Barrès the dance was an expression of voluptuousness, the children who follow Delrio and Simone are imbued with this and it is revealed as they dance. In his idealisation of Toledo he notes the sounds of the city:

"L'Afrique renaît dans les décombres des palais castillans. Une chanson orientale, celle-la même que chantait sempiternellement mon voiturier sur la route de Sparte, s'élève du milieu de cette côte brûlée pour affirmer la race indélébile. Ce qu'on entend le plus à Tolède, ce sont des chansons de Malagueñas, quatre vers sur une idée très compliquée. que les plus simples comprennent aisément." (169)

Barrès, continuing the links with the East, compares the sound of the Malagueña to the voice of the muezzin in a minaret. In a section of Greco, "la Musique à la promenade," Barrès notes the military music of the promenade only to shift his attention to the crowd and to muse upon their racial origins.

Concepción, in la Femme et le pantin, finds employment in a theatre as a dancer. Her dancing was incomparable - Louÿs reminds the reader that Concepción "était née flamenca" - and she is a specialist in a non-existent dance which Louÿs calls le flamenco:

"Je la vois toujours, avançant et reculant d'un petit pas balancé, regarder de côté sous

(168) Ibid., p.106.

(169) Greco..., p.361.

sa manche levée, pour baisser lentement, avec un mouvement de torse et de hanches, son bras au-dessus duquel émergeaient deux yeux noirs. Je la vois délicate, ou ardente, les yeux spirituels ou baignés de langueur, frappant du talon les planches de la scène, en faisant crépiter ses doigts à l'extrémité du geste, comme pour donner le cri de la vie à chacun de ses bras onduleux." (170)

Although Louÿs clearly knows little of the intricacies of Spanish dancing, here, unconsciously perhaps, he highlights the essential features of Flamenco. Contrary to the images presented by other writers, the sensuality of the dance lies, or should lie, in the expressiveness of the hands and eyes. In the Romantic period, emphasis on "des mouvements de torse et de hanches" represents a transposition of the northern European concept of sensuality to the southern European spectacle. In a most unlikely scene, in a dance specially arranged for two English tourists, Concepción demonstrates a more modern skill and Don Mateo is understandably surprised:

"Hélas! mon Dieu! jamais je ne l'ai vue si belle! Il ne s'agissait plus de ses yeux ni de ses doigts: tout son corps était expressif comme un visage... Il y avait des sourires dans le pli de sa hanche... sa poitrine semblait regarder en avant par deux grands yeux fixes et noirs... je voyais les gestes, les frissons, les mouvements des bras, des jambes, du corps souple et des reins musclés naître indéfiniment d'une source visible: le centre même de la dame, son petit ventre noir et brun." (171)

In this description Louÿs has introduced, but, as usual with more erotic interpretation, the features which figured in Romantic descriptions of the dance. This

(170) La Femme et le pantin, pp.177-178.
 (171) Ibid., pp. 186-187.

passage, while conforming to the idea which Louÿs has of Concepción, does not accord well with the local colour so evident throughout the novel. The incident illustrates the nature of Concepción, but the structure of the novel suffers from this interpolation which appears as a commercial after-thought.

In les Bestiaires, Montherlant describes the final pathetic saeta of the Semana Santa, clearly influenced by Blasco Ibañez, but in this novel there is nothing to equal the episodes in la Petite Infante de Castille when the narrator watches the dancer Dolores López. There is no brilliant recreation of the scene, but a psychological study of the effect of the music and beauty of the dancer upon the narrator. The theme of sexuality appears in brief images as in les Bestiaires:

"La musique soudain pareille à une femme:
elle vous remplit de frissons, comme un eau
froide dans les entrailles," (172)

and dominates the latter part of the récit. However, as Alban had in les Bestiaires, the narrator renounces the final pleasure and leaves for Paris - Montherlant notes in "Reflexion finale": "derrière ma fuite de Barcelone, je vois apparaître la morale patibulaire du renoncement." (173)

Reflections on the dances and dancers seen by Montherlant form "Le Journal des jeunes personnes," the final section of la Petite Infante de Castille. Some twenty dancers are noted with comments on their performance or physical attractions or both. The interest of this section is minor except that it represents a formalisation of the search for pleasure

(172) La Petite Infante de Castille, p.607.

(173) Ibid., p.645.

and reflects the state of mind of the author, which is to some degree counteracted by his comment in "le Carnaval noir" that "Malgré tout mon 'espagnolisme', le chant flamenco et la guitare, sans condiments, n'arrivent pas à me faire perdre la raison". (174) Montherlant's essay "Pour le chant profond" reveals a much greater understanding of the cante jondo than is apparent in his imaginative works where the effect of the music is of greater importance than a visual or aural image. (175)

Carlos Galan Lores has noted in Lo Español en Montherlant that through la Petite Infante de Castille we can see a Montherlant in crisis - "cansado, sin ilusión egoísta". (176) This view is supported by the comments of Pierre-Henry Simon (177) and Michel Mohrt (178) and also by Montherlant himself, writing at a later date:

"Ces trois livres des Voyageurs traqués sont le journal d'une crise: on m'y voit errant à droite et à gauche comme un scorpion, et vénimeux comme lui." (179)

Peyré's description of Spanish dancing is incidental to the récit and serves to emphasise the sadness of the fear which grips Ricardo Garcia as the hour of

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- (174) Montherlant, "le Carnaval noir," Essais, p. 352.
 (175) Montherlant, "Pour le chant profond," Essais, pp. 600-612.
 (176) Carlos Galan Lores, "lo Español en Montherlant," p. 17.
 (177) Pierre Henry Simon, Procès du Héros, Paris, 1950, pp. 60-61.
 (178) Michel Mohrt, Montherlant, homme libre, Paris, 1943, p. 118.
 (179) Montherlant, Préface de 1939 à un Voyageur solitaire est un diable, Essais, p. 341. The three books of the Voyageurs traqués are: Aux fontaines du désir (1927), la Petite Infante de Castille (1929) and le Voyageur solitaire est un diable (1925-1929).

his return to the arena approaches:

"Et c'était, dans le nuage de fumée de tabac, l'odeur des alcools renversés, le miracle d'une voix pathétique qui chantait la solitude, le désert de la marisma du Guadaluquivir, du Fleuve nostalgique et triste, charriant comme le Don ses ciels écrasant et ses nuages. Puis la voix défaillait ainsi qu'un jet d'eau, une lance jaillissante et brisée. Était-ce là l'incantation, la drogue que Ricardo cherchait auprès des musiciens gitanes? Je le voyais peu à peu repris, éloigné par un charme qui m'échappait." (180)

As with action in the arena - the narrator closes his eyes or maintains that the drama unfolds too rapidly to be described - here Peyré's control detracts from the visual image. The charme "qui m'échappait" is another instance of the narrator declining responsibility for a closer description. The presentation of the dance and music, however, is subordinate to the psychological analysis of Garcia which is the main point of the novel.

In Valery Larbaud's Journal inédit there are several references to the tertulia and preparations for the verbena de barrio, but in his imaginative works there are no descriptions of music and dancing. Larbaud was primarily interested in family life and relationships between people. After making his "plunge deep into Spanish life" he finds his interests founded on action and reaction within the cadre, and aspects of Spanish life, such as the corrida and the dance, lose a great deal of their exotic impact. When Larbaud meets a new acquaintance his tendency is to comment upon and analyse their speech habits or dress and to localise their person in relation to the rest of Spain,

(180) Sang et lumières, p.92.

not to the world as a whole. He is less interested in presenting a visual interpretation, except perhaps in his poetry where Spain occupies a minor place.

It has been noted that, despite the importance of religion in the daily life of Spanish people, representations of religious ceremonies or evidence of faith in works written before 1890 were limited to isolated words and gestures. There was no serious examination of religious problems in works of fiction. It was to some degree, the appearance of Sangre y Arena which influenced Montherlant in this respect, but even before les Bestiaires Barrès and Loti had incorporated some elements of religious life in their works.

Barrès emphasises the volupté of church architecture in Spain and when this concept becomes fused with themes of the African-Moorish heritage and the contrast between north and south he allows a vague current of religiosity to permeate his descriptions. However, as usual, it is the analysis of Barrès's own sensations, sometimes over-simplified, sometimes in poor taste, which is most clearly revealed. One is aware of the essential catholicism which Barrès seeks to describe but the effect of the history, the asceticism and other factors on Spanish life and moeurs is scarcely touched on and remains subordinate to the grand contrast theme of which the reader is constantly reminded. It is only in connection with Simone that Barrès describes the effect of adherence to the Catholic faith:

"Enfant, elle avait pleuré quand on faisait des plaisanteries contre le pape. Sa religion s'était beaucoup développée à être contredite par des protestants." (181)

The essential traits of belief, as they appeared to Barrès, are presented, in rather a confused way, in "De la volupté dans la dévotion."

Loti on the other hand wrote, while at the sanctuary of Loyola:

"...j'éprouve bien, tout au fond de moi-même, une répulsion instinctive, peut-être une vieille rancune de huguenot, en face de cette Compagnie de Jésus." (182)

Yet it is with sympathy that he describes a marriage at Zumarraga (183) and in Ramuntcho the Toussaint as it is celebrated in the Pays basque, (184) but with emphasis on the colour and the movement. The result is a superficial description which does not approach the depth of understanding apparent in Loti's symbolic use of the church bells.

One is made aware of the essential catholicism of Spain by regular references to the marking of the hours by Church bells:

"Et dans le vide sonore, de temps à autre tintent les antiques cloches d'église, appelant mieux les hommes aux cultes défunts, pendant ces recueils étranges; Fontarrarie, Hendaye, les couvents de moins, sonnent, sonnent, appellent, avec les mêmes timbres vieillis, les mêmes voix qu'aux siècles d'avant." (185)

For the messe de minuit Loti heard the sound of the bells drifting across the Bidassoa from Fuenterrabia, and he suggests that the life of the people is regulated by them. This symbolic link between church and people is clearly indicated in Ramuntcho where there is the image of the united Basques, for whom the frontier

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- (182) Figures et choses..., p.63.
 (183) Ibid., p.56
 (184) Ramuntcho, p.30.
 (185) Figures et choses..., p.50.

does not exist:

"Onze heures maintenant, les cloches de France et d'Espagne sonnait à toute volée et mêlant par dessus la frontière leurs vibrations des religieuses fêtes." (186)

The passing of time, the indication of the time of year by the nature of the religious festival are important aspects of Ramuntcho, for in this way the community is drawn into the action of the story. On at least one occasion Loti uses an identical image but this detracts little from the function of the image in the novel. (187) The same device is found in Figures et choses qui passaient, while in Ramuntcho the image serves to assist in the establishment of tone:

"La cloche d'Etchezar, la même chère vieille cloche, celle des tranquilles couvre-feu, celle des fêtes et celle des agonies, sonnait joyeusement au beau soleil de juin." (188)

Sounds with religious associations are an important aspect of Loti's full appreciation of the Pays basque and in the same way that Barrès found the secret of Spain in the hidden recesses of the churches, Loti becomes aware:

"... écoutant sonner les vieilles cloches ou vibrer dans le lointain les vieilles chansons, je prends conscience de tout ce que ce pays a gardé au fond de lui-même de particulier et d'absolument distinct." (189)

(186) Ramuntcho, p.30.

(187) cf passage quoted above, (n.186) and Ramuntcho, chapter 13: "On est au soir de Pâques, après que se sont tues les cloches des villages, après qu'ont fini de se mêler dans l'air tant de saintes vibrations, venues d'Espagne et de France ,"p.92.

(188) Ramuntcho, p.134.

(189) Figures et choses..., p.51.

The récit of la Femme et la pantin depends so much upon the exterior action that there is no place for analysis of the religious aspects of life in Spain, although the novel does begin with a superficial recreation of the fiesta of the domingo de piñatas in Sevilla, and Concepción feigns devotion after she has deceived Don Mateo by saying: "Je serai folle jusqu'ou Dieu voudra, mais pas jusqu'ou voudront les hommes!" (190)

The religious theme in les Bestiaires has already been mentioned briefly. The connection between the corrida and Mithraic cults do not really form part of the image of Spain, as the often tenuous links are superimposed by Montherlant and do not arise from his analysis of aspects of Spanish life. In les Bestiaires, however, one of the central passages is the evocation of the procession of Semana Santa in Sevilla. This episode owes much to Blasco Ibañez's description in Sangre y Arena and despite Montherlant's attachment to Spain and his deep understanding of the processes of the Spanish mind he is unable to describe the procession from within as Ibañez had done. For Ibañez and for Montherlant the pagan and Christian aspects of the fiesta are inextricably linked. Montherlant's description is not as colourful or immediate as Ibañez's and lacks penetration. Montherlant's recreation reveals that themes of the Mithraic cult, of Rome, and of sensuality are interrelated and interdependent. His attraction to one of the Virgins on the paso is sensual not religious, his touch is satisfied by putting his hands on someone standing in front of him. These themes are united, however, in

(190) La Femme et le pantin, p.152.

following passage:

"Certaines fois, frappé d'amour pour une figure de paso, une vierge, un ange, ou seulement le dos musclé d'un des centurions qui flagellent le Sauveur... Alban se levait et se mêlait à la procession." (191)

The importance of religion in the lives of the toreros presented by Peyré is briefly but significantly touched on in Sang et lumières; the importance of the Virgen de Pilar is noted and the visit of the torero to the chapel before the corrida is mentioned, but it is in le jour de Rafaë that the faith of the torero is most clearly shown in the description of Rafe's room:

"Au-dessus du lit, une immense effigie sombre du Christ du Grand Pouvoir soutenant sa croix. Sur la table de chevet, près de l'une des veilleuses, deux ou trois images du même Christ, menacées par le courant d'air. En face de nous un petit autel de la Purissima, avec une seconde veilleuse devant l'icône, et dans l'angle, un autre image de la Vierge, entourée de fleurs blanches, qui donnaient un parfum de sanctuaire." (192)

Although in the works of Peyré examined here four toreros meet death in the arena, it appears that their faith remains with the objets de piété in the chapels or sordid hotel rooms, for no torero receives the last sacrament from the priest who is always present at a corrida. There is no hint in Peyré's stories of the terrible vulnerability which toreros feel immediately before entering the arena, no acknowledgement that when facing death the ritual, habitual religion of daily life becomes something of inestimable value.

In these works religion has a more important

(191) Les Bestiaires, p.474.
 (192) Le Jour de Rafaë, p.152.

place than in the previous periods mentioned, but most episodes are superficial and provide only passing glimpses of couleur locale.

Paintings have inspired nothing which may be compared to Gautier's poems or the Capricho poems by Baudelaire. The painter el Greco exerted a certain fascination upon Barrès, which led him to write Greco, ou le secret de Tolède, largely based on the work of others. Barrès had as his guide in Toledo the art critic Aureliano de Beruete, but despite this fact his work is little more than a popularisation of Cossío's studies with a few added personal judgements and facts, the former showing poor taste, the latter mostly wrong. (193)

Barrès has acknowledged that his work is little more than a re-presentation of Cossío's main lines of argument:

"C'est seulement au cours de l'année 1908 qu'un érudit espagnol, Manuel B. Cossío, a réussi à nous fournir quelques précisions. Essayons de saisir les points brillants qu'ils est, tant bien que mal, parvenu à dégager." (194)

There is of course importance in the way Barrès reacted to el Greco and to his work but the chief interest lies in his descriptions of the people and places of the city. Serious errors detract from the récit. Barrès depicts Toledo in Greco's time as being full of Roman ruins, Visigoth basilicas and Arab mosques; the chronology of the history concerning Felipe II is completely wrong; he confuses John the Baptist with the Conde de Orgaz in the Entierro; he

(193) Manuel Bartolomé Cassío (1858-1935), El Greco, Madrid, 1908.

(194) Greco..., p.346.

gives Greco a daughter he never had. Sensation, volupté, Barrès discovers these and presents them. Interpretation of Greco's works is almost nil and the value to the reading public who seeks information about Spain is minor. Greco was not very well received and art critics generally regarded it as 'littérature'. Curtius called it 'ein etwas enttäuschendes Buch.' (195)

El Greco, for Barrès, by the duality of his origins, is the supreme creator in art whose works reflect the mixture of East and West. Of the Entierro, Barrès wrote that it was "le chef d'oeuvre d'un sentiment à la fois arabe et catholique". (196) For Barrès Greco also expresses best the Spanish society of his age. It is not clear how far Barrès confuses the Byzantine and Islamic empires as influences in the life of Greco and in the same way as he makes Toledo the meeting point of the two Spains, Barrès shows that for him Greco is the supreme guide to Toledo and holds the key to a full understanding of the Spanish race.

Whereas Gautier in Deux Tableaux de Valdés Leal had constructed a poem around his impressions of Finis gloriae mundi and In ictu oculi, Barrès's approach is different. He goes beyond the painting, which he describes as "célèbre et horrible" (197) to delve into the history of Don Juan - Miguel Manara Vicentello de Leca - and returns to the painting in which he finds reflected:

"cette passion, cette gratuité dont il avait toujours été rempli..." (198)

(195) Ernst Robert Curtius, Maurice Barrès und die geistigen Grundlagen des französischen Nationalismus, Bonn, 1921, p.77.

{196} Greco..., p.338.

{197} Du Sang..., p.103.

{198} Ibid., p.105.

It is clear that, as in Du Sang..., the main thesis that Barrès wishes to present overcomes him from time to time and moves him to excesses of enthusiasm, but this is not to deny that in Greco he demonstrates a highly developed sense of the aesthetic control of language and some of his periods are of great lyrical beauty. However, the image remains confused, and consequently the work does not clearly fall into the category of essay or imaginative work. Montherlant's essay Sur le Greco, written in 1929, and forming part of Un Voyageur solitaire est un diable is a much more balanced appreciation of the painter.

Barrès's work clearly illustrates the difficulty, for the author and the reader alike, occasioned by the growth of Hispanic studies and the evolution of the récit de voyage. To a lesser degree this is also true of Montherlant, and there are clearly valid reasons why les Bestiaires and la Petite Infante de Castille should not be included among his romans. Barrès's work also illustrates that the factual essay is a more satisfactory genre for the impressions he wished to convey. Adventure and escapism mix poorly with the kinds of interpretations of Toledo which Barrès wished to make. His images of Spain, for these reasons, appear truquées, whereas with Benoit and Morand, where the emphasis is clearly on the action, and in Peyré and Montherlant, where a psychological interpretation dominates, the reader clearly knows the intentions of the author and is not disturbed in the course of reading the book.

Barrès's works Greco and Du Sang... may be said to represent the end of the series of Hispano-moresque themes in French literature. During the nineteenth

century, with the attention of major authors taken by other subjects, the genre was not renewed by new and vital influences or currents. The Guerres civiles and subsequent imitation and borrowings clearly influenced Barrès in his composition of "les Jets alternés de l'Espagne", in which the guide is exhorted to recount to Delrio and Simone the history associated with the Alhambra. In addition to Barrès's own comments and interpretations which emphasise the Moor-Castilian contrast of Spain, the great deeds of the past are evoked. The debt to Chateaubriand's Aventures du dernier Abencérage has already been mentioned, but although the Moor-Castilian relationship will remain in French literature, chiefly in the form of isolated comments and occasional brief vignettes, this great contribution to the themes and images in French literature dies on a low note.

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CHAPTER XV

- SUMMARY 1890 - 1936 -

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It has been noted that the most important literary phenomenon of the period 1890 to 1936 was the growth of Hispanic studies and that the factual or scientific interpretation of Spain was more imposing than was the interpretation in imaginative works. The fact that the authors whose works have been examined in the preceding chapter were attracted to Spain for mainly personal reasons is also significant in any assessment of the image presented by the collective imagination. As a consequence, contrary to the images of Spain found in the Romantic period, no common interpretation of Spain may be disengaged from the images presented in the period latterly reviewed.

It is clear that Barrès found what he was seeking in Spain. His interpretation, firmly based on Romantic precedents, is a reflection of his own nature and limited by his own powers of expression. There are

many similarities between Barrès's approach and Gautier's, and the resultant images have much in common. Barrès also reveals the influence of Quinet and Hugo regarding the philosophy of his approach to Spain and, as is perhaps foreseeable, the image of two Spains and its africanité, supported by Unamuno, dominate. It has been mentioned that Barrès uses these theories as a point de départ and the illustration of them involves him personally in a search to find supporting examples.

The fact that the récit de voyage in the nineteenth century sense was undergoing change is reflected in both Du Sang... and Greco... and it is perhaps consciousness of this metamorphosis and his attempts to break away from the conventional récit de voyage to more closely approximate the Hispanists' intellectual approach which makes Barrès's images seem forced and over-emphasised. Barrès understood Spain, but in the same way as Gautier - on a superficial level - and was unable to penetrate as deeply as Mérimée, Larbaud or Montherlant into an understanding of the soul of the country.

Louÿs's la Femme et le pantin is regarded generally as his chef d'oeuvre. One must admit that the structure of the story is exquisite, there is balance and pace and a carefully judged blend of the picturesque and the erotic. However, Spain for Louÿs was nothing more than a vehicle, a setting to be utilised. The interest of the novel lies in the universality of Concepción as a woman and of Don Mateo as a man. The fact that the novel is set in Spain neither supports nor detracts from the broad truths which Louÿs seeks to present. There are certain links with Gautier's Militona, but Louÿs has avoided the more serious shortcomings of

of Gautier's novel by a more smoothly running story and sustained pace.

Loti's images involving Spain are meagre and form part of a much wider exotic plan, which included not only his writing but his whole life. In writing of Spain Loti does little more than recreate images which had persisted since the days of the Romantics, and it is only in his unusual attachment to the sound of the church bells of Fuenterrabia and Hendaye that he achieves any novelty in this section of his work. But this is not to deny the value of Ramuntcho as an essentially Basque novel. Spain plays a minor role in the works of Morand also and, as with Loti, the images he presents are guided by traditional conceptions. As has been noted, Morand's understanding of toreo was almost nil. Morand's world is the complexity of Europe, and as a small part in his Ouvert la Nuit, Fermé la Nuit, the Spanish chapter is significant in that it completes the pattern, but the images presented in "Une Nuit catalane" reveal little depth when examined out of the context of the broader European image.

Pour Don Carlos is a complete illustration of Benoit's conception of the roman d'aventures. Yet the images of Spain presented in it seem clouded with uncertainty. Benoit expressed his debt to Barrès and although technically Pour Don Carlos is a successful development of the chapter "la Haine emporte tout", it has little more depth than Barrès's brief anecdote. Characterisation and cadre suffer at the expense of pace and continuous action and one is left with the impression that this novel could have been set in any war in any country. Benoit's couleur locale consists mainly of names of towns and people and there is no

real appreciation of hispanidad. Alegria - which should be written Alegría - could be of any nationality.

Of the writers whose works have been briefly examined here Montherlant, Peyré and Larbaud best penetrated the mysteries of the Spanish character. Larbaud, of course, had very close personal attachment to Spain and close involvement with Spanish society, although the reasons why he found England and Spain so similar remains a difficult question to resolve. Although Spain does not occupy a major place in Larbaud's imaginative works it is not difficult to appreciate his love for the country and his understanding for the people with the aid of his Journal. Larbaud's writings are typical of the twentieth-century cosmopolitan approach to literature and between his style and Morand's there are several points of similarity, the most obvious being economy and directness of expression.

Peyré's understanding of Spain reveals a much more serious attempt than that made by Barrès to understand the mental characteristics of the people, although it must be admitted that Peyré presents in Sang et lumières and the short stories of De Cape et d'épée a highly specialised group. Peyré very successfully portrays the milieu taurin and the background of fear and uncertainty which characterised Spain of the mid-1930's.

Of this group, however, it is Montherlant who best understood the varied faces of Spain. Montherlant may also be distinguished from other writers in this group in that he is the only one - Barrès excepted - for whom Spain coincides with a philosophy which is developing in his life as in his works. Barrès's view of Spain coincides with the philosophy with which

he approached the country and although the works with Spanish themes mark an important stage in his movement towards nationalism, the essentially Spanish values in time faded. For Montherlant Spain has continued to be a major source of inspiration, particularly for his dramas.

Montherlant came to Spain in his early years to find expression for the Mithraic impulse which at that time dominated his sensibilities. He found expression in the arena and in literature and following the first contacts he realised that Spain's opposing sentiments and contrasting sensations were in themselves an expression of a much deeper appreciation of alternance; alternance revealed as much in San Juan de la Cruz as in Don Juan. Further than this, however, one can see in Montherlant's relationship with Spain an example of literary and philosophical symbiosis - Montherlant placed in Spain his passion and love of certain elements of life which he found reflected in the country. Spain and the Spanish character helped develop these elements into situations and characters in Montherlant's more mature works and to become an integral part of his personal philosophy.

It has been noted that particular aspects of the "eternal" Spain, developed by the Romantics, still found a place in literature of the period 1890-1936. The arid nature of the landscape is still an attractive feature, although cadre and action are more closely linked than previously. Similarly the characteristics of individuals who appear in novels and stories are more functional.

An interesting phenomenon is the Carmen stereotype which remains in literature. Simone and "la fille

du Greco" have some of the physical characteristics of Mérimée's creation. Concepción has many. The persistence of this figure in imaginative literature may be linked to the carryover of interest aroused in Spain by the Empress Eugenia and also by Bizet's Carmen. Other operas with Spanish subjects appeared on the stage of the Opéra-Comique in the years before 1890, but the first performances of Carmen in 1875 created a furore which continued for a considerable time. It was not until 1883 that Galli-Marié was recalled to the cast and reviewers wrote that she was the personification of Carmen as Mérimée conceived her. Meilhac, Halévy and Bizet were vindicated, Carmen entered the permanent repertory of the Opéra-Comique and by 1888 had been performed more than 300 times. The opera was very popular in Europe and elsewhere in the world, especially during the last decade of the nineteenth century, and on the centenary of Bizet's birth in 1938 the 2271st performance was given.

It is clear that this secondary impulse to Mérimée's Carmen had some influence upon Barrès and Louÿs and to some degree upon Montherlant, although it is difficult to localise these influences which are to be found more in the general ambiance of the works in question, rather than in specific borrowings. The influence on la Femme et le pantin is clear and undisguised and has been commented on, but in the final scenes of les Bestiaires Montherlant rejects all romantic attachments.

Alban decides, almost humorously, that he will face Mal Angel, but that following the novillada he will not have anything further to do with Soledad. He realises, and it is in this realisation that Montherlant

confirms the anti-romantic nature of the novel, that Soledad's interest in him is egotistical and not because he is an individual person. The struggle, which up to this point had involved Alban and Soledad, now becomes an inner conflict. Alban recognises his fear and almost invents a telegram which will call him home. However, he succeeds in mastering his fears and calming his nerves and on the day of the corrida, after a disastrous beginning with his first novillo, performs excellently with Mal Angel and returns to Paris, where his mother awaits him. He will take up his normal life again by returning to school. In the same way that Alban knows the dangers which he faces and dominates Mal Angel, Montherlant recognises that his approach - and in the case of les Bestiaires the subject - is basically romantic. He is suspicious of excess, as the narrative clearly reveals, and he exerts strong control until the romantic impulse is dominated. Montherlant's hero is not simply a Romantic hero who will face death as a champion for his lady; he is a man of action and contemplation, intellectual and individual.

Montherlant's use of toreo in les Bestiaires represents the highest point to which the image rises in the periods discussed here. This is partly because he is not interested in mere photographic representation, and partly because, unlike Hemingway, he has experienced the bull in the arena. But one must also consider the symbolic utilisation of toreo in les Bestiaires. To succeed where the symbol may be identified with the very theme of the work is an outstanding achievement. Symbol and reality touch and fuse together, each giving force and adding depth to the other. With the

exception of le Chaos et la nuit, a much more ambitious novel in which Montherlant includes all dimensions, not only of toreo but of philosophical, religious, political and social background of the world, les Bestiaires represents, in the company of other works for Spain in general, but alone as far as toreo is concerned, supreme creation of an image; an image which makes inordinate extra-literary demands before it may be dominated and fully comprehended, much less reduced to the confines of a different art form.

Peyré's interpretation of Spain through toreo is limited to psychological aspects of the milieu, and as has been shown, his control over the narrative, for different reasons from Montherlant's, restricts the plasticity of his images with the result that the visual images of Sang et lumières are only of secondary importance.

In this period Spain does not occupy a major place in French literature. This is due to the diversification of the story form and also to the multiplication of genres and styles of literature. All directions are followed, all tastes catered for. In the works of Loti, Louÿs, Barrès, Morand and Benoit, Spain is one of the many exotic themes and influences at work. After the Civil War, during which time the attention of the world was once more forced upon Spain, the cycle will begin again - military reminiscences, polemical works, scholarly works and works of imagination.

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PART SIX

CHAPTER XVI

- CONCLUSION -

- CONCLUSION -

The continuity of images - landscape - the changing function of landscape from Chateaubriand to Peyré - Spanish character - Bizet's Carmen - complexity of images in the twentieth century - the rejection of the Romantic process of characterisation - Spanish character and general literary trends - images of toreo - the Golden Age of the corrida - effects of toreo on literature - images of flamenco - development of flamenco in Spain - Spain and European music - religion - the récits de voyage - Hispano-moresque literature - the broad patterns of cosmopolitanism - French writers in the years immediately preceding the Civil War - conclusion.

- CONCLUSION -

Although the series of images of Spain presented by major French authors during the period 1800-1936 reveals above all the complexity of the period and the personal preferences and interpretations of the writers themselves, certain general trends of the collective imagination are evident. Since the images examined have been principally those found in the works of authors who have not fallen into disregard or oblivion there has been a tendency to return to key passages, often examined in critical works, in order to disengage other themes and aspects. Naturally, therefore, the intention of this study has been to utilise and where possible to build on past criticism to assist in the creation of a panoramic view of the images presented and to discover the essence of continuity or reaction and revolt, features which appear in all continuous themes.

As a document which presents the elaboration of

an image in the collective imagination of authors as well as readers, the novel obviously has the potential for completeness. This assumption is supported by the beliefs that the influence of prose works is more easily transmitted from one country to another and that the success of other forms of literature presupposes a greater degree of intellectual awareness and formation, at least in the public sense. It is however, only in the twentieth century that the novel really dominates the series of images of Spain. Many conditions contributed to this development.

The "freedom" sought and in part found by the Romantics allowed poetry to be more plastic, more exotic and more immediate than could have been possible in the eighteenth century. There was also a clear invitation to poets to express the association of rhythm with exotic subjects, an aspect of exoticism which has not as yet been studied to any great depth. As far as the image of Spain is concerned, although there are many prose works in the period 1800-1850, those of lasting and generally accepted value are few. Carmen, structurally and aesthetically, is superior to Militona.

The historical value of the Romancero, coupled with the decline in the prose tradition of Hispano-moresque works and the self-examining, self-revelatory tendencies of the Realist and Naturalist novel, meant that the tradition of exoticism, and principally Spain's role in this tradition, was preserved mainly in poetry in the period 1850-1890.

With the renewed desire for escapist literature in both reader and writer in the fin de siècle period

and also in the period up to the Spanish Civil War, the novel dominates the particular aspects of literature which have interested us here. With the diminution of the need for poetry to be dependent upon the reality of an exterior cadre only the occasional image concerning Spain occurs in the poetry of this period.

Analysis of the image of Spain in dramatic works does not fall within the scope of the present study, but it must be acknowledged that the stage has played an important role in the expression of Spanish themes. Claudel and Montherlant principally continue the dramatic tradition which gave rise to innumerable works, the best of them Hernani and Ruy Blas, but which faded and gave way to opera and opéra-comique after Bouchardy.

In this final section therefore it is proposed to discuss some aspects of the continuity of the expression of major images in prose and poetry presented in the three periods reviewed in previous chapters. The grouping of the analysis is preserved: the landscape, Spanish character, toreo, the music of Spain, and religion will be discussed as continuing themes and an attempt made to establish a general pattern of interest and expression from 1800 to 1936. At the same time it is necessary to consider various secondary influences and conditions which affected the presentation of these images and to complete some aspects of the role of Spanish folklore and character in European society.

The function of landscape in Chateaubriand's Aventures du dernier Abencérage, as well as his other works, has clearly influenced succeeding generations of writers in their depiction of physical Spain. Chateaubriand, when he wrote his "Lettre sur l'art du dessin dans les paysages" did not necessarily mean that the complete process of re-creation should be "après nature". He did intend, however, that the essential mood of the landscape should be interpreted through direct experience and that the effect- if not the fact - of spontaneity should be preserved. Chateaubriand had travelled through America and had retained enough detail to be able to reconstruct a décor for Atala and René which was at once vraisemblable and sympathetic. Generally his landscapes in les Aventures du dernier Abencérage and l'Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem follow the same process, although his contacts with southern European and Mediterranean décor had been more fleeting.

Chateaubriand did not constantly seek to harmonise the landscape with the action or with the mood of the characters. He utilised contrast to evoke silence, solitude or melancholy, particularly in les Natchez, or in les Martyrs where he contrasts the evil deeds of men with the beauty of nature. Throughout his descriptive passages one is aware of Chateaubriand's interest in the relationship of man to the landscape and in the bonds which unite the heart of man with the soul of nature.

The Romantics developed more fully several elements of Chateaubriand's descriptive techniques, not all of which find expression in les Aventures du dernier Abencérage. Particularly attractive to the Romantics was the sensation associated with nature, which Rousseau

had been aware of but which after Chateaubriand became linked with exotic décor. The imposing mass of the Pyrenees had been invested with power by Alfred de Vigny, although the possibilities of this image were not fully explored until Hugo's la Légende des siècles. During this period of Victor Hugo's work his couleur locale associated with Spain is based on the relatively slight experience of his 1843 journey and on literary predecessors. Since la Chanson de Roland in fact, the mountains had been utilised as a most fitting décor for deeds of dramatic impact and in the early nineteenth century reports of travellers coincided with the aesthetic utilisation of the décor by novelists and poets.

In the period 1850-1890 images of Spain are derived generally from literary sources, the most influential being the Romancero. Since these stories were characterised by the action, it is not surprising to find that in the works of Leconte de Lisle and José-Maria de Heredia the representation of landscape or the physical cadre is not a primary consideration. The poems by Baudelaire inspired, directly or indirectly, by Goya's Caprichos have landscapes only as incidentals, but this is due not only to the influence of the Romancero but to the gradual movement away from poetry of imitation towards "symbolist" poetry. By the 1920's, except in the works of some minor poets who continued the Romantic tradition, the creation of exterior décor had disappeared altogether.

Chateaubriand noted the contrasts of Spain, personified in Aben-Hamet and Blanca. The Romantics continued and developed this conception of contrast, but the links which bind the character to the environment

are simplified until the complete but separate identification of the Castilian and the Andalusian is effected. This element of description is taken up again by Barrès who, instead of using the Romantic technique of synthesising the landscape by constructing an amalgam, found in Toledo the complete synthesis of Spain.

Chateaubriand also implied the africanité of Spain by his presentation of Aben-Hamet and the Moorish heritage, a theme fully developed by Hugo and exploited by Barrès. Writers like Montherlant and Peyré, although well aware of this heritage, do not over-emphasise the links, since for them the results of assimilation are more interesting than its distant origin. It may be said that although the Romantics had contributed to the exhaustion of the theme of africanité, Barrès's exploitation effectively prevented any renewal or development except in essay form which Montherlant and others took up.

The development of certain images of Spain presented by Chateaubriand in the works of the Romantics set the pattern for their utilisation by succeeding generations. Notions of character linked to landscape, the two Spains, and the links between Spain and Africa and the Orient form part of the general utilisation of exotic settings by the Romantics. In some of the more exuberantly exotic works one is left with the impression that as long as the décor was foreign to France, details were unimportant. This gave rise to over-simplified characteristics of landscape and personality and the creation of a stereotyped character which persists even today.

In the novels of the period 1890 to 1936 which have been examined there is less purely descriptive material than in those of the Romantic period. The novels discussed in Chapter XIV reveal stronger links between décor and action, and thus the function of décor is much closer to Chateaubriand's intention than anything the Romantics produced. This is due to the diversification of the novel form, the growth of the roman exotique and the roman d'aventures. These sub-genres did not allow for the vague association or influence of the landscape found in Romantic novels. The roman exotique, following positivism and Naturalism and linking with the characteristics of the regional novel in Spain, demanded examination of foreign cultures and societies. The roman d'aventures demanded action, hence it is not surprising to find links between décor and action rather than between décor and character. Identification of décor and character had reached a high level of development with Balzac and with Zola in the Naturalist novel. However, the most successful attempts were concerned with French society, and any examination of Spanish society by French authors necessarily involved the writer with the criteria of the roman exotique or the roman d'aventures. Whereas in the Romantic novel it did not really matter where the action was situated - this is one of the weakest points of Militona - in the twentieth century novel characterisation, cadre and action are interrelated and interdependent. It is not so much the faithfulness of the reproduction of Spanish society in les Bestiaires and Sang et lumières but rather their unity which makes them successful novels.

Récits de voyage gave writers elementary details about the Spanish character. Chateaubriand travelled through Spain but had little contact with Spaniards. Aben-Hamet is Moorish and Blanca is Natalie de Noailles, although she has characteristics which will become amalgamated with observed Spanish characteristics in later literature. Many of the Romantics travelled to Spain, but it is clear that early convictions were rarely modified. The Romantics applied to the Spanish character the same process as they applied to landscape and décor in general and although Spain contains many varied human types they fixed on the most exotic kind of personality, the torero, the bandit, the gipsy etc. - characters exposing the most exotic traits. These characteristics were then simplified to enter literature as "typical".

The Parnassian period of French poetry produced a hiatus since the poetry centred on Spanish themes was principally inspired from the Romancero and thus effectively prevented further development of the thematic ideas of the Romantics. However the creation of Carmen reunited in one story all the elements which the Romantics had wished for in their works. Carmen marks the point where the idea of the Spanish woman fuses with the idea of the gipsy. This conglomerate remains in literature although in his portrayal of the Spanish woman in some poems of la Légende des siècles it is noteworthy that Hugo appears to be more influenced by Mérimée's essay than by his story.

Although Mérimée's correspondence reveals that events in Spain and the general ambiance he encountered in his last visits left him disillusioned, Spain in French society of the 1860's and 1870's was still of

considerable importance. Mérimée occupies a very influential position in regard to the public conception of Spain and the Spanish character. His influence was primarily in two spheres.

Mérimée's Carmen was the last imaginative work he wrote on Spain. His final visit to Spain produced nothing of equal value and his last works indicate the direction which interest in Spain was to take, an intellectual interest since the reproduction of the picturesque was no longer sufficiently satisfying. The work of the Hispanists brought this interest to the level of scientific enquiry aided by other developments in literature and philosophy.

Mérimée's influence was also felt in the opera. Bizet had already been working on a version of Don Rodrigue when Meilhac and Halévy produced the libretto based on Mérimée's Carmen. The librettists were severely criticised for exerting on Mérimée's Carmen the same kind of treatment as Mérimée himself had exercised on Spanish characteristics. Mérimée's Carmen was an adulteress, a thief, an untrustworthy gipsy, who, while professing to love her freedom, demonstrates that she loves money and objects of value equally. However, Mérimée's story spans several months, and had the character of Carmen not been simplified and at the same time deepened in the opera she would have appeared as little more than a monster.

The production of the opera Carmen in 1875 occasioned a storm which lasted several years with varying degrees of intensity, and there is little doubt that this news story contributed to the establishment of Mérimée's conte in literature and of the Carmen

stereotype everywhere. It is of course impossible to say that without Bizet's re-creation Mérimée's place in French literature would have been different, but undoubtedly the production of Carmen and the subsequent storm aroused interest and focussed attention on a form of literature which was no longer in fashion in 1875.

The re-presentation of Carmen as a successful opera coincides with Barrès's discovery of Spain and but shortly precedes Pierre Louÿs's creation of Concepción. Louÿs states what had been left unsaid for a hundred years or more and demonstrated the correctness of Mario Praz's theory that the search for exotic types to the south represented attempts to satisfy what was primarily a sexual need, a need for variety and a kind of fear of the incompleteness of existence which Louÿs obviously takes delight in expressing. This perhaps is also the basis of Barrès's constant confrontation with volupté, although his expression is too guarded to be fully effective. Concern with propriety of expressions led Barrès to insist on images which are often mediocre or in bad taste by the criteria of any literary age.

The influence of Carmen must be considered in conjunction with the further impulses provided by Verdi's Don Carlos and Rossini's Barbier de Séville. It is interesting to note that in the period 1850-1890, when Spain did not exercise a powerful attraction to writers, the images presented in the theatre and opera remained popular. As early as 1864 Galli-Marie had been approached by Victor Massé to play Carmen in the opera based on Mérimée's story which he was working on.

Montherlant's novel les Bestiaires coincides with the more intellectual approach to Spanish themes and the final movements in the Alban/Soledad relationship represent a complete rejection of the Romantic pattern. The animality of the imagery in les Bestiaires is followed by the development in la Petite infante de Castille of two aspects of Montherlant's view of Spanish women - animality and love of the pure. The Journal des jeunes personnes has many affinities with the view of the young people presented by Larbaud in his Journal and, although Montherlant made no claims to this end, contains some of his finest poetry. In this work, which may be classed as an anti-nouvelle, Montherlant demonstrates his possession of Spain, his jealousy of it - he wants the English barred from entry. In his analysis of Spain the images reveal that between the Romantics and the writers of the 1930's there is a change from emphasis on the physical to concern with the psychological. It is evident that in Montherlant and Peyré Spain is dominated, it has become part of the authors' sensibilites, whereas the Romantics had tended to be dazzled by the exotic elements and strove no further to penetrate a more intellectual plane.

Montherlant's conception of the feminine world in his early works is shown most clearly in les Jeunes filles, and Soledad conforms to some of these conceptions. But there are several indications that, as in le Maître de Santiago and la Reine Morte, Montherlant can present a more convincing female character in a historical rather than a contemporary décor. Soledad's conception of honour is of the Middle Ages, her character little more than a collection of traits, motivating forces for the revelation of the more fully developed Alban. In

this novel the strong attachment to alternance, in the action and in characterisation, particularly with Soledad where this phenomenon may be better described as flujo y reflujo, indicates that, having approached Spain with this theory as the basis of his aesthetic and critical sensibilities, Montherlant's grasp of Spain and of the essentials of the Spanish character is absolute and timeless. This latter judgement is supported by the fact that Montherlant was able to write les Garçons, les Bestiaires and le Songe in non-chronological order, separated by a considerable number of years, yet each novel retains its essential validity and the structure of the whole remains credible.

The male character, throughout the period of literature examined here, does not have the attraction of the female. Since all the writers considered were male, to put Spanish females in a strong position in the structure of a work may be interpreted as an important step towards exoticism. Balzac is the exception in the novel and short story, but since most of his Spanish characters were doomed, or at least portrayed characteristics which he did not wish to give to characters of French nationality, one cannot ignore the possibility of xenophobic tendencies in his work. It may be that Mario Praz's theory here finds further support. Except in occasional poems and in the Parnassian imitations of the Romancero, the male is not the dominant partner in a relationship.

With the exception of the torero, interpretations of the most exotic aspects of Spain put the woman in the most visually attractive position. However, the interpretation of the male role generally goes further than visual lack of attractiveness and in Militona

even Juancho the torero is a poor specimen - although Don Andrés does have some redeeming characteristics. In la Femme et le pantin, el Verdugo, Carmen, the male characters are most unlucky within the terms of the récit although admittedly in structural terms they do not start off with equal advantages.

Throughout this period characters are based upon one or two dominant characteristics, and it is not until Montherlant's les Bestiaires that this process of characterisation is attacked and finally rejected. It is interesting to observe that in the general public conception of Spain, i.e. in bourgeois interior decoration, second-rate amateur theatre, Spanish tourist advertising aimed at (mainly) non-latin countries, the generalities fixed upon by the Romantics are still regarded as 'typical' and sufficiently strong to evoke the essence of Spain.

Following the period of literature when Romancero influenced the development of character, we find the beginnings of much closer links between character and action. Louÿs's Concepción, despite many shortcomings, is a credible character; the narrative line of the novel ensures that she remains credible since there are no pauses which allow for reflection, no breaks for descriptive passages unless these are intimately linked with a development in the story. Montherlant's Soledad is less credible until one realises that upon her characterisation is built a slowly-mounting attack on her literary predecessors. However, generally speaking, as landscape became more functional after 1890, Spanish character delineation also became more functional. The functions of the characters may be broadly classified as providing the central narrative line -

as with Louÿs's *Concepción* -, a foil or contrast for basic personal and national ideologies - Montherlant's *Soledad* -, or as a functional unit of a group or section of society as in Peyré's *Sang et lumières*. In Chateaubriand's *les Aventures du dernier Abencérage* the characters reveal connections with all these functions.

The broad lines of this development are seen not only in works which have Spanish themes, but in all kinds of literature. Authors have a much clearer view of the nature of man and also of the function and nature of literature, this movement towards the integration of the character with the invented society of which he forms a part seems natural. The representation of the Spanish character by the Romantics, both in prose and in verse, was nevertheless an important step in the perfection of this ideal integration. Both Montherlant and Hemingway, who perhaps have best presented Spain in imaginative literature, clearly show that they are indebted to the preliminary classifications effected by the Romantics. But the most successful novels with Spanish themes are those which completely reject the Romantic pattern. In the last period reviewed, the least successful works are those which conform to no specific genre and neither accept nor reject the Romantic mode. The twentieth-century is unkind to middle-of-the-road literature or the uncommitted writer.

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An examination of the images of toreo reveals distinct changes of emphasis in the period which correspond

to the changes in the general conception of the function of literature. For the Romantics the corrida was a spectacle which exteriorised some of the basic exotic aspects of the land and people of Spain. For Gautier the corrida meant colour and movement, yet he was not capable of becoming involved in the traditional or ritual aspects of it.

Mérimée appreciated the corrida much more profoundly than Gautier, yet in his imaginative works the spectacle plays very little part. The popularity of Carmen as an opera developed the aspect of toreo to the point where it is not uncommon to hear Bizet's Marche des toréadors during a desfile. Between the Romantics and Montherlant and Peyré however, there is a considerable difference in the level of understanding, appreciation and presentation. It must be noted that in this period the corrida itself had passed through several phases in its own development.

When Gautier and Mérimée (and of course Quinet, Dumas and others of this time) went to the corrida it was, by modern standards of tauromaquia and general aesthetics, a fairly primitive event. During the Romantic period the corrida was in its early stages of development as a public spectacle, with the matador gradually assuming the central role. It was at this time that appreciation of the essentially tragic sense of the animal/man relationship begins, an aspect of toreo which has been explored by Kenneth Tynan. Gradually through the nineteenth century the swordsman - espada - increased in importance until the first twenty years of this century, since when the ritual has remained the same, particularly in the structure of the drama - the tercios.

The exploits of Lagartijo, Frascuelo, Fuentes and Guerrita coincided with the perfection of bull-breeding which reached its highest point in 1905. Peyré and Montherlant, therefore, were able to see the corrida at a time when both elements, the bull and the man, had reached their peak. In this first decade of this century there was rivalry between Bombita II, Machaquito and Antonio Fuentes. It is generally agreed that these, inspired by the element of competition, brought the art of the nineteenth century to such a stage that it could develop no further. Bulls were bred to a huge size and, since at this time capework and the muleta were only of secondary importance, the emphasis was on skill with the sword. It was clear that toreo had to find a new mode of expression or die. The mode which developed was the muleta.

For the full potential of the muleta to be realised two revolutions were necessary - those of 1907 and 1912 - which correspond to the first corrida of El Gallo and the appearance of Belmonte in the Maestranza at Sevilla. In the company of Joselito and Manolete these artists constitute the Golden Age of the corrida.

The improvements made in the Golden Age had their effect on literature. During this time each matador brought to the corrida something new, helping to confirm toreo as an art and to consolidate the links between the corrida and drama, poetry and music.

El Gallo (Rafaël Gómez Ortega) emphasised the poetic possibilities of toreo, particularly in his ability to link lances thus establishing the phraseological structure of each tercio. El Gallo's brother Joselito (José Gómez Ortega) complemented this approach

by his insistence on the classical stances and his development of the use of the banderillas. Juan Belmonte, with the elaboration of his theory of terrenos and the mystical approach to mandar, parar y templar, suggested new modes of expression for the unity of drama which Montherlant and Cocteau have utilised. These developments were to some degree synthesised in the person^{of} Manolete (Manuel Rodríguez Sánchez) through whom a wider public acceptance of the new theories was achieved.

The results of these developments as far as literature was concerned may be classified broadly into two groups. The first is concerned with structure and predominantly the structure of drama, already briefly mentioned. In le Cardinal d'Espagne, Montherlant's greatest dramatic achievement and the final play in what he has called a 'catholic trilogy', the construction is of toreo puro. There are three acts, the three tercios of tanteo, castigo and de la muerte. This structure, less polished and less precise, is also evident in la Reine morte. There are many other examples in works not necessarily connected with Spain thematically.

However, in the second sphere, the perfection of pre-war toreo had a much broader influence. Particularly in the literary representation of toreo the image was more aesthetic.

The Golden Age produced toreo based on aesthetic criteria and allowing greater involvement in the faena as re-created in les Bestiaires and Sang et lumière. The corrida itself produced fluidity of line, a rapprochement between man and beast, and public involvement which had not been experienced before and which opened up

possibilities for the use of toreo as a symbol and for its integration with themes of religious and social significance.

In the years immediately preceding the Second World War the corrida was left without its gods. The standards had risen and the newcomers were not equal to the demands. Decline set in and it was not until the 1940's that regeneration was possible, but not until the corrida had been through a series of crises, not unlike the crises of the period 1860-1870. Montherlant's most successful use of toreo - in les Bestiaires (1926) and le Chaos et la Nuit (1963)-correspond to the Golden Age and the most recent high point of the corrida before the virtual domination of el Cordobés.

Although Mérimée made a determined effort to understand the corrida, as did Quinet, the material was not sufficiently well-formed or stable enough to be fully developed in literature. It may well be that Gautier, despite his technical ignorance, has captured what was the essence of the corrida in the early nineteenth century. Barrès was revolted by the late nineteenth century expression of it. The most complete re-creation comes with Montherlant and Peyré who move from the re-creation of visual aspects - although this still remains important - to an analysis of the personalities behind the facade, and in Peyré's case to an analysis of the complete milieu taurin.

In the twentieth century the corrida is no longer simply a superficial expression of one of the more exotic and appealing aspects of life in Spain. In les Bestiaires and Sang et lumières the cadre is set, but the themes have a much more intricate

function in that they also serve as part of the mechanism which sets in motion an analytical procedure not only of the corrida itself but the human situation. Montherlant's novel illustrates this technique, and allied to toreo there is the dual theme of religion and sexuality, the former much less successfully handled from a technical point of view.

There is a close relationship between the works of Montherlant and those of Peyré. Instances of influence have already been noted, but a full examination would demand a separate study. Of the twentieth century novelists and dramatists who utilise aspects of toreo either thematically or structurally, Montherlant is clearly the greatest - Hemingway's tendency towards journalistic virtuosity detracts from his creative skill. Jean Cocteau borrowed shamelessly from Montherlant for his Corrida du premier Mai (1957) and Montherlant's influence continues to the present with Georges Conchon's Corrida de la Victoire published in 1965 and winner of the Prix Goncourt.

The landscape appears relatively unchanging over the years, although Gautier had noted the work of the hand of man, and Barrès had written with dismay of the industrialisation of Spain by the English who were driven by their love of money to establish a ceramics factory in Sevilla. Generally speaking one cannot expect a coincidence of the development of the object and the techniques used to describe it except in the case of aspects with widespread human involvement like toreo and music. The highest point in the description of toreo coincided with the highest level of the development of the art itself and the recognition of toreo as a potential literary device also takes place

at this time.

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Since landscape does not change, except in minor detail, it is the function of landscape which will change in literature. Once the exotic thrill induced by description became demodé, the description became integrated with characterisation and action. With the representation of music the problem is much more complicated, since re-creation is possible in the medium itself.

During the Romantic period Spanish dancers, singers and musicians were to be seen in all the European capitals, the Garcia family, the most famous member of which was la Malibran, being by no means atypical. The art of flamenco itself was developing in finesse through the nineteenth century without losing its essential spontaneity.

The main form of flamenco during the early years of the nineteenth century was that practised by the felagmengu - the fugitive peasants - the cante jondo, which expressed the suffering of the outlawed and persecuted Jews and Arabs who were condemned to serve the chaingangs and in the Spanish army in the American War. Flamenco developed, culminating in the café cantante period of last century.

Writers who seized upon flamenco as one of the most exotic aspects of life in Spain, a visual picture which expressed pride, passion and volupté, saw in it, with the corrida, the ideal of the already over-simplified characteristics which they had imposed on Spain. In

the Romantic period poetry in particular presents the exterior and sensual aspects of flamenco without any deep understanding of the nature of its origins or the intricacies of its execution.

For the Romantics the emphasis was on colour and movement - aspects which, with suggestiveness rather than sensuality, flamenco artists emphasise today when playing before non-Spanish audiences. But the true attraction is not in the northern European ideas of the outwardly sexy or in the flashiness of provocative movement. The dance is itself the most exterior part of flamenco, but is part of a cuadro, the other parts being toque, canto and jaleo. To the non-aficionado, and here we must include most authors who have introduced flamenco into their works, the cuadro seems to be nothing more than a background for the dancer. In literature the remaining parts are virtually ignored.

The symbolism of the flamenco dance seems to have passed the attention of littérateurs unnoticed. The footwork of the male dancer symbolises force, strength and virility complementing the intricate baile de brazos, symbol of femininity and passion. It is not until Pierre Louÿs's la Femme et le pantin that some passing mention is made of the hands and arms of the female dancer.

Writers have also failed to appreciate the considerable links between the corrida and the flamenco dance. The connection is undeniable, vital for a full understanding of both. Both art forms stem basically from the common people, both stir the same basic emotions and passions. Both art forms have benefited from the injection of the occasional gipsy genius, but

in French literature of the period reviewed the possibilities of exploiting this have been ignored. In recent times the points of contact between the dance and the corrida have been developed in Spain in different ways by Sabicas, Federico Garcia Lorca and Gonzalez Climent, the latter in his book Andalucía en los Toros el Cante y la Danza, published in Madrid in 1953.

In most cases where flamenco is mentioned the writers have captured the element of passion which the dance seeks to convey. Yet, although from Corneille onwards French writers were able to utilise the concept of pundonor with all its implications and associations, not one has captured the sensation of duende when describing the effect of Spanish music.

In the period from 1845 to 1890 pure flamenco was in its golden age, and again this is due to the coincidence of the basic elements reaching a high level of development. Guitar production technique was at a high standard and the widespread popularity of the dance ensured that those artists with the technical skills faced considerable competition.

The most brilliant re-creations in literature of the Spanish dance are in the Romantic period and although flamenco was still strong at the time of the Parnassians the attention of Leconte de Lisle and Heredia was directed towards literary sources. During this time the image of Spain's music is more strongly felt in other arts, particularly in musical composition where the influence is strong and continuous from Verdi to Ravel. Bizet in 1873 was working on Don Rodrigue, based not on Corneille's le Cid but on Guillén de Castro's Mocedades del Cid. This opera was never finished, but Massenet

(1842-1912) produced le Cid in 1885; the libretto was written by Gallet, Blau and Dennery. Strauss (1864-1949) produced Don Juan and Verdi (1813-1901) wrote Don Carlos. Spanish re-creations were popular in programme music as well as opera and in this period the influences were chiefly reflected by Chabrier (1841-1894) - Rhapsodie España and Habañera; Lalo (1823-1892) - Symphonie espagnole; Debussy (1862-1918) - Ibéria, Soirée dans Grenade; and Ravel (1875-1937) - Alborado del Gracioso, l'Heure espagnol, Rhapsodie espagnole and Boléro.

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Although since the introduction of Christianity into Spain religion has played an important part in the lives of the inhabitants, in its traditional and habitual forms at least, Romantics did not utilise the theme of the religion of the Spanish people in their works. There are occasional and isolated references, particularly in Gautier, but the Moslem-Catholic conflict suggested by Chateaubriand in les Aventures du dernier Abencérage is not fully developed until Barrès, who relies for effect on further development of Gautier's images.

The most complete utilisation of religious themes in French literature is by Montherlant who in his own life alternately approached and recoiled from Catholicism. Approaching it he produced his Catholic trilogy - le Maître de Santiago (1947), Port Royal (1954) and le Cardinal d'Espagne (1960) - but in les Bestiaires religion is a minor consideration.

In les Bestiaires Montherlant uses the general theme

of toreo to discuss the Christian-Pagan relationship represented by the cult of Mithras. It has been shown that technically this theme is not as well integrated into the structure of the novel as, for example, the themes of adolescence or sexuality. Of the Catholic religion in the novel there is little and this is mainly superficial and reveals clearly the influence of Blasco Ibañez's Sangre y Arena.

Joseph Peyré has shown, in the short stories of De Cape et d'épée particularly, the effect of religion when the moment of truth draws near and toreros have recourse to a general habitual faith reinforced by images and candles. But this is not the true sense of religion which is found in Spain and which is inextricably bound up with the government of the country. Religion, perhaps because in the early years of the nineteenth century it was not sufficiently suggestive of exoticism, has never had the immediacy, colour or force to become a major image in French literature.

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It has been shown that many elements of Spanish life found in the works of Chateaubriand, notably les Aventures du dernier Abencérage, have continued to find a place in imaginative French literature. Chateaubriand contributed to a greater understanding of the function of the cadre, continued by Balzac and Zola. His Aben-Hamet and Blanca portrayed the Moor-Castilian dichotomy, utilised to its extreme possibilities by Barrès. The notion of the two Spains, the charm of Spanish music and the dance, the links between the Spanish character and the corrida-all these themes were valuable material

offering several avenues of development. The Romantics took up those themes with the most powerfully exotic associations and their selection undeniably affected the scope and intensity of the images of Spain in French literature of the twentieth century. More importantly, however, Chateaubriand brought to foreign subjects in general and to Spain in particular an interest in aesthetics which enabled the image of Spain and literature itself to develop and expand after the rigid control and basic literary xenophobia of the eighteenth century.

As with literature of the imagination there are definite changes to be noted in the attitude to Spain revealed by travellers who wrote récits de voyage, and although the image of Spain presented in these works have not been examined per se the presence of works of this kind has influenced the images to be found in imaginative literature. Despite conscious attempts by travellers in the Romantic era, and not only those who later incorporated their observations into imaginative works, to present objective views of Spain and to rationalise, often superficially, what they saw, it is clear that they reveal some affinity with Barrès's method; he saw what he wanted to see. The idea of Spain was already exotic, the récit de voyage in Romantic times is mostly a confirmation of what the author already felt.

During the period when in French literature Realism was moving towards Naturalism there is evidence of a change of emphasis in the récit de voyage. Positivism made its presence felt in this genre as elsewhere and the récit de voyage tended to fuse with the scholarly analysis. This fusion is further complicated by a

writer like Barrès who, while demonstrating that Romanticism was not dead, revealed signs of the influence of the early Hispanists, a more "symbolist" approach to literary subjects, a desire to continue the Hispano-moresque tradition and the need to set all this in what in "un Amateur d'âmes" at least is a fictional framework.

In the early years of the twentieth century descriptive works on Spain were almost entirely in the hands of the Hispanists whose interest covered an extremely wide field. The essay on Spain reached a high level of development with Montherlant, but further development was made possible by the engagement of Malraux in his l'Espoir and Bernanos in les Grands Cimetières sous la lune.

After the Civil War, which was responsible for the entry into French literature of new themes and the means of re-examination of old themes, the récit de voyage has again become separated from scholarly analysis and is passing through a phase of development which finds expression not only in serious travellers' accounts but also in popular literature in the form of magazine stories and feature articles.

The influence of the récit de voyage is difficult to estimate except in the cases of direct borrowing or in the imaginative elaboration of factual anecdotes, although, judging the récits de voyage of the Romantic period on volume alone, the public demand must have been considerable. With the more scholarly approach evident in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century the general popularity of works decreased since they

were specialist works written for specialists and generally appearing in Hispania or journals of a similar kind. It is however, clear that the new approach to literature and society exemplified in the works of Morel-Fatio and Foulché-Delbosc contributed to the higher intellectual level of literature generally and of those works with Spanish themes in particular.

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It has been noted that the publication of les Aventures du dernier Abencérage coincided with a re-introduction into French literature of themes and ideas which were basically chevalresque in conception. The influence of the Guerres Civiles was mainly felt in the theatre at the beginning of the nineteenth century but by the time the Romantic movement had reached its peak the influence of this work could also be detected in poetry and prose, particularly the novel. Among minor works which attracted some attention in their day and typical of those which are now known only by name was the play Aben-Humeya by Martinez de la Rosa which was presented in Paris in 1830.

Many of the erroneous conceptions of Spain which the minor Romantics perpetuated in literature find their origins in Perez de Hita and in works based on adaptations. The society presented as chevalresque was in fact corrupt and seemed to thrive on treason, murder and intrigues. The Renaissance did not have a profound effect on the men of this society who in French literature were presented as being perfect généreux models of gallantry and bravery. Florian wrote about the Moors' patriarchal morality; Chateaubriand's works

continue the same theme.

However there were three factors which condemned this genre of literature to eventual obscurity. The first was that since the characterisation was simpliste, based upon one or two general characteristics, there was no opportunity for the individual to develop. The second factor is sequential, a simple character has a psychological framework which is rigid, incapable of expansion or reaction. The third factor is also a result of the first two; recognising the limited scope for invention and personal interpretation, the best of the Romantics did not attempt to create in the direct sillage of Chateaubriand, but dismembered the Moorish récit and utilised parts of it in other constructed cadres. The result of these factors was that virtually all imitations of the Hispano-moresque themes were doomed to eventual failure. The very nature of the works prevented any renewal and it is not until Barrès that any author of note took up the theme again.

Several of the Romantics have vaguely acknowledged Hispano-moresque themes, but Chateaubriand was the last author of note to devote a whole work to this aspect of Spanish history. The Alhambra, the palace of Boabdil, remained an attractive place for the Romantics, they knew the stories retold by Perez de Hita, they knew the Romances but did not need a full re-creation of historical scenes to fill the cadre with meaning.

Barrès is the last to have visited Granada specifically to experience the charm of the old Moorish stronghold. Once faced with the Alhambra Barrès found it necessary to recall the flight of Boabdil, the malencontreux, to recreate the pleasures and above all

the volupté of Moorish life. This is all presented through a guide, a further link, with Chateaubriand and Voiture. Barrès's récit lacks spontaneity, an inevitable fault in this genre. It is not until after the Civil War when the new Moorish-Spanish disputes attracted world attention that there was any possibility of renewal of the theme and as yet no great novel or drama, either in Spanish or in French, has appeared with such elevated aims.

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The images of Spain examined in this study form part of a much wider pattern of cosmopolitanism which appears in the literature of every country from time to time. In the Middle Ages there was a certain cosmopolitan attitude in literature since it may be said that national literature, as we understand the term today, scarcely existed. Western literature had the same form and generally speaking the same content everywhere. The lyric and the epic were international, cosmopolitan forms. La Chanson de Roland, the Romancero, had the attributes of cosmopolitan literature.

During the eighteenth century European literature was almost universally understood and appreciated since the spirit of literature and the universal truths it sought to explain or simply present, did not recognise the existence of natural or political boundaries. As we have seen with the case of the representation of Spain in French literature, however, this did not prevent the expression of national superiority or the criticism of neighbours from entering literature as themes in imaginative literature or as the

basis of polemics.

In France, after the Revolution of 1789, the émigrés fleeing from the Terror, were forced into contact with the society and culture of other lands. But the result was different from the earlier expression of cosmopolitanism. The Romantic movement was based on the notion of freedom and not least freedom from the dictates of "good taste". Individualism and cosmopolitanism could not exist together and the old idea of cosmopolitanism virtually died at the time of the Romantics. Nationalism is a phenomenon which must be considered and, although its growth was not even, the broad notion of cosmopolitanism was affected by it. The old idea of cosmopolitanism was replaced by opening French literature to the influences of foreign literatures, the assimilation of acceptable characteristics and the development of the use of local colour.

This, of course, was not true cosmopolitanism but in the twentieth century the meaning of the term changed once more. Whereas in the eighteenth century and before, the content of the literature had been cosmopolitan, in the twentieth century the characters who present the content are cosmopolitan. No-one would pretend that Morand's Ouvert la Nuit and Fermé la Nuit contain universal truths acceptable in all the countries which make up the pattern of the works, but the analysis of the human situation may be more clearly presented when the nature of man is viewed through the eyes of different nationalities.

In the literature of today the author may be cosmopolitan, like Larbaud, and create characters which are truly international, citizens of the world, like

Barnabooth or Luis Losada, but Larbaud's Images have not yet been translated into Spanish and there seems to be no Welsh edition of Gweny toute seule. The French expression of cosmopolitan literature remains essentially French. Although M^rimée, Larbaud, Montherlant and others have successfully understood Spain and penetrated the mysteries of the Spanish character, their works are regarded as expressions of exoticism in literature, not cosmopolitanism in the true sense of the word.

However, it may be argued that exoticism in literature is one of the most effective means of renewal. In preceding chapters it has been shown that injections from foreign literature, inspiration based on observation of foreign phenomena, have been needed by French literature. Spain's role in the broad pattern of exoticism of French literature since 1800 has not been great; the reasons are to be found as much in Spain's history as in the history, both literary and political, of France. Yet the images remain and are continued and the role of Spain has been one which has strengthened the movement towards true cosmopolitanism by contributing to the establishment of a common aesthetic and ethic basis of values.

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During the years preceding the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War there was widespread concern with values. Man's position in the world, his relationship with others, and the problem of destiny were reflected in literature. The words "littérature engagée" were not coined until after this period, but with the first works of Malraux, Bernanos, St. Exupéry and Céline the

novel becomes a means of enquiry. Cadre and décor, instead of being merely physical, take on metaphysical connotations and involve the whole meaning of existence. The events of this time gave literature a considerable impulsion and ensured that Spain's role in French literature would continue and gain increased significance.

The events of the 1930's demanded the taking up of political positions and a renewal of political thought. For nearly all writers the opening of hostilities in Spain meant that a choice had to be made, a choice which accentuated the dichotomy which already existed between nationalist and anti-fascist. Malraux fought in the International Brigade. Mauriac, Maritain and Bernanos expressed the feelings of general Catholic opinion and condemned the atrocities perpetrated by the franquistas. After Guernica was savagely bombarded by German planes Picasso painted his Guernica, and the small Basque town became a symbol at once of Fascist inhumanity and anti-fascist resistance.

On the other hand people began to think that the West had begun a crusade against Bolchevism. In French literature Spain was about to become a powerful image in all genres; this was not to happen at once, but there were few writers who remained faithful to the doctrines of antimilitarism of the French left who continued to follow the pacifist ideals of Alain or Giono.

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One of the most important functions of art is to represent the unattainable. In the presentation of the images of Spain examined in this study it is clear that

whatever the reasons behind the choice of Spain as a theme or motif the authors concerned have recognised this function. These images illustrate the advantages of representation over action in that the reader is given the opportunity to indulge in disinterested contemplation of an image which is permanent.

However, although aesthetic emotion is disinterested, the writers who wrote about Spain have coloured their works with personal views and preferences. The image of Spain has been adapted to suit the temperament of the artist or the temperament of the age, thus fulfilling a further function of art, which is to make the world intelligible. The Romantics attempted to make the world of Spain intelligible by simplification, by insistence upon certain basic characteristics, certain exotic aspects of the landscape and moeurs. The Parnassians appealed to the sense of history, the innate greatness of the nation. Montherlant and Peyré appeal mainly through the intellect, but they are also aware of the value of colour and movement.

Since the process of making Spain intelligible has been subject to the demands of the age in which the artist lives and by which he is unavoidably influenced, then no judgment of the relative value of the image of Spain is possible. The relative value of the image is not under the control of the artist himself. It is not valid to measure the collective image of the Romantics' Spain by the criteria adopted by a succeeding generation. Leconte de Lisle and Heredia do not register progress as compared with Mérimée and Musset. Montherlant and Peyré do not register progress when compared with Gautier and

Quinet. No writer, no generation, can begin to write tabula rasa, they are different men in different times.

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- BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE -

As stated in the Preface to this work (p.x), it is intended that the bibliography should be of value to those interested in pursuing further the question of the literary relationship between France and Spain. Accordingly the following bibliography is not simply composed of works referred to in the preparation of the thesis itself but is an enlargement upon the standard bibliographies of Baldensperger and Friederick (1950, revised in 1960) and Hoffmann (1961). In the compilation of the present bibliography several corrections have been made to entries appearing in the Spanish section of the work by Baldensperger and Friederick, particularly concerning volume numbers and page numbers.

When full bibliographical details remain untraced the details commonly given in current bibliographies have been included. In this category must be placed articles which appeared in such periodicals as les Cahiers bourbonnais and notably the first series of the Revista de Occidente.

The bibliography is arranged in four sections. The first includes primary source material further subdivided into literature of the imagination (literary essays are included here) and récits de voyage and social commentaries.

The second section is composed of reference works - (a) published in book form and (b) appearing in journals. It was in the compilation of the list of articles that most difficulty was encountered, as several articles with appealing titles seem to have been permanently lost from the great periodical holding centres of the world.

The third section includes works of Spanish literature relevant to the text of the thesis, significant translations of works into French and critical essays and books on Spanish literature.

The final section reunites general reference works and political and social histories of both France and Spain.

For the completion of the bibliographical details I must record my grateful thanks to Professor Yves Avril of the Université Laval, Quebec, for his enthusiasm and encouragement and to Professor François Gallays, Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston, for his assistance with the physical necessities for research during my stay in Canada.

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