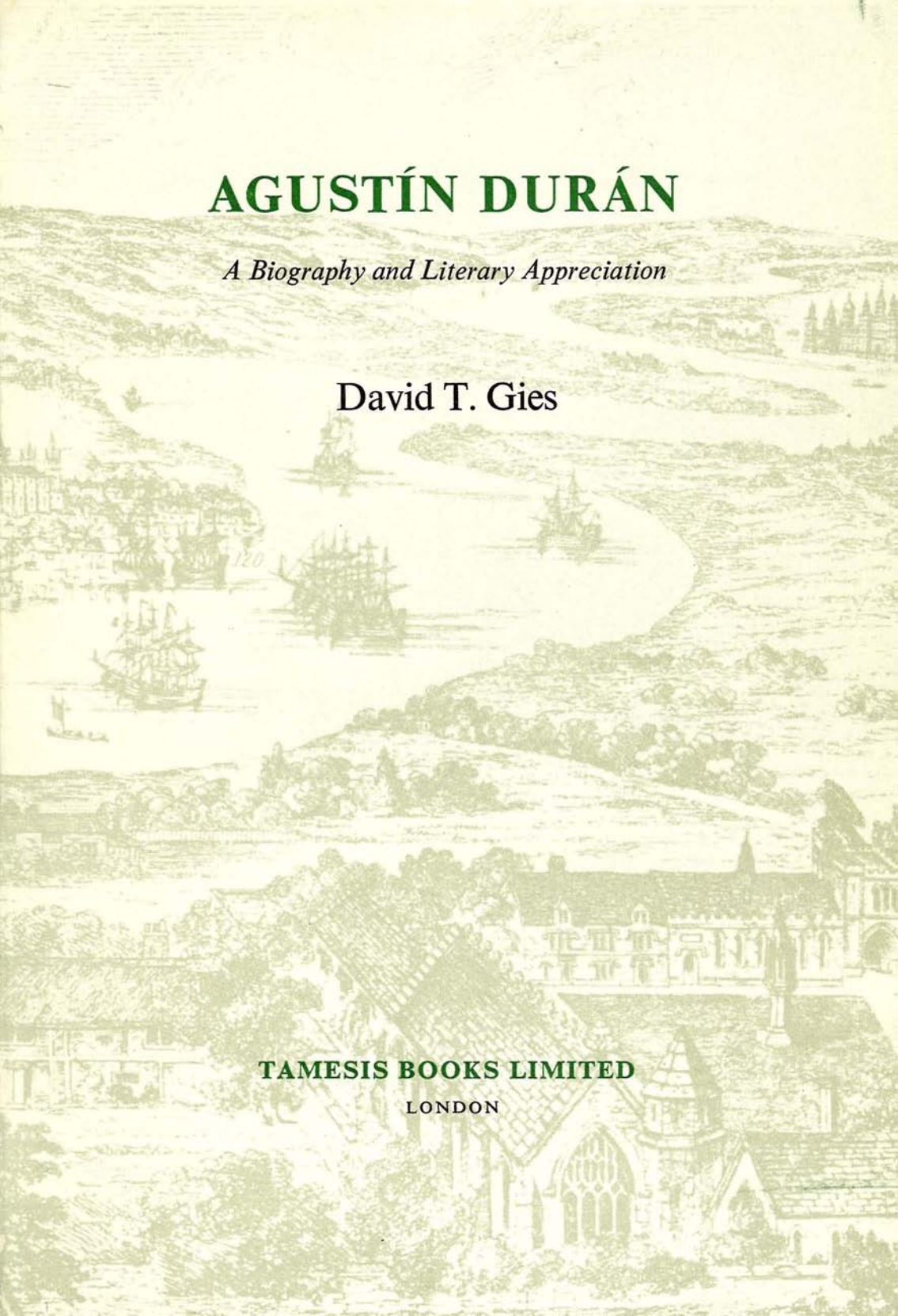
AGUSTÍN DURÁN

A Biography and Literary Appreciation

David T. Gies



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For MJ, who knows why

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Preface

José Zorrilla stands in a grand salon, flanked by oversized canvases of historical, religious and mythological themes. Scattered about the room, oversized sculptures gaze hollowly at the proceedings. Forty-one of Madrid's leading novelists, poets, sculptors and critics surround Zorrilla, some listening attentively to his poetry, others staring dispassionately at the art pieces. Bretón, Hartzenbusch and Escosura are there; so too are Roca de Togores, Pacheco, Martínez de la Rosa, Ventura de la Vega, Quintana and Campoamor. Gil y Zárate, Ros de Olano, Burgos, Amador de los Ríos and Mesonero Romanos are present, hushed by the poet's words. In the lower right-hand corner a small man, seated stiffly on a wooden ladderback chair, feet precisely crossed, right hand perched formally on his leg and left arm slung over the back of the chair, stares intently across the room, past Zorrilla, past the listeners, past the borders of the scene. The scene is Antonio María Esquivel's painting, "Lectura de Zorrilla en el estudio del pintor", and this intense little man is Agustín Durán.

Durán, highly regarded in his day as a leading figure in the romantic movement has been, since his death, alternately praised as a visionary and denounced as a reactionary myth-monger. The contradictions of romanticism make both of these epithets at least arguable.

His many years of working with the *romances* and the *comedias* were a monument to patience. His method of collecting, cataloguing and organizing the various collections and myriad individual works testifies to his never-failing belief in their value. From the very first drama collection and *Romancero* he made pages upon pages of notes, writing on each the title, author, characters and theme of each *comedia*, and the title, possible date, and first line of each *romance*. Every paper was then folded and stored (when it was not recopied for greater legibility) to be later indexed. He next compiled alphabetical lists of the authors, first lines and subject matter. He color-coded them for reference value, identified their sources and sewed the indices together in booklet form. The scrap papers were kept, neatly packaged according to their different sizes and subjects. This process was followed through literally thousands of pages: if Lope was the "monstruo de la naturaleza" for his plays, Durán was surely the "monstruo de la biblioteca" for his lists and indices!

If his life was essentially devoid of drama, his history was the passionate history of an idea. In the literary passages of this study Durán will speak for himself as much as possible. His comments will be followed by statements on the validity of his arguments by both his contemporaries and his future critics. It is important to see how Durán was perceived and related to in his own times in order to reject the accusations that he was muddle-headed in his critical

activities. Often he was wrong, and at times confused, but he was seldom ignored. The amount of recognition, criticism and even hostility his works generated is evidence of his importance in the literary history of nineteenth-century Spain.

This book is a beginning, and a call for a complete revaluation of Durán. It will attempt to analyze various conflicting views and to present him through a study of his life, critical activities and original literary compositions.

St. Bonaventure University, March, 1974.

Acknowledgments

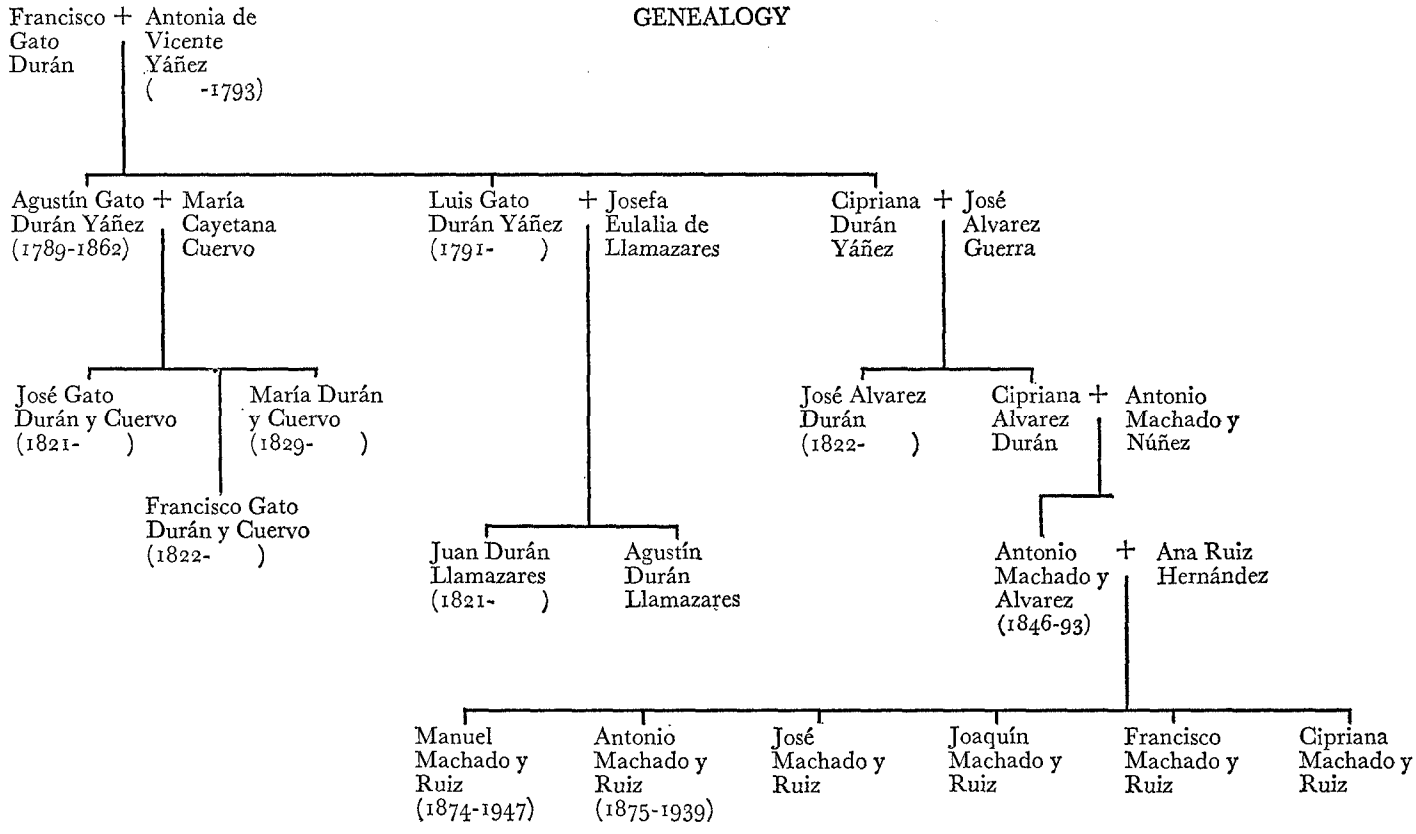
Any errors of interpretation in the present study are mine; any insights are based upon the years of arduous work of other Hispanists, and are gratefully recognized. If I were to name all of those individuals who guided, aided, supported or encouraged my research, these pages would achieve unwieldy proportions. I must, however, personally thank Professor Javier Herrero for his constant stimulation, help and interest during the years of this project; without him it would never have been begun, let alone completed.

I would publicly show my appreciation to some of the many men who similarly encouraged this research by answering my inquiries, supplying information or expanding bibliographical sources – Ignacio Aguilera, Derek Lomax, Francisco López Estrada, Luis Monguió, José Fernández Montesinos, and Pedro Sainz Rodríguez. It was gratifying to see the true scholarly interest demonstrated by these individuals, and to know that a novice Hispanist could partake of their generosity.

I wish to express my gratitude to St. Bonaventure University for the financial and emotional support which helped to bring this task to fruition. Also, the kind people at the following institutions receive my warmest appreciation: Biblioteca Nacional, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Biblioteca del Palacio, Archivo del Palacio, Hemeroteca Municipal, University of Seville, Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo, and the Real Chancillería de Valladolid.

Finally, I express my admiration and respect to the memory of D. Agustín Durán, whose scholarly dedication to his country's literature and perseverance instilled me with the courage to continue.

GENEALOGY


Francisco Gato Durán + Antonia de Vicente Yáñez (-1793)
Agustín Gato Durán Yáñez (1789-1862) + María Cayetana Cuervo
Luis Gato Durán Yáñez (1791-) + Josefa Eulalia de Llamazares
Cipriana Durán Yáñez + José Alvarez Guerra
José Gato Durán y Cuervo (1821-)
María Durán y Cuervo (1829-)
Francisco Gato Durán y Cuervo (1822-)
Juan Durán Llamazares (1821-)
Agustín Durán Llamazares
José Alvarez Durán (1822-)
Cipriana Alvarez Durán + Antonio Machado y Núñez
Antonio Machado y Alvarez (1846-93) + Ana Ruiz Hernández
Manuel Machado y Ruiz (1874-1947)
Antonio Machado y Ruiz (1875-1939)
José Machado y Ruiz
Joaquín Machado y Ruiz
Francisco Machado y Ruiz
Cipriana Machado y Ruiz

PART ONE

AGUSTIN DURAN: THE MAN

Al publicar el segundo [tomo] he tenido presentes dos cosas, la patria en que nací y la religión en que vivo. Español, he buscado en nuestro suelo mis aspiraciones. Cristiano, he creído que mi religión encierra más poesía que el paganismo.

JOSE ZORRILLA

I

The Early Years, 1789-1806

Agustín Francisco Gato Durán y de Vicente Yáñez was born in Madrid on October 14, 1789.[1] His father, Francisco Durán, professor of medicine and physician in the royal chamber, was a highly intelligent and sensitive man, renowned not only in his field of specialty but also as a man with a well-developed literary sensibility. Francisco was sworn in as physician on December 13, 1790, and practised, particularly to the nobility, during the early years of the nineteenth century.[2] It is not unlikely that this same Francisco Durán was the author of the play *La industriosa madrileña y el fabricante de Olot* (1790) and the "tragic soliloquy" *Dido abandonada* (1792). Furthermore, the name again appeared in 1807 when he was granted a licence to publish *Resumen en prosa de las Metamorfosis*.[3] A native of Puebla del Maestre, a small town in Badajoz, he came to Madrid where he met and married Antonia de Vicente Yáñez, a fragile girl from San Lorenzo, who was unfortunately to die when Agustín was only four years old.

Agustín inherited his mother's frailty and tendency to infirmity, an ill-fated inheritance from which he was to suffer his entire life. Don Francisco was

[1] There is considerable confusion concerning the date of Durán's birth. Many notable Hispanists, including E. A. Peers, J. García Mercadal, M. Romera-Navarro, J. Cejador y Frauca, F. C. Sainz de Robles, A. Salcedo Ruiz, as well as Espasa-Calpe's *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada,* Bompiani's *Diccionario de Autores,* and the Revista de Occidente's *Diccionario* present 1793 as Durán's birth year. This error seems to be copied from a work published in 1912 entitled *Diccionario biográfico matritense* by Luis Ballesteros Robles. Agustín Ruiz Cabriada in his *Bio-bibliografía del cuerpo facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos 1858-1958* gives 1792 as the year of Durán's birth, but provides no documentation for this assertion. Durán's death certificate (see Appendix A) states that when he died in December of 1862 he was seventy-four years old, placing his birth, then, in 1788. However, two different sources lead me to believe that this was perhaps a clerical error. Durán's close friend Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch in a eulogy read in the Biblioteca Nacional in January 1863 mentioned October 14, 1789, as his birth date. This claim is supported by records from the University of Seville which list the matriculation on October 7, 1806, of one "D[o]n Agustin Duran Yañez, nat[ura]l de Madrid, edad de 17 a[ños] ojos pardos y pelo castaño oscuro" (University of Seville. *Matrículas. Logica. 1781-1845.* Book 502, Folio 398). Hartzenbusch likewise placed Durán's age at 12 when he entered the Seminario de Vergara, which, as Appendix B indicates, was in 1801. Hence, 1789 is the most likely date; possibly 1788, but certainly not 1792 or 1793. Joseph Thomas in his *Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography and Mythology* (1885), and Enrique Piñeyro in his *El romanticismo en España* (1904) recognized this fact.

[2] See the records in the Archivo del Palacio. In 1797 he was in Aranjuez in the temporary service of the Duchess of Alba.

[3] Angel González Palencia, *La censura gubernativa (1800-1833)* (Madrid: Tip. de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1935), I, p. cxxv, and II, p. 172. Here, the elder Durán was listed as "conserje de la Real Academia de San Fernando".

deeply interested in his son's intellectual development, and tutored him and encouraged his interest in the literary arts before his formal education, which was to take place in excellent educational institutions, began. Don Francisco "comprendió que para todo se encuentra consuelo en la sabiduría; fisiólogo aventajado, observador profundo, comprendió toda la energía de aquel espíritu, por lo mismo que encerrado en poco dócil y aventajoso cuerpo".[4] If Agustín's illnesses closed several doors to physical enjoyments, they opened many others – his early experiences were to inspire in him a profound love of literature and an untiring dedication to study. It was precisely his physical incapacities which guided him towards intellectual pursuits. "Jamás reunió naturaleza facultades más capaces y serenas, en cuerpo tan débil y enteco. Una cruelísima enfermedad, que impidió su desarrollo físico, que le dejó tardo de oído y no expedito en el habla, que le condenó a un estado perpétuamente valetudinario, que le arrebató el regocijo de la niñez y la lozanía de la adolescencia, teniéndole atado en el lecho por muchos años consecutivos, le hizo tan temprano reflexivo y pensador, y le condujo a buscar en el saber el único remedio contra el tedio de la desgracia."[5]

Although his mother was dead, Agustín received careful guidance from his father (a man of "claro entendimiento, de exacto juicio, y de una cabeza perfectamente organizada"[6] according to Pastor Díaz). At times, Agustín was sent off to live with an uncle and a kind foster mother who gave him the motherly attention he most assuredly needed. If we are to believe Pastor Díaz it was this unknown lady who planted in his heart the first seeds of the religious and moral principles which would become an integral part of the mature Agustín Durán.[7] Don Francisco did not, however, content himself with developing Agustín's mind alone, for he realized the importance of physical growth as well. As a break from reading and studying, he played with his son, exercising his frail body and creating games to entertain him. But Agustín's health and strength failed to improve to any significant degree.

Largely in order to seek a change of climate from that of Madrid, in 1801, at the age of twelve, Agustín was sent to study at the Real Seminario de Nobles de Vergara in Guipúzcoa, where he stayed for three years. This small town located on the shores of the Deva river offered the atmosphere that as an adult Durán found so appealing in literature: two simple convents, the parish church of San Pedro of an unimpressive late gothic architecture, court houses, the church of Santa Marina dating from the late sixteenth century, and the stark facade of the Seminario itself. His first year and a half (from May 22, 1801, to November 17, 1802) was spent studying primarily Latin grammar and rhetoric. Later he went on to the humanities, philology, calculus and geometry, and was

[4] Francisco Cutanda, "Breves frases a la memoria del Excm. Sr. D. Agustín Durán, que falleció en 1º de Diciembre de 1862", *Memorias de la Academia Española* (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1870), I, p. 584.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 583-4.

[6] Nicomedes Pastor Díaz and Francisco de Cárdenas, *Galería de españoles célebres contemporáneos, o biografías y retratos de todos los personajes distinguidos de nuestros días en las ciencias, en la política, en las armas, en las letras y en las artes* (Madrid: Ignacio Boix, 1845), VII, pp. 225-6.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 226.

subjected to the standard mid-term and final public examinations, which he passed with "aplicación y aprovechamiento".[8] His infirmities continued to plague him and, "a pesar de lo que su padre se prometía de la mudanza de aires, más días ocupó su hijo en la enfermería que los bancos de escuela",[9] but Agustín turned the situation to his own advantage: "tendido en el lecho, donde le sobraban horas para pensar de su suerte futura, recordando a menudo las primeras lecturas de su niñez, libros de devoción y coplas, unas veces deseaba ser misionario, otras envidiaba las proezas de los héroes caballerescos."[10] With his books his only solace, Agustín sought refuge in those themes that were destined to monopolize his life – the Twelve Peers of France, the Moors, the Cid, and so many others.

Don Francisco brought his son back to the capital towards the end of 1803 only to find that Agustín remembered less of his formal lessons than of his religious and knightly heroes. The senior Durán wanted his son to follow in his footsteps in the medical profession and took action to "corregir los vicios de su educación moral e intelectual. Conociendo que su alma se hallaba apocada por el miedo de los difuntos y de las apariciones, le hizo asistir a varias disecciones anatómicas, consiguiendo al fin que se familiarizase con los cadáveres. Fue su padre el que acompañándole en sus primeras lecturas, y por medio de claras, exactas y breves explicaciones le suministró desde luego las ideas de lo bello y de lo bueno, enseñándole a discernir el grano de la cizaña".[11] But young Agustín had little interest in such matters – it was the "useless fantasies" he treasured now which would serve him later in his life.

For four years his father counselled him, guided him and eventually introduced him to a man who was to become a lifelong friend: Manuel José Quintana. Agustín went with his father to Quintana's famous tertulia intermittently between 1803 and 1806, and it was the contact with the members of that group which added substantially to his already budding literary interests. Most probably Agustín did not participate actively in the scientific and literary discussions, but he undoubtedly listened with avid interest.

Antonio Alcalá Galiano, in his own inimitable style, offered a provocative insight into the elite *inner sanctum* of that tertulia: "Mi compañero de viaje Quilliet había traído cartas de recomendación para D. Manuel José Quintana, entonces en el cenit de su gloria, y de cuyas poesías y juicios críticos era yo

[8] University of Seville. *Certificaciones de 1800 a 1820*. Book 775, Folio 173. See Appendix B.

[9] Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, "Necrología crítica del Excmo. señor Don Agustín Durán", *La Iberia*, 1863-I-15.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Pastor Díaz, p. 227. It has been frequently repeated that Durán studied at the University of Salamanca (most recently by D. L. Shaw), but no proof has ever been produced. The above testimony of Pastor Díaz as well as recent investigations in Salamanca by Michael Foy of the University of Birmingham (forwarded to me by my good friend D. W. Lomax) tend to rule out the suggestion that Durán had any contact with Salamanca. Neither Agustín nor his brother Luis appear in the extant records. There was, however, one Agustín Vicente registered in the Colegio Trilingüe from December, 1805, through the end of the course begun in November, 1807. Our documentation places Durán in Seville and Madrid in 1806 and 1807, as we shall see, which seems to disprove that the Salamanca gentleman and Agustín Durán were the same person.

grande apasionado. Rogué, pues, a Quilliet que me presentase al famoso poeta, y él, deseoso de complacerme, lo hizo con gusto. Muchas personas de distinción, como autores y eruditos, asistían allí por las noches, hora en que se celebraba la reunión de hombres solos, no concurriendo a ellas las señoras de la casa."[12] He listed the illustrious members of the group :

> Allí eran casi perennes Blanco (después llamado Blanco White), magistral de la capilla real de San Fernando de Sevilla, mediano y artificial poeta, grande escritor en prosa, de instrucción vasta y extensa, de carácter singular y extremado, acreditado después en las singulares variaciones de su conducta; el penitenciario de Córdoba D. Manuel García Arjona, poeta asimismo de la escuela sevillana, de robusta expresión, y en quien igualmente obraban más los preceptos que la inspiración natural; D. Juan Nicasio Gallego, entonces capellán de los reales pajes, conocido sólo por una oda a la reconquista de Buenos Aires, donde ya aparecían el gallardo concepto poético y la expresión lozana en que después ha sobresalido; D. J. Alea, traductor atildado del *Pablo y Virginia,* de Bernardino de Saint-Pierre; D. Antonio Capmany, laborioso erudito y purista, a quien rivalidades de fama a la par con diferencias de gusto literario, convirtieron en encarnizado enemigo de la persona a cuya casa iba con apariencias de amistad; D. Manuel Viudo; D. Jerónimo de la Escosura, y algunas veces D. Juan Bautista Arriaza, separado por toda clase de pensamientos y afectos de los demás concurrientes, con otros cuyos nombres y méritos no ocurren en este instante a mi memoria.

This long quotation is fascinating to those interested in Quintana's elusive tertulia, which Galiano attended in 1807 and 1808.[13] Quintana's tertulia was the center of intellectual liberalism, "conocida y apreciada en Madrid",[14] often in opposition to the group of conservative intellectuals headed by Leandro Fernández de Moratín and protected by Manuel Godoy. Agustín could not but be impressed and influenced by the men who surrounded his newly-found friend and mentor Quintana and by their ideas. Certainly this tertulia was one of the few signs of true liberal intellectual activity in Spain prior to the French invasion. It was there, too, through his father, that Durán came into contact with the irrascible Bartolomé José Gallardo, who was to provide Durán with many hours of pleasure and later as many hours of anguish.

A brief synopsis of that early relationship is given by Gallardo himself, who wrote to Durán in 1831 : "V. se acordará de que el año 9 me franqueó V., en Sevilla para qe la leyese nro. Flores, a qien se las habia yo zelebrado las *Lettres d'un Cultivateur Americain* de Creve-coeur. La dura suerte de las armas nos separó, dejando-le a V. in statu quo, echando a F. a Castilla, y enzerrando a mi en Cádiz. El año 20 nos volvimos a ver juntos; i tuve el gusto de devolver-

[12] Antonio Alcalá Galiano, *Memorias* (Madrid: E. Rubiños, 1886), I, pp. 122-4.

[13] Antonio Alcalá Galiano, *Recuerdos de un anciano* (Madrid: Victor Saiz, 1878), pp. 63 ss.

[14] Manuel José Quintana, *Poesías completas,* ed. Albert Dérozier (Madrid: Castalia, 1969), p. 12.

le a V. su libro qe F. me habia guardado religiosa[e]."[15] Gallardo was, of course, one of the greatest bibliophiles of the nineteenth century. He was a voracious collector and scholar, and it was he, more than anyone, who taught younger men to appreciate the values of long-forgotten books and manuscripts. He was the leader of what Pedro Sainz Rodríguez has aptly labelled the "historical" school of criticism,[16] those who remained faithful to the original text instead of "correcting" them, as did, for example, Hartzenbusch and Mesonero Romanos. Among those who heeded his advice and followed his example in research were La Barrera, Böhl von Faber, Amador de los Ríos, Fernández Guerra, and Durán.

[15] Pedro Sainz Rodríguez, "Documentos para la historia de la crítica literaria en España: Un epistolario erudito del siglo XIX", *Boletín de la Biblioteca de Menéndez y Pelayo,* III (1921), and IV (1922). Hereafter cited as *Epistolario* plus the number of the letter cited.

[16] Pedro Sainz Rodríguez, *Orígenes de la historia literaria en España.* This is an unpublished manuscript that Sr. Sainz generously placed at my disposal in August, 1973.

II

Seville, 1806-17

Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch placed Durán in Madrid throughout 1807.[1] This is only in part correct because on October 7, 1806, Agustín began a long and profitable relationship with the University of Seville, where the entire family had temporarily moved. Along with his brother Luis,[2] two years his junior, he matriculated into the course of Logic which had begun in September of that year.[3] Examinations took place in May, 1807, which both brothers successfully completed.[4] On July 5, the king, Carlos IV, instituted a major reform of the universities by drastically reducing their number and standardizing their curricula, due in part to the "estado de decadencia en que se hallan las Universidades de mis Reynos por falta de fondos para la subsistencia de los Maestros, y de uniformidad y buen órden en los reglamentos de estudios, con grave perjuicio de la enseñanza pública".[5] The Royal Decree abolished, or rather absorbed, eleven institutions, maintaining eleven others.[6]

Agustín and Luis did not, however, return to the University of Seville for the fall course but traveled to Madrid and entered the Real Estudios de San Isidro, "la institución pedagógica más importante de la capital",[7] where they both pursued the study of moral theology and Greek. It was not until the beginning of 1808 that they went back to Seville to follow the same courses on January 24, armed with proof of their successful interlude at San Isidro.[8] Again both young men completed their examinations in June.[9] Four months later Agustín Durán Yáñez began the study of law by matriculating into the law school and taking the introductory courses of history and elements of Roman law as outlined in the reform order, accompanied as before by his brother Luis. These courses, for which moral philosophy was a prerequisite, met for one and one-half hours in the morning and one hour in the afternoon, and employed

[1] Hartzenbusch, *La Iberia,* 1863-I-15.

[2] He also had a sister, Cipriana, who later married José Alvarez Guerra and settled down in Madrid. These two were the great-grandparents of the Machados.

[3] University of Seville. *Matrículas. Lógica. 1791-1845.* Book 502, Folio 398.

[4] University of Seville. *Pruebas de Curso. Lógica. 1781-1845.* Book 503, Folio 329.

[5] University of Seville. *Junto de arreglo y planos de estudios. 1801-1825.* Book 953, Folio 1.

[6] Reformed were Salamanca, Alcalá, Valladolid, Seville, Granada, Valencia, Zaragoza, Huesca, Cervera, Santiago, Oviedo. Incorporated were Toledo, Osma, Oñate, Orihuela, Avila, Irache, Baeza, Osuna, Almagro, Gandía, Sigüenza.

[7] Hans Juretschke, *Vida, obra y pensamiento de Alberto Lista* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951), p. 85.

[8] University of Seville. *Certificados de Cursos incorporados a esta Universidad. 1805-1811.* Book 774, Folio 384 (Luis, 385). See Appendix C.

[9] University of Seville. *Pruebas de Etica y Física. 1781-1824.* Book 497, Folio 119.

as texts "las obras que con estos títulos dio a luz Juan Got. Heinecio, juntando la lectura de sus Recitaciones, consultando (como previene el mismo) los Comentarios de Arn. Vinio a las Instituciones de Justiniano".[10] The second course (the third for the degree) dealt primarily with the same material, acting as review for the students; both boys completed these initial courses (in June of 1809 and 1810).[11] The arrival of the French in Seville (February 1, 1810), had seemingly no direct effect on the boys' schooling. The next step was the entry into the Cátedra de Instituciones Canónicas (which they both did on October 19, 1810),[12] where the same morning and afternoon sessions were dedicated to "el compendio que hizo de sus propias Instituciones Domingo Cabalario."[13] The felicitous passing of that year[14] entitled the candidates to proceed to the fifth year and the study of the history and elements of Spanish law, for one hour each in the morning and afternoon.[15] This most important year of study made use of the works of Ignacio Jordan de Aso and Miguel de Manuel y Rodríguez, including *Proemio e Instituciones,* a work not fully trusted since the professor was explicitly instructed to correct aloud the mistakes, errors, and inexactitudes of the book.[16] Each student was also expected to commit to memory the tables of Juan Reguera Valdelomar.

In June of 1812, the brothers ended the academic year,[17] and then signed up for the next course in October.[18] As with the second year of Roman law, the second year of Spanish law was a repeat of the first, taken at the same time with the same professor. For reasons unknown, Luis did not appear on the list of those who completed this year of study; Agustín did, however, complete it in June, 1813.[19] On September 28, 1813, Agustín requested and received permission to be examined for the Bachillerato, an examination consisting of a one-half hour session each of Roman, Canonical, and Spanish law.[20] Personal problems or perhaps illness possibly did keep Luis from taking the examinations since although he was permitted to register in the seventh-year course of Partidas, on October 29, 1813, he did so a full six days later than Agustín, did not

[10] *Junto de arreglo,* p. 11.

[11] University of Seville. *Pruebas de leyes. 1770-1816.* Book 504, Folio 681 and 695.

[12] University of Seville. *Matrículas y pruebas canónigas. 1771-1842.* Book 493, Folio 216.

[13] *Junto de arreglo,* p. 14.

[14] University of Seville. *Pruebas de Curso. Cánones. 1770-1839.* Book 492, Folio 282.

[15] University of Seville. *Matrículas. Leyes. 1774-1838.* Book 507, Folio 612.

[16] *Junto de arreglo,* p. 11.

[17] *Pruebas de leyes,* p. 716.

[18] *Matrículas. Leyes,* p. 619.

[19] *Pruebas de Leyes,* p. 722.

[20] Dr. Francisco Baquerizo, Secretary, certified the course of study which Durán had completed up to that point: "Certifico que Don Agustín Durán Yáñez, natural de la Villa y Corte de Madrid tiene incorporado en esta Universidad un Curso de Filosofía Moral, y ganados, dos de Historia y Elementos del Derecho Romano, uno de Instituciones Canónicas, y dos de Historia y Elementos del Derecho Real. Según se averigua de los libros de esta Secretaria a que me refiero. Sevilla veinte y ocho de Setiembre de mil ochocientos trece. Dr. Baquerizo." Durán presented this statement with his request: "Don Agustín Durán Yáñez, natural de Madrid, como mejor proceda parezco ante Ud. y digo: Que tengo ganados un Curso de Etica, y cinco de Leyes, según se averigua de la Certificación que presento y juro: Respecto a que necesito recibir el Grado de Bachiller en la misma

complete the year, and disappeared definitively from the records of the university. Once again, however, Agustín plodded through "el método del incomparable Cujacio en el Proemio de la suya al Código Romano", to finish the course in 1814.[21] The eighth-year Recopilación was dedicated mostly to criminal jurisprudence.[22] Political economy dominated ninth-year studies,[23] a program including the detailed analysis of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations,* adapted when possible to Spanish circumstances, and taught by Francisco Javier de Oviedo. The tenth and final year was practicum, including the study of Juan de Hevia Bolaño's *Práctica,* practical legalistic problem-solving, and legal recourse. On August 18, 1817, Durán graduated with a law degree from the University of Seville, finishing his courses "con lucimiento".[24]

The years at Seville were fruitful ones for Durán, not so much because of his law studies, but because those were the years in which he began actively to cultivate his interest in literature. His friendship with Quintana did not cease when he left Madrid, since the Napoleonic invasion in December, 1808, had forced the poet out of the capital. Quintana passed through Avila, Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, arriving in Seville in January, 1809.[25] He remained in Seville where he continued the publication of the fiery *Semanario Patriótico* from May until November, enlisting the help of Blanco and one of the professors of the University, Alberto Lista. Durán may have had contact with this group, since it is known that he saw Gallardo, who wrote articles for the *Semanario*[26] during this time.

From these days dated his long and intellectually prosperous (albeit not always completely harmonious) relationship with Alberto Lista. Lista was an enormously versatile man, active in the Church, politics, literature, and pedagogy, a leading figure in all the liberal circles in Seville, and in contact with the leaders of both generations – Jovellanos and Floridablanca as well as his younger friends and students.[27] His activity in Spain was interrupted during four difficult years of exile in France from 1813 to 1817.

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facultad. A. V. S. suplico se sirva haber por presentada la referida Certificación y mandar se me admita a Examen para dicho grado. Y que siendo aprobado se me confiera en la forma ordinaria. Pido justicia juro etcetera. Agustín Durán." The request was granted: "Por presentado este Pedimento con la Certificación que refiere: como se pide. Lo mandaron los Señores Rector y Diputados de la Real Universidad Literaria de Sevilla a veinte y ocho de Setiembre de mil ochocientos trece. Dr. Maestre. Rector. Dr. Baquerizo. Secretario." University of Seville. *Pedimentos para Grados de Bachiller y otros desde 1805 hasta 1818.* Book 756, Folio not numbered.

[21] *Pruebas de leyes,* p. 734.

[22] Completed in June 1815. *Ibid.,* p. 742.

[23] Agustín matriculated on October 30, 1815, and completed the course in June, 1816.

[24] Pastor Díaz, p. 227.

[25] Manuel José Quintana, *Poesías,* ed. Narciso Alonso Cortés (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1958), p. xvii.

[26] Juan Marqués Merchán indicated that the articles were rejected for "excesiva violencia de lenguaje". *Don Bartolomé José Gallardo: noticia de su vida y escritos* (Madrid: Perlado, Paez y Cª, 1921), p. 60. Durán did not suspect that he would later be the recipient of that same violent language.

[27] Juretschke suggests that Lista even attended Quintana's tertulia on visits to Madrid, hence Durán's acquaintance with him could have pre-dated the Seville days.

Durán began to take an interest especially in old Spanish drama, and began to collect copies of rare or forgotten works, which he would often read with more enthusiasm than his law books. A note which he wrote later to Pedro José Pidal, on presenting him with a copy of volume 4 of the *Cartas de Belardo a Lucilo* demonstrates that he began to collect manuscripts during his student days: "Este inapreciable Códice que adquirí en Sevilla el año de 1814 por medio de mi amigo D. Miguel de Espinosa, Racionero de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de esta Ciudad, se libró milagrosamente de salir para el extrangero. Paréceles, y es en efecto el 4º volumen de una colección de Cartas y Villetes confidenciales y autógrafos escritos por Lope de Vega Carpio (Belardo) a su protector y amigo el duque de Sessa (Lucido)."[28]

During the course of his stay in Seville he managed to secure an impressive number of these plays, a number that reached the staggering total of over 2500 by 1823. Durán himself spent hours ordering, alphabetizing, cataloging and dating his collection.[29] Lista later noted, as did others at various times during Durán's life, how generously he made this growing collection available to others: "colección adquirida a precio de mucho trabajo y costo, y que franquea con una generosidad poco común a los literatos que desean consultarla."[30]

[28] The rough draft of his dedication to Pidal is located in the Biblioteca Nacional. In the same draft, Durán mentioned that his father once wrote a work on Lope.

[29] A manuscript copy (2 volumes, 471 and 256 pages) can be consulted in the Manuscript Section of the Biblioteca Nacional.

[30] *Gaceta de Bayona*, 1829-X-3.

III

Transition, 1817-28

Durán's law degree meant little to him as his interests were elsewhere. He was offered an appointment by the king in 1817 in Salamanca, which he refused; instead, he went to Valladolid to be received as a lawyer in the Chancery.[1] It is not clear why he went there, other than to please his father. However, the presence of a D. Francisco Vicente Yáñez, appointed to several responsible legal positions during the 1817-21 period,[2] suggests the influence of an uncle (the same one who took him in as a child?). At any rate, he worked in the Royal Chancery as a civil lawyer for a very short time, after which he returned to his father's house in Madrid.

Don Francisco, ever ready to stimulate his son, encouraged Agustín once again to read widely and engaged him in literary conversation – conversations ranging from the beauty of Virgil and Horace to the subtleties of Clairaut and Lacroix; they studied Aristotle, and the enlightened Condillac and Destutt-Tracy (whose *Ideología* was then being used as a text at the Ateneo); they discussed Descartes, Leibniz, and Plato; they explored together different theologies; they studied Kant and Rader, and then they broadened their scope of knowledge of chemistry, physics, and natural history. Agustín went on to intensify his study of political economy and history, spending considerable amounts of time and money for that purpose.

But in the midst of his classical studies, he later confessed, he was inevitably wooed by the sirens of the old Spanish pueblo and he found himself dashing off compositions in imitation of those delightful, if unknown, masters. The official dissection of Virgil was often pushed aside by the loves of Tristan, and Apollo's lyre was drowned by the chords of the troubadour's harp. His serious studies were at frequent intervals neglected for what he considered more frivolous (but how much more exciting !) pastimes.

These years were a turning point in Durán's life, and he was fortunate to share his enthusiasm with his old mentor: "Dirigido por su padre, y habiendo aprovechado felizmente cuantas ocasiones halló de recibir enseñanza o consejos del ilustre maestro en ciencias y letras, don Alberto Lista, se dedicó luego a estudiar por sí con nuevo y perseverante afán cuantos libros pudo haber a las manos de filosofía y humanidades."[3] Pastor Díaz underlined Lista's importance

[1] The records in the Real Chancillería from those years have been severely damaged, but one mutilated paper remains for September 22, 1817, the date of Durán's official reception.

[2] Real Chancillería de Valladolid. *Libro de acuerdo,* 1817, 1820, 1821.

[3] Hartzenbusch, *La Iberia,* 1863-I-15. Lista had come to Madrid after Riego's uprising, and the amnesty of April 23, 1820.

in Durán's intellectual development by noting that many Spaniards of letters were or had been disciples of don Alberto and by crediting him with the flowering of Durán's literary appreciation: "En los pocos meses que recibió el señor Durán las lecciones del señor Lista se perfeccionó las humanidades, contrayendo una vehemente afición a las buenas letras",[4] and in effect, Lista's importance cannot be minimized. Both his classes in the Colegio de San Mateo and his Academia del Mirto attracted the country's most intelligent and liberal thinkers, including, together with Durán, three distinguished generals, Juan de Pezuela (later the conde de Cheste), León y Navarrete and Mazarredo, Roca de Togores (later the influential marqués de Molins), Ventura de la Vega, Espronceda, Ochoa, Patricio de la Escosura, Usoz del Río, Madrazo, López Pelegrín (Abenámar), Pidal, etc. The list is a veritable Who's Who of budding Spanish arts and letters.[5] Durán remembered later those days with Lista: "No puedo recordar sin gratitud aquellas horas que pasaba a mi lado con inmensa paciencia, esperando que el dolor diese treguas para la enseñanza: a veces su conversación era el único consuelo que tenía, cuando el cirujano salía harto de sajarme y martirizarme."[6] Many years later, Amador de los Ríos commented that Durán's life works "venían a coronar por su cima los nobles esfuerzos de Lista, imprimiéndoles más trascendental y profundo sello".[7]

Somewhat recovered from the ailments which never ceased torturing him, Durán turned in depth to the French theater, absorbing classical theory and even briefly following the vogue of vilifying the extravagances of Lope, Calderón, and Moreto. He later confessed: "También participé del mismo error general; también sacrifiqué en el altar de la moda al temor de que se me tuviese por necio y ridículo; también tuve la audacia de reprobar lo que me era poco conocido, y de despreciar en público lo que en secreto admiraba."[8] His flirtation with the classicists was brief though, and he was not long in doing an about-face from that position to become more and more interested in the richness of Spanish popular poetry, deepening his already profound love for the national theater. He continued to spend vast sums to purchase materials. Gallardo, himself an impassioned bibliophile, recorded the purchases made by his friend Agustín in only two days (May 8 and 10, 1821): "25 tomos de *Comedias* de Lope de Vega, 44 de comedias varias de las Partes, 44 de comedias sueltas encuadernadas y 202 comedias en rústica."[9] Durán might be suspected of having more than a passing interest! Popular poetry and theater firmly became Durán's two loves which, "abriéndose a sus ojos un horizonte vasto y magnífico, ya no salió de allí y se ocupó en dirigir hacia las esplendorosas regiones de la

[4] Pastor Díaz, p. 228. Durán's formal contact with Lista was probably during the latter's lectures at the Ateneo in 1822-3. See J. C. J. Metford, "Lista and the Romantic Movement in Spain", *Bulletin of Spanish Studies,* XVI (1939), p. 89.

[5] See Juretschke, pp. 102 ss.

[6] Quoted by Pastor Díaz, *ibid.*

[7] José Amador de los Ríos, *Historia crítica de la literatura española,* I (Madrid: José Rodríguez, 1861), p. lxxiii.

[8] "Prólogo", *Romancero general* (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1849), p. vi.

[9] Cited by Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, *Correspondencia de D. Bartolomé José Gallardo (1824-1851)* (Badajoz, 1960), p. 10.

verdad".[10] They would express themselves explosively by the end of the decade.

Although wealthy, noble and highly intelligent, Agustín was no ladies' man. His shy nature and physical weaknesses kept him from the gay, dashing life pursued by other men his age. His courtship of María Cayetana Cuervo y Martínez was short and their marriage somewhat hasty (dispensing, for reasons unknown to us, with the usual preliminaries),[11] but he nevertheless found tenderness and companionship in a sweet girl who was to be a source of strength and support for the next forty-two years. The ceremony was enacted on June 16, 1820, in the little church of San Martín in Madrid. Nine months later, on March 23, 1821, the Duráns' first child, Juan José Francisco de Asís Leandro Gatto Durán y Cuervo, was born and baptised at San Martín.[12]

Disinclined to follow a career in law, Agustín was named by the recently formed constitutional government to a position as an official in the Dirección General de Estudios, executing "especiales e importantes" duties in the same position held by Quintana during the first constitutional period and shared with him during this Constitutional Triennium.[13] The position was a political plum and gave him the opportunity once again to mingle with the intellectuals of the capital. But the liberal ideas that Durán shared with Quintana were instrumental in having him removed from that position upon the return of Fernando VII to the throne. Durán managed to remain in Madrid at his residence at 23 Postigo de San Martín (in the area of today's Plaza Callao on the Avenida José Antonio), while his friends rapidly disappeared from the capital – Gallardo was off to Seville and Quintana was exiled to Cabeza de Buey in Extremadura. In fact he was lucky to escape the "veritable reign of terror" which ensued.[14] The times were not overly happy ones, but Durán busied himself with the love of his family, including a second son, Francisco de Asís Luis María, born on September 24, 1822, and spent long hours reading and gathering materials for his library.

Durán applauded the goals of the constitutional government and deplored the repressive tactics of Fernando, although political circumstances dictated that he, like others in opposition to Fernando, stifle his opposition in public and display flourishes of obsequious praise to the monarch. In a letter uncovered among Durán's papers,[15] one notes sharp criticism of one of Fernando's confidants and in addition a rare, frank evaluation of the king himself. Evaristo San Miguel, a "liberal por participación y sin liberalismo propio", and "literato por equivocación" (the ever-literary Durán!), in essence controlled the reins of government after August, 1822, only to find himself before the invasion of the Cien Mil Hijos de San Luis, on April 7, 1823, in conflict with the king. Durán's assessment, undoubtedly not a little bitter from his unemployment during that period, stated that

[10] Hartzenbusch, *La Iberia,* 1863-I-15.

[11] See Appendix D.

[12] Luis and his wife, Josefa Olalla Llamazares, had a son the same year.

[13] Dérozier, *Quintana: poesías,* p. 13.

[14] See George F. White, *A Century of Spain and Portugal (1788-1898)* (London: Methuen, 1909), p. 122.

[15] Published by José Simón Díaz, "Los papeles de Durán", *Revista de Bibliografía Nacional,* Madrid, VI (1945), pp. 111-13.

> . . . hubo capitulación formal entre Fernando y San Miguel, haciendo éste de Fiscal en la causa de los guardias, lo llamó el Rey y quedaron en que él haría no se condenase a ninguno, y el Rey le daba palabra Real de no conspirar más y hacerlo Ministro de Estado. Su palabra nada significaba. Graciosísima promesa la de no volver a conspirar, que incluía la afirmativa de ser conspirador. Se echaron pelitos a la mar sobre la causa y San Miguel entró en el Ministerio, asi salió ello. Empezaron las jacquerías, las historias con el Papa, la expulsión del Nuncio, las amenazas ridículas, las bravatas a todo el mundo, sin ejércitos, dinero, recursos, opinión y sin un esfuerzo para buscar y copiar auxilios. Nada de eso. ¡Que vengan los Ejércitos enemigos! La noble y valerosa nación española las espera y escarmentará. Lo cierto es que vinieron aquéllos y ¡cómo los recibió la Nación!

Fernando was viewed with little sympathy: "Y el zorrón de Fernando haciéndose el tontito. ¡Pobres españoles! ¡Entre qué gente . . . ! Evaristo dejó el Ministerio en Sevilla, cuando ya que ministerear ni aun para pasar el tiempo servía, y la cosa se cobijó como pudo."

This private view differed sharply from Durán's public comments on the king. Durán was a fervent monarchist, deeply entrenched in the idea that monarchy was the just and rightful state of the Spanish government, although it was the institution, not the person of the king as we have seen, which elicited his true support. Yet he frequently embellished his writings with obsequious praise of Fernando's benevolence and magnanimity, qualities which Durán fully realized the king lacked. The use of such phrases as "nuestro amado Rey" was of course *de rigueur* for anyone wishing to remain in public life, but references to the "noble Soberano, bajo cuyos auspicios nacen y se amparan la bondad, la munificiencia y el talento creador" and "este mismo sentimiento patriótico que anima mi existencia se acrece cada día cuando veo la mano protectora de un Monarca extenderse benéfica a cuanto puede acrecentar el brillo y ensalzar las glorias del país que domina",[16] reek of flattery. Still, this was the same man who wrote several years later in a certain lady's autograph book, "La esclavitud del pensamiento ahoga todo germen de virtud",[17] a thought he repeated in his opening address to the Real Academia Española in 1834: "Querer que prospere una nación donde el pensamiento arrastra cadenas es pretender lo imposible . . . la muerte solo puede redimirse con la vida, la oscuridad con la luz, la degradación humana con la libertad de la inteligencia y la entronización del pensamiento."[18]

His views were liberal but his opinions were for the most part measured, insisting that revolution in fact retarded human progress and that only through evolution, i.e., peaceful reform, could man, with the help of time and education, hope to achieve true liberal goals. "Ha solido decir a sus amigos, que el martirio

[16] Agustín Durán, "Estatua de Cervantes", *Cartas Españoles,* 1832-III-8, p. 290.

[17] See Julio Puyol, "Un álbum romántico", *Revista crítica hispano-americana,* I (1915), p. 27.

[18] Copies of this address are rare today. The liberal newspaper *La Abeja* published the full text in its issue of November 10.

de los que defienden una idea es el triunfo de ella; ¡tanto detesta los medios violentos que ensalzan a los perseguidos y arruinan a los perseguidores!"[19] His judiciously tempered views will become even more apparent through the analysis of his literary posture.

Durán's well-stocked library had already gained a reputation of its own. When Moratín was in the process of gathering material for his *Orígenes del teatro español,* he solicited Durán's aid several times. In 1823 Moratín was endeavouring to purchase from Indalecio Sancha, who later worked with Durán at the Biblioteca Nacional, a collection of Lope's plays. Durán, having inherited a considerable sum of money, paid Sancha ten thousand *reales* for it (an amount that Moratín would never have paid), and then gave a check-list of it to Moratín for use in the *Orígenes.*[20] He also sent him a check-list of Lope's *entremeses,* a listing of Calderón's plays,[21] and several pieces of bibliographical information on Gil Vicente, Juan Pastor and Alonso de Pedraza. Again and again, Moratín turned to Durán : "No quisiera molestar al señor Durán, que tendrá sin duda otras cosas de mayor importancia a que atender; pero si puede favorecerme dándome noticias de los títulos de las obras dramáticas españolas que conozca, relativas al siglo XV y XVI, le quedaré sumamente agradecido."[22] Durán sent him not only facts but ideas as well for the work to which Moratín dedicated so much of his time, and informed him of the existence of several works which had escaped the exile's attention. Moratín, in turn, was first to inform Durán of a 1521 edition of several of Torres Naharro's plays which he had picked up in Paris.

The correspondence of Moratín leaves the deliciously frustrating suggestion that, as early as the mid-1820's, Durán was working on a history of the Spanish theater. The work was never published, but it seems apparent that Durán may have labored on the manuscript off and on for years to come (Wolf in 1852 refers to a similar history – see page 118). Moratín wrote to Juan Melón about this project of Durán's : "He visto con mucho gusto la apuntación de lo que se propone hacer relativamente a nuestro antiguo teatro, y ni dudo de los muchos y preciosos materiales que habrá recogido, ni del acierto con que desempeñará su obra",[23] and asked him to tell Durán not to abandon it, "porque probablemente el suyo, y no el mío, verá la luz pública, y hará muy bien de conservar y aumentar una obra que tiene ya tan adelantada".[24]

Durán continued to build up his collection of old Spanish comedias and felt that they were both interesting and important enough to merit public recognition. Most assuredly to the dismay of staunch classicists, Durán, aided by two younger friends, Eduardo de Gorostiza and Manuel García Suelto, began to publish some of the works in his possession under the general title of *Colección general de comedias escogidas del teatro antiguo español, con el examen crítico*

[19] Pastor Díaz, p. 229.
[20] See Leandro Fernández de Moratín, *Epistolario,* ed. René Andioc (Madrid : Castalia, 1970).
[21] Letter dated 1825-IX-1. *Ibid.,* p. 151.
[22] Letter dated 1825-XI-2. *Epistolario,* I.
[23] Moratín, *Epistolario,* p. 151.
[24] *Ibid.,* p. 651.

de cada una de ellas, a series which reprinted at least 118 comedias in instalments between 1826 and 1834.[25] The favorable reception and popularity of the series, as evidenced by its long run and periodic advertisement in the *Gaceta de Madrid*, point to the fact that old Spanish theater, notwithstanding the adverse criticism heaped on it by certain "élite" circles, was deserving of recognition and obviously being followed by the populace as it had been from the days of Lope and Calderón.[26] Durán, like Lope, demanded that the people should be the judge and in his usual humble manner (Lope indeed!) praised the *Colección* in his *Discurso*: "De la colección general de comedias escogidas, que hoy día se está publicando, se pueden esperar muchas ventajas, pues sus apreciables editores reunen todas las circunstancias intelectuales necesarias para perfeccionar la empresa que han tomado a su cargo."[27]

[25] Since none of the authors' names appeared with the volumes many critics have questioned or ignored Durán's contribution to the series. However, Pastor Díaz stated that Durán contributed analyses of several of the plays, including Lope's *Los milagros del desprecio* and Zamora's *Convidado de piedra* (p. 269), and Mesonero Romanos, while discussing various collections of Calderón's comedias mentioned "la de los señores Durán y García Suelto en 1826 . . ." ("Teatro de Calderón", *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 1851-XII-21, p. 403). Dionisio Hidalgo in his *Diccionario general de la bibliografía española* which began publication in the year of Durán's death, stated that "esta colección que es difícil hallar completa, contiene las 118 comedias publicadas. . . . Salió por suscrición en cuadernos que contenían dos comedias o medio tomo a 4rs. los de papel común y a 6 los de fino. Sueltos a 5 y 7. El exámen crítico que va a continuación de cada una de estas comedias se debe a los señores D. Agustín Durán, D. Manuel García Suelto y D. Eduardo de Gorostiza: los dos primeros, y especialmente el Sr. García Suelto, fueron los que hicieron el mayor trabajo, el último tomó en él muy poca parte" (Tomo I, p. 488). I see no reason to dispute these claims.

[26] See Ivy McClelland, *The Origins of the Romantic Movement in Spain* (Liverpool, 1937). N. B. Adams established that Golden Age plays constituted about 10% of the total of plays performed at this time. "It will be noticed that this proportion varied from year to year, reaching its maximum in 1827. . . ." "Siglo de Oro Plays in Madrid, 1821-1850", *Hispanic Review*, IV (1936), p. 342.

[27] *Discurso sobre el influjo que ha tenido la crítica moderna en la decadencia del teatro antiguo español, y sobre el modo con que debe ser considerado para juzgar convenientemente de su mérito peculiar* (Madrid: Ortega y Cía., 1828). Reprinted in the *Memorias de la Academia Española* (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1870), II, pp. 280-336. The quote here is from page 331; page references are to the *MAE* edition.

IV

Literary Beginnings, 1828-39

Durán's love for Spain and things Spanish prompted his thinking to evolve to a point where he could, after long hours of discussion with Alberto Lista about the theories of Schlegel,[1] publish a defense of Spain's national theater. His full entrance onto the Spanish literary scene (impoverished as this was during the "ominosa década") was auspicious: indignant at the neglect and abuse that the theater of Lope and company suffered at the hands of fervent classicists, and desirous of expressing his views on the matter, he published in 1828 his now famous *Discurso*, "una de las obras más profundas que ha producido la crítica erudita en el siglo XIX en España".[2] By many it was openly ignored, but others, recognizing the authority that the author's name lent it,[3] praised it for boldly calling attention to the national theater. Lista himself, although obviously not in total agreement with the analysis or emphasis presented by his friend, called it an "opúsculo lleno de ideas nuevas y luminosas",[4] and for Juan Valera judging it in retrospect it was "brillante y sabia".[5]

In it, Durán unveiled the main currents of his "romantic" thought, giving fair recognition to the aesthetically acceptable as well as the unacceptable in the drama of the Golden Age, and demanding new sets of critical rules for a theater that was in its very essence totally different from the classical (Greek) theater. The ideas were certainly not startlingly new to many, but the task of synthesizing and expressing them was left to Durán, and he fulfilled it admirably. The revaluation of Spanish theater and even the imitation of it became vogue as evidenced by the romantic activity of the 1830s, and Durán was credited with encouraging the advent of romanticism in Spain and with inspiring youth to appreciate the beauties of Spain's national literary products: the *Discurso* was very certainly a powerful influence in the next decade.[6]

Durán's claim that popular theater and popular poetry were truly worthy

[1] "Por las traducciones, las referencias de las revistas y de las discusiones que mantuvo sobre el asunto con su ex-discípulo y amigo Agustín Durán, Lista estaba enterado de las tesis de Schlegel." Juretschke, p. 292.

[2] Pedro Sainz Rodríguez, *Don Bartolomé José Gallardo y la crítica literaria de su tiempo*(Paris: Revue Hispanique, 1921), p. 170.

[3] Pastor Díaz, p. 230. Indeed, Durán was already a literato of some stature, a man "conocido en la literatura española por su buen gusto y sus buenos estudios", according to Lista in his review of Durán's *Romancero de romances moriscos. Gaceta de Bayona,* n. 1, 1828-X-3.

[4] Lista, *ibid.*

[5] Juan Valera, "Notas biográficas y críticas: Agustín Durán", in *Obras completas,* II (Madrid: Aguilar, 1961), p. 1278.

[6] Lista, for example, recommended it to his students at the Ateneo. See Donald Shaw, ed., *Discurso* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1973), p. xxvi.

of scholarly recognition could have ended with his *Discurso.* Instead, in that same year, he laid the first stone of the monumental work that was to give him lasting fame – the first volume of the five-volume collection of *romances.*[7] Agustín had been stimulated by other collections of *romances,* most notably by Nicolás Böhl von Faber's *Floresta de rimas antiguas castellanas* (Hamburg: Perthes and Besser, 1821-25), to edit the most comprehensive collection possible of Spanish poetry. Böhl's *Floresta* was beautiful but incomplete and unfortunately little known in the Iberian peninsula.[8] Durán wanted the Spanish ballads preserved in Spain and he stated (in an indirect and assuredly unintentional affront to Böhl) that, "en un tiempo en que la Europa parece disputarse a porfía la adquisición de todas nuestras obras de literatura y bellas artes, y cuando cada día se van agotando las impresiones de nuestros buenos poetas, nos han parecido vergonzoso no tratar de reimprimir a lo menos algunas de aquellas que nos hacen más honor".[9] The volume was so well received that Durán published two more a year later.[10] This massive work was completed in 1832 with the publication of the last two tomes.[11] Durán did not merely publish the *romances* but he offered the public a scholarly yet readable discussion of their origins, nature and significance, and he organized them by subject and alphabetically – a labor of astonishing dedication, if one remembers his ever-plaguing illnesses.[12]

The entire collection proved immensely popular both inside and outside Spain and was deemed important enough to be reprinted almost verbatim by Ochoa in Paris (1838) and later in Barcelona (1840) under a new title, *Tesoro de los romanceros y cancioneros españoles.*

While Quintana was preparing to return to Madrid in 1828 after his long

[7] *Romancero de romances moriscos, compuestos de todos los de esta clase que contiene el Romancero general, impreso en 1614* (Madrid: Leon Amarita, 1828).

[8] Böhl complained of this in a letter to Durán: "He visto con satisfacción la honorífica mención que hace Vmd. de mi Floresta en su advertencia [this was in volume 2, 1829], tanto más grata para mí, que es el primer testimonio impreso que he visto de un Español a favor de mis afanes." Letter dated 1829-X-23. See *Epistolario,* XV. He later wrote: "No sé si he dado a Vmd. las gracias por la nota laudatoria de la Floresta al pie de la advertencia de Vmd. . . . En España han ignorado la Floresta y (Vmd., Gallardo y Calaveri exceptuados) aun los que han querido ponerla en buen lugar han sacado lo peor . . ." *Epistolario,* XLII.

[9] "Prólogo", *Romancero morisco,* 1828.

[10] *Romancero de romances doctrinales, amatorios, festivos, jocosos, satíricos y burlescos, sacados de varias colecciones generales y de las obras de diversos poetas de los siglos XV, XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Leon Amarita, 1829), and *Cancionero y romancero de coplas y canciones de arte menor, letras, letrillas, romances cortos y glosas anteriores al siglo XVIII, pertenecientes a los géneros doctrinal, amatorio, jocoso, satírico, etc.* (Madrid: Eusebio Aguado, 1829).

[11] *Romancero de romances caballerescos e históricos anteriores al siglo XVIII, que contiene los de Amor, los de la Tabla Redonda, los de Carlo Magno y los Doce Pares, los de Bernardo del Carpio, del Cid Campeador, de los infantes de Lara, etc.* (Madrid: Eusebio Aguado, 1832). This was published in two parts.

[12] Gallardo wrote on November 30, 1828, ". . . me han dicho hallarse V. algo indispuesto. Mucho lo siento; y lo siento tanto más, cuando delatando-se mucho ya su respuesta, me temo que alargue al mismo paso su quebranto". *Epistolario,* III. Gallardo assured us that Durán was recovered by December of that year.

absence,[13] he wrote to Durán to introduce him to a young *extremeño* of his recent acquaintance – Juan Donoso Cortés – and to ask him to help the newcomer establish himself in the capital. Quintana's introduction described why he had entrusted Agustín with this pleasant task: "Su afición predilecta son la Poesía, la Filosofía y las Letras, y yo me persuado de que tendrá V. gusto en conocer y tratar a un sujeto que en los pocos años que cuenta reune a un talento nada común una instrucción y una fuerza de razón y de discurso todavía más raras. Es dialéctico y controversista como V. y se me figura que han de tener Vstedes buenos ratos de disputa. En las miras que ahí le llevan puede V. servirle mucho, y sus consejos, su experiencia, sus libros y sus correcciones le han de aprovechar infinito."[14] Donoso met Durán, and through him such notables as Lista, Muriel, Reinoso, and Miñano.[15]

It is not unlikely that Donoso participated in the discussions preceding the publication of the powerful *Discurso*; he was taken into Durán's confidence and could have offered interesting counters to Durán's romantic arguments, since his views differed little from Lista's. Durán's company was, after all, one of the few centers of the brewing romantic-classic debate.[16] Donoso wrote a year later, in a speech which strongly reflected the views on the theater expressed in the *Discurso,* the following praise of his friend: "Loor eterno al filósofo modesto y metafísico profundo que, levantando su frente en medio de la superficialidad que le rodea, ha merecido bien de las musas castellanas, juzgándolas con la fuerza irresistible de su razón y la solidez que acompaña a su talento: el nombre del señor don Agustín Durán estará grabado en el corazón de todos los buenos españoles, como lo está en un modo indecible en el de todos sus amigos, que se gozan de su saber y se honran con sus virtudes."[17]

That year, the Duráns were blessed with another child, a daughter this time, whom they named María Ana Luisa Eulalia. She was baptized on February 19, 1829, at San Martín, and Agustín's brother Luis, who had been so close to him since their school days, stood as her godfather.[18]

Later in 1829 when Fernando VII married for the fourth time he chose twenty-three year old María Cristina de Borbón, and Durán decided[19] to com-

[13] "Ustedes me deben ya considerar como muerto según el largo silencio que guardan conmigo. Pero este es un mal sin remedio como tantos otros. Vivo estoy y muy vivo, y mis amigos lo están en mi memoria como siempre." 1828-V-28. *Epistolario,* II.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Juretschke, p. 157.

[16] See Edmund Schramm, *Donoso Cortés. Su vida y su pensamiento* (Madrid: Espasa, 1936), pp. 40 ss.

[17] "Discurso en apertura en Cáceres (1829)", in *Obras completas* (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1946), I, p. 41.

[18] Luis may have gone on to become the "rico latifundista [who] se hizo famoso en la fiesta nacional por los renombrados toros de Durán" to which Julio César Chaves referred in *Itinerario de don Antonio Machado (de Sevilla a Collioure)* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1968), p. 7.

[19] The king demanded poems from many of the kingdom's known poets (Quintana, Arriaza, Gallego). Others (Mesonero, the duque de Frías, Ventura de la Vega, Espronceda, Gil y Zárate, Bretón) produced verse hailing the queen's arrival. See R. Mesonero Romanos, *Memorias de un setentón* (Madrid: Publicaciones Españolas, 1961), II, pp. 61-62.

memorate the occasion with an example of yet another facet of his talents – a congratulatory declaration in verse entitled *Trovas en lenguaje antiguo castellano al augusto enlace del muy manífico rey e sennor D. Fernando VII con S. M. la Reyna Donna Maria Cristina.* Durán's special knowledge of Spanish popular poetry was put to use in a poem in which he employed linguistically distinct Old Spanish as his medium of expression. He called upon his poetic Muse again twice in 1830. First, when the queen was awaiting the birth of María Isabel, the future Isabel II, a poem was published with the title *Trovas en antigua parla castellana con motivo de la succession qu'ofresce el Tálamo del Sennor Rey Don Fernando VII y su augusta espossa Donna Maria Cristina,* and second, in October when the baby was born, Durán sent a beautiful little volume containing congratulatory verse to the queen, entitled *Trovas en antigua parla castellana al feliz alumbramiento de la Reyna d'Espanna nuestra Sennora.*[20] The following year, on the day of San Fernando, Durán published another panegyric entitled *A Nuestro Augusto Soberano en el solemne 30 de mayo.* Durán's last poetic offering to Fernando came *á propos* the serious attack of gout which the king suffered in September of 1832, an illness which many were convinced would be his last. *Trovas a la Reina Nuestra Señora por la salud recuperada de nuestro amado monarca su augusto Esposo El Señor D. Fernando VII, y en celebridad de sus benéficos decretos* was published to salute the king's recovery.[21] All of his poems were well received and "estimados y aplaudidos".[22]

These early poems to the royal family encouraged Durán to branch out into lyrico-historical verse, which he did by publishing three poems in the years between 1831 and 1833 in magazines edited by his friends – *Cartas Españolas, Boletín de Comercio,* and the *Revista Española.*

Notwithstanding his immense burst of activity and obvious dedication to literary causes, Durán tired of being unemployed. On March 25, 1832, he wrote to the queen asking her to intercede on his behalf with the king in his application for an appointment to the Royal Library, a position for which he was eminently qualified in view of his "conocimientos y erudición en nuestra antigua y moderna literatura".[23] He was motivated as much by the tempting thought of the literary treasures to be uncovered in the dusty libraries as he was by the mere desire to work. Along with his request, Agustín sent to the queen a copy of the third volume of his *Romancero* (*Cancionero y romancero,* 1829), which he had handsomely bound in engraved leather himself, gently reminding her thereby of his contributions thus far to Spanish letters. As always, how-

[20] This elaborate volume, hand-written and colorfully decorated contains a personal dedication "A la Reina N. S. el autor en tributo humilde de Amor y Respeto. Agustín Durán". Durán also presented the queen with a decorated copy of the previous tome, although a certain C. José González Seijas, not Durán, did the artwork. Both are conserved in the Biblioteca del Palacio.

[21] This is one of the few *Trovas* that has been reprinted. See *Memorias de la Academia Española,* III (1871), pp. 631-7.

[22] Pastor Díaz, p. 270.

[23] See the full letter published by Matilde López Serrano in "Don Agustín Durán, encuadernador", *Revista bibliográfica y documental,* I (1947), p. 93, in which she describes Durán's artwork.

ever, it was not fame nor money that motivated him but his profound love for Spanish literature. "Ni desmedida ambición ni deseo de brillar me mueven ahora a molestar la atención de V. R. M., sí solamente el anhelo de encontrar en la Real generosidad medios y recursos para dar a conocer las glorias Literarias de España y de añadir algunas flores a la Corona inestimable de sus Soberanos", he wrote.

Durán's hobby of bookbinding casts an interesting light on a versatile man. He sought escape, as need dictated, from his academic pursuits, but chose to do it among his great loves – books. Apart from the copy he sent to the queen, we read in a letter from Böhl (*Epistolario,* XXII) high praise concerning a volume of Moratín's *Orígenes* which Durán hand bound and sent to his friend. He also did a copy of the Academy's *Diccionario* for Gallardo in 1832 ("V. qe tiene buena mano para estos adobos."[24]).

When he entered the Royal Library (which after 1836 was renamed the Biblioteca Nacional) it was abominably disorganised and neglected. Facilities were few, and as the years progressed, bibliographic unconcern became widespread, a fact which he had already decried in his 1832 *Romancero*: "Acaso se hallarían monumentos igualmente preciosos en las bibliotecas particular y pública del Rey nuestro Señor. ¡ Ojalá que este trabajo mío llame la atención pública, la de los jefes de ambos establecimientos, y la protección de nuestro ilustrado Soberano hacia esta clase de estudios e indagaciones, pues de ello resultarían sin duda medios para estudiar y penetrar el carácter que imprimió la edad media en la civilización española."[25] The February, 1838, issue of *No me olvides* delivered a passionate attack on those deficiencies: "Repitimos que la Biblioteca está desordenada; repetimos que tiene tres cuartas partes de empleados de mas, y que los actuales no cumplen en general con su obligación."[26]

As if he did not have enough to keep him busy and intellectually stimulated, Durán contributed (albeit infrequently) to current periodicals. The first of his articles to appear during this period was a laudatory description of a recently-unveiled sculpture by Antonio Solá commemorating the heroic deaths of Mar-

[24] *Epistolario,* XLI.

[25] "Discurso preliminar", *Romancero caballeresco* (1832), I, p. xxxviii.

[26] Durán and Bretón were praised for their erudite contributions, but the editors developed the general criticisms: "La biblioteca está desordenada porque en ella no hay índices; porque no se cuida de completar las obras descabaladas; porque no se sabe lo que existe; porque cada empleado no está encargado al ramo de que entiende; . . . Hay en ella demasiados empleados, porque para el materialismo de dar los libros bastaban criados, como se practica en todas las bibliotecas bien regularizadas del mundo. Adoptando este sistema, con seis hombres, que no mirasen su destino como un beneficio simple, estaría bien servido el establecimiento. Los empleados actuales no cumplen en general con su obligación. Es deber suyo reclamar los ejemplares que la ley concede a la Biblioteca de todas las obras que se publican en el reino. ¿Se hace esto? El autor que quiere, envía los ejemplares de su obra; el que no, no. Rara vez sucede lo contrario: y el que guste convencerse de esta verdad, que se entretenga en pedir obras de contemporáneos, y verá cuántas veces las encuentra. – Hay un bibliotecario mayor [Patiño] con 50000 rs. de sueldo, y habrá algún amigo suyo que se sirva de decirnos en que se ocupa? ¿Qué ha hecho por el establecimiento? ¿Qué hace por las letras en las *tres escasas horas* que suele estar al día en el establecimiento? ¿Qué ha hecho? Conservar abusos", p. 44.

tín Daoiz and Pedro Velarde during the Napoleonic invasion of May 2, 1808.[27] The second, also artistic criticism, was a favorable review of Eugenio de Tapia's new drama, *Amar desconfiando o la Soltera suspicaz.*[28] This article was really a pretext to criticize the poor theatricality which passed then for good acting. Like Larra, who later railed against these things in "Yo quiero ser cómico" (1833-III-1), Durán bitterly complained of the simpletons who attempted to imitate the great Máiquez (as a monkey imitates a man, "sin comprenderle"), merely gesturing wildly for laughs, never really knowing the historical or artistic background of the author or the dramatic situation being presented. This was particularly evident in plays that were foreign to them, not from the mainspring of traditional Spanish drama. In fact when acting in that with which they could identify (e.g. old Spanish drama) they were blessed often with "naturalidad, gracia, expresión, buen oido". At any rate, in both articles, Durán revealed his finely-developed literary sensibilities and his sharp critical judgement.

By the end of 1832, Agustín was at least professionally acquainted with those men who were or were to become the leading members of Spain's literary society. This was the year that Pastor Díaz came to Madrid, and he was soon welcomed into the intellectual circles which Durán frequented.[29] These energetic groups numbered among them Durán's old friends like Quintana, Lista, and Donoso, as well as others of more recent acquaintance – Olózaga, Estébanez Calderón, Ventura de la Vega, Escosura and Larra.

The knowledge of Durán's accomplishments was not confined to his own country. Ferdinand Wolf, an eminent collector of Spanish poetry and avid Hispanist who later became Director of the Imperial Library of Vienna, was prompted by Durán's work on the *Romancero* to call him unreservedly Spain's most eminent critic.[30] Böhl wrote enthusiastically about Durán's work in his letters to Julius,[31] and the colony of exiles in London kept close watch on the activities at home. He was even praised from Havana and invited to join the Real Sociedad Patriótica of that country,[32] since his work was well enough known to merit critical review in Havana's leading newspapers.

The period 1829-32 was the time of an excitingly detailed correspondence between Durán and Böhl. Böhl initiated the contact on January 13, 1829, in

[27] "Grupo de Daoiz y Velarde", *El Correo: Periódico Literario y Mercantil,* n. 522, 1831-XI-11.

[28] "Literatura Dramática", *El Correo: Periódico Literario y Mercantil,* n. 625, 1832-VII-9.

[29] Enrique Chao Espina, *Pastor Díaz dentro del romanticismo* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949), pp. 36-7.

[30] Quoted by Manuel Olivo y Otero, "Necrología. Don Agustín Durán", *El Museo Universal,* December, 1862, pp. 398-9. Wolf first published the encomium in his short biography of Durán which appeared in *Conversations-Lexicon,* v. 5 (Leipzig, 1852), p. 305.

[31] On 1829-II-6, Böhl wrote to Julius: "In Madrid hat sich ein neuer Verfechter des altspanischen Theaters und der Romantiker überhaupt hervorgethan: A. Durán. Sie erhalten sein erstes Heft mit nächstem Schiff. An einen groben Klassiker, der a la Mora mit Knüppeln über ihn hergefallen ist, hat es nicht ermangelt." See Camille Pitollet, *La Querelle Caldéronienne, de Nikolaus Böhl von Faber, et José Joaquín de Mora* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1909) p. xxii.

[32] *Epistolario,* XXIII (1830-XII-25).

response to Durán's *Discurso,* realizing that the two shared more than a passing interest in common. The industrious German did not hesitate to immediately engage Durán's help and to request suggestions for the pursuit of his studies in the areas of national poetry and theater. Durán at once agreed and in the years until Böhl's death in 1836 they exchanged materials as well as ideas concerning the origins, meanings and importance of both national poetry and old drama. They gossiped about old and new works, relishing discoveries or poring over textual problems. Durán was anxious to meet Böhl personally, gleefully pondering the hours of agreeable and stimulating conversation that would surely occur: ". . . con cuánto placer pasaría a su lado un año para que en mancomun y con nuestra biblioteca reunida formasemos una obra completa que abarcase nuestro Teatro hasta el siglo 18. Ciertamente que pasaríamos un tiempo delicioso discutiendo y disputando sobre nuestras ideas y opiniones. ¡Cuánto aprendiera yo de V. en la controversia de los críticos alemanes, y en la aplicación de sus teorías a los hechos de la literatura española, inglesa y alemana!"[33] They never met. Durán had planned a visit to Puerto, and even spent some time in the city of his student days, Seville, but his anticipated visit to Böhl was for whatever reasons cancelled.[34] The similarity of their professional views was not the only reason why Böhl wanted to meet his friend – Böhl's daughter, Cecilia, not yet known as Fernán Caballero, was likewise interested in exchanging views with the respected scholar.[35]

During this period Durán also engaged in a rare flurry of political activity. In three lengthy articles early in 1833 he addressed himself to the political turbulence which was shaking the stability of the country, namely the September, 1832, illness of Fernando and the battle at La Granja over the Pragmatic Sanction. If privately he viewed Fernando as a danger, he considered the weakening of the monarchy an even greater danger which had to be avoided at all cost. The first two articles dealt directly with the monarchy as the only appropriate form of government for Spain, and Durán strengthened the position which he had established for himself as a stout monarchist in the *Discurso* in passionate, if at times hysterical, tones. "El feudalismo cayó desplomado, la democracia se asesinó a sí misma entre sus desórdenes, y el triunfo quedó a la mejor de las instituciones, a la Monarquía, que ya para siempre se obstenta como única protectora del reposo y tranquilidad de los estados",[36] he wrote. Only the monarchy, then, remained strong, because "la Monarquía es una necesidad de los pueblos y de la civilización, y porque representa y asegura los intereses materiales y morales de la sociedad".[37] The monarchy reflected the true state of the people: "Dios, Rey y Ley; tal es la divisa de los pueblos:

[33] This unpublished letter, dated 1831-I-3, is in the Biblioteca Nacional. Although Böhl is not specifically mentioned, I believe the content strongly suggests him as the intended recipient.

[34] See Javier Herrero, *Fernán Caballero: Un nuevo planteamiento* (Madrid: Gredos, 1963), p. 100.

[35] "Mi hija me dice que siente no haber tenido el gusto de ver a Vmd., pero que no se mueva Vmd. por esto, pues sé que para los hombres que se ocupan mucho de libros la vista de damas es un monte." *Epistolario,* XII (1829-IV-23).

[36] A. D., "El triunfo de las doctrinas monárquicas", *Boletín del Comercio,* 1833-II-12.

[37] *Ibid.*

obediencia, trabajo y lealtad, son las condiciones a que gustosos se someten para obtener orden, paz, riqueza y goces."[38] A strong monarchy both created and resulted from a strong monarch, and was, for Durán, an absolute prerequisite for stability: "Los pueblos sedientos de prosperidad y reposo solo anhelan orden y justicia; saben que estos elementos no pueden hallarse sino bajo la egida de la autoridad monárquica, fuerte y pura . . . Gracias al cielo los sucesores de nuestro Monarca no podrán echarle en cara el haber disminuido la autoridad monárquica que heredó de sus antepasados."[39] The powerful monarch differed from the despot in his insistence on following the laws – legal precedent became the important distinction and the results of despotism could be disastrous: "Un Monarca es el soberano de los pueblos; un déspota apenas manda en algunos cortesanos, que casi siempre le conducen a un abismo para abandonarle después en el peligro."[40] Here, Durán was laying the groundwork for his legalistic arguments.

The purpose of this rather tortured thinking was to help to stave off the controversies brewing over the succession. Fernando's illness of September, 1832 was believed fatal by many who were surprised by his "miraculous" recovery. Hence, the king was not immortal, and Durán, with his eyes upon the lovely and more moderate María Cristina, began laying what part he could of the groundwork for the transition of power to her, not to her religiously reactionary brother-in-law. He had, in the *Trovas,* already praised the moderate change of course which had led to the reopening of the universities, etc., and wanted to insure a forward-looking future, not one controlled by clerical factions ("Dios destinó los sacerdotes para moralizar los pueblos, pero no para gobernarlos políticamente"[41]). He defended the institution of a powerful monarchy, and by extension Fernando's right to control the direction (based on legal precedent) of that monarchy. The meaning of his statement, "Esta consiste en gobernar los pueblos por medio de leyes, sin atribuirlas efecto retroactivo [Carlos was born in 1788, the year *before* Carlos IV promulgated the Pragmatic Sanction]; en tener libre y espedita su aplicación por medio de tribunales imparciales . . .",[42] was clear to those familiar with the details of the succession controversy. It was to this problem that he directed his remarks in the third article to appear that February.

He decried the "facción reaccionaria" which "quiso resistir los mandatos Soberanos; cuando se opuso al decreto que destinaba la corona a la Hija de los Reyes; cuando los infieles en el momento de agonía arrancaron al Padre la ex-heredación de su línea. . . ."[43] Having made his case for a strong monarchy and for Fernando's claims to legality in the 1830 promulgation of the disputed Pragmatic Sanction,[44] he asked "¿por qué niegan a los sucesores coronados de dicho Señor en la facultad de restablecer lo que aquel derogó y derogar las

[38] *Ibid.*
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] El Trovador, "De la monarquía, considerada como la institución política más conforme a los progresos y a la prosperidad de los pueblos", *Boletín del Comercio,* 1833-II-26.
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] A. D., "La mano del Omnipotente", *Revista Española,* 1833-II-26.
[44] "De la monarquía . . ." was published on the same date as this article.

leyes que impuso? Si Felipe V era absoluto, absolutos son también los Reyes de España sus descendientes . . . ¿por ventura el Sr. D. Carlos IV y su augusto hijo D. Fernando VII son menos Reyes, tienen menos derechos y autoridad que su ilustre abuelo?"[45] As usual, Durán was repetitive but forceful in his arguments. Unfortunately they did nothing to forestall the bitter divisiveness which ravaged the country after Fernando's death in September of that same year.

In 1834, as a result of his "mérito literario y demás circunstancias",[46] he was named Secretary of the Inspección General de Imprentas y Librerías, a position which enabled him to subtly direct the literature of the day along lines in keeping with his own philosophy. The post let him "contribuir a la buena dirección de estos importantes ramos de la organización social, facilitando en cuanto cabe a la circulación de todo lo bueno y útil y estorbando la publicación de lo impío y licencioso".[47]

This same year the indefatigable collector began the publication of another series of Golden Age dramas, this time with the intent of making known some of those works which were especially difficult to acquire. And this he did with his own initiative and his own resources. The prospectus of the *Talía española o Colección de dramas del antiguo teatro español, recogidas y ordenadas por D. Agustín Durán,* announced the reprinting of "las comedias de los mejores ingenios españoles desde Lope de Vega, que es quien fijó las formas peculiares y distintivas de nuestro teatro original, hasta Cañizares y Zamora, en cuyas manos puede decirse que expiró, porque después empezaron nuestros dramáticos a imitar la escuela italiana y francesa". The first volume was dedicated to Tirso, and Durán included in it an eloquent appraisal of Golden Age theater under the guise of a biography of Tirso. Durán claimed that Tirso would be granted primary status due to the scarcity of his printed works, but another motivation was surely the popularity of Tirso's dramas as compared with the other dramatists. As N. B. Adams observed, "the most popular Siglo de Oro dramatist during this time was Tirso de Molina, who is represented by twenty-eight plays, five hundred and forty-one performances. Lope de Vega comes next, with twenty-three plays, four hundred and fifty-eight performances. Calderón and Moreto run a close race".[48]

The three plays presented in the *Talía, La prudencia en la mujer, Palabras y plumas,* and *El pretendiente al revés,* also carried short critical comments. It went on sale in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Seville, Cádiz and Santiago de Compostela, and it was hoped that he would publish many of those plays which were reputedly in his possession ("nos han asegurado que el señor Durán tiene en su poder un número considerable de piezas inéditas de nuestros autores más justamente celebrados, en cuya publicación hará un señalado servicio a la república de las letras"[49]) but, unfortunately, mere dedication by an author

[45] "La mano del Omnipotente", *ibid.*

[46] *Gaceta de Madrid,* 1834-II-18; also announced three days later in the *Revista Española.*

[47] Letter from Böhl dated 1834-II-25. *Epistolario,* XLIX.

[48] Nicholson B. Adams, "Siglo de Oro Plays in Madrid, 1820-1850", *Hispanic Review,* IV (1936), p. 343.

[49] *El Artista,* 1835-I-25.

could not insure open public acceptance. With near prophetic hesitation, E. G. (Enrique Gil) wrote that "vergonzoso sería que esta empresa no fuese favorecida grandemente por el público".[50] Even though it was a critical success, the volume was unsuccessful in stimulating the interest of the minimum of 750 subscribers who were needed to cover the expense of printing the elegant edition ("de lo más bello que jamás se ha publicado en España"[51]). The *Talía* ceased publication after the first volume: ". . . causas independientes de la voluntad de este distinguido literato echaron por tierra una obra que había dado margen a esperanzas muy lisonjeras."[52] Among those who felt the loss was Böhl who expressed his sympathy for ". . . lo desanimado que se halla Vmd. para seguir la reimpresion del Tirso de Molina, por los pocos que se interesan en el día en asuntos puramente literarios".[53]

In the same year two honors were accorded Durán: election to the Spanish Royal Academy and final appointment by the queen to the sought-after position in the library. The secret vote for membership in the Academy took place on October 9 for two illustrious individuals – Durán and Angel de Saavedra, the duque de Rivas. One month later on November 6, 1834, Durán delivered his address[54] on the historical development of the language and took his place as an honorary member.[55] The address reflected his publicly moderate approach to literature and linguistics: "me complaceré siempre", he said, "en multiplicar los testimonios de mi gratitud, y observaré con las palabras la conducta que en toda república bien constituida debe observarse con los hombres, y es: ni negar con excesiva severidad, ni conceder con demasiada profusión los derechos de ciudadanía."

His participation in the Academy was minimal – in the next three months he missed as many sessions as he attended, and the final analysis of attendance shows that he attended only eighteen sessions from his ingression until his death twenty-eight years later. He did, however, make several contributions, the first of which was to correct the proofs for a volume of *Poesías anteriores al siglo XV* which the Academy had been working on for some time, and was in the process of publishing. Quintana was at the same time working on the prologue, but Durán had to be prodded in the assignment,[56] busy no doubt as a result

[50] *Eco del Comercio,* 1834-VII-17. Durán apparently had made an index of Spanish Golden Age plays, which Gil suggested that he prepare for publication. He never did, although several indices are to be found among his papers in the Biblioteca Nacional.

[51] Pastor Díaz, p. 264.

[52] *Semanario Patriótico Español,* 1839-IX-1, p. 279.

[53] *Epistolario,* XLVIII. This letter is dated 1833-V-17; if the date is correct, the date for the *Talía* will have to be put back a full year. I suspect, however, that it should read 1835 for two reasons. First, Böhl made reference to the *Artista* (believed by Hartzenbusch to be from 1835), and second, he congratulated Durán for being appointed to the Royal Library, an appointment which Durán did not receive until 1834.

[54] Published in *La Abeja,* 1834-XI-10.

[55] *Actas de la Real Academia Española,* Book 21, Folios 146 and 148. Rivas addressed the body one week earlier.

[56] A full year later the Academy recorded: "Determinó asimismo la Academia que se pone un oficio de recuerdo al S^{or} Durán, para que manifieste el estado que tenga el encargo que se le dio respecto a la impresión del tomo 5^{o} de Poesías anteriores al siglo 15." *Actas,* Book 21, Folio 167 (1835-X-22).

of his new duties in the Royal Library.[57]

The idea of reviving the Ateneo, a center and forum for intellectuals of diverse scientific, artistic and literary interests, had been entertained since 1832. Finally, on October 31, 1835, one hundred and ten of Madrid's most outstanding men met for the purpose of petitioning the Government for license to meet. This new society would not be merely a ghost of the old one, but "otro semejante con las variaciones y mejoras que las circunstancias, después de tan largo transcurso, exigiesen y permitieran".[58] As might be expected, Durán attended with his friends[59] the first general meeting (1835-XI-26) of this new group which, "ofreciendo un punto de reunión a todos los hombres instruídos, contribuyese a facilitarles la mútua comunicación de sus ideas y a ponerles por medio de los periódicos y obras extranjeras al nivel de los progresos que las ciencias hacen diariamente en otros países".[60]

Durán's attendance record at the Ateneo was even more dismal than his attendance at the Royal Academy,[61] and he was consequently not named to any of the courses given at the Ateneo at that time. His initial absences could well have been caused by a new series of ailments from which he was suffering. His health, in fact, became so poor that he found himself forced to beg the queen for leave of absence from his duties at the library.[62] Immediately before he left his position, however, Agustín found strength enough to attend a special meeting of the Academy designed to elicit from its members an oath of loyalty to the queen, whose constitutional cause was being seriously threatened by the supporters of Fernando VII's brother Carlos.[63] Apparently the oath at the

[57] "Por Real Orden de 1º de Diciembre se ha dignado S. M. aprobar este nombramiento propuesto por el Bibliotecario Mayor, señalando al referido Dn Agustín Durán 24 de mº de sueldo anual." Inedited letter in the Archivo del Palacio.

[58] Quoted by Rafael Labra, *El Ateneo de Madrid* (Madrid: J. Alaria, 1878), p. 66. Royal approval was granted on November 16.

[59] Including Alvarez Guerra, Fernández de los Ríos, Ochoa, Gil y Zárate, Ventura de la Vega, Donoso, Roca, Bretón, Pacheco, Olózaga, Quintana, Martínez de la Rosa, Gallego, Arrieta, etc., all actively participating, like Durán, in the flourish of literary activity of the decade.

[60] Labra, *ibid.*

[61] Durán appeared on the attendance roster only one more time (1835-XII-6), although he remained associated with the body, as evidenced in the *Memorias anuales del Ateneo,* vol. 1.

[62] According to Durán's doctor, he was suffering from scrofula, a tubercular condition causing enlargement and degeneration of the lymphatic glands, particularly of the neck. Durán was seriously plagued with it in the lower abdomen: "Certifico: como he asistido a D. Agustín Durán, en distintas ocasiones, el que padece una irritación crónica escrofulosa del sistema glandular absorbente, y particularmente de el del mesenterio, de cuya dolencia aunque se halla más aliviado en consecuencia del método curativo empleado, para conseguir su total restablecimiento le es indispensable hacer uso de Baños de Mar, como una de las medicinas que surten en semejantes males los más felices resultados, junto con la variación de género de vida, aires, alimientos y clima, consiguientes a la necesidad de trasladarse a pasaje aproposito para poder hacer uso de los Baños . . . Madrid 20 de Agosto de 1836. Candido García." Durán attached this statement, along with verification from his superior, Joaquín María Patiño, to the petition. The entire correspondence is located in the Archivo del Palacio.

[63] Durán supported the oath: "Juráis guardar y hacer guardar religiosamente la Con-

Academy was not sufficient, since another royal decree of August 31 went out demanding Durán's sworn allegiance. All members of the library staff were likewise required to take the oath, but Durán had disappeared from the city for health reasons right after the Academy vote, and during the last weeks of August and into September flurries of decrees, petitions and solicitations crossed paths. Durán was located in San Lúcar de Barrameda, near Seville; he did his duty and was granted four months leave-of-absence. The queen's return to the radical constitutionalism of 1812 paved the way for the new Constitution of 1837.

He was recovered and back in Madrid in time to view the performance of Patricio de la Escosura's *La corte del Buen Retiro* and review it for the *Eco del Comercio* (1837-VI-9). He then went to see Roca's first play, *Doña María de Molina* – a truly "modern" drama in Durán's view in that it based itself on the national drama of the seventeenth century without stooping to servile imitation of that genre. He reviewed it for the July 30, 1837, edition of the *Observatorio Pintoresco,* an offspring of the *Semanario Pintoresco Español.*[64] Durán supported it along with Bretón and "el Solitario" during its short existence (May-September). During this same period he buried himself for long hours in the Biblioteca Nacional, making copies of various manuscripts which he needed for his ongoing research. It is known specifically that he worked on a fifteenth-century *Cancionero* and an edition of Góngora's poetry, as his papers in the Royal Academy indicate.

That September he was named to a commission for censorship (preview, it was called) of new dramatic offerings, "compuesta de personas de gran reputación literaria",[65] along with his old friends Quintana (who accepted the position after it was turned down by Martínez de la Rosa) and Lista. To the *Observatorio* he contributed a sprightly verse narrative entitled *Trovas donde se narran los dulces y sentidos amores de la Infantina Celinda con su paje el Conde Claros: son fechas en muy gracioso y aplasciente estilo,* and in December he attended a performance of his colleague Bretón's *Don Fernando el Emplazado,* a review of which appeared in the *Eco del Comercio* (1837-XII-3).[66]

Obviously disappointed by the failure of the *Talía,* but undaunted, Agustín greeted with pleasure Hartzenbusch's plan to begin another series with similar aims. Hartzenbusch turned to Durán for help, which Durán was only too happy to give. His position was mainly one of support, although he generously offered his valuable collection to his friend and wrote important criticisms for inclusion in the series.[67] Subtitled "Teatro escogido del Maestro Tirso de Molina", the new series began where the old *Talía* had left off, publishing *La villana*

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stitución política de la monarquía española del año 1812 en conformidad con el Real Decreto expedido por S. M. la Reyna Gobernadora en 13 del corriente y en cumplimiento de la Real Orden del 15 del mismo." 1836-VIII-20. *Actas,* Book 21, Folio 186.

[64] The relationship between the two reviews is claimed by George Le Gentil, *Les Revues littéraires de l'Espagne pendant la premiere moitié du XIXe. siecle* (Paris: Hachette, 1909).

[65] Jacinto Salas y Quiroga, *No me olvides,* nº 21 (1837-IX), p. 7.

[66] Neither of the reviews in the *Eco* was signed, but Pastor Díaz claimed in 1845 that Durán reviewed these two plays.

[67] *Colección de las mejores comedias del teatro antiguo español.*

de la sagra, Marta la piadosa and *Amor y celos hacen discreto.* Fortunately this series, the mature and seasoned fruit of the two scholars' labors,[68] was followed with interest by the press and enjoyed wider circulation than its illustrious predecessor.[69] The Tirso section ended in 1842 after twelve volumes. Durán's most valuable contributions were the criticisms he published on *La prudencia en la mujer* (reprinted from the *Talía*) and the little-known *El condenado por desconfiado.* Lista recognized the importance of Durán's work in the detailed study which he dedicated to the series.[70]

Durán had become one of the supporters of the new *Revista de Madrid*[71] and contributed twice before the close of the decade. A minor but provocative poem, *Imitación de la poesía y coplas del siglo XV,* appeared early in 1839, and an influential tripartite article entitled "La poesía popular. Drama novelesco. Lope de Vega" was published in the December issue.[72] In this article Durán further elaborated on his "romantic" ideas as applied, as the title indicated, to poetry and theater. As he had done before, he attacked the extremes of literary thought that were rampant in Spain, especially during the thirties, disagreeing with the excesses of what Allison Peers has called the "Romantic Rebellion", and lamenting that the fervent neo-classicists (ill-directed, not stupid) lacked originality:

> Por huir de las afecciones y sentimientos del que llamaban vulgo, se empeñaron en seguir estrictamente como pauta y regla universal las formas, ideas y pensamientos de los antiguos clásicos. ¿Y qué hicieron? Los copiaron, los repitieron hasta la saciedad, los caricaturaron. ¿Y qué adelantaron? ¿Ha llegado, por ventura, a la posteridad alguna de sus obras? Pues a fe que gran número de ellos no carecían ni de talentos, ni de imaginación, ni de estudio: pero todo lo tenían embotado con el triste empeño de ser Homeros y Virgilios, olvidando que para ser grandes era necesario intentar ser ellos propios.[73]

But the ever-fair critic underlined the importance of those very classics in a statement to the youth of the day that is a synthesis of his whole approach to the *clásico-romántico* controversy: "el estudio de los clásicos es el jugo de la seva y el calor que anima la inteligencia; es el ambiente puro que conserva

[68] *Semanario Pintoresco Español,* 1839-IX-1, p. 279. It went on to praise the authors' "erudición, sana crítica y esmerado gusto".

[69] ". . . muy sinceras son las gracias que por ello damos al editor del Teatro antiguo español y a los señores Hartzenbusch y Durán, directores de la empresa. Pocas personas o quizá ninguna pudieran ofrecer en España mayores garantías por acierto, así por su erudición como por su laboriosidad y celo, según lo acreditan muy bien en el primero sus aventajados talentos dramáticos, y en el segundo la preciosa colección de romances con que ha enriquecido nuestro parnaso, y el primer cuaderno de la *Talía española,* obra en que se cifraban esperanzas tan fundadas como lisonjeras, y que por desgracia se agotó en flor." *El Correo Nacional,* nº 518, 1839-VI-19.

[70] *Artículos críticos y literarios* (Sevilla: Calvo-Rubio y Cía, 1844), pp. 95-136.

[71] Established June, 1838. Durán contributed along with Lista, Gil y Zárate, Martínez de la Rosa, Pacheco, Donoso, and Gallego.

[72] Second Series, I, pp. 261-2, and II, pp. 62-75 respectively.

[73] *Ibid.,* pp. 65-6.

inmortal la llama del talento, es el cultivo que fecunda la originalidad . . . [one must avoid the] falso camino de los delirantes y frenéticos románticos de una nación vecina, [and search for] la inspiración en Virgilio, en Lope, en Calderón, en sí propios y en la naturaleza que los rodea."[74] Menéndez y Pelayo saw fit to judge it an article "de mucho jugo estético".[75]

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 74-5.
[75] *Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria* (Santander: Aldus, 1941), III, p. 40.

V

Maturity, 1840-60

By 1840, Durán's friendly relationship with Bartolomé José Gallardo had collapsed in the waves of a scandal initiated by Gallardo. Prior to this their relationship was not only one of mere personal acquaintance, but deeply felt mutual affection. Durán had learned many of his bibliographical ways from Gallardo and the two shared parallel literary interests, as evidenced by their warm, intelligent correspondence: often, they played at medieval identities – Gallardo's Gaiferos to his friend's Durandarte de Belerna.[1] Gili Gaya rightfully claimed that "es indudable la influencia que Gallardo ejerció en [Durán] en cuanto al método de investigación histórica y al criterio para reproducir textos antiguos".[2] However, the "Mi estimado amigo" and "Querido Tinito" of earlier years gave way in a series of articles in his acerbic *El Criticón* to hostile criticism and malicious libel ("hominicaco chisgaravís" and "escarabajo literario" he called Durán in one number[3]). The seeds of Gallardo's discontent began, as pointed out by P. Sainz Rodríguez, when he was passed over for the position in the Manuscript Section of the library which was awarded to Durán.[4] Sainz has become even more convinced that their animosity stemmed from Gallardo's pettiness: "He encontrado muchas noticias nuevas y puedo decir que Gallardo, que reconoció el mérito indiscutible de la obra de Durán, riñó con él por un motivo personal, que fue el nombramiento de Durán como bibliotecario de la Nacional, cargo al que según aspiraba, sin decirlo, don Bartolomé."[5] To this might be added the fact that Gallardo had also planned as early as 1816 to publish a *Romancero* of his own, which the loss of his library sadly prohibited.[6] When the job passed him by, the old wounds of jealousy were reopened.

While Gallardo was still apparently friendly with Durán, behind his back, in letters to his friends, he was writing of his personality: "A Durán preguntaré lo que V. me encarga; pero puede V. esperar la respuesta para el año que viene (si Dios quiere): es desgalichadísimo"[7]; of his ideas: "Acuerdo-me a este propósito del charlatanzuelo de Durán (uno de los prinzipales Colaboradores de los Abejistas o Abejorros en estos días) el cual habiendo visto en Mad. Stäel escpuestas con elojio esas doctrinas, creyó poner una pica en Flandes dando-las

[1] See *Epistolario*.

[2] *Diccionario de literatura española* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1949), p. 192.

[3] *El Criticón, papel volante de literatura y bellas artes,* nº 4 (1836), p. 3.

[4] Sainz Rodríguez, *Gallardo,* p. 218.

[5] Sainz Rodríguez, *Orígenes,* p. 279.

[6] See letter dated 1816-X-20, published by Miguel Artigas, "Una colección de cartas de Gallardo", *Boletín de la Real Academia Española,* XVI (1929), p. 71.

[7] 1833-I-8. Artigas, *ibid.*

a conocer en España como adivinanza suya . . ."[8]; and of the *Talía*: "Ya no se quieren sino empresas positivas, es dezir, empresas qe aseguran a sus empresarios medros de honra i provecho: como la que ha empezado Durán para que le sirviese de título para obtener la plaza de Bibliotecario Decano. Al efecto el ha sabido bien lo que se ha hecho: poner un prospecto muy galante (grazias al que nos trajo las gallinas!) i reimprimir, no las que él estima por mejores comedias, sino las que lisonjeasen mas a la Reina Gobernadora por las aplicaciones personales que envuelven. En lo demas él bien sabia al acometer la intentona que 'era empresa superior / a las fuerzas de un gozquejo' pero el asi hazia el juego y trampa adelante."[9] So much for Durán's noble literary endeavors, as far as Gallardo was concerned.

Gallardo was an eminent bibliophile and undoubtedly worthy of the disputed position; but then so was Durán, although Gallardo did his best to prove otherwise. He accused him by 1840 of not only incompetence in his job, but outright theft of manuscripts: "Cuando el Bibliotecario Gato-Durán [Gallardo missed no opportunity to be sarcastic] entró en la Biblioteca, ostentó que iba a hacer un catálogo nuevo de los Mss. Si lo ha hecho, u lo que haya hecho, en la Biblioteca debe resultar; lo que yo puedo asegurar es que bien no puede haberlo hecho porque una gran parte de los más preciosos códices de la Biblioteca estoy seguro de que no sabe leerlos siquiera . . . Gato-Durán era un tesorero encargado de un rico tesoro. Dar a un tesorero por todo castigo la pérdida de su empleo sin obligarle a dar cuentas, será bien castigarle sus culpas, pero ¿y la reparación?"[10] Ironically, this is the same man whom Castro labeled the "iracundo Biblio-pirata Don Bartolo-mico Gallardete" for precisely the same reasons. Of course Gallardo not so subtly proceeded to offer his invaluable services (the "entrega de los Mss. a una persona inteligente") to rectify the situation. Nor did he limit his attacks to ridiculing Durán – he censured Quintana, criticized Bretón and outraged Patiño.[11] Durán was in fact dismissed by the governing Junta of the Library, but as a casualty of the political turbulence, not, as Gallardo suggested, for theft; Gallardo even questioned this himself: "en la separación de éste de su destino no se sabe si lo castigan sus opiniones o si se le expulsa por razón de oficio." Gallardo, although applauding this one "punishment", demanded more resignations.

Even though it cannot be denied that valuable manuscripts were disappearing from the library, it is preposterous to assume, given the richness of Durán's personal library and the extent of his wealth, that Gallardo's attacks were grounded in any truth whatsoever. It is more likely that they were the result of his petty jealousy, frustration, and the polemical nature which he enjoyed unleashing on his contemporaries, "porque lo primero que él requería en sus

[8] 1834-X-7. Miguel Artigas, "Una colección de cartas de Gallardo", *BRAE,* XVII (1930), p. 513.

[9] 1835-VIII-11. Miguel Artigas, "Una colección de cartas de Gallardo", *BRAE,* XVIII (1931), p. 375.

[10] Sainz Rodríguez, *Gallardo,* pp. 222-3. Letter dated 1840-IX-15.

[11] Commented upon years later in the *Semanario Pintoresco Español,* nº 22, 1853-V-29. The attacks against Quintana echoed those against Durán and Bretón: "Quintana salió en Córdoba de las aulas del Dómine Salas, docto y hábil Extremeño, sin saber palotada de latín." Dérozier, p. 14.

víctimas era que fuesen hombres de gran reputación",[12] which Durán most certainly was.

Gallardo's attacks would have been funny if they were not so cruel: "Pero una circunstancia salta aquí a los ojos. Este flamante bibliotecario [Bretón], por desgracia irreparable (si Santa Lucia no hace un milagro de los que no suele) tiene un ojo menos: y a su dignísimo compañero [Durán] le falta el oído; de forma que no parece sino que la Biblioteca Real bajo la dirección del insigne abate Patiño va convirtiéndose en un Cuartel de Invalidos; o digámosla, como llama D. Francisco Manuel de Melo al más ingenioso de sus libros, *El Hospital de las Letras.*"[13] This even goes beyond the tolerated literary polemics so typical of the day. Durán however, reacted with his accustomed humility to Gallardo's offensive: "¿Quién no sabe que asaltado por cierto literario", said Cutanda, "acre y rencilloso en demasía, en otro tiempo muy su amigo, después mal hallado con la merecida prosperidad de Durán, insultado y hasta maltratado de hecho, ni de defenderse trató; contentándose con dirigirle aquellas memorables palabras? «Siento, amigo, que el verme feliz en mi familia y acariciado del público, y rodeado de amigos y colmado de honores, le traiga a V. tan desesperado. Lo que es a mí esa mano amenazadora no puede quitarme ni mi felicidad ni mi honra; en cuanto a V., sólo le falta el ser un asesino, para acabar de echarlo todo a perder»."[14] The matter haunted Durán, but he did his best to ignore the insults, trying to live by the advice he later proposed to a friend: "Si por acaso alguna de mala ley se alzase contra V., no por eso se desanime: acepte sin réplica lo bueno que le enseñe; y consuélese con la idea de haber merecido el aprecio público . . . El hombre verdaderamente sabio acepta con placer toda censura justa y buena, y aun de la injusta y mala puede sacar partido y útil enseñanza."[15]

By this time Durán was assiduously working to spread his initial gospel to the younger members of Madrid's literary society. He held meetings at his house and talked when he could to those who would listen. He enthusiastically encouraged them to search out the treasures of Spain's past, and to approach those beauties with critical views free of the rigid narrow-mindedness forced on them by too-rigid theorists. Follow the models, he pleaded, not the rules.

Near the middle of 1840, the Academy entertained plans to produce a complete edition of Calderón's plays, and chose Durán, Revilla, Roca, Bretón and Gallego to investigate the feasibility of such a project. It was abandoned, how-

[12] Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, *'El Solitario' y su tiempo: biografía de D. Serafín Estébanez Calderón y crítica de sus obras* (Madrid: Pérez Dubrull, 1883), II, p. 204. Gallardo appeared to have become obsessed with these attacks. Estébanez Calderón wrote to Gayangos: "Ayer almorzaron aquí Madrazo y Castellanos, y en medio de la fiesta llegó Gallardo, quedándose Castellanos de fuera para evitar quisquillas. Gallardo se estuvo más de tres horas: hizo conocimiento con Madrazo y habló mucho de libros, etc., etc., con sus invectivas a Durán, la biblioteca y otros auxiliares. . . ." 1837-VI-14, reproduced by Cánovas, p. 321.

[13] *El Criticón,* nº 5 (1836), p. 64.

[14] Cutanda, p. 588.

[15] *Semanario Pintoresco Español,* 1853-V-22.

ever, because the time was not considered appropriate due to the current high prices caused by the war.[16]

Durán's separation from the library coincided with Espartero's surge to power and the Queen Regent María Cristina's abdication in the Fall of 1840. As with his previous period of unemployment (1823-33) he busied himself with his literary endeavors. For three years he turned to yet another neglected aspect of Spanish literature – the eighteenth-century popular plays of Ramón de la Cruz. In 1843 he published a collection of one hundred and twenty *sainetes* along with an erudite introduction in which he discussed their value, interest, and importance;[17] he included with the farces the critical judgments of other well-known theater aficionados, Martínez de la Rosa, Signorelli, Moratín, and Hartzenbusch. The inclusion of the judgments of the non-romantics, especially of Moratín and Signorelli, testifies to the fact of Durán's eclecticism, and shows that his major interest was literature, not polemics. The collection, although incomplete, was the most comprehensive collection of Cruz's *sainetes* available to date. Durán tackled the interpretation of the plays from a multi-faceted viewpoint, analyzing their moral, artistic, social, political, and historical aspects.

His whole approach, indeed his whole life's approach to literature, can be summed up by the words he included in his introductory comments: "El Archivo que contiene los más preciosos e importantes documentos de la historia íntima de las naciones es la poesía popular."[18]

Why Ramón de la Cruz? His *sainetes* ("monumentos históricos y literarios") were in Durán's opinion the only worthwhile popular poetry produced in the eighteenth century, and could serve the populace by their mere interest, and scholars by the historical documents which they in essence were: "Los documentos oficiales podrán decir a la posteridad: *Esto fue*; pero los Sainetes de Cruz explicarán porque fue y como fue, revelando la molicie de las clases altas y medias, la necia confianza, y la degradación con que descendiendo hasta la plebe, en vez de educarla para la libertad y las reformas, pusieron en manos del siervo bárbaro e inculto, quizá antes que civilizado por el mal ejemplo, las armas que debía volver contra su imbécil e incauto señor."[19]

Along with the *sainetes,* Durán produced during this period of unemployment a minor article describing a mosaic relief.[20] Of course, a work of this nature had more than purely aesthetic merit – artistic description was important at a time when the printed word was the only means of acquainting art

[16] *Actas,* Book 21, Folio 282 (1840-VIII-13).

[17] *Colección de los sainetes tanto impresos como inéditos de Ramón de la Cruz,* 2 volumes (Madrid: Yenes, 1843).

[18] He amplified the thought: "Entre las diversas formas que la constituyen descuella la literatura dramática, que sostenida por el pueblo, vive con él y para él, de él recibe el alimento intelectual, y a él se lo devuelve mejorado. Puede decirse que nace y vive con la sociedad que representa, que recoge sus últimos alientos, que se encierra en su misma tumba, y que renace con otras formas cuando comienza a revivir bajo el impreso de una nueva civilización." I, p. i.

[19] *Ibid.,* p. xii.

[20] "Arqueología. Descripción y examen de un cuadro antiguo de medio relieve, y en mosaico, que posee D. Benito Maestre, vecino de Madrid", *Revista de Madrid,* Third Series, III, pp. 345-54.

lovers with collections or individual pieces which they could not view first hand. And the better the author's description, obviously the better the appreciation of the reader. This period also saw the completion of the long overdue fifth volume of the *Poesías anteriores al siglo XV* which the Academy had been preparing for some time, and Durán wrote an interpretation of the medieval *Poema del Conde Fernán González,* which was read and commented upon at the Academy.[21]

In 1843 Durán collaborated with Ventura de la Vega, Gallego, Bretón, Seoane, Hartzenbusch, Revilla, Moreno, Gil y Zárate, María del Valle, Pacheco, Aribau, and Bermúdez de Castro to form the editorial board of a new literary undertaking called "La Unión Literaria". This was a patriotic as much as a literary endeavor, whose stated goals were to publish the Spanish classics, new works of Spanish literature, and translations of foreign works, especially from the French. The Union would also set up a bookstore as an outlet for the publications. It was hoped that through projects like this, Spain could begin to rival France and Belgium, who for all intents and purposes dominated the publishing market: "¿Por qué pues la España, que cuenta iguales y mejores recursos, no ha de explotar también esa rica y fácil industria que la produciría un inmenso beneficio . . .?"[22] The project echoed Durán's original desire to save the *Romancero* for his countrymen, and appears to have been a chance to continue the idea of the *Talía,* in collaboration with friends this time to insure against economic collapse.

On January 15, 1844, Agustín was reinstated as librarian, riding high on the wave of a moderate takeover. He celebrated María Cristina's return to Spain with *Trovas en antigua fabla castellana al feliz retorno a España de S. M. la reyna madre Doña María Cristina de Borbón,* and then went on to prepare for the publication of his complete *Romancero.* In 1845 the *Cínife,* under the aegis of Calvo Asensio, began a half-hearted and short-lived "regimento de literatos españoles", which granted Durán the rather lowly rank of Subteniente along with Pastor Díaz, San Miguel, Bermúdez de Castro, Revilla, and Roca. Whether it actually did anything or not is unknown. By this time Rivadeneyra and Aribau had already begun formulating definite plans for their monumental *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles,* tapping contemporary authors for contributions. When Hartzenbusch published the *Comedias escogidas de Fray Gabriel Tellez* (*BAE,* 5, 1848) he enlisted Durán's aid in gathering materials ("las más raras e importantes (justo es que se sepa) me fueron después generosamente franqueados por el Señor don Agustín Durán"[23]), and Durán also gave his friend permission to use the biography of Tirso which he had written for the *Talía,* along with the critical comments on *La prudencia en la mujer* and *El Condenado por desconfiado* published in the 1838-42 series.

Durán's own hour of glory came with the appearance of the first volume of the *Romancero general* (*BAE,* 10, 1849). This was essentially the morisco-

[21] *Actas,* Book 22, Folio 66 (1843-XII-21).

[22] *Gaceta de Madrid,* 1843-II-3. I am indebted to Iris M. Zavala for information concerning this group, which I first read about in her *Ideología y política en la novela española del siglo XIX* (Salamanca: Anaya, 1971), p. 63.

[23] "Prólogo del colector", *BAE,* 5, p. v.

histórico-caballeresco section of the *Romancero* of 1829-32, but carefully restructured and amplified, along with a newly-elaborated set of critical judgments. With continued effort by the author, volume 2 of this masterly collection appeared in 1851 (*BAE,* 16). His original intent was to organize the *romances* chronologically, which he abandoned due to the lack of dates of composition, although he recognized that they could be at least identified by era, "observando su lenguaje, sus modismos y el carácter de sus narraciones".[24] Instead, as with the earlier *Romancero,* he chose to arrange them by subject.

The contents alone attest to the massive dedication of Durán: apart from the 917 *romances,* volume 1 included (1) a reprint of the preliminary discourse of the 1832 *Romancero caballeresco,* (2) a new prologue and observations on the various types of *romances,* (3) an alphabetical index of the contents including the classification of each one (from the eight classes established by Durán), (4) a catalogue of extant *sueltos* containing examples of popular poetry, and (5) a discussion of the eight classes. Volume 2 maintained this high standard: 989 *romances* plus (1) a brief introductory note, (2) the critical reaction to volume 1 by Joaquín Francisco Pacheco, (3) the division of the poems by class, (4) a catalogue of documental origins of the *romances,* (5) an alphabetical index of the authors, and (6) an alphabetical index of the contents. This was truly a breathtaking addition to the Spanish *romances,* if nothing else but to their organization.

These *Romanceros* were, in the fullest sense of the word, a labor of love since the financial remunerations were minuscule (not that Durán needed the money). Indeed, Hartzenbusch claimed that this immense and highly expensive task would have brought riches to the author in many other countries, but in Spain it merely resulted in scarce and tardy critical praise and a few dozen free copies to give to friends.[25]

Durán's interest in the Spanish past did not blind him to the present. Early in 1847 he wrote an encouraging introduction to a volume of poems by a young friend of his, Joaquín Fontán,[26] in which he recognized what was in his opinion a budding talent. He hoped that Fontán would apply his poetic inspiration to the "estudio serio y continuado del Arte, que le servirá para enaltecer las inspiraciones del corazón, y para perfeccionar las creaciones del Ingenio".[27] This concept of inspiration plus serious study was certainly one of Durán's major underlying artistic principles, although he was wise not to emphasize it with the narrowness that extreme classicists were wont to do. It was the concept which served as a guiding light to his own literary productions as exemplified so well in both his poetry and his artistic criticism. In fact, his Muse turned to him once more and solicited from him original *romances* which he wrote based on the Infantina de Francia and her paramour the King of Hungary, and included in his own 1849 *Romancero.*[28]

[24] "Prólogo", *BAE,* 10, p. v.

[25] *La Ilustración,* 1849-X-27, p. 275.

[26] Joaquín Fontán, *Poesías* (Madrid: Saavedra, 1851). An autographed copy which the author gave to Durán is in the Biblioteca Nacional. One of the poems is dedicated to Durán.

[27] *Ibid.,* p. 7.

[28] "Aquí comienza la historia de la Infantina, et como el Infante de Hongría la fizo

In 1851 a Russian scholar wrote to the Academy. Nicholas Piatnitsky was preparing a Russian translation of Vélez de Guevara's *El diablo cojuelo* and in order to clarify a few points of interpretation he turned to the Academy for help, which in turn sought out "uno de sus individuos muy entendido en esta clase de obras literarias",[29] Durán. Agustín, a full member since February 25, 1847,[30] began a carefully detailed analysis of the work. Basing himself mainly on two editions of *El diablo cojuelo* (1773, 1812 – an earlier edition, 1614, was also consulted) he commented page by page upon the stylistic, linguistic, and historical elements of Vélez's work.[31] Where the exact meaning of Vélez was unclear, Durán often presented several possible interpretations, leaving it to the translator to select the interpretation which best suited his purpose. The value of the work was predominantly linguistic in that Durán attempted to clarify doubts of vocabulary and word usage, often referring to the Latin etymology of the word in question. The manuscript reveals Durán's meticulous habit of writing and rewriting until the pronouncement was the closest in keeping with his intended explanation. The Academy appointed a commission of three individuals – the marqués de Molins, Hartzenbusch, and José Caveda – to edit and add to, if necessary, Durán's observations. But "apenas ha podido añadir reflexión alguna importante"; by April, 1852, it was completed and by May the Academy had presented "su dictamen en el que encarese extraordinariamente el mérito literario"[32] of Durán's efforts.

Several other activities interested Durán during this period opening the 1850s. One was related to the important discovery by Eugenio de Ochoa of a manuscript of the *Cancionero de Baena* in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.[33] Ochoa had been employed with Durán at the Biblioteca Nacional since

su namorada ante con ella casar", *BAE,* 10, pp. 163-174. Actually, this work was written many years earlier, but the manuscript was lost, so Durán reconstructed it from memory for his *Romancero.*

[29] *Actas,* Book 22, Folio 300 (1852-III-11).

[30] Durán's full membership stemmed from the Academy's reforms, which created twelve new chairs and resulted in the ascension of the conde de Cheste, Pacheco, Rivas, Mesonero Romanos, Alcalá Galiano, Pidal, Ochoa, and Segovia, among others. Marqués de Molíns, "Memoria sobre el estado de trabajos literarios de la Real academia española", *MAE,* I (1870), p. 242.

[31] The manuscript, "Notas y observaciones acerca de «El diablo cojuelo» de Luis Vélez de Guevara", is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional.

[32] *Actas,* Book 22, Folio 313 (1852-V-27). A more recent critic, José F. Montesinos, thinks differently, referring to the "increible disparatario fabricado por don Agustín Durán en 1850 [sic], para satisfacer las dudas de un extranjero que se proponía a traducir a Vélez", *Introducción a una historia de la novela en España, en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Castalia, 1955), p. 133.

[33] Ochoa made and announced the discovery in 1844, but was only now ready to present it to the public: ". . . ya llevaba algunos años en esperarla [publication] en vano, cuando la hallé muy favorable en el espontáneo ofrecimiento que me hizo de costear la impresión, y ayudarme en el trabajo de ilustrar la obra, mi particular amigo y antiguo favorecedor el señor marqués de Pidal. A tan lisonjera oferta unieron las suyas, de cooperar a la más completa ilustración del libro, nuestros comunes amigos los señores Durán y Gayangos, tan conocidos por sus doctos trabajos." "Prólogo", *Cancionero de Baena* (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1851), pp. viii-ix. See also Donald Allen Randolph, *Eugenio de Ochoa y el romanticismo español* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 116-17.

1844, so when he needed help in the preparation of the *Cancionero* he turned to three known scholars – the marqués de Pidal, Pascual de Gayangos, and Durán.

The specific contribution of Durán to this literary venture is difficult to establish. He was probably most useful in authenticating materials and establishing possible sources for the poems contained within the text. Hidalgo credited him mainly with contributing to the numerous notes placed at the end.[34] It is known that he loaned his hand-written "Indice alfabético por Autores de las obras y composiciones poéticas contenidas en las ediciones del *Cancionero general* recopilado por Hernán del Castillo, fechas en folio gótico la 1ª en Valencia 1511, la 2ª en Sevilla 1535, la tercera en 8º Amberes 1573; que son las que se han tenido presentes para formarle, aunque hay obras intermedias", to Pidal who was working on the Introduction (". . . me sirvió mucho cuando escribí la Introducción al *Cancionero de Baena*"). Later, F. A. Barbieri proclaimed Durán's index "completo de cuanto contienen los Cancioneros generales de 1511, 1527, 1535, 1540 y 1573".[35] Shortly after its publication Durán offered his seasoned view of the merits of the work, "una obra importantísima, porque alcanzando más que alguna otra de su clase a los tiempos de Enrique el Viejo, llena el vacío que dejaban los cancioneros manuscritos e impresos, cuyas composiciones en general no son anteriores al siglo XV",[36] although he did not mention his own name as one of the contributors.

Cultivating his interest in published critiques, he reviewed the edition of the *Obras de don Iñigo López de Mendoza, marqués de Santillana* which José Amador de los Ríos had just compiled from the original manuscripts, revealing as always his preference for the beauties of old Spanish literature.[37] Durán used this public forum to voice a surprisingly strong attack on the state of Spanish letters, especially when literary genius was strangled by governmental ignorance or bureaucratic red tape. The educational system, too, took its share of Durán's criticism: things were so bad, he wrote, that brilliant men such as Descartes, Newton, Herodotus, Thucydides, Virgil, and Homer would have never reached the pinnacle of success "sin haber seguido tantos vitales cursos universitarios; sin haber pagado tantas matrículas; sin haber estudiado en su orden marcado los cursos de sus carreras, y por los libros establecidos, respondiendo de memoria en los exámenes a lo que los maestros saben, a cómo lo saben, y nada más que aquello que saben y los reglamentos permiten no ignorar".

That same year Durán, "uno de los pocos escritores a quienes más deben las letras españolas",[38] sent a highly congratulatory letter (dated 1853-III-24) to his good friend Aureliano Fernández-Guerra y Orbe concerning the latter's recently published edition of Quevedo's works; the letter was picked up by the press. Quevedo was poorly recognized as a political and philosophical

[34] Hidalgo, *ibid.*

[35] Pascual de Gayangos, *Catálogo de los manuscritos que pertenecieron a D. Pascual de Gayangos, existentes hoy en la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid), item 606.

[36] *La Epoca,* 1852-I-10.

[37] *La España,* 1853-II-27.

[38] Editorial comment preceding Durán's letter in *La Nación.* 1853-VII-20. The article was originally published in the *Semanario Pintoresco Español,* nº 21 (1853-V-22) and later reprinted by *La Nación* and *La España.*

writer, and Durán offered his sincere appreciation to his friend for the fact that "es hoy posible leer a Quevedo y comprenderle como hombre, como sabio, como erudito, como filósofo moralista, y como político y diplomático"; Durán also insinuated that he had once planned to edit Quevedo's works himself and was pleased that his personal library collection had proved useful to Fernández-Guerra.[39]

This flourish of critical activity culminated with Durán's tribute to his long-time friend Quintana in preparation for the poet's coronation which took place on March 25, 1855. Durán honored Quintana, whose tertulia he continued to attend,[40] with an evaluation of his poetry from an historical point of view, given that the artistic-aesthetic had been adequately dealt with by others, and that the artist is inseparable from his historical circumstances.[41] He viewed Quintana (along with Cienfuegos) as one of the few truly liberal men beginning during the reign of Carlos III who actively combatted oppressive absolutism, superstition, and corruption. He recognized his ardent commitment to the freedom and dignity of the Spanish people as proclaimed in its past glories. Durán alluded to Quintana as forerunner of the freedom and patriotism patent in romanticism (not so named), strained as it was through the difficult War of Independence.

Durán's own poetic Muse inspired him to produce more verse during the fifties than during his previous burst of activity around 1830. Six verse offerings of varying lengths appeared between 1851 and 1858, and all were in keeping with Durán's professed calling – dedication to the tenets of old Spanish literature. The birth of Queen Isabel II's daughter María Isabel prompted a poetical response from a sizeable number of Madrid's leading literatos, including Martínez de la Rosa, Hartzenbusch, Roca, the duque de Rivas, Amador de los Ríos, Pedro de Madrazo, Adolfo de Castro, and of course Durán. Durán's con-

[39] "Tiempo hace que deseoso de estudiar los escritos de Quevedo, tan desfigurados por sus antiguos editores, había reunido preciosos documentos, acaso ya destinados a perderse, cual sucede con frecuencia a las colecciones de los particulares. Para evitarlo era necesario que las de la mía viniesen a poder de quien se aprovechase de ellos con un teson, una inteligencia y una sabia crítica cual V. ha empleado en la difícil y penosa empresa que tomó a su cargo y va tan felizmente desempeñando." *Semanario Pintoresco Español,* 1853-V-22, p. 162.

[40] Quintana's nephew offered the following insight into his uncle's later years: "Dedicado hasta en sus últimos días al estudio, y escribiendo de vez en cuando alguna composición literaria que le pedían para el album de alguna señora, pasaba su vida con un órden inalterable: levantábase a las siete de la mañana, y español en todo, se desayunaba con una gran jácara de chocolate; a las once tomaba lo que él llamaba un refrigerio; a las tres comía; después dormía la siesta un par de horas, y a las siete de la noche tomaba el té. Hacia aquella hora comenzaban a llegar los amigos de su más íntima confianza, y poco después sentábanse tres de ellos y Quintana a jugar al tresillo hasta las doce; los tresillistas eran invariablemente D. Agustín Rodríguez, el general Sancho y el general Labastida; los demás, entre los cuales figuraban Gallego, Lista, Durán, Comyn, Lardizabal, D. Martín de los Heros y otros muchos. . . ." M. J. Quintana, *Obras inéditas del excmo. señor D. Manuel José Quintana* (Madrid: Medina y Navarro, 1872), pp. xxvi-xxvii. This obviously referred to the mid-forties since Lista died in 1848, Gallego in 1853.

[41] "Don Manuel José Quintana", *Semanario Pintoresco Español,* nº 39 (1854-IX-24). This critique was not complete but nevertheless deemed worthy of publication by the editors of the *Semanario.*

tribution, *Trovas de arte mayor al feliz y deseado alumbramiento de la augusta Reina de Espanna donna Isabel II de Borbón, y al dichoso primer natal día de la muy noble Princesa donna María Isabel su fija* (a commanding title, indicative of Durán's style and intent), was included in the handsome edition.[42]

A short love tale in verse, *Duelos por amor y celos y cuento que fue verdad,* delighted readers of the April 24, 1853, issue of the *Semanario,* as did his *Comienza el cantar de la mañanica de Sant Joan* in the June 24, 1854, issue of the same periodical. One other short poem found its way into the *Semanario* on August 17, 1856, entitled (the title competes with the verse for length), *Al muy alto et prepotente emperador de los franceses Napoleon III et a su muy noble bella parecida et dinna esposa la emperatriz Eugenia a quienes el altisimo Dios concediera un fijo para ser gloria de la Francia et atmiracion et prez del mundo. Romance en antigua fabla castellana,* which was a contemporary gloss of an old *romance* beginning "Caballero si a Francia ides". A precious poem, *La Dama de la torre,* appeared in a new magazine with which Durán associated himself, *La América, crónica hispanoamericana,* on January 24, 1858.[43]

Perhaps Durán the poet's most delightful contribution to verse was his long and fanciful *Leyenda de las tres toronjas del vergel de amor,* a poem which he wrote solely for the enjoyment of his friends.[44] He recounted the adventures and loves of the "buen cavallero don Flores de Trepisonda", and he credited the untold fascination that such stories had always had for him to "el instinto invencible e inexplicable que me arrastra hacia ellos" – stories that carried his fantasy off to realms where he could "soñar con las consejas que fueron las delicias de mi niñez y de mi juventud, siempre nutridas y alimentadas con el espíritu, la fe de los sentimientos caballerescos de nuestros antepasados".[45] Fernández-Guerra suggested that Durán was innately drawn to these marvelous stories, which could sate his curiosity, please his desire to accumulate knowledge, give him spiritual enjoyment and even help to alleviate the physical stress which his scholarly endeavors caused him.[46]

Durán dedicated this poem to Ferdinand Wolf, since, although they had never personally met, they shared part of the same spirit – the deep respect for the traditional *romancero* that had guided their professional activities. The author tenderly expressed this affinity thus: "Quizás se cruzaban en el espacio

[42] *Corona poética ofrecida a SS. MM. la Reina Doña Isabel II y el Rey Don Francisco de Asis María con motivo del nacimiento de su augusta hija S. A. R. la Serma. Sra. Princesa Doña María Isabel Francisca de Borbón, en nombre de los poetas españoles* (Madrid: F. R. del Castillo, 1851), pp. 10-13.

[43] Once again Durán associated himself with the literary elite, collaborating in *La América* with (among others) Amador de los Ríos, Pedro Antonio Alarcón, Bretón, Fernán Caballero, Campoamor, Emilio Castelar, Carolina Coronado, Estébanez Calderón, García Gutiérrez, Hartzenbusch, F. Pí y Margall, Roca, Ventura de la Vega, and Zorrilla.

[44] A copy which Durán autographed for "mi caro amigo y predilecto compañero" Cayetano Rosell is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional. It was later reprinted in *La América* (1858-III-24), although the Academy upon reprinting it in the *Memorias* (III, 1871, pp. 5-87) claimed that "el Sr. Durán sólo imprimió de esta curiosa *Leyenda* un corto número de ejemplares [300 were printed], que regaló a varios de sus amigos. Puede, pues, considerarse como inédita, pues el público no la ha gozado hasta ahora".

[45] "Prólogo", *ibid.,* p. 8. Page references are to the *MAE* edition.

[46] *La España,* 1856-VIII-6.

nuestras ideas, simpatías y aficiones; quizás en un mismo día, en un mismo instante leíamos un mismo libro, le estudiábamos y juzgábamos con igual criterio, aunque en diversos y apartados países."[47] Wolf was flattered by the honor, and communicated his feelings to his "director y maestro", as he called Durán in a letter on September 15, 1856. Perhaps a little exaggerated, but indicative of the contemporary value of all of Durán's work, was Wolf's assurance that "confieso con toda lisura, que en tratando los asuntos que son el objeto común de nuestros estudios, la idea que presidía a todos mis trabajos era siempre . . . ¿Qué dirá el Sr. Durán? ¿Será contento de eso? ¿Será de acuerdo con mis resultados? Y que el aprecio que V. ha hecho de mis trabajos, siempre ha sido el premio más apetecido para mí".[48] His relationship with Wolf was cordial throughout the decade. They exchanged letters and ideas, and Wolf's letters to other friends – Amador de los Ríos, Gayangos, Pidal, Bonet, Hartzenbusch – always included a warm greeting to Durán. When the Viennese scholar planned his *Jarbusch* in 1858 he solicited articles from Durán (along with his other acquaintances), but Durán's busy life combined with his weakening health kept him from joining in.

Agustín's participation in the Academy increased slightly during this decade although he was charged with no additional literary duties; whereas he attended only one meeting in the previous decade (December 14, 1843), he found his way to eleven through the end of 1860, the majority of which concerned the election of his friends to places in the Academy.[49]

When Bretón retired as Director of the Biblioteca Nacional[50] a successor had to be chosen from the two most outstanding aspirants – Durán and Hartzenbusch. Durán's selection on October 23, 1854, was reported by the press in these terms: "Concedida al señor Bretón de los Herreros la jubilación que había solicitado, parece que el Señor Ministro de Gracia y Justicia va vacilando entre el señor Hartzenbusch y el señor Durán para la provisión del cargo de director de la Biblioteca Nacional, habiéndose al fin decidido por el segundo que es el más antiguo en la carrera" (*La Esperanza* quoted from *La Union Liberal,* 1854-X-25). Although Durán had been employed at the establishment for twenty years, the position was not easily achieved. In the shaky world of nineteenth-century Spanish politics (whose vacillations had already affected Durán on at least two occasions), security of tenure was far from a reality. Kiernan describes the general employment situation in August, 1854, in dramatic terms: "In one of its heterogeneous aspects 1854 was a revolution of half-pay civil

[47] "Prólogo", to *Leyenda, ibid.*

[48] José María de Cossío, *Correspondencias literarias del siglo XIX en la Biblioteca de Menéndez y Pelayo* (Santander: Boletín de la Biblioteca de Menéndez y Pelayo, 1930), p. 342.

[49] These included Fermín de la Puente y Apezechea (elected in Lista's place, 1850-II-21), Fernández-Guerra (1856-I-17), Cueto (elected in Quintana's place, 1857-V-14), Tamayo y Baus (1858-III-18), Pedro Felipe Monlau (1858-IX-13), and Severo Catalina (1860-XI-5).

[50] Bretón was not retired by choice, but as a consequence of the Revolution of 1854, headed by O'Donnell. The marqués de Molins recorded, ". . . así es que la revolución que en Julio de aquel año de 54 había triunfado, le alejó por segunda vez de la Biblioteca Nacional, que a la sazón dirigía". *Bretón de los Herreros. Recuerdos de su vida y de sus obras* (Madrid: M. Tello, 1883), p. 499.

servants wanting to be back on full pay, itself slender enough. All over the country a frenzy of job-hunting raged, and every junta was besieged by applicants. It was worse at Madrid, where the moment fighting ended opportunists began pushing themselves forward for a share of the coming distribution of *turrón*, or nougat, as loaves and fishes were known in political cant."[51]

In fact the library was still woefully disorganized as well as shamefully overcrowded. In Durán's obligatory addresses (ordered as of January, 1857) on the state of the library, he consistently complained of the lack of adequate government support, funds, staff and space – a situation which encouraged confusion and loss of materials.[52] As Director he devoted major portions of his time to the proper cataloging of books so that the inventory would at least be known and readily available to the public. His plan was to provide five organized indices, "uno por autores y otro por títulos, ambos para el servicio del público; otros dos, iguales a éstos, reservados para dividirlos por materias; y uno en tamaño en cuartilla, escrito en letra abultada que, dividido en tomos, se hallará a disposición del público . . .".[53] The catalogues progressed slowly due to the difficulty of the task, and were still not completed when Durán died in 1862.

He complained that although books were certainly being printed in Spain, many were not making their way into the library because the government and the editors were not seeing to it that at least one copy of each new work was given to the establishment, even though there was a law demanding that this be done. His complaints were unidirectional, repeated with urgency each and every year, suggesting that the only solution to the massive disorganization might even be the closing of the library until the enormous task was completed. More people, more money, more books, and a new building were his pleas: they were not heeded during his lifetime.

These annual conferences were the perfect time for Durán to synthesize the state of Spanish letters as compared to those of the rest of Europe (in fact this critical resumé was part of the requirements of the discourse); leading members of Madrid's literary and bureaucratic society came to these annual addresses to listen, chat, and exchange pleasantries. Hartzenbusch, naturally, was there. So were Godoy Alcántara, Gayangos, Colmeiro, Ortiz y Zúñiga, Tamayo y Baus (who, as future Director of the Library, would see Durán's dream of a new edifice become a reality in 1895), la Barrera, Fernández Guerra, Cañete, Amador de los Ríos, Monlau, Cutanda, and many others. But Durán surprisingly avoided the issue of commenting on world letters by claiming that the library had not received enough foreign publications to justify a worthy review of their literature. This could have been a ploy to underline the need for more adequate support, or a mere device to avoid an obligatory address which he felt himself too busy to prepare.

[51] E. Victor Gordon Kiernan, *The Revolution of 1854 in Spanish History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 84.

[52] See Durán's addresses in *Memorias leídas en la Biblioteca Nacional en las sesiones públicas de los años 1858 y 1859* (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1872) and *Memorias leídas en la Biblioteca Nacional en las sesiones públicas de los años 1860, 1861 y 1862* (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1874).

[53] *Ibid.*, 1858, p. 9. He pointedly related how grossly inadequate the existing structure

During these years Durán became more interested in the works of Fernán Caballero, acclaimed in Spain since 1849. They may have corresponded, and perhaps even have met one another since Durán had known of her since the late 1820s when he corresponded frequently with her father Nicolás. Hartzenbusch, who worked with Durán at the Biblioteca Nacional, knew Cecilia too, and was in 1849 trying to negotiate the purchase of her father's library for the Biblioteca Nacional.[54] Fernando Wolf's letters reveal that Durán was peripherally involved in a rather enigmatic incident involving Cecilia: in 1858 when Wolf wanted to include some biographical notes on the lady writer in his *Jarbusch für romanische und englische Literatur* and edit an edition of her works, he ran up against unusual opposition on her part. As he explained: "¡Cuánta empero fue mi sorpresa, cuando recibí en el mes de agosto pasado una carta de la Señora Cecilia misma, en que tachaba casi de indiscreción mi proceder, hallando excusado el indagar y descubrir el verdadero nombre de un autor que tenía sus causas para escribir bajo un seudónimo; en fin me dice categóricamente (habiendo recibido aviso de Alemania que yo preparase una traducción de las obras de Fernán Caballero, las atribuyese a ella, y tuviese el intento de hacerlas preceder de su biografía): 'me apresuro a impedirla (su biografía), haciendo saber a V. que *no soy yo* Fernán Caballero (!), y suplicándole se evite el inmenso disgusto de ver al público ocuparse de mi y de mi vida privada, y viendome en la necesidad de *publicar una refutación* yo, que entre las cosas que abomino es la que mas, la publicidad!' . . . ¡vaya, también en las damas hay duelo!".[55] But by this time, it was generally known that Doña Cecilia and Fernán Caballero were one and the same;[56] nevertheless, she did not want Wolf broadcasting it, even though he was sure of his facts, as he pointed out in a letter to her: "En teniendo, pues, a Vd. por el verdadero autor de las obras que van bajo el nombre de F. C. abracé un parecer divulgado en que me endurecieron las noticias que me participaban mis amigos dentro y fuera de España – entre los cuales pueda citarle nombradamente nuestro común amigo el venerable Sr. D. Agustín Durán, quien me remitió una linda anécdota del Rey de Prusia inserta en *El Heraldo* con las siguientes palabras: «adjunto remito a V. un artículo impreso que a fin de que llegue a su poder me ha enviado Fernán Caballero (Dª Cecilia Böhl).»"[57] And Fernán continued sending copies of her works to Wolf by way of Durán.

Durán's days as a major researcher and collector had declined after the crowning edition of his *Romancero* in 1851, and he settled into the role of poet and critic. The aches and illnesses which had always incapacitated him naturally became more troublesome with age. In 1853 he wrote to Fernández-

was: "Hállase, pues, actualmente el edificio de la Biblioteca atestado de libros desde el cimiento al techo; no caben más y aún es peligroso y prolijo el servir los que ocupan las tablas más altas de los estantes, y embarazosísimo el manejar en segunda fila de algunos que tienen dos." Page 7.

[54] Lawrence H. Klibbe, *Fernán Caballero* (New York: Twayne, 1973), p. 37.

[55] Letter to Millán y Caro, 1858-XI-30. Located in the Biblioteca de Menéndez y Pelayo.

[56] Klibbe, p. 38.

[57] 1859-IV-23. Published by Cossío, p. 178.

Guerra: "los años, amigo mío, van produciendo en mí lo que una apoplegía en el arzobispo de Granada a quien Gil Blas sirvió de secretario: por eso me voy retirando de la pluma, y solo tal vez la empleo en animar a la vigorosa juventud cuando se eleva sobre lo pasado. . . ."[58]

[58] *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 1853-V-22.

VI

The Final Years, 1860-2

By 1860 Durán had turned seventy-one, and had virtually ceased to publish. His dominant concern was now the Biblioteca Nacional, and he continued his activities there on behalf of a better library service. Just eleven months before his death he urged the capital's newspapers to make public yearly lists of new acquisitions so that "no suceda (como hasta ahora aquí se advierte) que cierto número de libros, dignos de estudiarse o de conocerse al menos, duerman largos años en sus estantes, sin que los mueva otra mano que la que les quita el polvo en los días señalados para esta tarea. . . ."[1] He continued assiduously working on the indices, suggesting a system of color-and-number coding for easy location of books on their shelves. He headed the committee which offered the 1861 library prize to his deceased antagonist Gallardo's *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*;[2] of course, they hoped to acquire much of Gallardo's fabulously rich collection for the Nacional.

At the same time Durán was charged at the Academy, along with Hartzenbusch and Fernández-Guerra, with beginning the collection and organization of materials by Lope de Vega for a complete and elegantly bound edition of his works. Durán already possessed indices of Lope's works. One of them, the "Indice de las poesías que comprende el códice autógrafo de Lope de Vega", he lent to Cayetano Rosell for publication in the latter's 1856 edition of a *Colección escogida de obras no dramáticas de Fray Lope Felix de Vega Carpio* (Madrid: Rivadeneyra).[3] Another extensive "Indice de los tomos conocidos de Lope de Vega",[4] undated, could have been the result of this Academy assignment.

Poor health forced him to seek comfort once again at the medicinal baths. The trips to the baths had almost become yearly events on which Durán's frail body depended. He travelled to Villavieja, to the Baños de Alhama southwest of Granada, and to Sanlúcar de Barrameda at Cádiz on the Atlantic Ocean near the mouth of the Guadalquivir. His condition often became so aggravated

[1] *Memorias*, 1862, p. 27.

[2] Durán was joined on the committee by Hartzenbusch, Rosell, Ortiz de Zúñiga, Manuel Colmeiro, Tamayo y Baus, and La Barrera. Gallardo's nephew, Juan Antonio, controlled part of the estate and was anxious to have the work published. It was, at the expense of the government, under the direction of two more of Durán's intimate friends, the marqués de la Vega de Armijo (Minister of Public Works) and Fernández-Guerra (now subdirector of Public Instruction at Public Works). From the papers of La Barrera, reproduced by Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, *Don Bartolomé José Gallardo, 1776-1852; estudio bibliográfico* (Madrid: Sancha, 1955), pp. 258-62.

[3] *BAE*, v. 38.

[4] Autograph copy preserved in the Manuscript Section of the Biblioteca Nacional.

that all work was impossible; one, two, four months at a time were routinely granted to him to recover his health. Apart from the speech and hearing defects he had had since early childhood, Durán also suffered from a malfunctioning lymph system which caused painful swelling in the abdominal area. That he was ill was unfortunate enough, but Madrid's infamous bureaucracy surely made him suffer more: each absence required a written petition, which often required an accompanying medical statement, to his superiors, who in turn petitioned the queen's Minister. The quality and quantity of his scholarship, given these frustrating obstacles, are a tribute to his strength and determination. He was evidently sick enough this time, though, to express grave concern for his life. In a letter which he wrote on June 20, 1861, to an old friend, Felipe Perogordo, he stated: "Hoy salgo para los Baños de Alhama y por si acaso llegase a ser necesario le dejo la adjunta autorización, pidiéndole que ponga en poder de mi esposa las cantidades que V. perciba para mis sueldos."[5]

Finally his health did fail, and he was forced to retire from his duties at the library; he wrote, but Hartzenbusch delivered, the final *Memoria* of January 5, 1862. When the Academy honored Lope with a ceremony at his house on November 25, 1862, at which a commemorative plaque was unveiled, Durán was unable to attend, owing to an attack of pneumonia which had kept him bedridden. Last rites were administered on November 30, and the following morning, December 1, he gently breathed his last breath.

The *Gaceta de Madrid* lamented the illnesses that he had suffered, "achaques que contrajo en sus laboriosas vigilias, [that] le impedían desde hace tiempo dedicar y consagrar el caudal de sus conocimientos a multitud de trabajos que tenía comenzado o en proyecto" (1862-XII-2). Literary Madrid mourned his passing[6] and several moving eulogies praised his accomplishments.[7] On December 3, he was buried in the little parish church cemetery at San Martín, the same church where he had been married and had seen his children baptised, "acompañándole considerable número de personas, entre las cuales se contaban muchas de nuestras más notables eminencias literarias".[8] A service in his honor was held three days later.

Cutanda suggested that the Academy try to acquire Durán's personal library: "La Real Academia Española es pobre de libros. Esto no se me negará. El sabio Durán era rico de ellos, y los ha dejado huérfanos."[9] His library was immensely valuable, of course. As early as 1835, *La Abeja* (1835-II-6) claimed that Durán was "poseedor de la más rica colección de obras dramáticas antiguas de que

[5] Letter contained in the Biblioteca Nacional.

[6] Death notices appeared in *La Gaceta de Madrid, La Epoca, La Discusión, El Contemporáneo, La Correspondencia,* and *El Museo Universal.*

[7] Among those are the above-cited eulogies of Cutanda at the Academy, Hartzenbusch at the Biblioteca Nacional, and Manuel Olivo y Otero's in *El Museo Universal.*

[8] *La Epoca,* 1862-XII-3. A reading of the *Actas* suggests that most or all of the following were in attendance: duque de Rivas, Eusebio del Valle, marqués de Molins, Ventura de la Vega, marqués de la Peruela, Pacheco, Alcalá Galiano, Segovia, Alejandro Olivan, Hartzenbusch, Fermín de la Puente y Apezechea, Ferrer del Río, Fernández-Guerra, Cueto, Cañete, Tamayo y Baus, Monlau, Nocedal, Cutanda, Catalina, Campoamor, Valera, and Bretón.

[9] Cutanda, p. 590.

tengamos noticia" and by 1848, his collection was widely known and still considered "la colección quizá más rica que se conserva en España, en la cual ha gastado sumas considerables".[10] The English knew of it as well: John R. Chorley, a noted British Lopista, wrote to Gayangos in praise of the Academy's 1860 plans to publish a comprehensive edition of Lope's works, commenting that, "In Madrid you have, in the libraries of the Duque de Osuna and of D. Agustín Durán, the materials for this principal and most important service."[11] The treasure was too valuable to lose, and loss to foreign sources was a possibility. That possibility, which would have added a final note of tragic irony to the life work of Durán, was suggested in a rather callous letter from Wolf, Director of the Imperial Library in Vienna which itself housed a rich collection of Spanish materials, to Bonet, reading in part: "Llego a saber, que nuestro venerable amigo Durán falleció en los primeros días del corriente; pérdida irreparable para su patria, para la ciencia y sobre todo para sus amigos. ¿Qué será de su preciosísima biblioteca?"[12] It is difficult to establish whether this inquiry was Wolf's scholarly concern or literary ghoulishness.

Cutanda took charge of a commission consisting of Valle, Hartzenbusch, Cueto and Valera to investigate the possibility of such a sizeable purchase. His report emphasized the "suma diligencia e infatigable delectación con que aquel ilustre literato acopió, ordenó y conservó tan estimable riqueza".[13] The strengths of the collection were most notably in Spanish novels, Italian poetry, Spanish *romances* and Spanish theater (both printed and in manuscript) from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Durán's widow and children insisted that the library remain intact. Shortly thereafter the government began to manifest interest in the library, so the Academy (which doña Cayetana favored over the Biblioteca Nacional) had to come to a difficult decision, torn between wanting to enrich its own library and wanting to make their deceased member's collection available to everyone. The government pressed on and the Academy relented, granting the collection to the Biblioteca Nacional, "porque con ella podrán más fácilmente y en mayor número conocer y estudiar tan preciado caudal los amantes de las letras".[14] Purchased by Royal Order on June 27, 1863, for ten thousand *reales,* by January, 1864, the books were in the Biblioteca Nacional[15] although there were no places for many of them. The Academy settled for a large painting of Durán which his widow kindly donated to the illustrious body.[16]

How extensive was this coveted library? The Biblioteca Nacional in its "In-

[10] A. Fernández de los Ríos, *Album biográfico. Museo universal de retratos y noticias de las celebridades actuales de todos los países* (Madrid, 1848), p. 31.

[11] 1860-XI-2. Located in the Biblioteca de Menéndez y Pelayo.

[12] 1862-XII-30. Located in the Biblioteca de Menéndez y Pelayo.

[13] Manuel Bretón de los Herreros, *Resumen de las tareas y actos de la Real Academia Española en el año académico de 1862 a 1863* (Madrid: Imprenta Nacional, 1863), p. 10.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *El Pensamiento Español,* 1864-I-25.

[16] *Resumen,* p. 8.

ventario de la librería que fue del excelentísimo Señor Don Agustín Durán",[17] demonstrated that the library contained the following:

Miscellaneous printed books . . .	1,540
Theater. Printed	1,786
Theater. Manuscript	1,283
Miscellaneous manuscripts . . .	65

and this did not include "algunos tomos sueltos y faltas de hojas que constan en el inventario manuscrito, y también la de un buen número de legajos que comprenden pedazos de folletos que posee íntegros la Biblioteca Nacional, y fragmentos que no se sabe a que obras pertenecen, aunque son de impresión moderna".[18]

At the suggestion of Juan Valera the Academy planned to ask Durán's family for permission to publish a special, deluxe edition of his complete works.[19] The *literatos* of Madrid approved of the plan, assured that "el público español, que cada día va mostrando afición a la buena lectura, acogerá con gusto la publicación de los trabajos literarios del erudito y profundo señor Durán. . . ."[20] Hartzenbusch, Cutanda, and Valera went to speak about the project with Doña Cayetana. She immediately granted permission. By 1869, however, the plan had reduced itself to the publication of his complete poems in the *Memorias,* along with those of Pastor Díaz, Alcalá Galiano, and Gallardo. But even this plan was never realized: the Academy apparently lost interest and settled for the publication of the *Discurso, Leyenda de las tres toronjas,* and *Trovas a la Reina nuestra Señora por la salud recuperada . . .* in its *Memorias* (1870 and 1871).

[17] Published in the *Memoria anual de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1865), pp. 30-114.

[18] *Ibid.,* p. 114.

[19] See *Actas,* Book 24, Folio 235.

[20] *El Contemporáneo,* 1862-XII-5. Also reported in *La Epoca* and *La Discusión.*

VII

In Retrospect

What sort of man was Durán? He was meticulous, studiously following his own lead into Spanish popular poetry and national drama, "el iniciador, puede decirse así, de la presente época literaria".[1] He had strength and forbearance not to inflict his physical suffering on his family or friends, and to keep up a steady stream of scholarly research and productions. He was generous with both his time and his accumulated knowledge, to say nothing of his library: "Afable lo era con todos: díganlo sus compañeros, y lo mismo sus inferiores. ¿Quién lo vio jamás ni alterado ni impaciente, ni descompuesto? ¿Quién le preguntó, le consultó, le interrumpió, que fuese recibido como importuno? Modesto, éralo en todo, y jamás hubo quien sorprendiera en él movimiento de satisfacción propia, ni menos de vanidad."[2] Durán justified his generosity for academic reasons, claiming that "la cienca no es tú, ni yo; no es el hombre aislado, sino la suma de todos los conocimientos que la constituyen, y que con desinterés y sin avaricia deben comunicarse a cuantos los necesitan, en vez de emplearlos en desacreditar las obras genias, cuya crítica imparcial y justa sería el hacerlas mejor".[3] It is known that his generosity extended beyond the borders of his country – he of course sent his own works to friends abroad like Wolf, and he once lent a copy of Lope's *La estrella de Sevilla* to an American named F. Sales for inclusion in the latter's 1840 edition of *Obras maestras dramáticas.*[4]

Eulogies can be notoriously unbalanced, but they often offer special insights into the character of the deceased. He was loved by most, but not by all. Aside from Gallardo's virulence, Estébanez Calderón made the following observation in a letter to Pascual Gayangos (referring to Gallardo's activities and the edition of a *Romancero* on which he and Usoz y Río were busy working): "Con estas cosas, invasiones y fuyendas, nuestro *Romancero* no progresa, y luego, después de todo, nuestro Durán manifiesta tanto celo y recelos, estrechez y mezquindad, que regularmente Usoz y yo cansaremos de él."[5]

Yet Hartzenbusch, who knew him well, claimed that ". . . su corazón percibía delicadamente cualquier ocasión de hacer un beneficio", and referring to his own experience: "Por él, por su auxilio, por sus acertados consejos (y

[1] *Gaceta de Madrid,* 1862-XII-2.
[2] Cutanda, p. 589.
[3] *Semanario Pintoresco Español,* 1853-V-22.
[4] George Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1849), II, p. 205.
[5] Dated 1837-VII-14. Reproduced by Cánovas del Castillo, *'El Solitario',* II, p. 322.

apenas le conocía) publicó el colector de las comedias de Tirso aquella edición en 12 tomos que principió a salir en el año de 1839: apenas le tenía media docena de comedias de Tellez, el que se proponía coleccionarlas; pero Durán le había dicho: «Disponga Vd. de todos cuanto poseo.» Otros y otros han recibido de él iguales y más grandes favores. . . ."[6]

Hartzenbusch held that pure goodness was one of Durán's most admirable qualities. Arrogance was unknown to him. He was always ready to voice his views, but then to cede to those more knowledgeable than himself. Witness two typical comments: "Fácil es que yo me equivoque en cuanto llevo expresado; pero a lo menos me lisonjeo de haber promovido cuestiones importantes, que otros más sabios resolverán mejor, si quieren o pueden."[7] "De todas maneras desde luego estamos dispuestos a ceder a la decisión de los inteligentes, pues solo aspiramos a conocer la verdad, y a los progresos del arte y de la ciencia."[8] Of course these could be examples of false modesty, initiated by a very secure Durán who knew that there were few who could contradict his judgments, but *El Correo,* commenting early upon his modesty, claimed that "solo parece intolerante contra la intolerancia literaria" (1832-IV-4). And Ferdinand Wolf testified to his professional modesty when he wrote: "Da los resultados de sus concienzudos estudios acerca de esto [the *romancero*] con la modestia de un verdadero docto, casi siempre nada más que como conjecturas."[9]

Durán was in addition fervently patriotic and Christian, dominant aspects of his personality which pervaded, and perhaps indeed inspired, his life's work. His kindness and meticulous research were recognized by those who disagreed with him as well as those who followed his lines of thought. These qualities were often rewarded by those in power – in 1838 the Queen Regent bestowed upon him the cross of the Real Orden Española de Carlos III[10] and in 1854 Isabel II honored him with the Great Cross (the highest honor) of the Royal Order of Isabela la Católica.[11] He had furthermore gained membership in the Academia Greco-latina, and by 1858 he was Vice President of the Junta Superior de

[6] Hartzenbusch, 17. Hartzenbusch succeeded Durán as Director of the Biblioteca Nacional, and Antonio García Gutiérrez replaced him in his old post.

[7] *Romancero caballeresco,* 1832, p. xxxi.

[8] "Arqueología", *Revista de Madrid,* 1842, p. 354.

[9] Ferdinand Wolf, *Historia de las literaturas castellana y portuguesa* (Madrid: La España Moderna, n. d.), II, p. 238.

[10] Pastor Díaz, p. 278. In 1856, Durán, along with Pidal, was instrumental in having Wolf invited to join this society, as indicated in letters to Gayangos on 1856-XII-10 and 1857-II-20.

[11] Hartzenbusch, 17. Hartzenbusch told why the cross was well deserved: "Las Cortes constituyentes habían reducido tanto la cantidad asignada al personal de la Biblioteca, que el ministro del ramo, después de haber cercenado forzosamente los sueldos a los empleados en ella, y trasladado a otras dependencias algunos, todavía resultaba un defecit si no quería dejar en la calle (y no lo quiso) a personas muy merecedoras de sus destinos. Conociendo la generosidad de don Agustín, se le propuso que se dejara de jubilar, para que la diferencia entre un sueldo y otro quedase a beneficio de los que servían a sus ordenes. El que os habla, señores, puede testificar la noble prontitud y el gozo con que respondió a tan raro mensaje. Con la gran cruz fue reconocido aquel rasgo de desinterés, que aseguró el pan a más de un necesitado."

Archivos y Bibliotecas and an honorary member of the Académie d'Arqueologie Belgique.[12]

He did not appear to be a humorous man, a situation obvious in his written work and perfectly understandable given his constant physical suffering. Nor was he sarcastic or satirical, although at times Puck could be caught peeking out from behind the scholar's mask. Once, when Durán was defending Fernández-Guerra's broad erudition against a minuscule pedantry, he proclaimed that "no le faltará sin embargo quien le censurase tan prudente y sabia economía, ni quien le acuse de ignorante si omitió decir de qué pie era Quevedo cojo, y el nombre del barbero que le afeitaba o le aliñaba el bigote".[13]

Durán was politically as well as literarily liberal, but liberal in the sense of moderate-progressive rather than radical. It might be labeled a cautious liberalism. He humanely and sensibly opposed tyranny, but he condemned excesses of any kind. His stance against oppression undoubtedly dated from the days of Quintana's early tertulia in Madrid, when the anti-tyrannical and anti-Napoleonic stance of that group was well known. He once wrote that Fernando VII "es muy picarillo, y así que los mete y los saca como quiere, los deja luego otra vez en la clase de insecto de que afectó sacarlos para que los viese el mundo bien y volviesen después a su agujero y a su fango".[14] In his articles he combatted the impatience of the right and of the left, arguing against unnecessary revolution and staunchly supporting all true social progress and positive reforms that could be effectively implemented by a strong monarchy. "Ha juzgado siempre que la misión del partido moderado es la de progresar por el camino legal purgando las garantías políticas de las leyes anárquicas, afirmando con aquellas la libertad civil, conservando las ventajas adquiridas aunque proceden de la revolución, y legitimando en fin los intereses creados, no por medios, reacciones, ni por restituciones, sino por justas compensaciones e indemnizaciones."[15] He had friends in all spheres of government, conservatives, moderates, and liberals alike, yet he himself remained largely aloof from partisan politics.[16] His fortunes, naturally, were directly affected by the political circumstances, but Durán never tried to achieve success in national politics. He was content to keep to his literary endeavors, touching the political world only briefly or only when necessary.

Cutanda revealed that Durán destroyed a vast amount of his own works ("tal era el menosprecio con que miraba sus propias obras"), a claim supported as early as 1845 by Pastor Díaz, who commented upon the fact that Durán wrote a lot but published little. His loving wife apparently indulged him in his eccentricities, as he shut himself up hour after hour in his library to pore over old texts and assimilate the wealth of knowledge contained therein. At his death he was fondly remembered as one of society's "más ilustres hijos" and "un

[12] These documents are located in the Biblioteca Nacional. Copies of them were generously loaned to me by Pedro Sainz Rodríguez.

[13] *Semanario Pintoresco Español,* 1853-V-22.

[14] Simón Díaz, pp. 112-13.

[15] Pastor Díaz, *ibid.*

[16] Donoso, Alcalá Galiano, Gallardo, Martínez de la Rosa, Hidalgo, Fernández de los Ríos, Pacheco, etc., were all politically involved with various governments.

honrado padre de familias",[17] humanist, critic, poet, scholar, craftsman (remember his beautifully bound volumes), and above all, friend. Durán was a kind, generous and gentle man who dedicated his life to the dissemination of Spanish literature and to the idea that "el Archivo que contiene los más preciosos e importantes documentos de la historia íntima de las naciones es la poesía popular".

[17] *La Correspondencia de España,* 1862-XII-2.

PART TWO

AGUSTIN DURAN: CRITIC AND COLLECTOR

Any vital and lasting literature comes from the national soul.

JOHANN GOTTFRIED VON HERDER

I

Critical Background

The struggle between the classics and the romantics (although obviously not so named) in actuality began to develop in the second half of the seventeenth century. Spain had wisely learned, with the aid of Lope's pseudo-serious attack on the classical rules in the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*,[1] to regard classical works and modern works as separate literary commodities. In Spain the classicists had no leader and therefore their cause was weakened by lack of intellectual prestige and widespread support.

This was not the case outside Spain. France particularly had always been more concerned with the strict interpretation of the classical genres, interpreted and modified as they were through the influence of the Italian Renaissance. The codification of the belief in this strict interpretation was due to Nicholas Boileau, that fiery and intolerant classicist who battled fiercely for the general acceptance of his views.

In 1674 Boileau's *L'Art poétique* appeared and the battle lines were drawn. Ironically, Boileau placed emphasis on the need of the artist to please his audience, although he had in mind means very different from those employed by Lope. Most of all, the artist had to subordinate his entire production – style, content, inspiration – to the concept of beauty, defined by Boileau in terms of truth. Truth was accordingly obtained in nature, so that the only admissible truth was that derived from patterned imitation of nature – conformity of the desired product (here literature) to the perfect model (nature). Beauty was truth, and truth was beauty. Nature was beauty, and by extension the very embodiment of truth.

This may appear dangerously close to the theories later expressed in realism and naturalism, which insisted that nature should be copied exactly as it was, and most assuredly it was not always beautiful. But Boileau, like the classical authors, insisted that only selected parts of nature may be imitated. The author must refine that reality (that nature) which was aesthetically disagreeable, and present only a selected, idealized copy. The copy must maintain propriety so as not to offend the sensibilities of the cultured audience (be they readers of poetry or spectators of drama). It must also contain the quality of verisimilitude; that is, this selected reality must appear to be true while scrupulously avoiding a photographic reproduction of nature in all its aspects.

Boileau struck out against obscurantist poetry in any form by proclaiming, "If the meaning of your verse takes too long to understand, my mind immediately begins to get distracted and, quick to become detached from your vain

[1] ". . . cuando he de escribir una comedia, / encierro los preceptos con seis llaves. . . ." (1609).

discourse, does not follow an author it has to look for continually" (Canto I). Rhetorical conceits were especially odious since they were regarded as unnatural and hence neither reasonable nor beautiful. Likewise the mixture of genres, verse forms, the comic and the serious, and so on, were eliminated in the process of presenting a subjectively beautiful image of nature.

French authors were, according to Boileau, above the "unreasonableness" of the authors beyond the Pyrenees who depicted on stage the hero as a child in the first act and as an old man in the last, insolently ignoring the sacred unities of time, place, and action.

Boileau was a leading figure in French literary circles, but by no means was he the only voice in the struggle between those who could accept nothing which ignored Horace, Virgil, Sophocles, and above all Aristotle (albeit often misinterpreted) and those who were fighting for the recognition of the validity of non-classical literature. The feud that erupted in the 1680s at the Académie Française between the supporters of Boileau and those of his antagonist Charles Perrault has been studied with great care.[2]

Notwithstanding Boileau's vociferous denunciation of the abuses of Spanish Golden Age poetry and drama, his theories remained relatively unknown inside the peninsula. After Calderón's death, the Spanish stage remained filled with revivals and imitations of his works, and the people continued to flock to the theater. There were, to be sure, those who agreed with Boileau, whether they had been influenced by him directly, or had developed their ideas independently.

It was not until 1737, with the appearance of Ignacio Luzán's *Poética,*[3] that the theoreticians of classicism in Spain had a banner around which to rally. Even so, Luzán avoided too harsh references to Spanish masters; but he was overwhelmingly classical (Aristotelian) in his stance on poetry and drama in general. The three unities, verisimilitude, decorum, idealization of nature and the idea of poetry as the "Imitación de la Naturaleza en lo Universal o en lo Particular, hecha con versos, para utilidad o para deleite de los hombres, o para uno y otro juntamente"[4] were his guiding principles.

Luzán praised the elegant style and elocution of Lope and Calderón, and even of their imitators Bances Candamo, Solís, Cañizares, and Antonio de Zamora, but with equal critical ferocity he condemned their many defects: extravagant metaphors, coldness, affectation, overblown images, excessive rhetoric, and not least of all their lack of verisimilitude and disregard for the unities. He also ruled out, like Boileau and the neo-Aristotelians, tragicomedy and historical anachronism as valid poetical possibilities. And like all good theoreticians (although the classicists have been given exclusive credit for recognizing this) he believed that literature (especially in this instance poetry) was

[2] See Hippolyte Rigault, *Histoire de la Querelle des Anciens et des Moderns* (Paris: Hachette, 1856).

[3] I am not suggesting, in placing the works of Boileau and Luzán in close order, that Luzán pirated his theories from his French counterpart. On the contrary, Luzán used varied sources to support his neoclassical stance. I am merely concerned at this point to underline the major features of those critical views on which Durán's case was built.

[4] From *La poética o reglas de la poesía* (Barcelona, 1956).

more than mere intelligence and natural talent – that art and study of the precepts and the models were necessary elements in the creation of beautiful poetry.

The ideas were not of course new, but Luzán received recognition and his views could therefore become widely known with greater ease. Russell P. Sebold quotes a much earlier source (1680) in what he believes to be one of the first scholarly discussions of the upcoming neoclassicism in Spain, but the author, Francisco Gutiérrez de los Ríos, has remained virtually unknown. He wrote: "Homero, Virgilio, Horacio, Ovidio, el Taso (sic), Cornelio (Corneille), Voilo (Boileau), los Argensolas, Solís y otros griegos, franceses, italianos y españoles, imitadores de la antigüedad en la propriedad, claridad y concepto o sentencia, son los maestros o regla de esta República Poética . . . en que debemos despreciar toda la oscuridad, equívocos y vulgarismos que en algunos modernos la podían hacer poco estimable."[5]

With the lines of demarcation drawn, the battle raged on throughout the eighteenth century. Histories of literature and the like find it fashionable (or merely easy) to write off the entire century to the neoclassical sterility and coldness which they believe contaminated the literature of that period, but clearly neither side won. At times a domination of the new classicism can be perceived both in theory and in practice; at other times the non-classical ("national", if we like) appeared to gain the majority of followers. But even more than an ebb and flow of classical versus non-classical views, the century must be viewed as developing two schools of thought in parallel, the views of the one never completely dominating those of the other.[6]

What was apparent then was this: eloquent defense of the neoclassical style of writing and violent (sometimes reasoned, sometimes not) condemnation of anything that could not be squeezed into the mold of "good taste" as described by Aristotle and practised by, for example, Homer. They did not eliminate the non-classical, but they did succeed in dominating theoretical discussions – mainly because there were few scholars ready to defend their country's national drama and poetry as acceptable models.

Most of the defenses of the national genres were defenses of the theater of Calderón and Lope. But their authors, including Francisco Mariano Nipho, Juan Cristóbal Romea y Tapia, and Francisco Nieto de Molina, were insufficiently recognized as authorities, and were consequently all but ignored. They could not, furthermore, counter the influential views of the likes of Luzán, Clavijo y Fajardo, Nicolás Fernández de Moratín and of course later in the century, the Iriartes and Leandro Fernández de Moratín. An example of the virulent neoclassicism still dominant at the end of the century was expressed by José Luis Velázquez in his judgements on Golden Age poets and their imitators.

[5] Francisco Gutiérrez de los Ríos, *El hombre práctico, o discursos sobre su conocimiento y enseñanza*, 2nd. ed. (Madrid, 1764), pp. 87-8; quoted by Russel P. Sebold, "A Statistical Analysis of the Origins and Nature of Luzán's Ideas on Poetry", *Hispanic Review*, XXXV (1967), p. 247.

[6] The case for concomitant development is made, for me convincingly, by McClelland, *op. cit.*, and Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Iriarte y su época* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1897).

Velázquez's slashing pen produced criticism of "los que ignorando, o despreciando las reglas de la poesía dramática, que nos dexaron los antiguos, corrompieron el teatro introduciendo en él el desorden, la falta de regularidad y decoro, la inverosimilitud, y el pedantismo, que todavía vemos sobre las tablas : siendo los principales xefes de esta escuela, Christoval de Virués, Lope de Vega, Juan Pérez de Montalvan, a quienes despues siguieron, refinando mas el mal gusto, D. Pedro Calderon, D. Agustin de Salazar, D. Francisco Candamo, D. Antonio de Zamora, y otros que adelantaron este desorden hasta introducir en el drama una cierta altura de estilo, que aún no sería tolerable en la epopeya, ni en la poesía ditirámbica".[7] The popular theater remained active in Spain, as has already been mentioned, but it remained theoretically unprotected against the onslaught of neo-classical intolerance.

For positive criticism of national genres which had a definite impact on the intellectual climate of Europe, it is necessary to turn to Germany. It was the efforts of August Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel which finally lent the needed prestige to the non-classical movement. Both brothers worked ardently to diffuse throughout the literary circles of Europe their unique approach to literature, whether in their numerous publications, lectures, or intellectual intercourse with figures from other nations. The most famous was, of course, the relationship of Wilhelm with the French Baroness Madame de Stäel and its subsequent impact on literary criticism.

Around the turn of the century (1800), Friedrich was united to Tieck, Schiller, Herder, Wackenroder, etc., in his pronounced opposition to the philosophy of neoclassicism and its counterpart, the French Enlightenment. The first rumblings of Friedrich's anticlassicist stance came in the years 1798 to 1800 in a journal, the *Athenäum,* which he published with his brother. Literature, he said, must be approached and appreciated not solely for the strict rationalism which it contained but for the wit, intuition, and spontaneity which often burst forth from its pages. He rebelled against the idea that the Greek and Roman classics, as well as their latest Italian and French imitators, enjoyed a monopoly of good taste or beautiful literary creation. He boldly proclaimed that "the ancients are neither the Jews, nor the Christians, nor the Englishmen of poetry. They are not the Lord's arbitrarily chosen people in matters of art; they neither possess the whole true esthetic faith, nor do they have a monopoly on poetry".[8] For the first time, through the Schlegels, it became fashionable to profess appreciation for both the Ancients and the Moderns – their literature was not mutually exclusive, and it was no longer necessary to devastate the other side before building one's own arguments.

Schlegel became more and more articulate in his refusal to force the modern spirit as reflected in a country's popular literature into the so patently accepted classical mold. The classicists must have fairly bristled with rage as he advocated the pursuit of the purely imaginative (especially in poetry), the free mix-

[7] José Luis Velázquez, *Orígenes de la poesía castellana,* 2nd. ed. (Málaga, 1797), p. 60. The first edition is from 1754.

[8] Quoted by Hans Eichner, *Friedrich Schlegel* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1970), p. 48.

ture of genres ("the classical genres in their strict purity are now ridiculous"[9]), and the interpretation of all literature from a radically new point of view.

At once, the terms "Ancient" and "Modern" became obsolete since they emphasized a strict chronological distinction. Instead, Schlegel began employing "classic" and "romantic" as his two distinctive types since in his definitions they implied much more than a mere sequence. "Classic" was used to label that literature which was didactic, exemplary and therefore representative of the style and intent of the Ancients. Hence, not only the Ancients, but also their modern imitators in Italy and France, fit into this category.

"Romantic" was much more complex. It stood for, among other things, literature written in the new Romance languages which furthermore eschewed the standard classical intent and poetical meters. Or, anything not written in classical form could be aptly called romantic. But this new "romantic" was not merely an external phenomenon. Literature that was romantic was also highly fanciful, full of imagination combined with fantastic, marvelous and miraculous elements. And not surprisingly it often dealt with love. Classical literature also had fantastic elements, as evidenced by the whole body of mythology expressed by the Ancients, but, Schlegel countered, the spirit was different – external forms were rigid, the language was exacting and spontaneity, he claimed, was scrupulously avoided. Romantic poets were not subject to these restrictive laws, and could therefore express themselves with unheard-of freedom.

Who, then, were these new romantics who dared to subvert the classical laws? Who brazenly mixed verse and prose? Schlegel (still in this early formative period before 1800) singled out Dante, Cervantes, and Shakespeare for defense and praise. The mere mixture of forms and disregard of the rules was, however, unconvincing in and of itself. The important emphasis came with Schlegel's insistence on the new element unknown to the Ancients – Christianity – a new symbolic mythology that changed man profoundly, and expressed itself most accurately, he felt, in the chivalry of the Middle Ages. So the trend was set – a drift away from the narrow classics to the fullbodied Christian Middle Ages. He later formulated his view in these terms: "Thus it was in the third age of the world, which includes twelve centuries from Constantine to the Reformation, and which we have been wont to call the transition period from the Old World to the New, or the Middle Ages: the predominant element was the Imagination – not that of ancient Paganism, but a new, Christian, transformed, and enlightened Imagination – and hence from this new spring, from the Christian regeneration of this one elementary power of Man, resulted the most peculiar phenomena of that period."[10]

In 1801 Wilhelm lectured on this new aesthetic system, and carried the new interpretation to the rest of Europe when he left Germany three years later to accompany Madame de Stäel on her travels. More lectures came later (most notably those in Vienna in 1808, later published as *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*), and Friedrich's influence culminated in his lectures in Vienna in 1810 on history and philosophy, and in 1812 on literature.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[10] Friedrich Schlegel, *Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern.* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1873), p. 243.

It was August Wilhelm who first outlined the true basic forms of the new romanticism. His brilliant lectures, before an equally brilliant audience, crossed the centuries and all national boundaries in order to appreciate more fully each country's literature. In particular, he defended the right of each nation to develop its individuality, unhindered by foreign intervention; to be real, literature must be the spontaneous expression of the national feelings, beliefs and values: "Everything must be traced up to the root of human nature: if it has sprung from thence, it has an undoubted worth of its own; but if, without possessing a living germ, it is merely externally attached thereto, it will never thrive or acquire a proper growth."[11] Schlegel indignantly denounced the strictures of classical interpretation when forcefully and indiscriminately applied to all literature, and especially when poor poets were highly praised and great poets were merely tolerated as rude and wild natural geniuses, claiming that "no one should be tried before a tribunal to which he is not amenable. We may safely admit that the most of the English and Spanish dramatic works are neither tragedies nor comedies in the sense of the ancients; they are romantic dramas".[12]

Nowhere had literary criticism been more unfair than in its treatment of the non-Italian, non-French productions of England and Spain. Set upon different historical circumstances and moved by a different spirit, the literary productions of these two countries were naturally at odds with the classical approach. As they evolved away from antiquity into the Middle Ages, a "romantic spirit" grew, based on the personalized concepts of chivalry, love, honor, and religion. This romantic spirit flourished in Spain as it could in no other country:

> Accustomed to fight at the same time for liberty and religion, the Spaniard clung to his faith with a fiery zeal, as an acquisition purchased by the costly expenditure of noble blood. These consolations of a holy worship were to him the rewards of his forefathers' bravery. Ready to shed the last drop of his blood in the cause of his God and his King; tenderly sensitive to his honor; proud, yet humble in the presence of all that is sacred and holy; serious, temperate, and modest was the old Castilian: and yet forsooth some are found to scoff at a noble and loyal race because even at the plough they were loath to lay aside the beloved sword, the instrument of their high vocation of patriotism and liberty.[13]

This special character, then, showed up reflected in Spain's poetry and drama: "If a feeling of religion, a loyal heroism, honor, and love, be the foundation of romantic poetry, it could not fail to attain to its highest development in Spain, where its birth and growth were cherished by the most friendly auspices."[14] He later added to the qualities engendered in the Spanish character

[11] August Wilhelm Schlegel, *A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*. Trans. by John Black (London: George Bell and Sons, 1876), p. 19.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 340-1.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 498-9.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 500.

the influence of the Northern spirit, the worth of the female, and moral independence controlled by a sense of responsibility to a higher calling.

That Spanish literature refused to conform to classical patterns was of no concern to Schlegel at all. Spain's spirit was not classical, nor then should its literature be so; mere imitation was always fruitless in the arts, and even borrowings had to be incorporated fully into the work of art in order to be valid. Whereas classical art and literature went to great lengths to separate things which were dissimilar, romantic literature delighted in brash mixture – the separate unities of time, place, and action were forgotten, poetry mingled readily with prose, nature blended into art, the serious and the comic were often side by side, spirituality did not exclude sensuality, life and death blended together in intimate combination, and so on.[15] And all to the benefit of the newly created genre. Schlegel waxed metaphysical as he claimed romantic poetry able to come nearer to the "secret of the universe", since romantic was the expression of "the secret attraction to a chaos which lies concealed in the very bosom of the ordered universe, and is perpetually striving after new and marvellous births, the life-giving spirit of primal love broods here anew on the face of the waters".[16]

Lope began it all on stage, and Schlegel deemed him great although a bit shallow and often careless; it was through his followers that the romantic school was developed, and then ultimately perfected in the highly poetic and profound Calderón.

August Wilhelm's brother went on to develop further the lines of thought which he had so elegantly laid down. In his *Geschichte der alten und neuen Literatur* he presented the synthesis of his views on classical and romantic literature. Certainly the question of who borrowed what from whom is an interesting one, since Wilhelm vociferously denounced the "despotism in taste" of French neoclassicism and went on to praise the world of love, honor, and chivalry of the Spanish Middle Ages. But who did it is a question to be taken up elsewhere; we must concentrate on what was done.

By 1812 Friedrich recognized his brother's contention that "romantic" was a term not to be exclusively applied to the known masters of a country's literature, but also to the national, popular literature which deeply reflected the spirit and traditions of the people. In fact, the intensely national poetry of a country carried with it values which could not be easily transported from one culture to another. Although he had discovered Calderón's genius, and held him up as an example of good romantic writing, it was not as a model to be blindly imitated abroad : "I am, accordingly, far from wishing to recommend the Spanish drama or Calderón, its brightest ornament, as a model of unreserved and direct imitation on our own stage."[17] He advocated the rediscovery of each country's national literature and the cultivation (coupled with serious study) of that nation's gloriously romantic past. This is why he could repeat his brother's claim that the servile imitation of other nations was a sterile enterprise. The product may, certainly, be a great artistic achievement, but it of

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 342.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 343.
[17] F. Schlegel, p. 271.

necessity remained foreign to the imitator. For true self rediscovery, ". . . every nation need only go back to its own original and most ancient poetry and myth".[18] He often focused on Spain to support his contentions. "The Spaniards have as rich a store of romance as the English; but the pre-eminence of the former consists in the circumstance that they are not mere ballads in the more restricted acceptation of the term, a large majority of them being both devised and compiled in the epic form; thus presenting equal attractions to the literate and to the educated, since they are at once national in feeling and elegant in tone. The poetry of the people is invaluable as a record of the glorious minstrelsy of the past. . . ."[19]

Spain had a special national character, formed from the very first vestiges of the decaying Roman influence in the peninsula and expressed in her literature since the shining days of Ferdinand and Isabella (". . . no literature has preserved so completely a national character as that of Spain"[20]). Spain's literature reflected her noble character, her severely national feeling, her intense moral and religious posture, and her spirit of honor.

The Spanish stage, as a mirror to society, reflected the unique characteristics of the Spanish way of life – monarchical, religious, and highly spirited. Lope was disregarded as superficial, but Calderón was fully rehabilitated by both Schlegels: "Whoever would apprehend aright the genius of the Spanish stage must study Calderón, the last and greatest of all Spanish poets."[21]

The pivotal element for Schlegel in his definition of the new romantic concept of literature was the Christian element, fused to northern Germanic ideals. Christianity changed the face of the world, and subsequently the very texture of Western civilization since its appearance. Schlegel saw in the unique blend of Christianity with the introspective national personality the seeds of romantic, as distinguished from classical, poetry. The romantic allegorization of the Christian concept was different from the purely theological interpretation. That is why

> the other mold in which modern poetry may be cast, is that proceeding not from a poem comprehending the Christian cosmogony, but from individual life; from legend, and even from fragmentary portions of pagan myth, when admitting of exalted spiritual interpretation; coupled with earnest endeavors to blend isolated poetic notes into one ravishing strain of Christian harmony. Of this form Calderón is the noblest and most distinguished writer . . . and this latter form, namely, not the introduction of celestial symbolism, as a whole, into the midst of the phenomena of everyday existence, but the purification of life, and all its several accords, by means of beauty symbolized and ennobled, constitutes the distinctive mark of the Romantic. . . .[22]

In Spain, above all other romance language countries, poetry and drama were relevant to everyday life. Witness the *Cid* ("a single monument, like that of the

[18] Eichner, p. 118.
[19] F. Schlegel, p. 196.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 248.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 264.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 268.

Cid, is more invaluable to a people than whole libraries of genius and wit, without national associations"[23]), and Calderón's *El príncipe constante* and *La devoción de la cruz,* which avoided the abstractions that pleased Dante. Romantic was synonymous at times with poetic, and the most romantic (hence the most poetic) drama was that of Golden Age Spain. In fact, Schlegel searched out individual characteristics displayed by various nations and came to the conclusion that Spain's dominant spiritual culture rested on its intense nationality and poetic feeling (in Italy, by contrast, it was imagination and love of art; in France, reason and oratory; in England, keen perception and historic powers).[24] Spain had remained, he said, relatively free from foreign influence and had by extension most strongly retained its purely romantic character.

Finally, Schlegel attempted a synthesis of his concept of the romantic, laying less stress than hitherto on Christianity in its strictly chronological influence:

> In addition to that intimate junction with the individualities of life alluded to above, and which constitutes it essentially a legendary poetry, as distinguished from a poetry of mere allegorical thought, the Romantic is based on sentiments of love, blending Christianity with genuine minstrelsy; sentiments employing suffering and sorrow as instruments of purification, exchanging the tragic earnestness of pagan mythology for a genial play of fancy, and selecting those forms of representation and language which best harmonize with feelings of tenderness and love. In this extended signification, all poetry might seem to be of the Romantic cast, supposing that term to designate Christian beauty and poetry. In fact, the Romantic is not really antagonistic to the true antique. The Trojan legends, the Homeric songs are thoroughly Romantic: so in the case of all that is absolutely poetical in the minstrelsy of Hindostan, of Persia, and other oriental or north-European nations.[25]

He immediately emphasized how the true Romantic was different: "The Romantic movement is not opposed to the great masters of antiquity, but to imitators who have risen up among us . . . thus it is obviously not repugnant to the real essence of the antique, but rather to the false soul-less models that in our own time have been set up for imitation: as also to that modern standard which vainly seeks to influence life by slavishly adhering to the present, and thus becomes amenable to the joint tyranny of time and fashion, however refined be the aim of their subject."

It is obvious, then, that August Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel differed not at all from Boileau and Luzán in that true art was beauty itself. But how far from them, how radically new they were in their interpretation of what was beautiful! To them beauty was poetical, national, truly and deeply felt, and infused with the eternal values of the Christian spirit (whether before or after Christianity appeared). It was what they called "romantic", and the country which best joined the ideals of Christianity and the Middle Ages in her literature was Spain. And, so, in order to interpret this new romanticism fairly and

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 194.
[24] *Ibid.,* p. 395.
[25] *Ibid.,* pp. 268-9.

intelligently they rejected the worn and tired rules of the Aristotelians: "National worth like this cannot fairly be judged by a standard of antique excellence, or of Italian taste, or the requirements of French refinement",[26] since the recreation of the Medieval poetic world of elegant ladies, knights, castles and sepulchres was a far cry from the world of Cupid and Jupiter.

It was not long before these daring views reached Spain through the arduous efforts of a hispanized German, Juan Nicolás Böhl von Faber. Böhl had long been spiritually in tune with the recognition of national literatures as valid art forms (as early as 1802 he was thinking of collecting popular poetry), but it was not until his direct contact with August Wilhelm's published *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* that the ideas gained a strong foothold. Böhl imbued himself with Schlegel's theories, and, adding to his knowledge of Schiller and the theoreticians Schelling and Madame de Stäel, decided to let Spain discover what her northern neighbors had already discovered – her inherent romanticism.

An important step in the development of Böhl as a romantic theoretician was his conversion, in 1813, to the Catholicism of his wife Doña Frasquita and his adopted country. Friedrich Schlegel was also a Catholic convert, and their intense religious identification became evident in both their writings and interpretations of Medieval and Golden Age literature.

On September 16, 1814, when the *Mercurio gaditano* published Böhl's translation of Wilhelm's Lecture 14 under the title, "Reflexiones de Schlegel sobre el teatro, traducidas del alemán", a long and bitter polemic began.[27] As the polemic grew longer, and Böhl defended Schlegel's views against the classical attacks of José Joaquín de Mora and later Antonio Alcalá Galiano, he saw the necessity of separating literature into at least two separate parts – the ancient or classical and the modern or "romanesque".[28] The ancient, he claimed, was strictly regulated by rules of art and narrowly defined by earthly beauty; and, above all, it was the product of pagan genius. On the other hand, Christianity marked the appearance of a new world concept, one much more spiritual and extra-terrestrial, and therefore marked a new expression of that concept which was above external laws and that surged forth spontaneously and individually.

This classical approach to literature was over-developed in the French Enlightenment, where materialism and rationalism banished all vestiges of intimacy and individuality. French classicism had become the tyrant of taste – but the new romanticism could be the key with which literature could free itself from those sterile chains. The development of Christian ideals and the rejection

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[27] The exciting details of this polemic are detailed with great skill by Camille Pitollet in the above cited work. The details of the argument do not concern us here, but the book is essential for the comprehension of Böhl's critical posture.

[28] The word "romantic" was not in vogue yet, but Böhl used the term "romanesque" in much the same way that Schlegel employed "roman" – that is, as the languages that resulted from the clash of Latin with the language of the Germanic tribes. The word was then applied to the larger historico-social plane. An excellent analysis of its development can be found in Donald Shaw's contribution to *"Romantic" and its Cognates: The European History of a Word*, ed. by Hans Eichner (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 343-71.

of the pagan yoke could permit each nation, each people, to express its most intimate self – freely and spontaneously: "Diversidad de pueblos, diversas características espirituales de esos pueblos, y amor, apego del hombre a su patria, a ese mundo sensible y moral en el que ha nacido y crecido, y del que es parte. El hombre de un pueblo ve el mundo desde la sensibilidad, el ambiente espiritual de su pueblo, sus imágenes son las que corresponden al clima, al paisaje, a las costumbres de su tierra, que se integran en la mente del artista."[29] The romantic approach to literature would enable each country to shake off the stifling bonds of French rationalism-materialism-classicism, and approach critically each body of literature as a separate entity, true to its own goals and spirit instead of measuring it with a yardstick which was foreign to its very essence.

Although these were liberal artistic views, Böhl was strongly religious and intensely patriotic (and monarchical), as was his intelligent wife. In fact, Böhl equated desired spiritualism with Spain – Christian, heroic, and monarchical – and claimed that the drama and poetry of Spain's Golden Age was the culmination of that spiritualism. It was therefore, in his interpretation, fully romantic. The concept of romanticism, or "romanesque art", was placed in counterbalance with French culture and French rules, dominated as these were by materialism and frigid rationalism. Romanesque art expressed itself in a search for the individual, traditional spirit of each nation, conserved in her past literature and even still expressed today in her popular poetry, "no contaminado por el pensamiento francés que ha corrompido a sus intelectuales, pero no el corazón popular fiel a los valores patrios".[30]

Schlegel's ideas, propagated and modified by Böhl, were largely ignored when he began, but by the end of the polemic in 1820, Böhl had Spanish readers wondering if there was not in fact something truthful and valuable in this new critical approach to their literature. Official sanction came with his admission into the Academy that same year. The debate, though, never really calmed down. An inflammatory article by Lista appeared in *El Censor* which kept the argument alive. In spite of Böhl's writings, the author rejected that "secta de literatos alemanes, cuyos principios en materia de poesía son opuestos a los que hasta ahora ha consagrado el buen gusto de las naciones más civilizadas",[31] and was scandalized that for them, "el drama sentimental y el romanesco son verdaderos géneros de poesía dramática. No hay modelo general para la comedia y la tragedia. Los franceses tienen su teatro, los españoles el suyo, y ambos son buenos".[32] This, he declaimed, was theatrical anarchy, based on a conspiracy by the Germans to foist their "piezas más disparatadas" on an unsuspecting Europe. He used Schiller's *The Robbers* as an example of a play which would destroy civil order, while he praised his own impartiality. These were the years of Lista's closest relationship with Durán, and Lista's later advocacy of a more

[29] Javier Herrero, *Fernán Caballero: un nuevo planteamiento* (Madrid: Gredos, 1963), p. 113. Böhl synthesized the essence of his side of the polemic in his *Vindicaciones de Calderón y del teatro antiguo español contra los afrancesados en literatura* (Cádiz, 1820).

[30] Herrero, p. 114.

[31] "Reflexiones sobre la dramática española en los siglos XVI y XVII", *El Censor*, 1821-IV-21, p. 131.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

benign classicism can be attributed to Durán's logical and heartfelt belief in the validity of Böhl's views.

Still, the proliferation of translations of foreign romantic works continued and even increased in the coming years. The short-lived champion of romantic literature in translation, the Barcelona newspaper *El Europeo,* aided the current of public interest in non-classical literature,[33] and even attempts as late as 1827 by Martínez de la Rosa to redefine the need for a classical interpretation could not turn the tide away from this growing onslaught of romanticism.

This review of the trajectory from Boileau to Böhl permits us to appreciate the significance of Durán's first contribution to the polemic, and to decide to what extent his views were merely a synthesis of the ideas of others, and to what extent they were original.

[33] See Luis Guarner, *El Europeo (Barcelona, 1823-1824)* (Madrid: Instituto "Miguel de Cervantes" del C.S.I.C., 1953). Monteggia's articles are of particular interest in the development of opinion from Böhl to Durán.

II

Criticism and the Theater

> Un teatro que no recoge el latido social, el latido histórico, el drama de sus gentes y el color genuino de su paisaje y de su espíritu, con risa o con lágrimas, no tiene derecho de llamarse teatro.
>
> FEDERICO GARCIA LORCA

Like Schlegel, Durán felt that foreign imitations of Spain's literature must inevitably lack the soul and spirit of the nation. He consequently ignored the extra-Iberian literature being produced, from Scott and Chateaubriand to Hugo's manifesto in his preface to *Cromwell,* and concentrated on the rehabilitation of purely Spanish romanticism. He was directly familiar with the French edition (Paris, 1814) of August Wilhelm's lectures[1] and was undoubtedly profoundly impressed by them; he was likewise conversant with Madame de Stäel's romantic treatises of 1818, *De la Littérature* and *De l'Allemagne,* which were a reflection of Schlegel's concepts. He had, as noted, begun cultivating his own interest in Spain's past literature during his days as a student in Seville. It is not a wild supposition to claim that he followed the Böhl-Mora polemic, at least after it moved to Madrid in 1818, since his later duties at the Dirección General de Estudios forced him to keep up with the capital's literary activities.

The 1828 Discurso, his first attempt at romantic theorizing, was his contribution to the Schlegel-Böhl axis of literary criticism. Before its publication he had struggled with himself as to whether he should stand forward in defence of Spain's past theater, but as he felt that "parece poco decoroso que lo hayan hecho los extranjeros" (281), he finally produced the *Discurso.*[2]

Much of the work addressed itself to those critics in his own country who refused to recognize the worth of traditional poetry and Golden Age drama, like, for example, José Luis Velázquez, whose attitude we have already seen. Durán read several of Velázquez's books, the content of which must have enraged him. Durán's most salient point, in his drive to rehabilitate the dramatic schools of Lope and Calderón, was the need for new or at least different rules

[1] "Inventario", p. 63. That he ignored foreign literature in the *Discurso* does not necessarily imply that he was unfamiliar with it. The "Inventario" showed his library to contain the works of Goethe and Scott, among others.

[2] It is interesting to note that Durán humbly declared himself incompetent to undertake such an important task. While Lista gave Durán credit for his enlightened attitude in this area, here Durán alluded to Lista and credited him with the basic ideas: ". . . mas por desgracia uno de los hombres a quien creo más capaz de tratar dignamente esta materia, y a cuya amistad debo toda mi educación literaria, se halla de continuo sabia y modestamente ocupado en la enseñanza de la juventud, y en obras más importantes, que le impiden dedicarse a ésta" (282-3).

with which to judge their work. Critics, chained to the rules laid down by foreigners, had underestimated the grace and genius of those works. He condemned "la ridícula manía de querer medir las sublimes creaciones dramáticas del siglo XVII con el mismo compás y regla a que se adaptaban las de los griegos, romanos y franceses . . ." (281), and was obviously distressed that other parts of Europe were beginning to recognize the beauty and validity of Golden Age theater, while in his own country it was practically ignored. This situation could not continue. Echoes of Schlegel's "what the Spaniards have hitherto loved from innate inclinations, they must learn to reverence on clear principles, and undismayed at the criticism to which it has in the mean time been exposed, proceed to fresh creations in the spirit of their greatest poets",[3] were heard in Durán. Böhl also considered this point important. In 1814 he wrote: "La gloria literaria de una nación consiste en las obras maestras que han producido sus grandes ingenios. Los principios de naturaleza, imitación, verosimilitud, etc., jamás han engendrado una sola locución poética. Antes ha sido la obra que las reglas. El genio solo crea; y de estas creaciones es donde la crítica después abstrae sus reglas, que pueden y deben servir de norma a los talentos de segundo orden, hasta que otro tiempo, otra generación, otro orden social produzcan otro genio eminente, de cuyas obras otros críticos abstraerán otras reglas. . . ."[4]

Like Schlegel and Böhl, Durán claimed that old Spanish drama was very different – a totally new genre – from the Greek theater and its imitators and hence not subject to the same rules. This point was particularly odious to Durán's critic in the *Correo Literario y Mercantil* who denied that they formed a new genre. This same classicist went on to insist that the classical rules were not artificial precepts but merely "common sense", as in the unity of action, "sin la cual no puede darse interés el drama".[5] Yet Durán followed Schlegel's contention that Spanish drama was inherently more poetic than classical drama, a demonstration of national chauvinism that pleased Durán, and that he would later try to justify. Shortly after the apogee of Spain's political and social resplendence, Lope was the first to throw off the yoke of classical imitation, and to show on stage "las glorias patrias, los triunfos de sus guerreros, los de sus héroes cristianos, el amor delicado y caballeresco, el punto de honor y los celos" (285) that were so strongly a part of the Spanish character. The theater, after all, should be just that – national, representative of the people's likes and dislikes, and above all a reflection of its being; it should be "la expresión ideal del modo de ver, juzgar y existir de sus habitantes" (285), and even more than that, it should be "la expresión poética e ideal de sus necesidades morales, y de los goces adecuados a la manera de existir, sentir y juzgar de sus habitantes" (290). True theatrical inspiration should, as a consequence, spring from *within* the country, not be imposed from without.

Durán gave credit where credit was due, recognizing the importance of the new German interpretations of Spanish theater: "A principios de este siglo

[3] A. W. Schlegel, p. 505.

[4] From "Donde las dan las toman; en contestacion a lo que escribieron Mirtilo y el Imparcial en el Mercurio gaditano, contra Schlegel y su traductor", p. 20.

[5] *Correo*, 1828-XII-26, p. 2.

algunos sabios alemanes se atrevieron en fin a proclamar la emancipación literaria de la Europa, y a elogiar y admirar las grandiosas creaciones de los dramáticos españoles" (305). They found in the heroic Middle Ages the seeds of the romantic values and in doing so brought to light the idea that there was more than one way to "conmover el corazón humano", and Durán could not agree more. "En estas razones se han fundado los alemanes para admitir dos géneros distintos de literatura, llamando clásico al que procede de las existencias políticas y religiosas de los pueblos antiguos, y romántico al que eleva sus creaciones en el nuevo modo de existir, emanado de la espiritualidad del cristianismo, de las costumbres heroicas de los siglos medios, y del modo diverso que tiene que considerar al hombre" (307).

After all, medieval society was so very different from classical society that it was only logical that their tastes, and hence the expression of those tastes, would differ profoundly. The Middle Ages, or "siglos caballerescos", displayed new ideas and new thoughts most clearly in their Christianity. Pagan mythology became supplanted by the sublimities of Christianity just as ancient republicanism gave way to the divinely inspired monarchy. Was not France, the *bête noire* of the new romantics in Spain, also Christian? Yes, but whereas Spain had developed her Christianity and monarchy, France had lost these institutional values in her trajectory toward anti-religiousness and republicanism, said Durán. As the external forms of society changed, so her goals and values changed, and the most significant new discovery was the importance of the individual: "De aquí resultó que a los goces y ocupación de tomar más o menos parte en la dirección del Estado, sustituyeron los hombres los placeres más tranquilos e individuales que proporciona el régimen monárquico en el nuevo orden social, y acostumbrados a tan dulce y pacífico género de vida, empezaron a dar más importancia a su existencia como individuos . . ." (308). By extension, the romantic poet or dramatist was not interested in capturing the abstract, external man, but he searched out the individual and interior soul of that man. He saw the need to go deeper than the mere description of the external act since "en el más oculto secreto de la conciencia es donde busca el mérito y motivo de las acciones; pues aunque éstas aparezcan buenas, podrán, no obstante, ser viciosas, y aun criminales, si la voluntad del bien y la gracia divina no han presidido a ellas" (313). The *Correo* disagreed violently with this point:

> Afirma que en la comedia clásica de caracter se consideran los vicios y virtudes en abstracto, careciendo por ello el protagonista de toda individualidad que le distinga de los demas hombres dominados de la misma pasión; y en prueba de su infundado aserto cita al *Avaro,* al *Misantropo* y al *Hipócrita* (sin duda de Moliere). La lectura de estas piezas sobra para destruir semejante sofisma, y los personajes de Harpagon, Alcestes y Tartuffe están tan marcados, tan caracterizados, tan perfectamente diferenciados de los demás hombres, aun de los sugetos a los mismos defectos que en ellos se retratan, que no habrá quien no sepa distinguirlos.[6]

Durán echoed Schlegel and Böhl in his insistence on the importance of Christianity, a thought which Sainz Rodríguez has called "una idea que seguramente

[6] *Correo,* 1828-XII-29, pp. 2-3.

es de Schlegel, pero que desarrolla con mucha brillantez y originalidad Durán . . .".[7] In Durán's view the Christian deity was far more inspiring and sublime than the mythological idols of the pagans. In the pagan idea, "todo se personifica y materializa", but the Christian truth was spiritual and indefinable. Durán then developed a somewhat impassioned religious argument, underlining the benefits of Christianity over paganism. He did, however, emphasize the concept that had been lightly passed over by both the Schlegels and Böhl – the value of woman, her place in the Christian world, and how she influenced the values of the Middle Ages. The tenderness of the Church, motherly instincts as identified with Mary, carried over into the home – by extension a recognition of the individuality of women, too: "La espiritualidad religiosa y el carácter caballeroso de los conquistadores del imperio de Occidente, suavizando las costumbres y leyes antiguas, constituyeron las sociedades de tal modo, que desde entonces fue imposible no reconocer en el bello sexo un influjo que jamás había obtenido entre los pueblos antiguos. Prevalecida la mujer de todas cuantas gracias y dulzura la dotó naturaleza, llegó a ser la piedra fundamental de la felicidad doméstica . . . Compañera, y no esclava del hombre, participaba igualmente que él de los bienes y males, de los placeres y de las penas" (309).

It was precisely this Christian-moral-monarchical (hence, above all Spanish) character that was reflected in Spain's drama and poetry.[8] It was virtually impossible, claimed Durán, to capture the essence of Spain (the intimate Christianity above all) with cold reason. Whereas the classical theater proceeded from the social and religious system of the ancient Greeks and Romans, which sought the description of the external and the abstract and relied heavily on external nature, romantic theater proceeded from the Christian chivalry of the Middle Ages, and tried to present man not as a compilation of isolated virtues and vices, but rather as a human being in massive conflict with his multifarious passions, trying to express the individual motives and merits of his actions: "Repitiremos, finalmente, que la sublime e ideal belleza de este último género se alimenta y sostiene en los inmensos espacios de la eternidad, en la sumisión del entendimiento humano a la fe divina, y en la noble y generosa galantería de los siglos medios . . ." (315).

If this was all so obvious, then, why bother to defend it? It was precisely because it was not at all obvious to the majority of critics who since the death of Calderón gleefully and unanimously attacked the "barbarity" and "uncouthness" of Golden Age theater. Durán himself wondered why all this was not self-evident; the eighteenth-century critics had some excuse for their vilification, given the decadence of Spanish theater as contrasted with the perfection of the French, but since the Germans had treated the matter with such clarity, what excuse did the modern critics have for their narrowness? (295).

French refinement had so distorted the critical eye, that even Spanish critics had jumped on the bandwagon of abuse (Durán himself admitted taking this viewpoint for a while during his early studies). His opening lines declared how

[7] *Orígenes,* p. 225.

[8] We will try here to limit the discussion to drama, taking up the *romance* in the next chapter. There is, of necessity, some overlap because of the intimate relationship between poetry and drama.

measuring everything on the classical standard had perverted Spain's appreciation of her past theater: "Ha sido ciertamente funesta a la gloria patria y a la literatura española la ruina de nuestro antiguo teatro, preparada y consumada por los críticos españoles del pasado y presente siglo, los cuales, ciegamente prevenidos a favor de doctrinas y principios inaplicables al sistema dramático de que fuimos inventores, lograron apagar la esplendorosa llama del genio nacional, que iluminaba a toda la Europa civilizada" (280).

Yet, like his intelligent predecessors, Durán was not by any means blind to the beauties of the classical genres. He did rail against the insipid imitators of the classics, but praised highly "los Molieres, Corneilles y Racines, que imitando, y a veces excediendo a sus modelos, han llegado a ser la emulación del mundo y a constituir el más hermoso título de gloria que puede presentar la Francia" (286). The good Spanish classicists – Garcilaso, Rioja, the Argensolas, Herrera, Góngora – were excellent poets and worthy of serious study, precisely because they were true to their own inspirations, not merely imitators of the external forms of the classics.

It was the theater that suffered most after the death of Calderón, because many playwrights and most critics followed the fashion of French imitation. In the name of Boileau and Aristotle (whose works, Durán argued, they most probably never read), the critics scathingly denounced the non-classicism of the Golden Age theater. They set out to destroy the appreciation of Spanish theater in order to supplant it with French "good taste": "Así lograron reducirnos, desde la gloria de haber creado un género original acomodado a nuestro carácter y costumbres, a ser meros imitadores de una escena exótica y extraña, que nunca ha prosperado ni prosperará en nuestro suelo, ínterin seamos españoles y no franceses" (287). When (if ever) Spain's customs, habits and values become like the French, he maintained, then its theater shall change accordingly, but the change will be stimulated by the people and their customs, not by the rulemakers.

French literary taste had succeeded in suffocating appreciation of Lope, Tirso, Moreto, and Calderón, who had been justly applauded during their lifetimes. This corrosive effect did not restrict itself to the Spanish peninsula, but spread throughout England, Italy, and Germany, forcing them too to abandon their national spontaneity. What was left was "mucha razón puesta en rimas, muchos diálogos sin acción y sin vivacidad, mucha moral pedantesca, y en fin, mucha e insufrible prosa, a veces más inverosímil que las exageradas invenciones de la fantasía" (288).

The critics ignored (or rather condemned) the fact that Golden Age drama obviously pleased the public, snobbishly claiming a higher and more refined critical system than the poor masses could possibly understand. Even the most virulent critic could not ignore the profound emotional impact of many of the plays of Calderón and Tirso, but they claimed that the good parts were mere accident. This angered Durán. There was hardly any drama that did not excite the emotions of the spectator while sustaining his interest from the very first scene to the last. Durán was infuriated to think that the critics suggested that this drama was essentially bad! Their ignorance became obvious in their contention that "el drama español es malo, porque no es lo mismo ni sigue la

marcha del clásico, que está demostrado ser bueno" (292). Well, they were right about one thing, he wrote – the Spanish national drama was not, nor did it aspire to be, French nor classical. It was *Spanish,* in all its glory and in all its feeling, and was not to be judged on any other grounds. The critics' greatest mistakes were not recognizing that: (1) each national theater was a completely different genre, due to the fact that each one was the product of nations with distinct character, customs, and goals, and (2) because of this multiplicity of form, each one must be interpreted accordingly.

Durán displayed his customary literary tolerance in proclaiming the validity and right of existence of each separate unique genre. Good theater was that which inspired the heart and the mind, that which stirred the soul with emotion, and consequently both classical and romantic methods could be employed with equal validity, as long as the same goals were reached. Durán was moved to lay emphasis on the subjective impression of the work, a little more than its rational content, as will become clear in his own theatrical criticism; here he exhorted his readers: "Abramos nuestra alma a las emociones que inspiran, aun cuando no podamos analizarlas; sintamos, aunque las reglas lo contradigan; pues al fin las sensaciones son hechos, y las reglas son abstracciones o teorías que pueden ser mal aplicadas o inexactas" (294). He even echoed Boileau (although with completely different intentions) in proclaiming: "cuando un autor dramático logra conmoverme, entusiasmarme e identificarme con el objeto de sus composiciones, jamás le pediré cuenta de los medios de que para ello se haya valido . . ." (294).

Just as modern builders have often desired to wreck the old pagan temples and gothic structures that have become outmoded, modern critics have tried to pull down the monuments of antique drama. Nonsense, shouted Durán; appreciate that which is good and disdain that which is not, but do not be categorical! Accept the beauties of the classics, but likewise recognize the beauty of the non-classics. Protest against the abuses of the national drama, but likewise do not defend coldness and monotony when it appears in the classics: "No pretendo, por lo dicho, censurar que admiren, respeten, y veneren a los griegos, romanos y franceses; pero sí quisiera que los poetas nacionales ocupasen el lugar de que son dignos . . ." (296).

Narrow application of critical precepts could be, and was certainly, dangerous in that the demand for prosaic exactitude often subverted the emotions, destroying whatever illusion of beauty, nobility or grandeur was being suggested on stage. Durán came up with an apt analogy to explain this position: "Estos hombres pretenden someter la poesía al mismo análisis que un anatómico usaría con el cadáver de una mujer hermosa; armados de sutilezas metafísicas, como aquél de un escalpelo, empiezan por destruir todas las partes que constituyen la ilusión de lo bello, y acaban por reducir a un horroroso esqueleto lo mismo que antes de caer en sus manos seducía y encantaba los sentidos" (297). We are reminded of his early rejection of his father's anatomical lessons.

A gross error made by contemporary critics, maintained Durán, was their suggestion that the masters of Spain's past literature did not know the classics, and this is why their works were so non-classical. What, then, of Villegas, Argensola, Cervantes, Juan de la Cueva, Lope, etc., etc.? Blatant rubbish and

ignorance on the part of the critics, clamored Durán. If these great writers ignored the rules, it was to better adapt themselves to the exigencies of the Spanish character, to keep in harmony with her moral and spiritual needs. Smugly, Durán made the following observation: Spain had its Moratín to compare within the classical framework to Molière, but France had no one to match the stature of Lope, Calderón or Moreto. Was not Spain, then, much closer to the perfection of the classical genres than was France to the perfection of the romantic? He also saw what Schlegel had commented on – Spanish drama was so rich in invention that "Italian, French, and English writers have all availed themselves of the ingenious inventions of the Spaniards, and often without acknowledging the source from which they derived them".[9]

Durán's attempt at fairness and reasonable exposition led him to justify the acceptance or rejection of any given type of literature in the following terms: "Por igual motivo las naciones románticas en literatura deben decir: no gustamos del género clásico, porque no nos mueve tanto como el nuestro; y las clásicas expresar que el romanticismo no las agrada, porque choca con la verosimilitud que buscan en el suyo y a que están habituadas. El considerar como absoluto lo que es casi siempre relativo es la causa de muchos errores" (302n).

This is what should happen, but in fact the erudite critics had even succeeded in contaminating the educational system in such a way that instead of being taught to appreciate what most appealed to them and what was truly good (be it romantic or classical), children were taught solely to detest what was viewed as bad by the teachers, "no para proporcionar nuevos goces intelectuales, sino para privarnos de los presentes; no para realzar la buena poesía, sino para escudriñar defectos" (303). This negative approach was harmful, not only to the stability of all literary monuments, but to the very intellectual health of society. A more positive approach ought to be encouraged because popular drama had the potential of instructing the people better due to the obvious fact that it could draw more spectators.

Durán passionately defended the fecundity and inventions of Lope, the poetry, wit and deep thoughts of Calderón, the harmonious verse and elegant language of Tirso, and Moreto's comedy of manners and facile delineation of characters, while at the same time not ignoring certain extravagances of rhetoric and unnecessary abuses perpetrated by their poor imitators. But how the beauties and subtleties of those great dramatists outweighed the unavoidable corruption of their followers! And how they dodged the critical daggers thrown at them! After all, how deliciously ironic that, "los nombres de Lope, Tirso, Calderón y Moreto, a pesar de la envidia que los persigue hasta en el centro de los sepulcros, atraviesan majestuosamente la serie de los siglos, en tanto que los de sus injustos detractores yacen en el olvido . . ." (317). This was undoubtedly true, especially judging from the Spanish acceptance of their old masters, and it echoed Böhl, who wrote about Calderón sixteen years before: "El pueblo sano que no lee a los críticos ha persistido en su admiración, contentándose con las flores y las estrellas, con las amplificaciones y las ponderaciones, con las octavas, décimas y sonetos que tanto incomodan a los admira-

[9] A. W. Schlegel, p. 35.

dores de las tragedias francesas."[10] Even though Durán declared himself non-partisan, he was much more ready to forgive the excesses of the imitators of Lope than those of the imitators of Molière.

What about the differences in external dramatic form between the classic and the romantic? Again, like Schlegel and Böhl, Durán insisted that when the unities become a hindrance to artistic production they should be discarded. This was precisely what so many of the Spanish masters did in order best to adapt themselves to the national consciousness. The critics who clamored against them in the name of Aristotle were in most cases misreading his *Poetics.* Romantic drama could not be arbitrarily confined by the old rules because (1) the characters were not mere abstractions but the confluence of many virtues and vices which played simultaneously on them, (2) in order to gradually reveal the character's intimate self more than the short space of twenty-four hours was needed, and (3) the interior being of the characters could not be adequately described by one action or by one short occurrence in their lives.

Poetic decorum was in fact maintained in romantic drama because each character spoke naturally, according to the time and circumstance. It was certainly unnatural to think that a king or a nobleman always spoke with elegant refinement, no matter where, when or to whom they addressed themselves. Likewise the free mixture of the tragic, comic, satiric, bucolic, and lyric adapted itself to the demands of the character and of the situation. Durán even intentionally blurred the distinction between comedy and tragedy, calling it all "theater", which prompted the *Correo* to characterize his definition "no solo inexacta sino errónea".[11] Finally, notwithstanding the classic's seemingly strict adherence to the precepts, even they often accorded themselves liberties of expression – poetic license in verse, sustained idealized expression, demands of language (even foreigners speak the language of the spectators), delineation and solution of the dramatic situation in a mere few hours, and so on. Why were these concessions being denied to the romantics, and to the genre that they themselves invented?

Durán's *Discurso* was not without its weaknesses. It suffered from a careless organizational structure and at times the author was unnecessarily repetitive and rambling. He was long on theory but dreadfully short on examples. When he did venture to pinpoint examples, as in his defense of Calderón's historical anachronisms in *Las armas de la hermosura,* he was sketchy.[12] But the basic ideas were there, and it was nonetheless effective as expository doctrine.

The volume sold out as soon as it appeared, and critical reaction was immediate. Quintana wrote to him two days after receiving a personal copy praising among other things his "solidez en los principios, originalidad de pensar, fuerza

[10] "Donde las dan las toman", p. 4.

[11] *Correo,* 1828-XII-26, p. 3.

[12] Durán was faced with stiff competition in trying to justify some of the lesser known Golden Age works. The *Correo* considered this drama to be riddled with "ridículas mentiras y absurdos anacronismos", and called Durán's defense of it even more ridiculous than the play itself. In this case, from our modern point of view, Durán's interpretation was incorrect. See Alexander A. Parker's "History and Poetry: The Coriolanus Theme in Calderón", *Hispanic Studies in Honour of I. González Llubera* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 211-24.

en el raciocinio".[13] As noted, the *Correo* lashed out at Durán's idea of romanticism as nothing but "la mezcla de la tragedia y la comedia, sin sujeción a otras reglas que las que a cada autor indique su voluntad o su fantasía : que, según su doctrina, pueden alternarse del modo que se quiera los caracteres históricos, confundirse las costumbres de todos los pueblos y de todos los siglos, y mezclarse indistintamente todos los géneros de poesía. Un drama, según este doctrina, puede sin estorbo contener la vida de un hombre, la historia de una familia, y aun los anales de una nación entera".[14] And why not?, asked Böhl as he consoled Durán against the misinterpretation of the *Correo* :

> Leí el *Discurso* de Vmd. con mucho gusto, por fundarse en los mismos principios que durante cinco años he defendido. Vmd. los ha puesto en nueva y clarísima ley, adornándolos de una dicción llena y florida que debe recomendarlos a cualquier cabeza despreocupada. Pero donde se hallan estas en nuestra pobre España? – Veo al contrario por los números 72 y 73 de un Correo de Madrid, que ha salido a la palestra un segundo Mora, el que como todos los críticos de su laya en lugar de refutar los argumentos del *Discurso,* se ciñe a cuatro asertos que nadie pone en duda, a otras cuantas frases vagas que admiten explicaciones opuestas, y acaba con la condenación más absoluta del antiguo drama y su nuevo apologista.[15]

Gallardo likewise was troubled by the adverse criticism,[16] and that which appeared in the *Diario Mercantil de Cádiz.* He told Durán that "no han entendido el espíritu de éste, la creen obra histórica, y en ese errado concepto han extrañado que no se haga en él mención honrosa de lo que escribió en ese sentido un Alemán en Cádiz, a competencia de los clasiquistas Mora y Galiano. El Alemán me ha escrito sobre el particular . . ."[17]

Obviously, the critical reception of the new ideas was not exclusively hostile. One of Madrid's most influential newspapers, the *Gaceta de Madrid,* published a favorable review by José María de Carnerero, in which he summed up Durán's main points and suggested that "la sencillez e ingenuidad con que el autor presenta sus observaciones, la concisión y claridad con que las expresa, y el conocimiento que manifiesta en este ramo de nuestra literatura hacen recomendable su obrita".[18] Several weeks later the *Diario de Avisos,* diverging from its usual practice of mere advertisement, praised the effort and ideas contained within the work and suggested that the appearance of it was propitious for a hopeful renaissance of taste for Old Spanish drama.[19] Durán's *Discurso* even reached England (not surprising with the colony of exiles living there) where

[13] From an unpublished letter dated July 27 [1828], in the Biblioteca Nacional.

[14] 1828-IX-29, p. 3. Adams suggests that this and the first article of three days earlier were possibly written by Rementería. "Notes on Dramatic Criticism in Madrid: 1828-1833", *North Carolina Studies in Language and Literature* (University of North Carolina, 1945), p. 233.

[15] *Epistolario,* VI.

[16] *Epistolario,* IX.

[17] *Epistolario,* V.

[18] *Gaceta de Madrid,* 1828-VI-12.

[19] *Diario de Avisos,* 1828-VII-11.

the *Athenaeum* praised its audacity in shaking off the bonds of French classicism, which had plagued England as much as it had Spain : ". . . even in Spain the same energy is manifesting itself; . . . even in that wilderness some good seed is sown, the . . . pledge of a noble harvest to come. It is a vindication of the national drama of Spain."[20] The author of this article foresaw in the *Discurso*

> a germ which cannot perish, but must go on increasing in strength till it bears fruit a hundred fold : the feelings and opinions which it recognizes are connected with the best part of our nature and want only cultivation : they must ultimately prevail. In the mean time, let it be the consolation of this gentleman, that, as an excellent metaphysician and a good man, he has contributed his share to the future advancement of his country, and that he will have been no trifling benefactor of his countrymen, if he can inspire them with some of the admiration he feels for Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, Moreto, and Calderón.[21]

This judgment turned out to be prophetic – the Academy itself maintained that this initial foray of Durán into the open field of criticism turned out to be "el verdadero precursor del romanticismo, y abrió paso al renacimiento de la forma y del gusto genuinamente españoles".[22]

Argument over the truth or error of the document raged on for years : "El Consabido" rather precipitously proclaimed that Durán's definitions of classic and romantic genres prevailed,[23] and Larra resuscitated it as a basis for his defense of romanticism (". . . pocas veces hemos visto defender esta cuestión de una manera tan ingeniosa y tan cierta"[24]). He supported Durán's point of view : "Reconocemos en todo el discurso una mano maestra, y de buena gana recomendamos su lectura a los aficionados a estas cuestiones literarias, bien seguros de que habrán de sacar del discurso más luz que todas las discusiones vocingleras de café. . . ." On the other hand, Alcalá Galiano, not yet ready to give up his defense of classicism, wrote from England that "an attempt has been made in an anonymous pamphlet attributed to M. Durán, a young writer, to convert the established doctrines of the classical school and to uphold the principles adopted by the Spanish poets, particularly by the dramatists. But the advocate was imperfectly acquainted with the true nature and bearings of the cause he undertook, with more zeal than ability, to defend".[25]

[20] *The Athenaeum,* 1829-III-11. Vicente Llorens Castillo in his magnificent treatment of the exiles in England suggests that Richard Chenevix Trench wrote the critique. *Liberales y románticos: una emigración española en Inglaterra* (Madrid : Editorial Castalia, 1968), p. 381.

[21] *The Athenaeum, ibid.*

[22] *MAE,* II, p. 281.

[23] "Sobre clásicos y románticos", *Cartas Españolas,* V, 1832-IV-12, p. 32.

[24] *La Revista Española,* 1833-IV-2.

[25] *The Athenaeum,* 1834-VI-14. Anna Morandi mistakenly accused Alcalá Galiano of disregarding the *Discurso* : "A proposito de Durán e della sua scoula, Alcalá Galiano osserva il silenzio più assoluto, un silenzio che se puo essere semplice ignoranza al tempo del prologo al *Moro Expósito,* appare difficilmente tale nell'epoca dei successivi sagi." "Alcalá Galiano nel romanticismo spagnolo", *Miscellanea di Studi Ispanici,* VIII (1964), p. 32. The matter has been elucidated in Carlos García Barrón's *La obra crítica y literaria de Antonio Alcalá Galiano* (Madrid : Gredos, 1970), pp. 108-9.

The prophesies of the *Diario* and the early *Athenaeum* were eventually borne out. The thirties saw the outbreak of activity connected with the old Spanish theater – from the conservative reissue of the masterpieces as in Durán's own *Talía,* to the use of the national themes in the extremist romantic works by such writers as the duque de Rivas and Hartzenbusch. That the *Discurso* helped to stimulate the renewal of that interest was never doubted.[26] Pastor Díaz noted that influence: ". . . algunos de los poetas dramáticos que hoy se distinguen, deben no poco a sus escritos y observaciones . . . Conviene observar que el señor Durán ha sido entre nosotros el primero que por medio de la prensa trató esta importante cuestión literaria."[27] Another contemporary of his lauded his literary courage in "menospreciando las diatribas y sarcasmos de Hermosilla y aun a riesgo de ser tenido por *anarquista literario*".[28]

A plethora of critics in this century has touched upon the main features of the *Discurso* in discussions of other aspects or other figures of the romantic movement. Many have been able to capture Durán's significance in the literary history of Spain: Adams,[29] Barja,[30] Caldera,[31] del Río,[32] Tarr,[33] and Zavala[34] all at least have commented on Durán, some of course more judiciously than others. By far the best interpretations of Durán's work are to be found in Peers, Cook,[35] Sainz Rodríguez,[36] and Shaw.[37]

Cook stresses those characteristics of Durán's *Discurso* which were essentially antithetical to neoclassicism, while overstressing the influence the *Discurso* had on the youth of the day. He writes: "The youth of Spain, reading and believ-

[26] See Jerónimo Borao, "Bibliografía. *El mágico prodigioso* – Drama de Calderón, publicado por Morel-Fatio", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos,* VIII (1878), pp. 10-11, where he wrote: ". . . desde que Durán . . . y los colectores del año 1828 y siguientes, en los juicios con que acompañaban cada comedia, avivaron la curiosidad, nunca por completa extinguida, pues siempre el teatro antiguo se sostuvo en la escena, los literatos españoles y extranjeros publicaron, comentaron, refundieron, tradujeron y exaltaron aquel maravilloso mundo de invención, de travesura, de gracejo, de caractéres, de poesía y de sin par lenguaje."

[27] Pastor Díaz, pp. 229-30, and 236. That Durán was the first was obviously untrue, but this points to the degree to which theoreticians, Böhl especially, were disregarded.

[28] José Amador de los Ríos, *Historia crítica de la literatura española,* I (Madrid: José Rodríguez, 1861), p. lxiii.

[29] Nicholson B. Adams, "Notes on Dramatic Criticism . . .", pp. 231-8.

[30] César Barja, *Libros y autores modernos: siglos XVIII y XIX.* 2nd. ed. (New York: Las Américas, 1964). Barja judges Durán's defense of romanticism "más enérgica y más brillante" than the important work of Alcalá Galiano.

[31] Ermanno Caldera, *Primi manifesti del romanticismo spagnolo* (Pisa: Istituto di letteratura spagnola e ispano-americana, 1962). Caldera, too, stresses the essential conservatism of Durán's nationalistic writing.

[32] Angel del Río, "Present Trends in the Conception and Criticism of Spanish Romanticism", *Romanic Review,* XXXIX (1948), pp. 229-48. Del Río is correct in designating the *Discurso* more "a call to the awakening of the national spirit and consciousness, than a proof that such an awakening had taken place".

[33] F. Courtney Tarr, "Romanticism in Spain", *PLMA,* LV (1940), pp. 35-46 and 59-60. Tarr's usually careful assertions are marred by his claim that the *Discurso* did not even cause a "mild furor among critics", although he does recognize that Durán's position was "the one soon to become popular".

[34] Iris M. Zavala, *Ideología y política en la novela española del siglo XIX* (Salamanca: Anaya, 1971). Zavala makes the careful but undocumented assertion that the *Discurso*

ing this praise [of the Golden Age dramatists], must surely have felt that the salvation of the theater depended upon an abrogation of all the classical precepts that were being taught in the schools and the enthronement of everything that was represented by the theater of the seventeenth century."[38] This misreading of Durán's intention distorts the fact that he quite loudly praised the Spanish classicists and even had kind words for the best of the French classical authors. Cook also claims that Durán's shift in emphasis in the 1839 article on the theater proves his capitulation to the classical way of thought. But that article's purpose was to clarify many views of his which had been misinterpreted, and we must not view clarification as a retreat. Still, Cook follows Durán through three major critical writings to document his frustration and anger at the way some of his ideas were used as *carte blanche* to produce works of highly questionable moral quality.

Shaw's two lengthy discussions represent the synthesis of the current state of interpretation of the *Discurso.* For him, "Durán's *Discurso* is one of the most extensive and in some ways the most influential piece of critical writing connected with the romantic debate in Spain",[39] and Shaw is particularly strong in his discussion of the influences on Durán and on Durán's political position at the time he wrote the work. He stresses the *casticista* and patriotic focus of the *Discurso,* while rightfully rejecting the accusations of reactionary partisanship which have been leveled at the author. As we have seen, Durán was a firm defender of the monarchy, but not necessarily of the monarch. In fact, years later, he was to write: "Emprendí estas tareas cuando un poder arbitrario dominaba nuestra patria, y por ello me fue imposible manifestar libremente las ideas filosóficas que abrigaba; pero arrostré la dificultad bordéandola. . . ."[40] Shaw is at his best while pointing out the weaknesses of the manifesto and the many contradictions that entrapped Durán. Still, I am uncomfortable with his criticism of the type of romanticism which Durán chose to defend. In stating that with the *Discurso* "the first phase of critical discussion of romanticism in Spain came to an end",[41] it is possible to under-emphasize the fact that with the *Discurso* a whole new polemic began. "In retrospect, the major shortcoming of the Fernandine critics was their failure to associate romanticism with a speci-

helped the diffusion of Walter Scott's novels in Spain. If this was so, it was only in helping to broaden the intellectual acceptance of that historical type of writing, on the lines of López Soler's work in *El Europeo.*

[35] John A. Cook, *Neo-classic Drama in Spain: Theory and Practice* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1959).

[36] Pedro Sainz Rodríguez, *Orígenes de la historia literaria en España.* Madrid, inedited. "Fue un oscuro erudito quien abrió, con este *Discurso,* el período romántico en la historia de nuestras letras", writes Sainz, underlining the importance of the document; p. 217.

[37] Donald L. Shaw, "Introduction", to Durán's *Discurso* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1973), and "Spain", in Hans Eichner, ed., *'Romantic' and its Cognates: The European History of a Word* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), pp. 341-71.

[38] Cook, p. 516.

[39] Shaw, *Discurso,* p. vii. Shaw did not have access to some of the biographical data on Durán, relying on secondary sources for some dubious information, but his critical interpretations are excellent and carefully written.

[40] Durán, "Prólogo", *Romancero general,* 1849, p. vi.

[41] Shaw, "Spain", pp. 348-9.

fically contemporary *Weltanschauung*. From this failure sprang their inability to distinguish between the old romantics such as Shakespeare and Calderón and the new romantics such as Byron."[42] To casually lump Durán with the other Fernandine critics on this point (and certainly he was an outgrowth of the Schlegel-Böhl trend of criticism) is to ignore that it was not an *inability* on Durán's part to include the Byronian romantics as much as a wilful desire to exclude that type of literature from consideration. He intentionally rejected the "falso camino de los delirantes y frenéticos románticos de una nación vecina" in his 1839 article.[43] His defense of romanticism, as he saw it, specifically avoided such writers. He is also faulted for "excessive dependence on the ideas of A. W. Schlegel, which led [him] to exaggerate the relationship between romanticism and Christianity".[44] But it must not be forgotten that Durán's *Discurso* was essentially new to Madrid and he was defending what he considered romanticism to be, and well before the "romantic" drama, as we interpret it today, appeared. Literary criticism in hindsight is often near perfect, but to Durán romanticism *was* Christianity (and monarchy and medievalism): by defining romanticism in 1828 he cannot be faulted for not defining correctly whatever eventually came to be called romanticism in the decade and century which followed him. Yet we must concur when Shaw writes ". . . if we are to take seriously the views of the writers so far mentioned, we are driven to conclude either that all literature in the Christian era is romantic or that, at least, all Spanish literature (except a brief period in the eighteenth century) is romantic. Both these views . . . render the definition of romanticism so vague as to be virtually meaningless".[45] Still, this view prevailed for a number of years.

It is not being suggested, of course, that the *Discurso* summoned the explosive romantic literature into being, but it was certainly instrumental in preparing the intellectual climate for an intelligent revaluation of the drama of the Golden Age. As noted above, Durán's was already an authoritative voice by 1828, and his initial critical offering, aside from merely propagating the heretofore unknown ideas of the Schlegels and Böhl, undoubtedly lent prestige to the new scholarly approach to that theater which was later to be called romantic. It is not without foundation that one critic has written: "Este discurso de Durán es para España lo que las *Lecciones* de Schlegel para Alemania, la *Carta sobre las tres unidades* de Manzoni para Italia, y el prefacio de *Cromwell*, de Hugo, para Francia."[46] Shaw's penetrating study of the *Discurso* enables us to view Durán within the mainstream of nineteenth-century romantic thought. In his opinion, it is Durán's historical focus which needs to be emphasized:

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 349.

[43] Durán, "Poesía popular. Drama novelesco. Lope de Vega", *Revista de Madrid*, Second Series, II (1839), p. 75.

[44] Shaw, "Spain", pp. 348-9.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] Narciso Alonso Cortés, *Zorrilla. Su vida y sus obras* (Valladolid: Librería Santarén, 1943), p. 115. To this, J. García Mercadal added: "Se adelanta y tiene aún más valor estético, no sólo por prioridad cronológica mas por profundidad estética, al prólogo puesto por Alcalá Galiano al *Moro espósito*, del duque de Rivas, considerado como el manifiesto del Romanticismo español". *Historia del Romanticismo en España* (Barcelona: Labor, 1943), p. 185.

> Once more we must distinguish between Durán's place in the general history of Spanish nineteenth-century criticism and his rôle in the debate about romanticism. In the first, he emerges as the most obvious precursor of Menéndez Pelayo in the task of restoring Spain's interest, pride and confidence in her national literature. He was the first critic in Spain to formulate a theory of literature which is recognizably romantic. While Mora tergiversated and Lista entered cautious reservations, Durán took his stand aggressively on what was in 1828 an extreme position. So far as the rehabilitation of Golden Age drama is concerned, his *Discurso* undoubtedly turned the tide. . . . At the crucial moment he threw his influence on the side of "historical" romanticism, that timid, early, Christian and medieval orientated sector of the movement in which the Spanish bourgeoisie saw its comfortable religious and traditionalist ideas reflected with no dangerous tincture of radicalism or *criticismo*.[47]

* * *

The seeds of theatrical interpretation which Durán planted in the *Discurso* stayed with him his entire life. His innate love of Spain's past drama, from both an intensely patriotic and fully Christian point of view, his openness to its inherent romanticism, his demand for its revaluation by new rules, his open-mindedness as far as the classics were concerned, his concern for the need for study of those classics, his recognition of the faults and excesses of Golden Age drama, and his avoidance of the extreme, were tenets to which he remained faithful in his interpretation of specific dramatic pieces, whether old or new. Concomitantly, he emphasized the need for approaching drama from an historical perspective, that is, analyzing the various (and unique) social and historical circumstances which played upon the creation of the work : "El objeto de la buena crítica no es solo juzgar las obras del arte y del ingenio bajo el aspecto de un tipo absoluto convenido entre los profesores y maestros, sino también atender a las épocas y circunstancias en que se produjeron, considerándolas sometidas al influjo de la idea social, entonces predominante."[48] This attitude, dominant in all his criticism, suggests that Durán would have been an excellent historian had he not chosen to enter the field of literature, and the two fields often merged in his works.

Durán had been writing dramatic criticism since 1826, when the first volumes of the *Colección general* were printed. For that series he interpreted, according to Pastor Díaz, Lope's *Los milagros del desprecio* and Zamora's *El convidado de piedra.* In each, Durán was careful to situate the play within the literary tradition, Lope's as a forerunner to Moreto's *El desdén con el desdén,* and Zamora's as a remake of Tirso's *El burlador de Sevilla.* It is interesting to note the development of Durán's attitude toward the classicists in these two reviews. In 1826, he praised Lope's play which "tiene tanta regularidad, mas travesura, situaciones mas cómicas, y se acerca mas al rigor de las reglas clásicas, por la naturalidad de su argumento".[49] But by 1832, after having himself been attacked as a virulent anti-classicist, his attitude seemed to harden : "En vano la razón

[47] Shaw, *Discurso,* p. xxvii.

[48] From the criticism of *El condenado por desconfiado* which Hartzenbusch included in his edition of Tirso for the *BAE,* 5 (1848), p. 720.

[49] *Colección general.* Lope, v. 1 (1826), p. 102.

empírica y la filosofía irónica del siglo XVIII, en vano la metafísica del sensualismo intentaron e intentarán destruir en el hombre su propensión a lo maravilloso, imaginación y de inverosimilitud cuanto no entra en las medias del mundo efímero y prosaico de la realidad palpable y sensual."[50] His usual fairness with the classicists collapsed and his temper rose when he belittled their injudicious views:

> Todo el que tenga corazon y alma sensible: todo el que esté dotado de imparcialidad y talento natural, confesará lo mismo; pero no aquellos que echándola de filósofos y de maestros del arte, porque han mal leído a Boileau, u oído hablar de las reglas clásicas sin entenderlas ni saber aplicarlas, juran que son necedades y disparates lo que no comprenden. Estos hombres ni tienen sentido comun, ni conciencia lógica; y para persuadirlos sería necesario, no razones, pues no las oyen, sino hacer moda la sensibilidad y la inteligencia de que carecen, porque entonces, aun cuando sean ineptos para obtener tales dotes, fingirán que los tienen, como ahora obstentan un gusto intolerante y esclusivo, que tampoco poseen sino en los labios."[51]

Durán defiantly proclaimed the success of his type of romanticism: "Este género de drama novelesco, imposible de acomodar a las reglas de Aristóteles, fue proscrito en el siglo pasado; pero el espíritu poético del presente, nos arrastra de nuevo a él sin recurso. Inútil es la resistencia que opone el gusto clásico a este hecho."[52]

He favorably reviewed Tapia's classically inspired drama, *Amar desconfiando o la soltera suspicaz,* in 1832, calmly reasserting that good drama was acceptable whether is was romantic or not. Romantic, that is, in his conservative historical sense of the word, not the "manía melodramática, que exagerando las pasiones los conduce a una afectación insoportable, que algunos confunden con el bello y sublime romanticismo".[53] Tapia's drama was classical in that it subtly returned to the elegant genre cultivated by Molière and Moratín, eschewing the degradation which extremism caused it to suffer. Applying the special rules of criticism to that genre, Durán could openly declare it an honorable and delicate work. "El Sr. Tapia nos ha dado pues una nueva comedia clásica en toda la extensión de la palabra, y nos ha probado que aun no está agotada la fecunda mina del género para los que saben cultivarla con talento y esmero. Verdad es que esto es cada día más difícil después de las producciones con que han fecundado la escena los grandes poetas del siglo pasado. . . ." This bears out Durán's own contention that, notwithstanding the ardent defense of the national drama which he displayed in the *Discurso*, "no pertenezco a partido alguno" (298). He was, rather, more aligned with the likes of Lista, neither "rebelliously" romantic nor "coldly" classical.

This same middle-of-the-road attitude caused him to equate Roca with Tapia and not with Rivas, García Gutiérrez, etc., in his review of the former's *Doña*

[50] *Colección general.* Zamora (1832), p. 307.
[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 307-8.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 311.
[53] *El Correo,* 1832-VII-9

María de Molina, in 1837. The grass-roots patriotic theme appeared as strong as ever : "Buscando modelos antipáticos a nuestras costumbres, a nuestra sociedad, a nuestra idiosincrasia, solo conseguimos embotar nuestro talento, cortar las alas al genio, cargarle de trabas y cadenas . . . ¿Y para qué? Solo para producir caricaturas, frías y malas imitaciones, o exagerados monstruos. . . ."[54] To stray from the customs and beliefs of the people was to stray onto dangerous territory. Wasn't this in contradiction to his previous positions? How could the romantic and the classical be equally acceptable? The key word, or course, was "imitation"; keep, he admonished, to what you know – whether it be the classical rules as fruits of your study, or romantic customs as a result of your experience : "Nuestro teatro, como el del siglo XVII, será todo imaginación, todo poesía, es decir todo verdad; pero que nos representará a nosotros, porque será nosotros mismos."

Durán was still championing the rediscovery of the Golden Age mode of writing as applied to new dramas. As an introduction to his review of Patricio de la Escosura's *La Corte del Buen Retiro* that same year he wrote : "En muy poco tiempo se han presentado en los teatros de esta corte varios dramas originales, y cada día se nos anuncian nuevas producciones de ingenios más o menos acreditados, y otras de autores cuyos nombres eran, no hace mucho, enteramente desconocidos; esperamos que muy en breve volverá a cobrar este ramo de la literatura el mismo esplandor que en otros tiempos tuvo, y que dejaremos al fin de recurrir a los teatros de París para animar el nuestro."[55] He was of course fighting a losing battle. The romanticism of Rivas, García Gutiérrez, Hartzenbusch, etc., which Durán tried so valiantly to ignore, would not go away, and in fact soon dominated the public's attention. Durán recognized the dramatic possibilities of Escosura, and saw historical drama as a rich source of excellent playwriting, but credited him with a potential brilliance that has not been confirmed by literary criticism.

Ten years after the *Discurso,* Durán was still true to the ideas contained in it, although the death of Fernando and the repatriation of the exiles had corresponded to (or possibly ushered in) the wildly ecstatic explosion of what we call today romanticism in the thirties. The dramas of Rivas, Hartzenbusch, Larra, García Gutiérrez, the poetry of Esponceda and Zorrilla, and the political turmoil of the Carlist War, had all changed the texture of Spanish society. Still, Durán remained constant, logically and coherently arguing the benefits of the national genres. By now of course few disputed those qualities, but exposition, not polemic, was Durán's goal as a critic.

When del Río credited the duque de Rivas with the "first important and clear-cut call for a conscious return to the literary tradition of the *Romancero",*[56] in the prologue to the latter's 1840 *Romances históricos,* he failed to take into account the influential article "La poesía popular. Drama novelesco. Lope de Vega", which in 1839 reaffirmed some of Durán's more salient observations, and proceeded to apply the theory to the specific. Anti-classical?

[54] *El Observatorio Pintoresco,* 1837, p. 99.

[55] *Eco de Comercio,* 1837-VI-9.

[56] Angel del Río, "Present Trends in the Conception and Criticism of Spanish Romanticism", *Romanic Review,* XXXIX (1948), p. 239.

Hardly: "Tan lejos me hallo de condenar el estudio de los clásicos, que antes le creo indispensable para formarse un gusto esencialmente bello, y producir obras maestras e inmortales." This claim did not represent a turn-about from his more passionate statements in the *Discurso,* as Cook would have us believe: ". . . they show a retreat on the part of Durán from his advocacy of complete freedom of the imagination and his insistence upon the deadening effect of the rules upon creative talent. His change of attitude must be considered a victory for neo-classicism, in spite of his declaration that he is merely trying to correct a widespread misinterpretation of the ideas he had expressed in his *Discourse.*"[57] On the contrary, this article was a restating of his earlier position that "al expresar mis opiniones en materia tan importante y delicada, debo advertir que no es mi ánimo vulnerar los principios inconcusos que sirven de base al buen gusto en todo género de bellas letras; pero sí pretendo combatir la *demasiada latitud* que se ha dado a varias reglas del teatro llamado clásico. . . ."[58]

It was the knack of blending academic study with popular taste which enabled Lope to invent Spain's national drama. Even if there were errors or failings in his drama, he was at least original – which, coupled with also being patriotic, Christian and a poetic genius, deemed him fully deserving of the praise and following he received. Lope possessed what his predecessors Cueva, Virués, the Argensolas, Encina, Torres Naharro, Rueda, Timoneda, etc., lacked – the insight to not be overly academic. How well Durán captured the essence of Lope's drama:

> Allí está consignada toda la ciencia de su siglo y de su nación; allí sus usos y costumbres; allí su fe y creencias religiosas; allí sus principios morales y políticos; allí sus necesidades, gustos y placeres; allí lo que contenía su originalidad; y allí, mejor que en la historia, que respeta y adula a los individuos, se pintaban con verdad en seres ideales atributos que constituían entre el pueblo la idea de lo bueno y de lo malo, de lo útil y de lo dañoso, y hasta el extravío que produce en los juicios humanos la constitución social y la educación.[59]

Durán proselytized the case for conservative romanticism in order to encourage the youth away from the frenetic machinations that had contaminated contemporary drama. Where it based itself on Spain's Christian Middle Ages, it was to be applauded, but where it perverted the noble spirit of her past it was to be deplored. The new romantics could not hope to reach the impressive heights of Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Virgil, Dante, Ariosto or Lope by laziness and abandonment of hard work and study. Study of the classics would provide the basis for ideas which the new authors would then be able to assimilate, internalize and convert to original artistic expression. "El estudio es, pues, tan

[57] Cook, p. 521.

[58] *Discurso,* p. 281. Emphasis added.

[59] *Revista de Madrid,* December, 1839, p. 71. This view was accepted in many influential literary circles. Manuel Cañete quoted extensively from Durán's opinions on Lope in a review article he wrote on Juan Lombía's recent work on *El teatro.* See *Revista Literaria,* 1846-II-16, p. 4.

indispensable a la vida del ingenio y de la inteligencia, como el alimento a la vida física."[60]

Calderón also merited Durán's highest praise – Lope's drama lived on, molded and perfected by the sublime poet. Where Lope presented in full view the social fabric of Spain and her people's basic instincts, Calderón's poetry, richness of concept, and profound insights into the most intimate of man's feelings formulated by the nation and by her religion, added incomparably to the perfection of romantic drama. Both were deserving of recognition, and by the time of this article they were – but they were also models which the younger generation should not ignore in its march along the road to immortality.

The romantic (Golden Age) playwright who received the majority of Durán's critical attention was Tirso. This was probably fortuitous, since when he wrote the biographical notes and judgments for the *Talía* in 1834, he had every intention of continuing along similar lines for the other major dramatists. As was noted above, Tirso was dealt with first since his plays were often the most difficult to locate. When he again turned his attention to Tirso, it was in conjunction with Hartzenbusch's 1838-42 edition of his works. The biographical notes on Tirso were necessarily incomplete due to the lack of documents concerning his life, but the analyses of his drama and contributions to the romantic genre were both interesting and valid.

In the *Talía*, Durán noted that Tirso learned early to shake off the yoke of classical restrictions and follow his contemporary and friend Lope into the rich realms of the imagination. He entertained the public with his lively dialogues, gracefully painted scenes of the society in which he lived, and inherent morality. "Jamás se propuso de antemano un fin moral directo y único en ninguna de sus comedias. Cada una de ellas es una novela de costumbres de donde pueden deducirse una o más máximas morales, al modo de que cualquiera poema puede formarse una alegoría, aunque el autor no se la haya propuesto."[61] The demands of the romantic genre prevented him from allowing one vice or virtue to monopolize the characters. Durán recognized the strength and fullness with which Tirso painted his female characters, as opposed to the timid, weak males. In fact, most of his heroes were just such men who for reasons of pride or vanity (or in spite of them) fell in love with forceful women. As far as the classical rules of drama were concerned, Tirso sided with Lope. "¿No pudiera decirse que Tirso respectivamente ha hecho del drama lo que Ariosto del poema épico? Si el arte y las reglas preopinadas para todo se ofenden de las libertades que nuestro Tirso se toma, él las desenoja con sus gracias y sales inimitables, y la jovialidad pública prueba que el instinto del ingenio puede más, vale más y sabe más que todos los preceptistas sistemáticos del mundo."[62] He reiterated what was obvious in the *Discurso*: "En nuestro sistema literario no admitimos nada absoluto, y por eso tenemos más fe en el sentimiento que en las reglas dogmáticas, y quizá arbitrarias, en que los críticos quieren que se busque siempre la belleza."[63]

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[61] "Apuntes biográficos sobre el maestro Tirso de Molina", in *Talía española* (1834), p. 3. This was also reprinted by Hartzenbusch.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[63] *Ibid.*

It would be as ridiculous to force ideas on a people that neither wanted them nor understood them, as it would be to speak Greek in Madrid theaters merely because Greek was more appropriate for tragedy.

Invariable rules were not applicable to works of genius – which those of Lope, Tirso, and Calderón certainly were. Classical drama, in spite of a monotonous simplicity, he said, could produce such an illusion of harmony that the spectator was enthralled, even edified. Romantic drama, on the other hand, due precisely to its proliferation of intrigue, action, suspense, and scene-shifting, captured the spectator's interest and entertained him. Should either of these sources of pleasure be condemned solely because they were not compatible? No, because romantic was not classical nor did it pretend to be : ". . . ni a Tirso ni a poeta alguno de nuestros dramáticos que florecieron en el siglo XVII debe juzgárseles por la misma pauta que a Terencio, porque así los unos como el otro escribieron en distintas épocas, para diversas naciones, y bajo el influjo de diferentes ideas y civilizaciones."[64]

Durán's penchant for classification, although practically unrecognizable in the *Discurso,* manifested itself in his division of Tirso's drama into three classes: (1) *comedias* of intrigue and of customs, (2) historical and heroic dramas and, (3) religious dramas. Nor was Tirso without faults : his plots were often repetitious, his scenes were likewise not varied enough, his characters were too often stylized types that bordered on monotony. Nevertheless, there was something about them which impelled people to see them again and again. His style was varied, his dialogues rapid and natural, his verse was full and flowing, and so on.

Unfortunately, Durán's own specific interpretations of the three plays presented in the *Talía* were hopelessly sketchy. Only one, *La prudencia en la mujer,* was accorded ample recognition. *Palabras y plumas* and *El pretendiente al revés* were "analyzed" in eight and six lines respectively. But the critics claimed that "cada una de sus comedias . . . son acertadamente consideradas por el Sr. Durán".[65] The whole plan, though, was received with unanimous excitement, and all praised Durán's noble efforts toward this "monumento erigido a nuestra gloria nacional". The *Talía* was judged "acertado . . . fruto de la más exquisita meditación".[66] Durán, whose "conocimiento de nuestros buenos escritores, señaladamente dramáticos, y desinterés son bien conocidos",[67] was looked to in order finally to bring to light some of the practically unknown *comedias* of the great authors of the past. The *Eco de Comercio* hoped that it would "prevent the disappearance of those rich springs of poetry and inventiveness which have fertilized the talent of the most distinguished foreign dramatists of the seventeenth century, and which may yet give strength and luxuriance to the acceptance of the moderns".[68] Only the *Abeja* (1835-II-20) complained mildly of the superficiality of Durán's comments on the two cited dramas. It was Durán's intent in the publication of Tirso's dramas and his

[64] *Ibid.,* p. 6.
[65] L. de U. y R. [Luis de Usoz y Río], *El Artista,* January, 1835, p. 34.
[66] *La Revista Española,* 1835-III-20.
[67] *Gaceta de Madrid,* 1835-III-11. Juretschke suggests that this highly favorable article was written by Lista.
[68] 1835-I-31. Quoted by Peers, I, p. 189.

introductory defense of his theater, more than his actual critical interpretations, that were important to the resurgence of the national drama.

When the biography of Tirso was published again in 1838, Lista made his objections to it known. After praising the sincerity and dedication of his ex-disciple, he objected strenuously to Durán's attitude toward the rules of drama. Lista could not accept so readily the Golden Age authors' total freedom from the restraints of classical precepts : "En lo que no convenimos con el Sr. Durán . . . es en lo que dice contra los preceptistas, esto es, contra los que escriben acerca de la ciencia y el arte de la poesía. No puede haber arte sin preceptos, ni ciencia sin principios."[69] But Durán, as we have seen, never claimed there should be. Finally Lista, who here apparently wanted to solidify his classical stance, softened his criticisms and recognized that Durán had written "un excelente ejemplo de crítica juiciosa y filosófica", since he too saw the weaknesses of Tirso's dramas. The teacher and the disciple had parted ways (on the surface) – Lista defended the purely classical and Durán the romantic; but underneath, the background of sensible study of the rules plus thoughtful application of them, remained equally strong for both men.

From a critical standpoint, Durán's later analysis of Tirso's *El condenado por desconfiado* fared much better. He still firmly believed in the truth of his position on national theater, and condensed it in one powerful sentence : "Para juzgar las producciones de la imaginación, no basta ya haber leído y estudiado las poéticas de Aristóteles, de Horacio y de Boileau, porque la crítica filosófica no debe ceñirse solo a aplicar las que llamamos reglas del buen gusto, sino que además debe tener por base un profundo conocimiento de la historia física y moral de los pueblos, de sus íntimas costumbres, y de las ideas predominantes que en diversas épocas constituyeron su estado social, y que motivaron sus aciertos y sus errores."[70] Partially due to his own efforts in the field the times had changed, and the intellectual atmosphere was rather freer from the bonds of intolerance than it was before. No longer were Shakespeare and Calderón banished from intelligent interpretation because they were neither Greek nor French. The study of the ideas of each nation, and of the expression of those ideas in theater and poetry, were the guidelines that fortunately were being followed for artistic judgment. Durán reaffirmed the concept of that literature as documents which could reveal the real moral, philosophical, social, and historical fiber of the society in which it was produced.

Durán saw *El condenado* as a deeply religious drama, well in keeping with the theological and dogmatic beliefs of not only the seventeenth, but also of the nineteenth century, that dealt with the concept of Grace on a level which the people could understand. Paulo, the religious hermit, was denied Grace because of his doubt and desperation, even though he lived an externally virtuous life; Enrico, the bandit, on the other hand, received ultimate salvation because his sins were of habit – he symbolized human weakness, but possessed some moral worth. Durán's own Christian moral code played upon his interpretation : "Diremos, sin embargo, respeto a sus consecuencias morales, que si algunas malas puede tener una esperanza indiscreta, mal deducida del dogma por falta

[69] Lista, *Artículos*, p. 96.
[70] "Examen de *El Condenado por desconfiado*", *BAE*, 5, p. 720.

de entenderle bien; aun esta misma esperanza, como supone siempre la reparación y arrepentimiento del criminal, no causa daños tan graves e irreparables como los que produce la desesperación, que desde luego aniquila todo sentimiento dulce, consolador y suave."[71]

He took the opportunity to once again attack the supposed sanity of the anarchistic and anti-religious dramas written in the thirties, the ideological frenzy that was being misnamed "romanticism", and drew parallels between healthy drama and healthy society. Those who insisted on screaming "down with property! down with marriage! down with the family!" should merely be ignored: "Algunos piensan que el estado salvaje es el principio de la sociedad: pero yo al contrario, creo que el producto de sociedades corrompidas y disueltas, quizá también de hombres que, buscando el progreso por medios iguales a los que ahora se usan, obtuvieron el mismo resultado a que, sin saberlo, caminamos nosotros."[72] Such men could hardly be expected to understand the subtle beauties of Tirso's religious drama.

By this time Durán claimed victory for his school of thought: "Algunos de nuestros ilustres y jóvenes ingenios fueron deslumbrados por el romanticismo malo; pero después que estudiaron la poesía nacional, le abandonaron; y siguiendo el camino trazado por la buena crítica, produjeron obras que honran la presente generación."[73] Of course, the "poesía nacional" was available in his editions, and his was the first voice of "buena crítica".

Those critics who had consistently sided with Durán continued to support his interpretations of these dramas. Valera especially, who had held such great respect for Durán, deferred to his interpretation of *El condenado,* "porque después del examen crítico que hizo de él el señor Durán es difícil añadir algo ni bueno ni nuevo".[74] Not so the modern critics; Cook, as we have seen, sees a shift in Durán's attitude from the *Discurso.*

With the vindication of Golden Age drama a relative fact, Durán turned to another dramatist much in keeping with his romantic criticism, although not of the seventeenth century. The moral, patriotic, and social value he defended in Lope he found in part in Ramón de la Cruz. He justified his defense of the *sainetes* and his interest in them as "la única poesía popular que produjo el siglo XVIII".[75] He traced the lines of decadence which led from the zenith of popularity in Lope and Calderón to the implantation on Spanish soil of French tastes and customs. In fact, the national school of drama succeeded for a while in hiding from Europe the fact that Spain was in political decline, a downward trend which began with Phillip II. By the time the Bourbon kings laid claim to the Spanish crown, the only vestiges of spirit in Spain were to be found on stage in the dramas of Cañizares and Zamora. Everything else – art, science,

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 721. For a modern interpretation of this play, much in keeping morally with Durán's view, see Alexander A. Parker's "Santos y bandoleros en el teatro español del Siglo de Oro", *Arbor*, nos. 43-4, XIII (1949), pp. 395-416.

[72] *Ibid.*

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 724.

[74] Juan Valera, *Obras completas* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1961) II, p. 337. The article was entitled "Sobre el Discurso acerca del drama religioso español, antes y después de Lope de Vega, escrito por Manuel Cañete, individuo de la Real Academia Española", 1862.

[75] "Prólogo", *Sainetes* (Madrid: Yenes, 1843), I, p. xi.

poetry, imagination, strength, national pride – had felt the ravages of decay, and the country lay paralyzed by corruption and ignorance. Great, noble, strong, wise, original old Spain was no more than a hollow name. Finally the majority of her good theater collapsed, undermined either by French classicism or by the extravagant imitators of the old masters.

Durán expressed many of the same views he had enunciated in the *Discurso,* but here he set them forth with unusual vehemence: "La vena rica y abundante, la imaginación fecunda y natural de nuestros poetas, sangrada y ligada con las zarzas espinosas y agudas de una crítica mezquina y servil, dejó de criar aquella sangre noble, generosa y ardiente que en otro tiempo fluía a raudales, y solo produjo después un humor tibio y descolorido. Nuestros preceptistas del siglo XVIII, generalizando y haciendo demasiado exclusivos sus principios, cortaron las alas a la imaginación y consiguieron que los poetas medianos ocupasen el lugar de los grandes y sublimes ingenios, que enmudecían ante tan pesada esclavidud."[76] As before, he reserved his attacks only for the bad imitations – Quintana in his original classical posture, Moratín *hijo,* Corneille, Racine, and Molière all received deserved good words.

Of course, the ultimate justification of the national genre was that the populace remained faithful to it. They could not care less about the French preceptists – just let them have their Lope, Moreto and Calderón; unfortunately they also wanted their abominable imitators, and "el drama de Calderón y de Lope se vio reducido al mismo estado que una lengua muerta. . . ."[77]

The strict acceptance of the classical division of drama – tragedy, comedy, sentimental comedy – left no place for the presentation on stage of one large part of the population, the lower classes. Their language, customs, beliefs, and importance were ignored, but they too, claimed Durán, had virtues and vices worthy of dramatic comment and serious study. This was where Ramón de la Cruz made his most significant contribution – in the invention of a new genre, the *sainete,* as an extension of the old *entremés,* which could encompass this class of people and expose the follies of society from their point of view. The eventual corruption that French luxury and frivolity brought to Madrid, and from Madrid to the provinces, was Ramón de la Cruz's target, in his desire to see the reestablishment of the people's true qualities – moral strength, patriotism, piousness, and pride in their past.

Ramón de la Cruz met Durán's demands of inspiration and national pride coupled with serious study. He was, in Durán's mind, "hombre de ingenio agudo y observador, poeta fácil", "buen dialoguista", "oportuno y chistoso en el decir", "instruído", but not refined nor delicate in his expression. His verse was often incorrect and he had no deep knowledge of science or art. But he could, and did, present *cuadros de costumbres* of his society with grace, interest and energy, and above all, his *sainetes* contained moral intent for the edification of the spectator.

As with Tirso's *comedias,* Durán divided the *sainetes* into three classes: (1) condensed *comedias,* that is, plays with the themes of true comedy but on a smaller scale of development, (2) idealized comedies, containing a certified

[76] *Ibid.,* pp. iii-iv.
[77] *Ibid.,* p. v.

moral, and (3) *cuadros de costumbres* and parodies of tragedies. Durán's special interest lay with the last category in which the *sainetes*, as historical documents, revealed the true social, political, and moral life of the lower classes. He stated squarely his own critical approach to them :

> Pareciónos mejor ahora como siempre, bosquejar un cuadro histórico y filosófico de la situación social bajo cuyos auspicios se realizan las creaciones del ingenio, o las obras de imitación. Esto procuramos; si lo hemos conseguido, hallarán aquí los lectores medios seguros y datos suficientes para apreciar por sí mismos, y juzgar sin ayuda agena el mérito o demérito de lo que lean. Jamás al tomar la pluma nos proponemos evitar a nadie el trabajo y el estudio, porque el uno y el otro son necesarios a los que pretendan tener opiniones propias y juzgar con su propio juicio.[78]

Apparently his revaluation of the *sainete* had some impact: the influential *Revista de Madrid* wrote that they were ". . . el drama del pueblo, la fiel pintura de las costumbres de la plebe, la canonización de la democracia",[79] a fact which had been generally ignored by modern critics. His efforts stimulated a host of other editions, the majority of which were pirated directly from Durán.[80]

To tie together all the strands of his theatrical criticism, Durán had early in his career planned to write a major history of the Spanish theater.[81] As we have seen, he later returned to this valuable project, but other interests kept him occupied and his views on the chronology and coherent value of Spanish theater remained scattered throughout his various writings.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. xiii.
[79] 1843, p. 268.
[80] See Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Sainetes de don Ramón de la Cruz*, I (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliere, 1915), p. iv.
[81] *Epistolario*, V.

III

Criticism and the *Romancero*

> Redactando nuestros antiguos romances, he procurado presentarlos como propios para el estudio filosófico de la historia del arte, de los progresos de la lengua, del carácter de nuestra poesía general, y del de la nación a que pertenecen.
>
> AGUSTIN DURAN

Notwithstanding Durán's impressive dedication to the study and reissuing of old Spanish theater, it was in the realm of popular poetry that he gained lasting fame. It might be said that popular poetry was the main focus of his life's work, with his work in the theater and other fields of criticism subsidiary, albeit immensely important, interests.

As with the theater, Durán's voice was not the first to be raised, but it was his voice which was first recognized, giving him a decisive place in the resurgence of that genre. As was seen before, he began collecting works during his stay in Seville, probably more for his own enjoyment and that of his interested friends than for future publication. However, he became incensed when he recognized that foreign editors were "stealing" Spain's popular poetry for publication abroad, while this most important segment of literature remained virtually ignored at home. In the *Discurso* he combined his attempt to salvage the prestige of popular poetry with his attempts to vindicate the drama of times past: "Cuanto más fácil es el presentar modelos de la buena poesía de nuestros autores, que buscarlos entre los extranjeros" (326). The national character he found so brilliantly expressed in the theater was also to be found in poetry.

He claimed that nascent Provençal poetry entered Juan II's court through Cataluña and Aragón, only to be mixed with the sweet love chords of the Moors. Then, tempered by the religious enthusiasm and bellicose nature of the Spaniards, a popular poetry was born which could be truly called Spanish.[1] Agreeing with A. W. Schlegel, he credited the formal perfection of this national genre to the influx of Italian metric forms in the sixteenth century. Durán showed the same irritation with the critics' narrow approach to poetry as he had demonstrated when confronted with their attitude to rules as applied to

[1] Durán differed from F. Schlegel who denied any Arabic influence on Spanish poetry (F. Schlegel, p. 268): "En ningún país del mediodía de la Europa", Durán wrote, "se formó el carácter nacional, tanto como en España, de la mezcla exacta del de los pueblos del Norte, y del de los del Oriente; así es que nuestra poesía es el amalgama modificado de la de aquellos pueblos. Sin ser tan exacta y filosófica como la de los franceses, es mucho más rica, brillante y fluida; sin ser tan audaz y exagerada como la de los árabes, es más verosímil y razonable", *Discurso,* p. 284n. A. W. Schlegel, however, did recognize Arabic roots in Spain's early poetry.

the theater: "¿Adónde pretenden conducirnos con sus doctrinas? Si escriben preceptos de poesía lírica, apenas se les ve citar a Herrera, Rioja y León sino para escudriñar sus defectos; pero en desquite, ponderan las bellezas de Píndaro, Horacio y Ronsard" (296).

When Spain developed its Christian and monarchical systems, the change was not merely reflected on her stage but in her poetry as well; in fact, the influence appeared in popular verse prior to its transference to the stage. He defined poetry as "el modo ideal de expresar los sentimientos humanos" (311), which "habla siempre con el sentimiento íntimo, con el instinto y con la imaginación, y nunca será una ciencia analítica y de mero raciocinio en el sentido de las matemáticas puras" (331). Those very sentiments were revealed in Spain's poetry:

> Transformado ya el hombre de republicano en monárquico, y de gentil en cristiano, era consiguiente que la expresión de la espiritualidad sucediese a la de la simetría y armonía personificadas: aquélla debía, por precisión, ser más vaga e indefinible; pero más profunda que ésta, pues se funda en existencias que no obran inmediata ni directamente en los sentidos, ni puede ser concebida por la razón humana sin los auxilios de la fe; por lo cual es imposible expresarla fija y constantemente en ningún idioma. De esta imposibilidad emanan, y ella es la razón de las metáforas atrevidas, de las comparaciones remotas y de las analogías imperceptibles con que se reviste y adorna la poesía de los siglos medios, y a las que los insensibles críticos llaman a voces, sin razón, falta de gusto y de verosimilitud. (311)

Durán previewed his desire to make some of this worthy poetry known when he published selections from Balbuena's *Bernardo o La victoria de Roncesvalles* and the selections from Góngora's *Romance* on Angélica and Medoro in the *Discurso*. His purpose here was to show that there was no need to search outside Spain for excellent poetic models, and as a secondary goal to defend the humble *romance* as a valid and noble verse form in itself, "dignos por todos títulos de competir con las mejores obras líricas escritas en verso endecasílabos o mezclados con otros metros" (332). That this desire was actively in his mind is supported by the last line of the *Discurso*: "Si la extensión de una nota, ya demasiada larga, nos lo permitiese, insertaríamos aquí infinitos romances, cuya lectura hiciese olvidar al hombre más obcecado acostumbrado al estilo *tabernario*, la asociación de ideas que pudiera excitar en su imaginación la costumbre de oir en las tabernas las hazañas de los facinerosos en metro de ocho sílabas . . ." (336). In case there remained any doubt as to what place he assigned medieval poetry he proclaimed, "El impulso dado a la poesía en los siglos medios fue todo romántico" (326).

This overwhelming enthusiasm soon burst forth when he published the *Romancero morisco* the same year.[2] His critical comments were scant, although he did reveal his nationalistic impetus in publishing these works: "No hace

[2] See page 19, notes 7-11, for the complete titles of this 1828-32 collection. They will be abbreviated here.

mucho tiempo que los ingleses han comprado a peso de oro, y extraído una infinidad de rarísimos Cancioneros y Romanceros, que es verosímil no volvamos a recuperar. Los pocos que ya quedan sufrirán igual suerte; y antes de muchos años tendremos que acudir á las bibliotecas extranjeras, si queremos estudiar las obras que nos pertenecen."[3] He repeated a similar scholarly approach years later in his 1849 *Romancero* :

> Bien sea el espíritu de reacción, o bien la esterilidad actual del ingenio, los que hayan producido la mirada retrospectiva hacia los siglos medios, al cabo de algunos más volverá a reproducirse la misma necesidad que ahora existe. Prevenir para entonces los medios de satisfacerla, es una de las causas que más influyeron para que se emprendiese un trabajo tan árido, tan sin gloria, y cuya utilidad no será reconocida en nuestros días. Si he sido largo y prolijo en la exposición de mis ideas, si pródigo en los materiales que he reunido, cúlpese al pensamiento de que nada sobra cuando se trata de conservar lo pasado para ilustrar lo venidero.[4]

The 1828 *Romancero morisco* was actually an uncritical, disorganized and unselective reprint of 218 *romances* which dealt, even remotely, with Moorish themes from the *Romancero general* of 1614 (plus several satirical *romances* in that vein by Góngora). Durán never claimed that it was anything more; he merely wanted to focus attention on the works of long unknown authors from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – works which in his opinion deserved critical as well as popular attention due to their sublime poetic qualities of expression and their rich and harmonious fluidity of verse. He considered the theory that the octosyllabic *romances* were originally verses of sixteen syllables, whose split caused the paired assonance : "Su cadencia es en general asonante, tomada, según se cree, de los Arabes; su metro fue al principio octosílabo, y como algunos piensan el de 16 sílabas también de los mismos, pero dividido en dos versos iguales, resultando de aquí que la asonancia se observaba en todos los versos pares",[5] but later on he was to reject the sixteen-syllable theory in favor of an original eight-syllable meter.

To his credit and that of Gallardo, who always respected historical bibliography, Durán decided to publish all of the *romances,* not solely the best or the most perfect. The seeds of his later amplified literature-as-document theory were planted here when he claimed that even the weak *romances* "forman . . . una historia de las tradiciones y fábulas populares; y si carecen del mérito literario, suficiente para servir de modelos en su género, tienen a lo menos el de recordar nuestras glorias, pintar nuestras costumbres antiguas, y el de prestar materiales y asuntos, para que los modernos se ejerciten en esta clase de literatura".[6] This last point has immense importance for the study of romanticism before the death of Fernando VII, since Durán was exact in his predic-

[3] "Prólogo", *Romancero morisco,* 1828.
[4] "Prólogo", *Romancero general, BAE,* 10 (1849), p. xxviii.
[5] "Prólogo", *Romancero morisco.*
[6] *Ibid.*

tion (or suggestion) that authors should delve into the old *romances* to find adequate subject matter for their works. This is in fact exactly what happened.

Why did he begin with a *Romancero* that dealt with a non-national influence, if his expressed purpose was to further the interests of his country and her culture? According to Ferdinand Wolf, he did so because the "ingenua sencillez y frescura" of the historical and chivalrous *romances* "hubieran sido tomadas como trivialidad y rudeza por el gusto afrancesado de los españoles de entonces. Empezó, por el contrario, muy prudentemente con los que mejor se ajustaban a ese gusto, con los romances artísticos, más perfectos en lo técnico, más elegantes, los que bajo el disfraz moro cantaban las intrigas de los galanes y damas de la corte de Felipe III, los llamados moriscos".[7]

Durán's efforts were well received. As the public bought the volume, the critics praised its intent and execution. Lista echoed Durán's own intent, labeling it "una empresa que cada día se iba haciendo más necesaria",[8] and a newspaper in Havana said of the author that "ha hecho un gran servicio a nuestras letras, y por supuesto a nuestra gloria nacional, presentando a la Europa culta un documento precioso de nuestros tesoros literarios, y ha adquirido un mérito más del que contrajo en su *Discurso* . . . al dilucidar por primera vez en España los grandes y luminosos principios que rigen en la actualidad a las humanidades".[9] The London *Athenaeum,* however, reacted with ambivalence: while praising Durán's accomplishment, it lamented (with total justification) that he showed no strict separation of fictitious and historical *romances,* there were no explanatory notes, no notice of variants was taken, and Durán limited himself to the Flores collection, reprinted by Juan de la Cuesta in 1614: "Our editor gives us a little in fact, and a little only, of the much that is good which he might have presented. . . ."[10] The *Correo,* which had published the vitriolic attacks on the *Discurso,* faulted Durán's injudicious editing, complaining of the lack of selection, the absence of orthographic "corrections" and the presence of *romances* "que ofenden los oídos de los inteligentes".[11] The review further attacked Durán for leading the youth of the day astray with *romances* that "pueden confundir o estraviar a los jóvenes aficionados, a quienes se presenta la obra por modelo". It did admit, however grudgingly, that most of the

[7] Ferdinand Joseph Wolf, *Historia de las literaturas castellanas y portuguesas,* II (Madrid: La España Moderna, 1895), p. 98. Originally published in 1859.

[8] *Gaceta de Bayona,* 1828-X-3.

[9] Reprinted in *El Correo,* 1831-V-6. From Cuba came another encouragement, addressed directly to Durán: Domingo del Monte praised Durán in a letter dated 1829-IX-29 (*Epistolario,* XIV), and then wrote later that "ya hemos visto por acá el segundo tomo de sus Romanceros de usted y esperamos con ansia el de los romances heroicos y caballerescos que servirá para completar el riquísimo tesoro de poesía verdaderamente *romántica* que ha desentrañado usted con tanto tino y filosofía". *Epistolario,* XXIII. Del Monte's importance in the literary history of his own country raises interesting questions as to how closely he followed Durán's work. Although he created works frequently labeled criollist *cuadros de costumbres,* he was a fervent patriot and promoter of the *romances,* and he recognized the importance of the indigenous themes and customs of the people and their reflection in literature.

[10] *The Athenaeum,* 1829-XII-2.

[11] 1828-XII-8.

romances "tienen mérito, y entre ellos los hay bellísimos". Gallardo, like Durán sempiternally interested in the propagation of the literary species, wrote : ". . . la buena y sana poesía española le está a V. muy en deuda por el rico caudal de ella que ha puesto en circulación. Con efecto reimprimiendo V. tan lindamente los *Romanceros moriscos* ha hecho manual corriente y sonante uno que era tesoro escondido en el *Romancero general* y tesoro de duendes para los más de los lectores . . . Igual servicio ha hecho V. al público español abriéndole con esa reimpresión tan socorrida la gran Floresta del amigo Böhl. . . ."[12]

The second volume, encouraged by the popular reception of the first, was equally lacking in critical judgment, although his sources were a little more varied, including, not incidentally, much of Böhl's *Floresta.* As Lista pointed out, it was more selective, and therefore better, than the first volume. It contained 304 *Romances doctrinales,* and his appreciation of these popular poems became slightly more noticeable : ". . . es preciso dar muestras de lo que fue nuestra poesía, y de las alternativas que experimentó antes de llegar el siglo XVIII . . . habrá en este libro pocas composiciones en que no se descubra algo de la gracia y la agudeza del ingenio español, y de que hay infinitas donde predomina el talento, la originalidad, la riqueza y la buena invención."[13] As in the previous *Romancero,* he provided an alphabetical index of poem titles, but here he also named the source or the author. The *Correo* (1829-X-30) dedicated an article to it and Lista reviewed it for the *Gaceta de Bayona* (1830-VII-26), sharing with his ex-disciple his enthusiasm for this poetry's historical significance :

> Y sería gran mengua que se perdieran para nosotros esos archivos de nuestra literatura, tan rica de noticias como de preciosidades poéticas. El gran mérito de esta reimpresión consistiría en la rareza e importancia, ya literaria, ya histórica, de las obras que se publicasen . . . útiles todos, aun los más imperfectos, para mostrar los adelantos sucesivos de la poesía, los progresos de la versificación y lenguaje, las frases propias y nativas del habla, las libertades que se tomaban aquellos poetas en la formación y figura de las palabras, en la sintaxis y hasta en la colocación del acento, la tradición, las costumbres, las aficiones y el gusto popular.[14]

Yet Lista faulted Durán for including poetry which did not strictly fit the category of *romance* ("que no promete el título ni el objeto del libro"), and he took particular offense at some of the more erotic compositions, suggesting that Durán capitulated to popular whim in order to "popularize" the volume. Böhl mildly complained that "se hubiera podido coordinar más métodicamente", but that "su contenido nada deja de desear".[15]

[12] *Epistolario,* XXXII.

[13] "Advertencia", *Romancero doctrinal,* 1829.

[14] Juretschke suggests that it was Durán who fanned Lista's interest in the *romances*: "Cabe incluso decir que tal vez no se hubiera exteriorizado jamás sobre el tema, como ocurre efectivamente en su discurso en la Academia de la Historia, de no ser su discípulo y amigo Agustín Durán el promotor de su estudio y revalorización." Juretschke, p. 317.

[15] *Epistolario,* XVI.

Durán accepted the advice of his friends and critics, and his techniques improved with each volume of the collection. The 330 poems contained in the 1829 *Cancionero* were indexed according to the first line (title), author, and source. Once again, Durán claimed that it was his patriotism and the "favorable acogida que han obtenido los dos Romanceros publicados antes de éste",[16] that inspired the third volume. Judging by the fate of the later *Talía,* one may be assured that he was not exaggerating. The outstanding characteristic of this national poetry, according to the collector, was that it was free from all imitation, full of imagination and originality, and a definite transition of style, language, and poetic tone was noticeable as the poems progressed from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. He was not ignorant of their shortcomings, as he showed in this criticism of the early poets: "Siempre que veamos a un poeta, o en general a un hombre, sutilizar y analizar en demasía las pasiones o los afectos, y que sustituye la metafísica a las grandes y briosas pinceladas del ingenio, a la punzante verdad del dolor sentido, y a la amarga pero blanda y suave melancolía, bien podremos afirmar que tal hombre o poeta jamás ha estado profundamente poseido de los afectos que intenta pintar. De este vicio adolecen mucho nuestros poetas del siglo XV, y por eso si a veces agradan los rasgos de ingeniosidad, casi siempre dejan sus composiciones frío el corazón y helada el alma. . . ."[17] But with the rediscovery of classical forms (Virgil and Petrarch vía Boscán and Garcilaso), the sixteenth century opened new paths for Spanish poetry, and in passing influenced along the way national, popular poetry, which was perfected in the next century: "¿Quién podrá competir con nosotros en la gala, en la bizarría, en la amenidad y la soltura, que distinguen, entre todas, nuestras composiciones de versos cortos en dicha época?"[18]

Possibly to justify the brevity of his critical remarks ("Corta, pero bien escrita", as Lista put it), Durán, although he always placed importance on pure emotional response in literary criticism, maintained that "el raciocinio y el análisis nunca llegan hasta donde alcanza el buen gusto y la sensibilidad".[19] Lista continued his established acknowledgment of Durán's important contributions by reviewing this third volume for the *Estafeta de San Sebastián* (1831-VII-27).[20] Lista was always more willing than his friend to point out the defects of these popular poetry forms and to indicate their similarities to and differences from classical poetry, yet he praised Durán, whom he said "aprecia con suma imparcialidad y juicio el mérito de las composiciones que forman este volumen".

The public and critics who lamented the lack of deft analyses in the introduc-

[16] "Advertencia", *Cancionero,* 1829.
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] Juretschke claims that Lista's reviews of Durán's collections were rather obligatory (*op. cit.,* p. 317), and finds Lista's letter to Durán upon receiving this volume (*Epistolario,* XXXVI) "friendly" but not enthusiastic. Certainly Lista did not share Durán's profound love for the genre, but I would interpret Lista's comments ("Mi querido, mi nunca olvidado amigo: he recibido con acción de gracias el 3er tomo de su Romancero, y lo estoy leyendo con mucho gusto. Ya daré parte de él de manera que le guste. Espero el último tomo y la historia de los romances, con ansia") as being a little more than merely obligatory.

tion of these completely national poetry collections were silenced with the appearance of the last *Romancero caballeresco,* published in two parts in 1832. It was Quintana who was the prime force behind Durán's addition of extended critical comments; he insisted that his friend should do more than just republish the *romances.* He encouraged him to organize and publish the results of the serious studies in the areas of Spanish history, culture, and literature which he had been working on for some time. Collected from twelve earlier *Romanceros,* dating from 1511 to Böhl's 1821-5 collection, Durán presented 378 works dealing with the medieval knightly hero's loves and trials. In between interesting reflections on Spain's linguistic development this discussion laid down the essentials of Durán's critical approach to national poetry.

Durán's patriotic commitment and dedication became once again clear as he asserted in his opening lines that "El amor a las cosas de mi patria me ha sostenido hasta el fin en la empresa, tan útil para el público, como árdua, difícil y poco brillante para mí".[21] The *romances* were documents which testified to the history of art, the progress of the Spanish language, the character of Spain's original poetic expression and the inherent characteristics of the nation itself, just as the theater was in its way. In the *romances* "se ven retratadas, aun mejor que en la historia, las costumbres, las creencias, las supersticiones de nuestros mayores, y la idealidad con que el pueblo concebía el heroismo, la lealtad y el valor : allí se ve también el modo esencial y original de existir propio de aquella sociedad, con los progresos y retrocesos que experimentaba la civilización según las vicisitudes y circunstancias de cada época".[22] Speculating upon the growth of the *romance* as a popular verse form, he identified its spontaneity and harmony with the fluidity of the language – the deep roots of the *romance* developed concomitant to the development of Castilian.

Having declared the value of this peculiarly Spanish verse form, Durán attempted to establish its sources and origins. He correctly maintained that verse was the essential component of early literature, transmitted as it was orally from generation to generation. Verse, after all, remained with the hearer longer than prose, as it was easier to remember. "Cadencia y armonía, y por consiguiente versificación y canto, he aquí los primeros recursos de los pueblos para transmitir a la posteridad los signos orales, que explicaban los monumentos groseros levantados en las primeras épocas de la sociedad, y para conservar sus tradiciones interin no se hallaron los signos alfabéticos."[23] In other words, the *romance* was the first metric combination adopted by speakers of nascent Castilian to preserve the memory of their intimate feelings, their fables, their mores and their customs. Rivas, in the prologue to his *Romances históricos* (1841), although sidestepping the issue of the real origins of the *romance,* echoed many of Durán's interpretations. Without fully embracing Durán's previously stated beliefs he wrote :

> Sea cual fuere la opinión que se adopte acerca del origen del romance octosílabo castellano, no puede dudarse que se confunde con el de la lengua

[21] "Discurso preliminar", *Romancero caballeresco,* I (1832), p. xvii.
[22] *Ibid.,* p. xix.
[23] *Ibid.,* p. x.

misma, también llamada romance, y que fue el metro propio de nuestra poesía popular más antigua, de la que cantaba el vulgo y de la que conservaba en su memoria las hazañas, los amoríos y todo género de tradiciones. . . . El romance octosílabo, más acomodado a los oídos y a la memoria del vulgo que los informes y pesados versos del poema del Cid y que los alejandrinos, más ataviados y cultos, de Gonzalo de Berceo, prevaleció sobre ellos, campeando siempre como verdadero metro español.[24]

Durán rejected the *Poem of the Cid* as being the first example of Castilian verse, and maintained that it was more probably composed in the twelfth century by an erudite poet in imitation of popular poetry. On the composition he was of course correct, in the light of contemporary Cid studies led by Menéndez Pidal; and that it was not the first poetic work in the vulgar tongue was a surprisingly intuitive assumption.[25] For him, the *Cid* was tainted by a "desaliño y rudeza en la frase, la falta de consecuencia gramatical y de enlace entre las ideas, y la versificación embarazada"; he much preferred the popular interpretations of the Cid legend. The Cid, as the noble Christian hero, appealed to him immensely, but not the poem. Years later, however, after the discovery of the *Crónica rimada* by Ochoa in Paris, his attitude toward the *Poema* became visibly warmer.

If the *Cid,* then, was not true popular poetry, what was? Durán could not document his assumptions[26] (we fail to do so even today), but he could make an intelligent guess at the origins of what he considered to be the real poetry of the *pueblo.* After stating that "sería absurdo creer que desde el punto en que dejó el latín de ser lengua viva hasta el siglo XII, careció el pueblo de cantos amorosos y guerreros, y de himnos religiosos compuestos en lengua común, donde conservase oralmente a lo menos sus sentimientos, fábulas e historias",[27] he inferred that the Castilian language and popular poetry enjoyed a mutual and parallel development, dating from the beginnings of the Reconquest in the middle of the eighth century. This verse form was not only popular but durable.

. . . está sometido al dominio del pueblo, tanto como al de los sabios. Todos los componen, los ciegos los cantan por las plazas, el vulgo entusiasmado y absorto los escucha, los críticos y los sabios a su pesar y como por instinto les rinden tributo cuando se dejan arrebatar por la pasión bien sentida, que pierde de su fuego y calor ante las trabas de un artificio complicado : en fin el romance ha atravesado las edades y las generaciones con tanto aplauso, que quizá no hay un solo español, aun entre los mismos que por fácil le des-

[24] "Prólogo del autor", *Romances históricos* (Madrid, 1841), in *Obras completas* (Madrid : Aguilar, 1956), p. 511.

[25] This fact of course has been established by the discovery of the *kharjas.*

[26] Durán was a humble man – even here, he called himself "escéptico, tolerante en materias opinables; nada ambicioso de gloria literaria, y tan poco seguro del acierto mío como del de los demás", "Discurso preliminar", *Romancero caballeresco,* I (1832), p. viii.

[27] *Ibid.,* p. xiv.

deñan, que no haya cantado amores, hazañas, guerras, valentías o fábulas en esta clase de combinación métrica.[28]

They were not written, since, being the poetry of the people, there was no reason to commit them to writing until the masses became literate, that is, considerably later than the invention of the printing press. Years later he was equally convinced of the existence of earlier, unwritten *romances*: "La existencia de los romances, anteriores a todos los documentos poéticos escritos, y aun a las crónicas viejas en castellano que nos quedan, es indudable."[29] Valera disagreed completely when he wrote: ". . . que en España no hubo una poesía popular, digna del nombre de poesía, hasta fines del siglo XV o principios del XVI; que a la poesía popular y espontánea precedió en España la artificial, la docta y estudiada; y que la perfección de la poesía, considerada en general, precedió entre nosotros la perfección de la prosa."[30]

Durán continued his examination of the *romances,* dealing with their origins, social relevance, sources, manifestations, central ideas (they, too, reflected man as an individual rather than as an extension of institutions or abstract conflicts), moral values, and chronology. He was often repetitive to the point of boredom, but he finally summed up his major ideas in four points:

1. That the primitive compositions of vulgar Castilian poetry were probably the *romances.*
2. That the conservation of popular traditions reinvested with national character was owed to them.
3. That the *romances* mark off the different levels of culture and civilization that Spanish society experienced through the ages.
4. That popular poetry, and consequently the *romance,* formed no complete and uniform system capable of attracting the attention of learned poets until the end of the sixteenth century.[31]

Lope, Góngora, and a host of other Golden Age poets received credit for finally comprehending the value of the national poetry. They wisely abandoned imitation of French and Italian models (although Durán did not admit that their abandonment was not complete) to delve into Spain's past with respect rather than rancor. Just as in the theater, it was these men who established "el verdadero romanticismo español",[32] "romanticismo" for him being a synonym

[28] *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

[29] *Romancero general, BAE,* 16 (1851), p. 648, n. 1.

[30] "Sobre la Historia de la Literatura Española en la Edad Media", (Madrid, 1860), in *Obras completas* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1961), II, p. 149.

[31] "Discurso preliminar", *Romancero caballeresco,* I (1832), p. xxxi.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. xxx. These views, after study, were often Durán's emotional responses which he defended with his accustomed aplomb: "Conozco que mi modo de ver y juzgar en la materia no servirá de norma a los demás: siento disentir de lo que en ella opinan los sabios, pero al concederles esto, jamás convendré en que mi modo particular de considerar las cosas les dé derecho para tratarme de ignorante o inepto. La diferencia de opiniones literarias no debe ser motivo de desprecios ni de ultrajes, y a ninguna cosa del mundo puede aplicarse con menos inconvenientes la virtud llamada tolerancia", p. xxxvi.

foi "español". Duran offered a new definition of true romanticism, more developed than that which he had put forward in the *Discurso,* "un sistema nuevo compuesto con la brillante imaginación Arabe, con la sentimental y vehemente pasión de los Escandinavos, con la aventurosa y galante caballerosidad de los Normandos, con los profundos pensamientos del dogma y moral cristiana, y en fin con el espíritu noble, guerrero, generoso y grave de su nación".[33] So much for romanticism in poetry – this extended (thirty-five pages) prologue left no doubt as to where Durán's allegiance resided, even though he was still much out of step with the accepted interpretation of Spanish national poetry in his day. This was, we must remember, still several years before romanticism "appeared" in Spain, brought in by the returning exiles.

When compiling his *Romancero,* Durán was forced into self-censorship, forced to omit any *romances* which could be considered subversive by the government. One in particular, "Cabalga Diego Lainez", in which the Cid grossly insults the king, was left out of this early edition, although it was included in the expanded 1849 version. When Reinhart P. A. Dozy criticized him for this in 1849, Durán was put in a position where he had to explain, and his answer underlined the precarious situation all literary figures were in under Fernando VII's reign : "Además de que si se considera la época de aquella publicación, fácilmente se adivinará que la causa más poderosa que tuve para suprimir entonces el dicho romance, fue la de que el gobierno no lo habría permitido imprimir, ni expresar la causa efectiva de su omisión."[34] This may or may not have been true but Durán considered it true enough to comment on it at this time.

Durán's largest success to date was achieved with the completion of this ambitious five volume collection. The *Gaceta* led the reception with tributes to Durán's contribution to what was rapidly becoming an interesting European phenomenon – the attention paid to the study, collection, imitation, and adulation of the chivalresque Middle Ages as seen through literature. The preliminary comments of the *Romancero caballeresco* were judged to be written "con novedad y maestría" which revealed Durán's "principios y modo de pensar acerca del nuevo sistema poético que se conoce en el día con el nombre de *romanticismo*" with "exacta lógica y erudición".[35] Certainly Durán's efforts were a true service to his country, said the *Gaceta,* in the hope that there would be many who would follow his lead in giving "un nuevo giro a esta clase de estudios".

El Correo published an intelligent review of the whole collection, congratulating Durán for his diligence in building a philosophical base for what to that point was mere inspiration and emotional response to ancient poetry. Durán's vast historical and critical knowledge, applied as it was to Spain's past literature, produced benefits for both language and literature studies. "Su trabajo no es el de un mero erudito o compilador, y sí el de un talento firme, que alimentado de noble patriotismo pretende hacer brotar flores de filosofía y moral sobre el campo ante que ofrece la poesía semibárbara de aquellos tiempos, en que la

[33] *Ibid.* For him, "Arabic" was nearly a synonym for fantastic, imaginative, fictitious, and marvellous.

[34] *Romancero general, BAE,* 16 (1851), p. 648.

[35] *Gaceta de Madrid,* 1832-IV-3.

España pugnaba en constituir su sistema sobre nuevas bases."[36] This was high praise indeed for a man who began his main critical tasks a scant four years before.

Estébanez Calderón's review of Part I of the *Romancero caballeresco* recognized Durán as an authority who "cuan ventajosamente puede escribir sobre los puntos críticos de nuestra literatura y el caracter de nuestros más celebres dramáticos",[37] and went on to praise him for undertaking such an enormously frustrating task. Estébanez was also an expert on popular poetry and shared Durán's concern that the old *romanceros* would find their way out of Spain forever. Apart from the pure pleasure value of the *Romancero caballeresco,* which the public read "ansiosamente", Estébanez found them valuable as a literary guide, that is, as a key to understanding books like the *Quijote* : "A la verdad, sin estar familiarizado con el Marqués de Mantua, el Conde Dirlos, con Gayferos y con los otros romances del Romancero de Amberes, ¿cómo encontrar la fantasía todo su recreo, leyendo las inmortales páginas de Cervantes?" He praised Durán's method of selection in this work, a method designed to avoid monotonous repetition of some poems while filling the gaps left by other compilers, but offered several suggestions for his next edition which Estébanez felt deserved to be better known by the public.[38] The lengthy study of the *romances* was, in Estébanez's words, "un opúsculo tan precioso . . . que ninguno puede dispensarse de estudiarle detenidamente", not only for its historical merit but also for its sensible discussion of the philosophical and linguistic development of the Spanish language. He ended his review by exhorting Durán to publish more of the works from his rich library in order to raise the literary consciousness of the people who lived in "esta época estéril y bastarda".

Four months later the *Gaceta* returned to the issue in another article even more congratulatory which stated that "este solo servicio bastaría para asegurar al Sr. Durán el aprecio y la gratitud de cuantos cultivan las letras españolas".[39] The *Diario de Avisos* echoed these sentiments.[40] Gallardo's reaction to the first part was typically light-hearted : "*Tante grazie e tante* ! – Su entradita de pascua me ha divertido cuanto no sé bien decir : es para alabar a Dios su fuerza de fantasía : con un huevo (que digamos) ha cuajado usted una tortilla que puja, puja hasta los cielos de Dios. «¡Gracias al que nos trajo las gallinas !» ¿Cuando sale la segunda parte con el *laus-deo* ?"[41]

The collection was still receiving attention as late as January, 1833, when the *Revista Española,* in which Durán collaborated, opened its pages to a review of the work, and indicated the state of the *romance* by writing : "Como es incesante la demanda que hacen de esta colección de romances los aficionados a nuestra literatura, así naturales como extrangeros, deben apresurarse por ad-

[36] *El Correo,* 1832-IV-4.

[37] *Cartas Españolas,* 1832-VI-21.

[38] Estébanez named two in particular which deserved attention: "Helo, helo por do viene, el moro por la calzada" and "Ah, qué buen caballero D. Rodrigo de Lara", which did appear in the second volume of this *Romancero caballeresco.*

[39] *Gaceta de Madrid,* 1832-X-20.

[40] *Diario de Avisos,* 1832-XI-29.

[41] *Epistolario,* XLI

quirir esta colección los que deseen poseer esta parte interesante de nuestra literatura."[42]

Notices of the last volumes of the collection made their way into German papers as well: the *Magazin für Literatur des Auslandes* in Berlin praised Durán's intelligent recognition of the beauties of Spain's lost literature.[43] Durán later wrote that "la primera edición fue benignamente recibida, con particularidad en la patria de los sabios eruditos Schlegel, Bouterweck, Grimm, Depping, Wolf y otros tantos críticos alemanes que se dedicaron y dedican al estudio de la literatura románica y de los siglos medios".[44] The popularity of Durán's collections did not wane as the years went by. When Ochoa republished parts of the *Romancero* Madrid newspapers reappeared with announcements and comments on Durán's original collection.[45]

Stepping back to view the entire five volume collection, the *Boletin de Comercio* recognized its value as a source for scholars interested in studying the history of Spanish poetry, and agreed with Durán in that "ningún género de poesía se adapta como el romance a la índole de nuestra lengua y al carácter de los habitantes de este hermoso suelo".[46] The review article repeated one by one the collector's major points, suggesting that it was wise to begin with the exciting Moorish ballads since the historical and chivalresque ones become almost a chore to read and may have threatened the continuance of the series. Then the reviewer contradicted himself by underlining the public's predilection for this type of *romance*: "Aun en el día muchos corren de mano en mano; se leen y aprenden con ansia. . . ." No less valuable were Durán's comments on romanticism, that highly debated question of this period: ". . . el señor Durán presenta sus opiniones con sumo talento, apoyándolas en razones poderosas y armado de una lógica que no es fácil rebatir. Sabe arrastrarnos a su partido; y presentándose como un defensor acérrimo de nuestras antiguas riquezas literarias, se coloca en un campo demasiado ventajoso, y sostiene una causa harto bella para que nadie salga airoso del difícil empeño de combatirle."

Not everyone agreed with the high praise accorded Durán's critical abilities. George Ticknor, for one, wrote the following harsh comments in a letter to Ferdinand Wolf *à propos* Durán's later edition of the *Romancero*: "Gayangos writes me from Madrid that Durán is about to publish a Romancero de Romances containing twice as much matter as all the five volumes of his first publication. This may furnish you with good materials, but it will give you nothing else; for Durán has neither critical skill, learning of an accurate sort,

[42] 1833-I-29. This review was probably written by Estébanez, since it commented directly on the "Helo, helo por do viene", and the "Ah, qué buen caballero D. Rodrigo de Lara", which "echamos de menos en la parte primera".

[43] Part of the translated article, dated 1832-V-4, was sent to Durán by "Minero". See *Epistolario,* XLIII. They were probably sent to Germany by Böhl, who admitted in 1829 sending copies of the *Romancero doctrinal* to his friends in his native land. *Epistolario,* XV.

[44] "Prologo", *Romancero general, BAE,* 10 (1849), p. v.

[45] *Eco de Comercio,* 1841-II-2; *Correo Nacional,* 1841-II-8; *Gaceta de Madrid,* 1841-VI-16; *Gaceta de Madrid,* 1842-XI-4.

[46] *Boletín de Comercio,* 1833-II-15.

nor good taste."[47] Yet Ticknor demonstrated a change of attitude after studying Part I of the *Romancero* of 1849, as he indicated in a letter to Gayangos in 1851 : "Pray make my respects to Don Agustín Durán and thank him for his admirable Romancero. The more I use it, the more I value it, and the more I want Vol. II."[48]

The collection of the *Romancero* was for Durán a cumulative process, which, as has been noted, began early in his career. Throughout the publication of the volumes, he kept in close contact with Quintana, Lista, and especially Böhl, to exchange views and materials when possible. Böhl's whole reaction to Durán and his work can be summed up in his comment that "¡Siempre que leo reflexiones generales de Vmd. me quedo pasmado! Como allá en sus soledades literarias ha hecho Vmd. para hallarse a la par de cuanto los más sagaces de nuestros alemanes e ingleses han investigado, pasa de mi comprensión. En fin si algo vale mi voto, Vmd. está en buen camino, y así perseverancia y ánimo y que veamos algunos frutos de esa crítica tan clara y perspicaz, antes que se nos cierre este teatro sublunario".[49]

Gallardo was not consulted on the 1832 *Romancero*; when Durán sent him a copy of it he referred to "un discursito mío que en mejor época hubiera consultado con V.".[50] Gallardo had apparently planned to undertake a similar task, delving into his own rich library, but when Durán broke the ground with his *Romancero morisco,* Gallardo abandoned his plans in favour of his friend ("mi nimiedad y la fatalidad de los tiempos hizo que no publicase ahí el que tenía trabado con vista de más de 30 Romanceros impresos, y Mss. De esta parte de mi trabajo ha parecido algo, todo está a la disposición de usted : pida usted".[51] Gallardo was, notwithstanding his later hostility, as deeply interested as Durán that these works should see the light; that is, he welcomed as many intelligent and dedicated men as possible into the arena of old Spanish literature instead of jealously guarding plans for personal glory. He was well familiar with Böhl's *Floresta,* and praised Durán for making it better known in Spain (his note corroborates Böhl's complaint that it was ignored): "Igual servicio ha hecho Usted al público abriéndole con esa reimpresión tan socorrida la gran Floresta del amigo Böhl, libro precioso, pero que por serlo aun en el sentido de cara, y por estar impreso fuera del reino, es entre nosotros conocido de muy pocos."[52]

Böhl's help and support were likewise positive. Although, due to a personal bias,[53] he was not particularly impressed with the *Romancero morisco,* beginning with the *Romancero doctrinal* he showed his enthusiasm, and the correspondence between the two men turned into a rich discussion of the extant editions of *romanceros* and *cancioneros,* their reprintings, the sources of the poems contained in them, the authors, and the publishers of those volumes. For over

[47] 1847-II-28. Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo.

[48] 1851-II-11. Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo. Ticknor also asked his friend to present copies of the Spanish translation of his *History of Spanish Literature* to Durán, Tapia, and Quintana. 1850-III-5.

[49] *Epistolario,* XXVIII.

[50] Rodríguez-Moñino, *Correspondencia de Gallardo,* p. 33.

[51] *Epistolario,* V.

[52] *Epistolario,* XXXII.

[53] *Epistolario,* XV.

five years they exchanged manuscripts and meticulously copied by hand parts of the old *Romanceros* which the other one wanted to consult. They discussed old authors and new (Quintana's reprinted *Poesías selectas* was severely criticized by Böhl for its incompleteness). Böhl judged Durán's interpretation of the sources and importance of the *romances* with evident approval: "Ya he podido disfrutar a mi sabor el excelente discurso preliminar que debe adornar la última colección de romances que tiene Vmd. en prensa, la que efectivamente va a ser la corona de toda la obra y que estoy cierto interesará a mis paisanos más todavía que los anteriores."[54]

Technically, Durán remained scrupulously faithful to the original texts, reproducing them as they were and trying to avoid editing that might have corrupted their real nature: in this he was like Gallardo, but not Böhl.[55]

It is important to re-emphasize here that Durán's work exercised a direct influence on the historical romanticism which was seen in the artistic creations of that decade. As the French scholar Albert Dérozier has stated, "Il faut attendre, en tout cas, les années 1830-1835 pour voir les poètes remettre officiellement à la mode cette forme poétique, et s'appliquer à ajouter quelques anneaux à la longue chaine historique et poétique nationale."[56]

For the next decade and a half Durán again channeled his energies towards the theater, publishing the criticisms and collections we have already seen. Yet his interest in the *Romancero* never weakened, and he continued collecting, reading, and studying Spain's past poetry with the same gusto that marked his early years. In his spare time he investigated their sources and discussed their beauties with his friends, other *aficionados* like Jacobo María Parga, Pidal, Patiño, Gayangos, Justo Sancha (who possessed his own rich library of poetry), Estébanez Calderón, Hartzenbusch, and especially Quintana,[57] continually gathering and poring over manuscripts, never diverting from his goal of producing a definitive collection of that poetry. As Joaquín Francisco Pachecho wrote, Durán's faithfulness to the *Romancero* was "continuo, incesante, como de un hombre que ha encontrado su vocación, y, encariñado con ella, está resuelto a no abandonarla; como de un hombre que se propuso acabar una tarea sola, y ha permanecido inmóvil en medio de todos los vaivenes de nuestra edad, elevando a cabo aquella primitiva intención de que ha hecho su ley y su destino".[58]

Durán's friendship with Estébanez Calderón became particularly strong during the 1830's, following the publication of the original *Romancero,* and as the preparations for the revised, expanded edition were being made. They shared an avid interest in the *romances,* and had collaborated on magazines together since 1832. They worked together for a while in 1836-7 on a joint

[54] *Epistolario,* XXXVIII.

[55] See Sainz Rodríguez, *Gallardo,* p. 164.

[56] Albert Dérozier, *Manuel Josef Quintana et la naissance du libéralisme en Espagne,* I (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1968), p. 271.

[57] Durán wrote: "El nuevo giro que di a la obra, más que nada, se debió a los consejos de mi querido amigo D. Manuel José Quintana", in "Prólogo", *Romancero general, BAE,* 10 (1849), p. xii.

[58] *Romancero general, BAE,* 16 (1851), p. x.

venture to publish still another *Romancero*, but nothing ever came of it. Manuel Gómez Moreno suggests that this idea was solely Estébanez's, and that Durán picked it up again later for his 1849-51 *Romancero*.[59] This was hardly the case given that Durán had already labored for over ten years on this very subject. Nevertheless, Estébanez too collected thousands of *romances* and studied them for years : "Es increíble el trabajo que se tomó en reunir y sacar romances viejos, ya de libros, ya de códices, ya de hojas sueltas antiguas o modernas, y hasta recogiéndolos de la tradición oral, especialmente en Andalucía."[60] But Estébanez, Durán, and Usoz, the third member in the project, fell out, aided no doubt by Gallardo's constant invectives against Durán which he unleashed whenever he met Estébanez. The idea did not die; ten years later while Durán was preparing his new *Romancero*, the friendship grew warm again. Cánovas recorded that "le oí yo proponerle a Durán todavía la ejecución en común de la nueva obra que éste llevó a cabo solo algún tiempo después. Lo único que mi erudito deudo hizo al fin fue prestarle al otro auxilios, a pesar de todo, algo más generosamente que entre los del oficio se acostumbra. . . ."[61]

These efforts reached fruition in 1849, when Rivadeneyra published the first volume of Durán's new *Romancero* as volume 10 of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*; the final part came two years later. Obviously, a definitive collection was an impossibility, but Durán came closer than anyone before him to what could be considered a complete *Romancero*, and his work stands even today as a major source book for this type of poetry. The more than 1230 entries to the 1828-32 edition blossomed into more than 1900 in the new edition, attesting to Durán's continued interest in this genre. The evident value of these augmented volumes resides in his critical comments as well as in the additional poems, and the alphabetical catalogue of the various *sueltos* from which he drew these poems is in itself an invaluable document for the identification of the origin of many of the popular verse works.

The volume also included an interesting study with extensive notes on the *Crónica rimada* entitled "Observaciones sobre el fragmento de una Crónica de España, escrita en verso y en prosa rimada, que trata en resumen de varios héroes populares españoles desde la muerte de don Pelayo, y con más extension de los primeros años de Rodrigo o Ruy Díaz de Vivar, llamado después el Cid Campeador, durante el reinado de Fernando primero el Magno, primer rey de Castilla". Durán reproduced the text intact, although it had been first published by Michel in Paris in 1846 and a year later by Wolf in Vienna. To it he appended a small prologue and several pages of notes to clarify points of historical discrepancy. This was the first Spanish publication of the 1126-verse work.

Durán's interest in the document resided in two factors : first, that it was largely unknown, having been lost or unavailable since its composition in the late fourteenth century (even though scattered *romances* extracted from it were extant), and second, that it differed significantly in tone and spirit from

[59] Manuel Gómez Moreno, "Unas cartas de El Solitario", *BAE*, 33 (1953), p. 211.

[60] Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, *El 'Solitario' y su tiempo*, I (Madrid: A. Pérez Dubrull, 1883), p. 30.

[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 302-3.

other tales of the Cid, particularly from the *Poema de Mío Cid.* He did consider this work to be the outgrowth of an older version, basing his judgment on both linguistic and textual evidence. Durán addressed himself principally to the observations on the *Crónica* made by Dozy in his *Recherches sur l'histoire politique et littéraire d'Espagne pendant le moyen âge* (Leyde, 1849), noting where they concurred and where he had doubts about the French scholar's interpretations. He offered his opinions on the character of the Cid of the *Crónica* which differed essentially from that of the *Poema* (the former was "cuasi feudal y antirealista", the latter "monárquico, devoto y democrático"), as well as the relative age of both works (the *Poema* was "mucho más antiguo"). This small section buried deep within the *Romancero* clearly demonstrated several interesting features of Durán which had come to be his trademarks: caution in his literary conjectures, scrupulous scholarship, humility, and kindness. In his book, Dozy not only attacked the Spanish Arabist José Antonio Conde's scholarship, which Durán found at least acceptable, but he also attacked Conde's ethical and moral probity. Durán was upset enough with these attacks to ask: "¿Por qué, pues, un hombre tan aventajado en la ciencia, tan filosófico en la crítica, no ha manifestado más indulgencia respecto a otro, que, aunque fuese menos sabio, ha sido tan útil y laborioso?"[62] The prologue also underlined two of these qualities of Durán which had been manifested in his works from the very beginning: his belief in a very old oral poetic tradition which became the foundation for the printed *romances*, and his deep, warm patriotism. In fact, he claimed that his intent was "llamar la atención de los sabios españoles sobre una clase de trabajo que inició nuestro ilustre compatriota Conde, y que ya con intensidad y acierto cultivan los extranjeros",[63] a statement which echoed his nationalistic sentiments from the *Discurso* of more than twenty years before.

Having studied the *romances* for a number of years, and familiarizing himself with the published works of men like Böhl, Depping (whose *Romancero* was translated in 1844 by Alcalá Galiano[64]), and Wolf (especially the *Rosa de romances*, 1846[65]), Durán devised a rather complicated system of classification. Aside from defining for his purposes the terms *viejo, antiguo, nuevo*, and *moderno* as applied to the *romances*, he divided them into three general series – novelesque or fabulous (Moorish, chivalresque, and some *vulgares*), historical, and assorted (amorous and satirical) – and then further reduced them to eight narrower categories which, according to the spirit, character, theme, and language they contained, would serve finally to classify each *romance.* As before he abandoned any attempt at a strict chronological classification.

Essentially, the classes which he devised were these:[66]

[62] *Romancero general, BAE,* 10 (1849), p. 650.

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] Depping was not entirely satisfied with Durán's original collection, complaining with ample justification that it "peca por no haber consultado el colector algunas colecciones de romances populares", a criticism which Durán tried to rectify as best he could in the amplified edition. Depping, *Romancero,* I, p. lvi.

[65] This was the reprinting of a collection of Juan de Timoneda, a manuscript copy of which Wolf uncovered in the Imperial Library of Vienna. After publication, he sent a copy to Durán.

[66] In Appendix E I have supplied an example of each class from Durán's *Romancero.*

(I) Old popular *romances* conserved by oral tradition, passed on from generation to generation by memory until the invention of the printing press. The originals were lost, but the jongleurs managed to preserve them relatively intact. These primitive *romances* usually dealt objectively (that is, without personal interference on the part of the poet) with national history, narrating events in Spain's past dating from around the time of the Arabic invasion in the eighth century. They were, however, totally free of any oriental influence. They faithfully reflected those customs which were especially indicative of the nascent Spanish culture. Durán noted their lack of lyrical enthusiasm or fantastic adornment as well as their rudeness. Their rhyme scheme and meter varied radically according to the poet's whim, who often added or subtracted syllables or shifted accents in order to meet the metric demands.

(II) Traditional old *romances* which, due to the presence of the Moors, displayed a Moorish accent in tone and custom. They were often of epic proportion and permitted the poet to infuse a touch of subjectivity into their outwardly novelistic or historical design. They were more lyrical, imaginative, and sentimental than those of Class I. Although consonantal rhyme was dominant, assonance could often be found. All extant *romances* of this type postdated 1400.

(III) Old poular *romances* conserved by oral tradition (similar to those of Class I), but composed solely by jongleurs and based on non-national history and feudal customs. Their themes allowed Biblical tales, ancient history and especially tales of foreign exploits and heroes. They were narrative epics, and dated from approximately the same era as those of the first class. Consonance and assonance were often mixed, and the meter was more often than not unaffected and inaccurate, but given their authorship they did maintain a slightly greater degree of technical artistry.

The "old" part of these first three classes Durán defines as *viejo* – having no artistic pretension and conserved solely by oral tradition until the advent of moveable type. Durán went on to discuss another type of "old" *romances* – those *antiguos* which were taken from the *viejos,* but composed by poets of the early sixteenth century (approximately 1510-60). These comprised Classes IV and V :

(IV) Popularized old *romances,* erudite and written since the discovery of printing. They were rather servile imitations of the written accounts of those poems found in the chronicles. They were "arty" works, whose meter and rhyme affected the rusticity of those old *romances* of Classes I and III. Durán called them "prosa mal rimada", since they lacked the spirit and spontaneity of their models, and, since they often employed contemporary terms and phrases, he accused them of anachronism in locution and style.

(V) Popularized old *romances* which carried on the spirit of the first three classes in a more artistic, cultivated language, and more carefully maintained the versification (usually including predominantly consonantal rhyme). They were also noticeably more subjective than those of Class IV. As in the first three classes, these *romances* were epic or lyric, colored often by their oriental models.

The next class Durán called "new" – *nuevo,* in that the *romances* were contemporary in intent and execution, dating from around 1530 and carried up

until his own times (although he restricted his selection to those written before the eighteenth century).

(VI) New vulgar *romances*, written in the language and style of the day. They affected cultured manners in an attempt to display knowledge and wit. They were created by "gente lega" who presumed to know a little more than the common man, but who more often fell into pretentious pedantry. They were full of incorrect rhyming patterns and set phrases included to fill out the meter.

Durán further grouped Classes IV, V, and VI under the heading of "erudite"; that is, poems which were written consciously in imitation of the old *romances* but with, in his opinion, less success. "Poco antes de mediar el siglo XVI, aparecieron los eruditos que intentaron reproducir nuestros romances viejos, imitándolos con inseguro criterio, y que rimando, no poetizando, las crónicas, arreglaron a su contexto las tradiciones conservadas en los cantos populares, despojados de la parte que entonces se graduaba como fabulosa aun por los autores de ellas."[67] He mentioned Lorenzo de Sepúlveda and Juan de Timoneda as ardent collectors of these verses, but appeared to have little sympathy for their affected pedantry.

Reverting back to *antiguo*, the *romances* of the next class were :

(VII) Old popularized *romances* written by troubadours and artists in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Here, the poets (among whom was numbered Juan de la Encina) achieved pure subjectivity, with lyrical and doctrinal flourishes, and subtle ideas which often tended toward the allegorical. They were artistic, displaying correct rhyme and meter.

The "modern" *romances* of the last class were those which managed to combine all the past elements of national poetry into purely artistic creations. Durán called this period the "tiempo de perfección, donde los poetas inspirados por el ingenio emplearon decididamente el arte, y bebiendo en las fuentes de la nacionalidad, y apoderándose de todos los medios que contenía una adelantada civilización, formaron con ellos un completo sistema poético".[68] He divided them into two types :

(VIII) Modern artistic popularized *romances*. (A) *romances* of epic form with lyrical, doctrinal and descriptive elements woven in, but which were essentially objective, even when the poet took off on flights of imagination or oratorical rhetoric. These were often inspired by the poems of Class V, but appeared late in the sixteenth century (1570-1600) with Pedro de Padilla, Lucas Rodríguez, and Lobo Laso de la Vega. (B) *romances* which were eminently artistic, based on the old popular verses on which were imposed new art forms, most notably perfected of course by Lope, Tirso, Calderón, and Góngora (even when he was excessive). Thoroughly subjective, the poet displayed his lyricism and inner feelings in verse ranging from the satirical to the erotic. They also often presented historical themes, but this became an artifice for the poet who wanted to "disimular un tanto su personalidad y [exponer] sus propias ideas". They were for their era (1580 to Durán's day) what the *romances* of the seventh class were for theirs.

[67] "Observaciones generales", *Romancero general, BAE*, 10 (1849), p. xlv.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. xlvii.

Wolf, whose contributions to the study of the *Romancero* were highly regarded by Durán, studied Durán's categories in great detail for his later *History of Spanish and Portuguese Literature,* and accused Durán (without malice) of having pirated the traditional-erudite-artistic distinction from Huber and himself. He did, however, admit that Durán not only developed these and the eight classes to a greater degree, but did so with greater precision.[69] He then went on to indicate the points on which he disagreed with the Spanish scholar (he could not, for example, justify giving the Moorish *romances,* Class II, their own separate class; he saw them as a mere variation of Class I. He also felt Durán gave too much stress to a non-documentable strong oriental influence), but he obviously shared Durán's enthusiasm for the subject matter.

Developing his idea of the *romance* as the first valid art form, Durán pointed out that popular expression undoubtedly preceded erudite expression, supporting his claim most subjectively by writing, "porque la naturaleza precede al arte, la espontaneidad al estudio, y la memoria a la escritura aplicada a las rudas producciones del vulgo. La medida del verso redondillo u octosílabo es la primera que debieron encontrar nuestros versificadores inartificiosos, porque nace más fácilmente que otra de la construcción e índole armónica de nuestra lengua y de la rotundidad de sus períodos".[70] He furthered the views on the authorship of the *romances* which he had begun in 1832, by viewing their composition as an uneven trajectory from anonymous primitive "poets" through the more professional *juglares* and erudite poets to the truly artistic poets of the seventeenth century. This trajectory developed as the society became more sophisticated : "Los poetas primitivos, pues, y los juglares expresan la poesía natural del pueblo, la que el pueblo engendra y comunica; los eruditos y artísticos expresan aquella que la ciencia y el arte, habiéndola recibido de la multitud tosca y ruda, se la devuelve culta ya, pero siempre acomodada al mayor o menor desarrollo de su civilización actual."[71] As art progressed, the *romance* went on to invade other art forms.

As he had done elsewhere, Durán adopted a reasonable and scholarly posture : he tried his best, he said, in his presentation and discussion of the *romances* but was far from pronouncing himself the only authoritative voice. He admitted that without adequate documents his observations remained mere conjecture; and being what he was – a Spaniard searching in his own special way for the "truths" of Spanish literature – he hoped for the day when his hypotheses would be confirmed or even negated by new literary discoveries. His quest for knowledge led him to admit that "quizá haya interpretado con error los hechos, pero siempre con buena fe y con deseo del acierto. Frutos estos trabajos de nuestras propias observaciones y del estudio crítico de las ajenas, hecho para aceptarlas, modificarlas o desecharlas, los presentamos al público llenos de desconfianza; pero seguros de que alguna verdad contendrán que pueda ser útil y abrir caminos pocos trillados a la buena crítica, para ensayarse

[69] Wolf, *Historia,* p. 201.
[70] "Observaciones generales", *Romancero general, BAE,* 10 (1849), p. xl.
[71] "Apéndices", *Romancero general, BAE,* 10 (1849), p. xxxix.

ventajosamente en consideraciones filosóficas y trascendentales sobre la literatura en general, y sobre la nuestra especialmente".[72]

Durán discussed again the sources, character, and literary importance of the types of *romances* distinguished by contents – the chivalresque, historical, Moorish, vulgar, and "various" (doctrinal, amorous, satirical, and burlesque). In the years which passed between the original and this new *Romancero,* he obviously had the opportunity to restudy and discover new material, and the result of this investigation was a critique which essentially followed his original views, but more varied and richer in detail.

He saw the chivalrous *romances* as born from the novels of that type which were to be found all over Europe during the Middle Ages and up through the Crusades. It was particularly the feudal spirit of Northern Europe which kindled the fires of the knightly cycles, which eventually found their way onto Spanish ground: "De las novelas bretonas, de las francas y de las greco-galas; es decir, de las de la Tabla redonda, de las Carlovingias y de las de los Amadises, está tomado el cortísimo número de romances caballerescos que poseemos. . . ."[73] The number was small, claimed Durán, because of Spain's basically non-feudal social system.[74] It was, in fact, Spain's contact with the Moors which produced her peculiar brand of chivalry:

> . . . por eso nuestro espíritu guerrero empleado contra los moros produjo un caballerismo especial y diverso del que creó el del Norte; por eso, este, hijo de una guerra santamente popular, fue extensivo a todas las clases y no circunscrito a las aristocráticas; por eso cada español era un guerrero, cada guerrero un noble, cada noble un caballero de la patria, ya que no un desfacedor de aquellos tuertos que juzgaban los tribunales; por eso el Cid Campeador, el héroe característico de nuestro estado social en los siglos medios, es tan diverso de Roldán y los Doce Pares, que solo se les asemeja en algunos accidentes; por eso el rey Don Pedro de Castilla, apoyado por la clase media y la popular reprimía fuertemente a los grandes, y los castigaba remedando a los califas del Oriente, más bien que sucumbir ante ellos como los débiles monarcas de los países feudales.[75]

This is why Spain could produce a Cervantes to parody the chivalresque novels, but not an Ariosto to immortalize them.

In fact, the type of chivalry displayed by Amadís and his kind was to Durán's view a "caballerismo exagerado e inútil"[76] because it was not truly representative of Spanish culture. He could not ignore the existence in Spain of hispanized versions of the feudal cycles, but he countered their presence by remaining faithful to the dichotomy he had established between the *pueblo* and everyone else. "Verdad es que cuando trasportada del Oriente a Francia e Italia por los

[72] "Observaciones generales", *Romancero general, BAE,* 10 (1849), p. xlviii.

[73] "Prólogo", *Romancero general, BAE,* 10 (1849), p. xv.

[74] Although he did recognize that "aunque en España no encarnó tanto el feudalismo como en otros países, no por eso se crea del todo carecíamos de él. . . ." *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

[75] *Ibid.*, pp. xix-xx.

[76] *Ibid.*

cruzados, se inoculaba en los libros caballerescos y en los poemas de los troveras, nosotros aceptábamos aquella parte metafísica y sutil que se introdujo entre los trovadores catalanes y provenzales. Imitáronla felizmente los poetas cortesanos del rey D. Juan II de Castilla; pero la rechazaron los cantores del pueblo."[77]

The six subdivisions of the part of the *Romancero* concerned with the *romances caballerescos,* as always divided by topic, were : (1) "varied", a catch-all category for original popular *romances* from the traditional era, (2) Galo-grecos, Amadís and his imitators, based on the chivalresque novels popular in the sixteenth century, (3) those based on the Breton chronicles, (4) those based on the Carolingian chronicles, Charlemagne and the twelve Peers of France, (5) those based on the above, but taken directly from Italian poems of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and, (6) *romances* which attempted to satirize all the others.

Obviously, historical *romances,* although their background often overlapped with the chivalresque ones, were a separate type of *romance.* Their major importance, Durán pointed out, was for the documentation of the historical, literary, political, and philosophical concerns of Spain's past. They differed from the chivalresque in that Durán considered the old *romance* that dealt with Spain's medieval history as the only original poetry that was free from the shackles of all foreign imitation (see subdivisions 5 and 6 below). As mentioned, the *romances* which have been preserved from the middle of the fifteenth century were actually reworkings of poems from centuries earlier, preserved in the minds and traditions of the people. He realized that this was only supposition; but it was intelligent supposition based on linguistic evidence (words and phrases which were suggestive of the language of earlier times). It was this type of *romance* which most inspired Lope, and sparked his creation of Spain's national theater.

> El instinto y el ingenio de este gran poeta abrieron el camino que tenían obstruído los eruditos y los trovadores que imitaban una literatura de origen extraño; y la inspiración popular se apoderó del arte, de la riqueza de la lengua, del colorido poético, y de todos los adelantamientos y modificaciones que habíamos adquirido y experimentado en nuestra sociedad. Desde entonces los romances reconquistaron su tipo característico, y se convirtieron en drama, como las rapsodias de los griegos se hicieron epopeyas; desde entonces los juglares y cantores se cambiaron en comediantes, y corrieron las ciudades, villas, lugares y aldeas, representando farsas y dramas, cuál habían recitado y cantado los romances.[78]

Here too Durán subdivided the *romances* according to topic and arranged them chronologically by those topics : (1) *romances* dealing with sacred history, (2) those from mythological times, both Greek and Roman, (3) those dealing with the history of Asia, (4) *romances* concerning tales from the history of Rome, (5) those concerning Spain's history from the invasion of the Germanic tribes until the middle of the twelfth century, (6) a set paralleling the fifth sub-

[77] *Ibid.,* p. xxi.
[78] *Ibid.,* p. xxvi.

division, which dealt exclusively with the history of Castile and Leon, as taken from their chronicles, those dealing with the histories of (7) Navarra, (8) Aragón, (9) Cataluña, and (10) *romances* with subjects from other countries.

Europe discovered the East in two ways. In the North, it was contact with Asia which produced a cultural system that Durán labeled feudo-oriental; in the South, it was contact between Africa and free democratic (that is, less feudal) Spain which produced a body of literature that reflected this special combination. The *romances moriscos* appeared in the fifteenth century as a result of the clash between cultures; later, when the Christians had succeeded in terminating Arabic power in the peninsula, the poets incorporated into their expression the wars, festivities, games, loves, customs, and even names of their interesting adversaries: "todo, todo en los romances moriscos es una escena completa, un retrato vivo y brillante, un espejo fiel de aquella parte de recuerdos que los moros nos dejaron cuando partieron a los desiertos de Berbería. . . ."[79] Nor was it a mere literary influence; Durán recognized what has since been pointed out so forcefully by Américo Castro – that the Arabs left an indelible influence upon Spanish customs, science, art, and modes of thinking that has never been eradicated.

The four subdivisions comprised (1) *romances* not belonging to a series of tales, (2) those which form a more or less complete story, (3) the satirical and burlesque *romances*, and, (4) imitations of all of the above. Their subjects were so diverse that Durán found it impossible to ascribe them any thematic unity other than the broad one of "Moorishness".

"Todas o casi todas estas composiciones, consideradas como poesía, son detestables", wrote Durán about the *romances vulgares*, "pero ofrecen mucho interés, porque conservan los vestigios de una civilización degradada, y forman el contraste más notable entre el carácter y costumbres del antiguo pueblo ignorante con el del nuevo vulgo humillado y envilecido; de la barbarie que camina a la cultura, con la civilización que desciende a la barbarie."[80] He laid blame for this phenomenon on the Hapsburgs, whose oppressive politics demeaned the "antes noble y patriota" Spaniard to a point where he was converted into a miserable wretch whose thoughts eventually conformed to his new state.[81] Fortunately, the poets of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries rectified the situation by elevating the tone and content of these old *romances*, although the dramatists' faults (degraded characterizations, illicit themes) could be directly attributed to the influence of the vulgar *romances*.

Their topics spanned the entire scope of the *Romancero*, and they were

[79] *Ibid.*, p. x.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. xxxii.

[81] This is one of the few places where Durán's strong patriotism adversely affected his critical and historical judgment. He selected his facts only to support his argument, insisting that all evils were implanted from above. His interpretation followed these lines: "Supersticioso, se dedicó a cantar los falsos milagros: esclavo en su pensamiento, todo lo creía sin examen; pero valiente todavía, y no teniendo héroes de buena ley que celebrar, celebraba los malhechores y bandidos que burlaban la justicia de los hombres . . . solo veneraba, al través del prisma de sus errores, a la hipocresía como virtud, a la barbariedad como valor, al desenfreno como heroismo, a la charlatanería como ciencia, y a las creencias falsas como parte integrante del dogma verdadero." *Ibid.*, p. xxxi.

thematically subdivided into (1) novelesque and fabulous, (2) chivalresque, (3) miraculous and devout, (4) historical, (5) biographical, dealing with persons both famous and infamous, and, (6) descriptive and assorted.

Durán's last general grouping of *romances* concerned the doctrinal, amorous, satirical and burlesque, allegorical, pastoral, and festive, which did not fit adequately into any of the other headings. In his sparse comments he seemed to be most taken by the satirical and burlesque. He claimed: "Sabido es que los españoles hemos inventado y nos hemos aventajado en este género de literatura, un tanto grosera, pero vigorosa y ruda."[82] He pointed to *Lazarillo de Tormes, Rinconete y Cortadillo, Guzmán de Alfarache, La pícara Justina,* and *El bachiller Trapaza* as outstanding examples; outstanding for their obvious moral focus and censure of human folly. This same moral edification could be found in the *romances* of this type. Given the prohibitive number of "assorted" *romances*, Durán was able to select what he considered to be the best examples of each type for publication in this *Romancero.*

Even before its appearance it was eagerly anticipated by all of its subscribers ("casi todas las personas ilustradas de España") since mere authorship by Durán guaranteed "una obra de gran erudición y excelente crítica".[83] As previously mentioned, both Pacheco and Hartzenbusch were aware of Durán's activities well before the publication of this volume; both were known *aficionados* of the *romance*[84] and both had been in frequent contact with their friend. It is not surprising, then, that they both published reviews of the volume when it finally appeared. Durán himself labeled these two articles "un cuadro crítico de lo que debiera ser, y facilitan a los que con más aptitud y recursos me sucedan en trabajos de esta clase los medios de hacerlos completos y perfectos".[85]

Hartzenbusch's enthusiasm for Durán and his *Romancero* became even more evident in his review.[86] He agreed fully with Durán's opinion of the *romance* as "la más venerable joya de nuestra literatura, primera en tiempo, insuperable en valor". As chronicles, chivalresque novels, dramatic works, and philosophical treatises began to multiply, the *romance* became less and less important as a means of communication and preservation of feelings and ideas. It became a curiosity, later preserved and then relished in the *Romanceros* until the end of the seventeenth century. But as Durán had previously indicated, the advent of narrow neoclassicism fostered the decline of the *romances* as well as the drama.

As the nineteenth century began to unfold, few old *Romanceros* were available, since few were those who held them in esteem. Ramón Fernández and Quintana had attempted to rescue the *romance*, but a systematic ordering and analysis was reserved for Durán. Hartzenbusch praised the 1828-32 collection for its originality, but credited the present volume with completeness as well as a more systematic classification, clearer prologue and explanatory notes, and valuable appendices.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii.

[83] *La Nación,* 1849-VI-5.

[84] The vogue begun by Durán's earlier *Romancero* had inspired Hartzenbusch to publish an elegantly illustrated *Romancero pintoresco* (Madrid: J. R. Benedicto, 1848).

[85] *Romancero general, BAE,* 16 (1851), p. ix.

[86] Written September 15, 1849, it was published in *La Ilustración,* 1849-X-27.

Pacheco too repeated Durán's ideas and proclaimed his work the best of all available *Romanceros*: "No creemos, sin embargo, incurrir en ningún desacierto señalando a las colecciones del señor Durán el puesto más elevado entre las de la presente época, y proclamándolas como la única obra de este género que satisface sus necesidades y llena la idea de lo que debe ser en el día un Romancero español",[87] a criticism which is still valid today. His article fairly overflowed with praise of Durán as a collector and critic, gentleman and scholar, Spaniard and friend; small wonder that Durán reprinted it, although that does not minimize its sincerity or truthfulness.

The second volume of the final *Romancero* was printed in 1851 and contained the rest of the historical *romances*, a large number of *romances de ciegos*, and a few more "varied" *romances*, as well as the impressive indices and catalogues mentioned above. In four appendices, Durán presented variants to the most common *romance*: (1) the anacreontic, or seven-syllable *romance*, (2) the six-syllable *romance*, (3) the *romance* in rhymed pairs, and, (4) pseudo-*romances* in verse or rhymed prose taken from the old chronicles. The *romances de ciegos* were the old *romances vulgares* which were kept alive in the songs of the *ciegos* but different from the *vulgares* which Durán had deprecated previously: instead of degrading the populace, they offered examples of high spirit and morality. Having already studied the *romance* in great detail, his critical comments were few, although he did consider it important to stress that

> por su constancia en conservar sus formas indígenas, y por su facilidad en adaptarse a la expresión de toda clase de ornato y de pensamientos, es por lo que el romance ha marchado con la sociedad española, y será tan imperecedero como ella sea. Desde los rudos juglares hasta los trovadores cortesanos, desde estos a Lope de Vega y Góngora, y luego hasta Meléndez Valdés, y luego hasta el duque de Rivas y sus contemporáneos, el romance ha corrido siglos sin interrupción, ha conservado esencialmente sus formas primitivas y originales, y con ellas aquel *no sé qué* característico que nos distingue de los extraños, y que casi ha desaparecido de las combinaciones métricas en que imitamos, primero a los provenzales, luego a los italianos y clásicos griegos y latinos, y últimamente a los franceses.[88]

Durán was apparently satisfied with his total effort: "He cumplido una parte de lo que me propuse, sin pretensiones dogmáticas: he publicado todo lo que sé y poseo, y no es culpa mía si mi riqueza y mi ciencia a más no alcanzan. Ni aspiraba a la gloria ni a los intereses materiales; y al cabo de mi tarea me contentaré si no soy más oscuro ni más pobre que lo era antes de empezarla",[89] a wish that was certainly fulfilled.

Not surprisingly, Wolf reviewed both volumes of the collection. As he indicated to Gayangos, "acabo de entender un artículo detallado sobre los dos volumenes del Rom. gen. del Sr. Durán, el cual irá insertado en un periódico de

[87] His critique was first published in *La Patria*, nº 322. Durán included it ("no por vana-gloria literaria") in the second volume of his final *Romancero*.

[88] "Advertencia", *Romancero general*, *BAE*, 16 (1851), p. vii.

[89] *Ibid.*

Leipsique".[90] Amador de los Ríos, although differing with Durán on the origins of the *romances*, appraised his contribution in these terms :

> Fructificaba entre tanto la semilla arrojada por Lista en el campo de las letras; y mientras era cultivada la crítica en vario sentido, si bien con ilustre espíritu, por un don Félix José Reinoso, un don Javier de Burgos, un don Bartolomé José Gallardo, un don Antonio Alcalá Galiano y un don José de la Revilla, señalábase entre todos por su acendrado amor a las glorias nacionales, no menos que por la profundidad de miras que revelaba desde luego en sus escritos, uno de los más antiguos y cariñosos discípulos de aquel respetado maestro, que parecía haberle confiado la difícil tarea de realizar la transformación crítica por él iniciada. Hablamos de don Agustín Durán, cuyos estudios sobre la poesía popular española han merecido el aplauso de los doctos dentro y fuera de España, con no poca estimación de su nombre.[91]

Not everyone was totally satisfied with Durán's interpretations – along with Wolf's and Amador's objections in the area of Arabic influence, another critic took issue with Durán's judgment on the origins of the *romance*, although several years later. Joaquín Rubió y Ors[92] was surprised that his predecessor had not taken into account the possible influence on Spanish poetry of the ecclesiastical verse written in Latin; he made his case built on the assumption that this consonantal verse, not the assonantal *romance*, was the true Spanish verse form. Other scholars have pointed to errors in Durán's judgments on the authorship or date of composition of some *romances*.[93] Durán, who did so much to defend Lope's genius, himself was fooled by that very same genius; a number of *romances* which he believed to be of popular origins have been convincingly credited to Lope.

If many of Durán's observations on the origins of the *Romancero* have been amended or corrected by contemporary scholarship, his sincere belief in its value has been unanimously supported. The stimulus of twentieth-century appreciation of Spanish popular poetry can be traced directly to Durán, and others like him in the last century, who labored for the rehabilitation of all popular poetry. Durán's claim that the *Romancero* contained the essence of romanticism, the distillation of a romantic spirit indigenous to Spain since the early Middle Ages, has been seriously and persuasively rejected. He had many valuable things to say about all the *romances*, and he aptly pointed to the lyric ballads which suggested folkloric origins mixed with Arabic influence. For him

[90] 1852-I-27. Preserved in the Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo. Wolf's detailed criticisms can be found in his *Historia*.

[91] José Amador de los Ríos, *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, I (Madrid: José Rodríguez, 1861), pp. lxxii-lxxiii.

[92] "¿Cuál pudo ser la forma primitiva de la poesía popular en España?", *Revista de Cataluña*, I (1862), pp. 325-30, 389-96; II, pp. 10-18.

[93] For specific examples, see Américo Castro and Hugo A. Rennert, *Vida de Lope de Vega (1562-1635)* (Salamanca: Anaya, 1969): Ramón Esquer Torres, *El teatro de Tamayo y Baus* (Madrid: C. S. I. C., 1965); and Eduardo Martínez Torres, *Lírica hispánica; relaciones entre lo popular y lo culto* (Madrid: Castalia, 1966).

the *romances* were influenced by, but not copied from, some elements of Germanic or Arabic origins (warlike tendencies from the northern countries, sensuality and imagination from the eastern ones); but their wellspring lay deep within the character of the Spanish people, that is, of those peoples living within the territory who developed their particular language, customs, and religion. The "popular" origins which Durán tried so desperately to prove, eluded his grasp and were left for later scholars to discuss. The discovery of the *kharjas* has led us to believe in the existence of a popular lyric tradition well before 900 A.D., so Durán's comments, although often only based on intuition, were in many cases sound.

It is his theories on the origins of the historical *romances* which modern scholars have had to rectify. Whereas Durán recognized foreign influences in them as far as a vague spirit was concerned, Menéndez Pidal has successfully argued that they are directly patterned on the German epics, fragmented throughout the centuries. Durán also felt the octosyllabic form to be their original form (and Huber and Wolf concurred), but he was never able to convince his countrymen of the validity of that assumption. In 1841 Rivas stated that Conde's theory of the romance as an outgrowth of the Arabic sixteen-syllable verse was "la más admitida",[94] and since Milá y Fontanals defended the assonantal pairs in sixteen syllables, the theory has been generally accepted as true.

No matter what the validity of such arguments, it must not be forgotten that Durán's views were original – he had no body of scholarship from which to draw his ideas. There existed no systematic analysis of the origins and diffusion of primitive Spanish verse. Menéndez Pelayo's appreciation of Durán's contribution to *romance* studies contains more truth than mere applause for another deeply patriotic scholar :

> Considérese la situación de un erudito de los últimos tiempos de Fernando VII, reducido a sus propios recursos. Después, Durán pudo alcanzar las primeras colecciones de poesía popular de diversos países, entró en la intimidad con los extranjeros que habían tomado por campo de investigación el nuestro y se encontró maravillado de la conformidad que notó entre los resultados obtenidos por ellos, con el rigor de un método científico continuado desde Grimm hasta Wolf y los que él había logrado sólo o casi sólo por la fuerza de su maravilloso instinto . . . Su *Romancero* es el monumento de una vida entera consagrada a recoger y congregar las reliquias del alma poética de su raza.[95]

He did not inherit judgments from previous scholars, but created them from the careful and exhaustive study of the material at hand.

With the completion of the second volume, Durán's public crusading for the *Romancero* came to an end. This is surprising for several reasons, but especially so since he himself had vowed to publish more in this area. Excusing the weakness of his collection he wrote that he had excluded all forms not relating to the *romance* in construction or metric combination; these, he said, would be

[94] Rivas, p. 512.
[95] Quoted by Sainz Rodríguez, *Orígenes*, p. 230.

issued in a future *Cancionero.* There is no doubt that he was actively working on several more tomes. Although they have never been located (we must hope that some day they will be uncovered), the evidence indicates that these projects occupied much of Durán's time during the decade. Ferdinand Wolf, writing to Gayangos from Vienna in 1853 praised "la noticia que el Sr. Durán sigue trabajando en la composición de un Canc. para la Bibl. de aut. de Ribadeneyra".[96] Two years later he repeated "Me eran muy interesantes las noticias que V. se ha servido comunicarme sobre el destino y los trabajos de los Sres. Durán y Hartzenbusch, a los cuales le ruego, dé expresiones de mi parte. Soy curiosísimo de ver aparecer el Cancionero del primero".[97] Amador's review of the *Leyenda* ended with this remark: "De su amor al arte y de su patriotismo todo debe esperarse; y si la formación del *Cancionero general,* que ilustra para las prensas de Rivadeneyra, no le roba a tan sabrosas vigilias, no dudamos de que no será esta la última vez en que aplaudiremos su lozana, fresca y graciosísima musa."[98] To make matters more tantalizing, Wolf published in 1852 a statement to the effect that Durán was preparing an extensive history and bibliography of Spanish drama up to the eighteenth century.[99] He furthermore had promised a *Romancero sagrado* containing mystical and devout verses,[100] a promise which was later confirmed by Hartzenbusch.[101] I. Sancha published a *Cancionero* for Rivadeneyra, to which Durán may have contributed, but his name appeared nowhere in the volume. Yet another unfinished project was Durán's apparent intention to review his friend Wolf's *Primavera,* a work which he valued highly, for the Madrid audience. As Wolf wrote to Gayangos: "Es para mí gran lástima que V. se ha visto impedido de ejecutar su proyecto de publicar en un periódico español un artículo sobre la *Primavera,* y temo que el Sr. Durán se halle en el mismo caso, a pesar de su benevolencia para conmigo, de que acaba de dar nuevos testimonios en dedicándome su linda *Leyenda de las tres toronjas."*[102] Evidently the intention to complete these works was there; why the execution was not forthcoming remains a mystery, although his additional duties in 1854 as Director of the Biblioteca Nacional would most likely have slowed down work on such an enterprise, as well as his illnesses which had reappeared with brutal force at the beginning of the decade. Assuredly his interest did not diminish.

For several generations after his death, Durán's *Romancero* served as a source of inspiration for writers who nourished themselves on the wealth of Spanish popular poetry. Valera turned humorous while describing one German's interest in the traditional poetry of Spain: "Se diría que ha peregrinado por toda nuestra patria desde Irún hasta Cádiz, y desde Valencia hasta Vigo, con el

[96] 1853-VI-26. Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo. On 1854-IV-14, Wolf wrote of a "suplemento que se propone publicar el Sr. Durán".

[97] 1855-II-? Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo.

[98] José Amador de los Ríos, *Revista de Ciencias, Literatura y Artes,* II (1856), p. 621.

[99] Wolf, *Conversations-Lexicon,* v. 5 (Liepzig, 1852), p. 306.

[100] "Prólogo", *Romancero general, BAE,* 10 (1849), p. vii. The idea of a varied *Cancionero* was repeated on p. xxxv.

[101] *La Ilustración,* 1849-X-27. Hartzenbusch claimed that Durán's two volumes in the *BAE* were only two of a proposed four volumes, the second two being the *Cancionero.*

[102] 1856-X-15. Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo.

romancero de Durán, edición de Rivadeneyra, debajo del brazo, o como almohada, debajo de la cabeza, cuando al sueño se rendía."[103] Milá y Fontanals discussed Durán's work in his correspondence with Gastón Paris.[104] Pedro Antonio de Alarcón cited Durán's work as one of the sources of his *El sombrero de tres picos*.[105] The interest in popular poetry passed through the Durán family – his niece, Cipriana, loved the *romances*, and her son Antonio Machado y Alvarez held folklorist views very similar to Agustín's. As Gordon Brotherston notes, "since the object of collecting traditional tales, riddles and songs was to gather material for subsequent scientific analysis and assessment, the temptation to doctor them prematurely was to be resisted . . . *coplas* ought not to be collected arbitrarily or according to personal whim, but en masse",[106] a view to which both Agustín and Antonio ascribed. Antonio Machado y Alvarez upheld these views in his own collections, including the *Biblioteca de las tradiciones populares españolas*. Certainly the kindred spirit of Cipriana's grandsons Antonio and Manuel Machado was notable. Antonio even claimed to have learned to read from his great-great uncle's *Romancero*;[107] his grandmother at any rate used to read the *romances* to the boys before they went to sleep each night.[108] It is obvious that popular poetry had a lasting effect on the young poets: both showed a marked preference for popular elements.[109] Manuel was proud of the works of his father and of his distant uncle, and always remembered those pleasurable evenings with Cipriana and the *Romancero*.[110] Antonio, for his part, wrote: "Si vais para poetas, cuidad vuestro *folklore*. Porque la verdadera poesía la hace el pueblo."[111]

[103] "El doctor Fastenrath" (Madrid, 1870), in *Obras completas*, II, p. 400.

[104] See *Epistolari d'en M. Milá y Fontanals* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1922).

[105] Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, "Prólogo del autor", *El sombrero de tres picos*. Dated July, 1874.

[106] J. Gordon Brotherston, "Antonio Machado y Alvarez and Positivism", *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, XLI (1964), pp. 226-7.

[107] Oreste Macrí, ed., *Poesie di Antonio Machado* (Milano: Lerici Editori, 1969), p. 25; Arturo Serrano Plaja, *Antonio Machado* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Glem, 1944), p. 18.

[108] Alice Jane McVan, *Antonio Machado* (New York: Hispanic Society, 1959), p. 4; Miguel Pérez Ferrero, *Vida de Antonio Machado y Manuel* (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1952), p. 30. See also Gabriel Pradal-Rodríguez, *Antonio Machado, 1875-1939. Vida y obra* (New York: Hispanic Institute, 1951), p. 18.

[109] G. G. Brown touches upon this influence in *A Literary History of Spain: The Twentieth Century* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1972), p. 69.

[110] Brotherston, *Manuel Machado: A Revaluation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 111 and 126. Brotherston deals with the many influences on Machado, and notes several poems inspired directly by his reading of Durán's *Romancero*.

[111] Antonio Machado, *Obras completas*, p. 519. Quoted by Alberto Gil Novales, *Antonio Machado* (Madrid: Fontanella, 1966), p. 125.

IV

Miscellaneous Criticism[1]

Durán's critical activities periodically strayed from Golden Age theater and the *Romancero* into realms which enabled him to further establish his growing stature as one of the nineteenth century's most influential scholars.

One aspect which has received little attention is his role as a linguist, a role which will become increasingly more important when his poetry is discussed in the next section. Part of his philosophy of linguistics was expressed in his maiden address to the Real Academia de la Lengua on November 6, 1834.[2]

The salient feature of the address was Durán's progressive spirit mixed, paradoxically, with linguistic chauvinism. In his usual careful way he pleaded the case for linguistic progressivism. Taking as his point of departure the recent suggestion that the Spanish language should be permanently standardized at the level of sixteenth-century expression, he asked, "¿Cómo es posible que se pretenda estacionar nuestra lengua, y que sea la misma que fue en el siglo XVI en que no existían las nuevas ideas, ni las antiguas tenían tanta extensión?". He was in favor of a free-flowing language (in both syntax and vocabulary) which could accommodate itself to the necessities of the times. In a question highly indicative of his appreciation of the forward progress of civilization and the development of customs he queried, "¿Pudiera servirnos ahora el elocuentísimo Granada, ni León, ni Cervantes, de modelos de lenguaje para escribir obras filosóficas, obras de economía civil, obras siquiera de costumbres?" and then answered it himself: "Nuestras costumbres son diferentes, la economía civil no era entonces una ciencia, y aun también la filosofía puede considerarse, tal cual se halla, como si fuese una nueva creación . . . Si la sociedad ha progresado, ¿cómo la lengua, que es la expresión de las ideas, ha de permanecer inmóvil?" Durán considered it the special task of the Academy to oversee the needed changes. In his characteristically openminded manner, he declared that he would treat new words the way every republic ought to treat men – neither deny their right to exist with excessive severity, nor carelessly grant them citizenship. The correlation between his attitude toward Spain's language and its literature is obvious. This speech was of minimal linguistic impact since the truncation of the language was never a very serious issue.

Linguistically, Durán could reflect totally unorthodox and fanciful views as

[1] I have classified as "miscellaneous" all those critical articles and comments of Durán which do not deal directly with the national theater or his *Romancero* – his comments on contemporary drama, painting, sculpture, linguistics, and philosophy, as well as on the prose writings of figures from Spain's past.

[2] This was reprinted *verbatim* in *La Abeja*, 1834-XI-10

well as sound judgment. Compare for example his comments on the changes affected from vulgar Latin to old Spanish[3] with the following absurdities :

> Los lenguages primitivos son siempre respectivamente más sonoros y armónicos que los secundarios creados en cada país; pero como la influencia de los climas es tan poderosa en la delicadeza de los órganos, y en particular en los de la pronunciación y el oido, los idiomas orientales sobrepujan mucho a los del Norte en dichas cualidades. Fundados los primitivos en la imitación directa de los sonidos naturales, por necesidad han de abundar en armonía imitativa. El estampido del trueno, el ruido de los torrentes, el blando susurro de los arroyuelos, el dulce canto de los aves, el rugido de los leones, tales serían los primeros sonidos imitados por el hombre para comunicar con otro las impresiones que recibía y las necesidades que experimentaba.[4]

In other roles, Durán became both drama critic and interpreter of the visual arts. As a drama critic he was undoubtedly qualified, at least as far as his own standards were concerned – he had studied classical dramatic theory yet could select and interpret according to artistic merit, author intent, emotional impact, and technical achievement. His qualifications in the area of the visual arts were less assured, but his interpretations managed to be both interesting and informative. They also allowed him to display an impressive knowledge of currents outside the mainstream of his classic-romantic interests.

As briefly mentioned above, his critique of Tapia's *Amar desconfiando* revealed a Durán who, at the height of his activities for the propagation of Spanish "romantic" works, could genuinely appreciate the merits of a drama of more classical persuasion. Durán praised Tapia for writing "una nueva comedia clásica en toda la extensión de la palabra"[5] – that is, eschewing the abuses of passion and expression which he maintained were dominating contemporary theater. He complained that values had unhappily become confused.

> El instinto de buena sociedad que a fines del siglo XVIII ponía al público en el caso de apreciar las gracias de un estilo sencillo, la naturalidad y rapidez del diálogo, la verosimilitud de los lances, la fina, culta y delicada sátira, parece que se ha dirigido a otro género de sensaciones acres y terribles, a un estilo declamatorio y cargado de color, que se complace en desgarrar el alma buscando situaciones, que a veces se encuentran faltando a la verdad de la naturaleza y a la verosimilitud de la razón. Y no somos clásicos a la griega ni románticos a la española. El esplin inglés y la morosa metafísica alemana ha llegado a triunfar del sublime Calderón y del culto Moratín.[6]

[3] "Advertencia", *Romancero caballeresco*, I (1832), p. ix.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. xi.

[5] *El Correo*, 1832-VII-9.

[6] John Dowling corroborates this contention by delineating the target of Moratín's virulence: "No se trataba de la comedia del Siglo de Oro, la de Lope y de Calderón, que tenía sus admiradores, incluso Moratín, entre los neoclásicos. Tampoco era cuestión de la comedia tardía de Antonio de Zamora o José de Cañizares; estos, como decía el mismo Moratín, ya no podían enmendarse . . . la flecha de Moratín va dirigida contra la llamada comedia heroica, y la medida del triunfo de Moratín y los suyos es que el teatro de Luciano

To Durán's delight Tapia managed to present "un diálogo culto, un lenguaje puro, una versificación fácil y fluída, y en fin una comedia como se han visto pocas desde Moratín acá", and assimilate Spanish themes with good art. Where was the fully romantic Durán who violently lashed out against all classicism? Clearly he did not exist.[7]

Patricio de la Escosura's *La Corte del Buen Retiro* evoked hopes for a resurgence of good drama in the Madrid of 1837, and the frustration which Durán had felt since his earliest years with the predominance of foreign works in Spain (or the extraction of Spanish works by foreigners) led him to state : "esperamos que muy en breve volverá a cobrar este ramo de la literatura el mismo esplendor que en otros tiempos tuvo, y que dejaremos al fin de recurrir a los teatros de Paris para animar el nuestro."[8] The drama was ultimately a disappointment, but Durán was not one to discourage writers who would write on patriotic themes, so the review combined a few complaints with flattery of Escosura, "en quien encontramos un instinto dramático poco común, grandes recursos para la escena y un lenguaje castizo y brillantemente poético".

Accolades went to Roca's *Doña María de Molina*, when Durán defined what for him was the true modern school of drama : a drama which imitated Spanish seventeenth-century drama without copying it servilely, and then assimilated it to contemporary times. This was in 1837, and in Durán's narrow definition there was a noticeable absence of Rivas' *Don Alvaro*, Larra's *Macías*, or García Gutiérrez's *El Trovador* as examples of the true modern school; likewise, those dramas of purely classical character were also not mentioned. This year of theater reviews ended with his comments on Bretón's *Don Fernando el emplazado*. The review consisted of a complaint about not being able to obtain opening-night tickets, a plot outline of the play, and very few critical observations, none worth repeating.

A balance between knowledge of both the classical and the romantic (still defined as Golden Age-national) was evident in his artistic criticism. The patriotism and sense of national honor which had inspired Solá's grand sculpture of Daoiz and Velarde inspired Durán's praise of it. As drama and poetry were viewed as means to preserve history and custom, so was sculpture : ". . . sus obras atraviesan y representan largas series de siglos, y perpetúan los progresos de la civilización,

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Francisco Comella y Gaspar Zabala y Zamora – entre otros muchos – ha caído en tan completo olvido que muchos, no concediendo lo que era el teatro contemporáneo de Moratín, suponen que atacaba la comedia del siglo anterior." "Estudio sobre *La comedia nueva*", in Moratín, *La comedia nueva. El sí de las niñas* (Madrid : Castalia, 1968), p. 33. This supports what has been developed as Durán's ability to recognize literary merit without regard to restrictive labels.

[7] Georges Le Gentil pointed out this characteristic of Durán, which he shared with numerous other literary figures : "La mode, cependant, est au «juste milieu». Et c'est dans le passé national que Durán, José de la Revilla, Pedro Pidal, Gonzalo Morón, Mesonero, Amador de los Ríos, Cañete, Cueto vont chercher leur critérium, invariablement fidèles, même lorsqu'ils jugent le présent, à la discipline philologique. En sorte qu'on peut définir la critique espagnole, au moins pour la période que nous occupe, un éclectisme patriotique fondé sur la connaissance de l'histoire littéraire." *Les Revues littéraires de l'Espagne pendant la première moitié du XIXe. siècle* (Paris : Hachette, 1909), p. xvi.

[8] *Eco de Comercio*, 1837-VI-9.

los hábitos y costumbres, y hasta la expresión y fisonomía que caracteriza las pasiones de los pueblos, cuyos monumentos, esculpidos en mármoles y en bronces, llegan a la posteridad."[9] It was the idea of the sculpture – the heroism in the face of danger, the rejection of tyranny, the patriotism of the soldiers in their initial struggle against Napoleon – more than the actual execution of the work which most captured Durán's imagination. Instead of his accustomed approach to criticism – emotional response based on critical thought and documented evidence – he set the rules aside in order to convey the effect which the sculpture produced in his heart, not in his intellect: "Ignorante en las reglas del arte, solo hablaré de la impresión que en mi alma ha producido la vista del grupo de Daoiz y Velarde, dejando a los profesores la gloria de una descripción artística." Yet he did provide an accurate visual description of the postures, physical appearance, dress, and activities in the work. Durán could analyze with care and calculation, but he could also permit himself to respond to heights of emotional fancy which certain works or parts of works, graphic or theatrical, struck in him. Although calm often dominated him, he was never cold. As the years progressed he never lost this sense of emotion which could reveal for him hidden beauties and inexpressible delights in a work of art or literature.

This statue instigated Durán to call for the commissioning of one by Solá of another great Spaniard – Cervantes. Durán lamented the lack of attention paid to this great man by his countrymen, and saw the need for a physical demonstration of the country's respect for its most famous author and noble patriot. Other countries honored their heroes, but Spain had practically forgotten this man, "el que descuella entre todos por su amor patriótico, el que perdió una mano en la batalla de Lepanto, el superior en ingenio a cuantos son y han sido, el que abarcando y comprendiendo por sí solo el espíritu de los pasados siglos se puso al frente del venidero, y mostró al mundo la marcha que seguirían las futuras edades; este coloso, digo de talento, valor y virtud, apenas halla en su país un retrato perecedero que nos recuerda su fisonomía. ¡Fatal olvido!"[10]. He proposed a statue to fill the vacuum, and suggested that Solá, whose patriotism and skill had been so obvious in the Daoiz y Velarde piece, was the only artist capable of executing it (Solá and Durán had even discussed the project in private). Flattery of Fernando VII was not beyond Durán, who linked the king's fame to Cervantes' in this suggested work of everlasting merit. His obsequiousness became a little heavy-handed as he foresaw Europe's shouts of "Cervantes es digno de una estatua, y entre los Monarcas solo Fernando es digno de levántarsela". Durán's enthusiasm was passionate, yet his intentions were sincere and consonant with his literary patriotism.

To inform the public of a mosaic which had recently arrived in Madrid on tour for viewing and studying, Durán wrote a description and discussion of it for the *Revista de Madrid* (1842-IX-15). Once again the author's systematic approach can be observed as he discussed the theme, execution, and material of this work, what he approved of and what faults the work contained. Durán offered

[9] *El Correo,* 1831-XI-11. The statue can be found today in Madrid's Plaza de Dos de Mayo. It is still in good condition, but the swords are missing.

[10] Signed A. G. D. y V. Y. "Estatua de Cervantes", *Cartas Españolas,* 1832-III-8, p. 290.

some pertinent observations on its source, fidelity to its mythological theme, and physical beauties, which again revealed his broad-based knowledge of things other than the Spanish past. The theme was Hercules' eleventh labor in the Garden of the Hesperides, and Durán pointed out where the ancient artist had adapted the mythological "facts" to his own purpose (for example, the sleepless dragon was here a snake, and Hercules was considerably younger than mythology indicated). Durán managed to suggest the interest of the mosaic with an objective description of the stones, colors, and forms, while maintaining its subjective qualities – a fine assimilation of idea and feeling.

This short glimpse of a side of Durán which has little bearing on his reputation as a restorer of Golden Age drama and of the *Romancero* does tell us something about the man and his interests. It is valuable in adding to our conception of him as a progressive, thoughtful, and articulate critic. Durán's prose style was here, for the most part, cool and careful but profoundly sincere. He did not indulge in the careless oratory characteristic of his time, but he was never a fiery individual nor one much interested in theatrics off the stage. He did his job, worked hard and untiringly for the rehabilitation of Spain's literature and calmly endeavored to influence his contemporaries whenever he could.

Most of Durán's other criticism appeared in his area of specialization – Spain's poetic and dramatic past. Besides Lope, Tirso, Calderón, Moreto, and Ramón de la Cruz, sprinkled among his works can be found commentary on the *Poema de Fernán González*, the marqués de Santillana, the *Cancionero de Baena*, the prose works of Vélez de Guevara, Quevedo, and Cervantes, the more recent writings of Moratín and Quintana, and contemporaries including the young poet Fontán. All of these dispersed comments amply support the picture of Durán which we have been drawing as a thoughtful, often original, and knowledgeable critic; that is not to suggest that he was always right in what he wrote, but then his claims never reached such lofty heights. Frequently, he got side-tracked into digressions on subjects ranging from social utopia, communism and socialism, atheism, the equality of man, political systems, and man's moral nature, to bibliophilia and the generosity of the Andalusians.

Perhaps the most interesting documents which help to clarify Durán's exploration of Spain's literary past, were the letters which he frequently exchanged with his friends. Both bibliographical and critical in nature, they ranged over drama and poetry with an enthusiasm that leaves no one surprised by his later achievements. Much of his epistolary activities centered around locating documents, or establishing authorship and dates of composition for little-known works. With friends he discussed authors of some repute – Torres Naharro, Juan de la Encina, Gil Vicente, Juan de Timoneda, Lope de Rueda,[11] Lucas Fernández – as well as those who have never been fully appreciated such as Pedro de Lerma, Pedro Méndez de Loyola, Francisco de Avendaño, Alonso de Villegas, etc. Being rabid bibliophiles they all awaited with excitement the final publication of two works on

[11] In fact, Durán had planned to publish a facsimile edition of Rueda's works, a plan which was never fulfilled. Böhl wrote: ". . . he sabido por Gallardo que Vmd. se ocupa de la reimpresión de Lope de Rueda . . . Empresa hercúlea es una reimpresión facsimile de las antiguas ediciones de Rueda, no solo por el costo sino por la extrañeza para los manipulantes." *Epistolario,* XLVI and XLVII.

old Spanish literature : the Spanish translation of Bouterweck's *Historia de la literatura española* and the posthumous appearance of Moratín's *Orígenes del teatro español.* The second work elicited the most interest. As we have seen, Durán was peripherally involved with it before publication, and according to Gallardo he did more than just supply materials for Moratín : "Tengo entendido que está para salir (y que es V. el corrector de las pruebas) la famosa obra de Moratín sobre nuestro teatro antiguo."[12] Durán also lent a pre-publication copy to Böhl for inspection and comment. Recognizing the merit of both works, their main complaints centered around omissions – gaps which their own personal libraries could fill in, and Böhl proceeded to prepare Moratín's *Orígenes* for publication in Germany, with notes and additions of course.

Recognition of the great merit of the *Cancionero de Baena* was accorded by Durán (how by now could it be doubted?). Yet this work, like others of its kind, would remain difficult of access without the penetrating analyses and study which had been stimulated in the past twenty years; he specifically praised Amador de los Ríos, Pidal, Ochoa (and indirectly himself, although his praise was absent of self-interest) for their valuable efforts in the resuscitation of medieval and Golden Age studies. Like the pyramid which was nothing but a massive pile of stone until viewed from the point of view of the spirit which built it, so too the spirit of the Spanish past must continue to draw the attention of scholars, assisted greatly by collections such as these. The *Cancionero de Baena* was much like all the other collections which were published in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; obviously its merit lay in that it was the first known collection. He furthermore liked it since "entre todas las obras y códices de igual clase es acaso lo único que se compiló sin fin exclusivamente artístico, como lo acreditan algunas composiciones objetivas allí contenidas, y que a semejanza de la poesía popular se emplean en cantar hechos históricos".[13] His interest in this very codex was reflected years earlier in his correspondence with Böhl : his German friend lamented the disappearance of the suspected unique copy of the *Cancionero*, only to have it turn up in foreign hands : "He sabido casualmente por un testigo de vista que el famoso Cancionero manuscrito de Baena que se ha desaparecido de la biblioteca del Escorial y era el *único* de su clase, se ha vendido en Londres por 300 L o Rvn. 30,000."[14] Of course, it was later discovered by Ochoa in Paris.

Similar to the *romances* in historical, literary, and linguistic importance, Santillana's poetry contained a "resumen [de] la época en que floreció, el estado de la ciencia, y de las opiniones que se reflejaban en el poeta", and "la representación genuina de la atmósfera que le rodeaba",[15] which could and should tell us something about our present society, argued Durán. He enthusiastically praised the poet's presentation of the knightly hero – valiant, astute, wise, philosophical, courtly, and above all fervently Catholic – who embodied much of the spirit of his times. But poetically Durán took issue with the aristocratic affectations of the marqués and his compatriots, preferring the more elementary, but more spontaneously real, expression of the popular *Romancero.* He recognized the poetic

[12] *Epistolario,* XXV.
[13] *La Epoca,* 1852-I-10.
[14] *Epistolario,* XV.
[15] *La España,* 1853-II-27.

genius often found in these elegant poets, but was forced to observe, "Cuando veamos a un poeta sutilizar y analizar en demasía las pasiones o los afectos y sustituir la metafísica a las grandes y briosas pinceladas del ingenio, a la punzante verdad del dolor bien sentido, y a la amarga pero intensa melancolía que infunden las penas, bien podemos estar seguros de que tal poeta no está profundamente poseido de los afectos que intenta pintar. De estos vicios adolecen mucho nuestros poetas cortesanos del siglo XV, y por eso si a veces agradan con rasgos de ingeniosidad, casi siempre dejan frío el corazón. . . .".

Durán's knowledge and appreciation of Cervantes' works, especially of course *Don Quijote*, are demonstrated by the references he made to them. The *Romancero general* in particular contained references to Don Quijote which presented him as a complex reflection (with Sancho and the *cura*) of the Spanish society of his day, and a caricature not of all knighthood, but of only the exaggerated and useless chivalry of Amadís and his foreign imitators.[16] Quevedo captured some of Durán's attention *à propos* a new edition of his works. In strong language which underlined Durán's constant if low-keyed opposition to political tyranny, he credited Quevedo with being "el representante de la libertad moral del pueblo castellano, el cual mudo e inerte, pero dolorido, soportaba los desmanes del imbécil y nauseabundo despotismo teocrático y civil que le oprimía y ahogaba en el fango de la servidumbre más abatida".[17] Quevedo was likewise a symbol of the people's resistance against evil and folly. Perhaps with a little exaggeration Durán credited him with anticipating the liberal-progressive ideas which "dos siglos después brotaron con vigor sagrado entre los pueblos cultos".

Those seeds were later picked up by Quintana and Cienfuegos who declared "la guerra al poder absoluto, a la superstición, a la corte corrompida; y proclamando nuestras glorias pasadas, nuestra dignidad ofendida, nuestra perdida libertad, nuestra sagrada independencia, popularizaron la noble idea que sirvió de base a los grandes hechos después verificados".[18]

The one work of Durán's which presents a problem of interpretation is his study of Vélez de Guevara's *El diablo cojuelo*. It was never published but it did find its way into the Academy and from there to the reason for its existence, the Russian translator Piatnitsky. Although the Academy praised it, modern scholarship has been merciless in its condemnation of it. Francisco Rodríguez Marín wrote : "Hago gracia al lector de los demás trámites de aquel desdichado asunto : baste decir, para que los manes de Durán no se irriten demasiado, que en aquella ocasión durmió Homero a pierna suelta, y durmieron con él cuantos pusieron las manos, o formulariamente hicieron que las ponían, que es lo más probable, en las empecatadas *ilustraciones* de Durán. Aquella larga serie de lamentables yerros . . . convidaba, ¿qué digo convidaba?, requería a volver por la honra del malparado Vélez, y, en general, por los fueros de nuestro idioma. . . ."[19] and Montesinos

[16] See *BAE*, 10 (1849), pp. xiv, xx. This view of the *Quijote* as an attack only upon extremism in earlier literature was well in keeping with Durán's moderate views and life style.

[17] *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 1853-V-22.

[18] *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 1854-IX-24.

[19] Luis Vélez de Guevara, *El diablo cojuelo* (Madrid : La Lectura, 1918), pp. xxvii-xxviii.

called it a "ridículo comentario", suggesting that "el pobre ruso . . . debió de quedarse turulato al leer todo aquello".[20]

Durán never wanted the assignment, but when the Academy asked him to comply, he resigned himself to an attempt to unlock the conceits and burlesque comparisons of Vélez, in order to clarify some obscure verbal allusions. He rewrote his responses as many as ten times each in order to phrase with maximum clarity his interpretation, and many of his explanations were linguistically and historically sound (for example, in his clarification of "tortuga", "galápago", "ganzua", etc., words which puzzled Piatnitsky). But more often than not Durán's good faith surpassed his abilities; many of his explanations were not acceptable.[21] To be fair to him, we must recognize that he knew it. As he wrote in the presentation to the completed work: "Temo mucho que esa Real Academia se haya equivocado en la aptitud que me supone; pero no en la buena voluntad que me asiste para dar cumplimiento a sus deseos. No me aqueja el compromiso mío; mas sí el que a la Academia pudiera resultar, si sin más examen aceptase la responsabilidad de un trabajo del cual como todos los que ejecuto desconfío en extremo. El asunto pues merece la pena de que se examine detalladamente, y que se pase a otras manos más diestras que lo deluciden antes de darle curso."[22] It *was* reexamined by a commission (Roca, Hartzenbusch, Caveda), but "apenas ha podido añadir reflexión alguna importante".[23]

Durán complained of his inability to explain the many proverbial expressions, slang words, obscure allusions, *cultismos*, vulgar phrases, and anecdotal material in Vélez's work: but he tried his best: "Más de seis veces he rehecho mi trabajo y más de veinte le he examinado, y más de ciento necesitaría si hubiese de ir bien correcto; pero ya estoy cansado y me falta el tiempo y el ánimo para perfeccionarlo. . . ."[24] After excusing his failures again (". . . estoy persuadido que las obras intelectuales que no caen espontánea y fácilmente de la pluma prueban ineptitud en los que las producen"[25]), he turned uncharacteristically irritable, arguing against the whole idea of a translation since the subtle conceits and word play could never be achieved in another language (even though he himself knew nothing of Russian). Even a Spanish reprinting would need infinite notes and points of clarification. Uncharitably he turned his frustration on Piatnitsky: ". . . las cuestiones del Sr. Piaznitzsay [*sic*] prueban no solo que ignora lo que pregunta, sino que no entiende lo que deja de preguntar, y que para traducir bien el libro en su lengua necesitaría que se le remitiese un comentario completo. . . ."[26] Apparently he turned his whole notebook, corrections, changes and all, into the Academy in dis-

[20] Professor Montesinos wrote this in a letter to me dated February 15, 1972. He used the opportunity to further castigate Durán: "La erudición de Durán fue siempre muy deficiente, como lo fue la de todos sus contemporáneos, obligados a improvisarse, sin medios casi, una cultura española que nadie había podido darles."

[21] See Bonilla's 1902 edition of *El diablo cojuelo*, and Manuel Muñoz Cortés, "Aspectos estilísticos de Vélez de Guevara en su Diablo cojuelo", *Revista de Filología Española*, XXVII (1943), pp. 48-76.

[22] "Notas y observaciones de *El diablo cojuelo* . . ", folio 126.

[23] *Actas*, Book 22, folio 312.

[24] "Notas y observaciones", folio 126.

[25] *Ibid.*, folio 129.

[26] *Ibid.*

gust – after all, he was not accustomed to failure : "No hago este analysis para disculpar ante la Academia los disparates que haya en el desempeño de este encargo sino para pedir su indulgencia sobre ellos, pues no es culpa mía carecer de un entendimiento enciclopédico, ni una intuicion e ingenio preciso para hacerlo mejor."[27] Failure, yes; but at an assignment not of his own choosing, and in a genre (the novel) which was not his speciality. Yet he tried his best in an attempt to further scholarship.

On the contemporary scene, Durán reaped the praise of the journalists for his introduction to Fontán's poetry. Fontán was not a great poet, but his verses were good and Durán saw in them the possibilities of a successful career, although it was friendship which had motivated him to lend his prestigious voice to his young friend's first book. Consistent with his literary outlook, Durán wrote : ". . . podemos asegurarle que con éxito feliz cultivará el perfumado vergel de las Musas, si no desconoce la necesidad de alimentar su inteligencia con el estudio serio y continuado del arte, que le servirá para enaltecer las inspiraciones del corazón, y para perfeccionar las creaciones del ingenio."[28] Yet Durán's hopes that Fontán "llegara a obtener la gloria a que aspira", never materialized. Nevertheless, *El Heraldo* added its voice of encouragement to the authoritative observations of "este distinguido literato",[29] and *La España* wrote, "Muy lisonjera debe ser para el autor esta merecida aprobación no menos que la que al frente de su libro ha puesto uno de nuestros más sabios y autorizados literatos, el señor don Agustín Durán".[30] Almost matter-of-factly, *La España* added, "La opinión de un hombre como el señor Durán es decisiva en materias literarias".

Several years later, Durán became involved in a literary squabble concerning a drama by a minor playwright, Luis de Eguílaz. The play was *La cruz del matrimonio* and apparently its opening night performance in November, 1861, evoked enthusiasm from the majority of Madrid's theatergoers. As Blanco García told it :

> La obra ofrece puntos de vista de innegable belleza, y no debe extrañar que el público la recibiese en su primera representación con un entusiasmo excesivo, propio a las impresiones fuertes y repentinas, que no dan lugar al análisis maduro y escrupuloso. No le fue a Eguilaz menos favorable el voto de los inteligentes; pues además de habérsele ofrecido en la noche del estreno una corona de laurel, con una medalla de oro y felicitaciones autógrafas de Hartzenbusch y D. Agustín Durán, casi todos los críticos militantes enaltecieron por unanimidad la transcendencia y el valor literario de *La cruz del matrimonio*.[31]

Manuel Cañete, however, dissented from the prevailing opinion loudly and bitterly,[32] although he later regretted his intemperate attacks. Durán stood by Eguílaz

[27] *Ibid.*, folio 130.
[28] "*Prólogo*", in Joaquín Fontán, *Poesías* (Madrid: Saavedra y Compañía, 1851), p. 8.
[29] 1851-IV-30
[30] 1851-V-23.
[31] P. Francisco Blanco García, *La literatura española en el siglo XIX*, II (Madrid: Saenz de Jubera Hermanos, 1909), p. 206.
[32] Alberto López Argüello, ed., *Epistolario de Fernán Caballero* (Barcelona: Suc. de Juan Gili, 1922), p. 63.

(but not in print); not only did he consider the play interesting, but he was influenced by his friendship with the young playwright from Sanlúcar de Barrameda whom Durán had met on his many pilgrimages to the mineral springs there.

Chronologically, his written critical endeavors ended with the Quintana article in 1854, when the massive task at the Biblioteca Nacional diverted his attentions elsewhere, leaving him free only to dabble with a little poetry; the impact of the great body of his criticism, however, long outlived him.

PART THREE

AGUSTIN DURAN: THE POET

Si vais para poetas, cuidad vuestro *folklore*. Porque la verdadera poesía la hace el pueblo.

ANTONIO MACHADO

I

Contemporary Themes

Today Agustín Durán enjoys no reputation as a poet or even as a poetaster; one of the pastimes which he pursued faithfully throughout his life remains virtually unknown. From his youth to a few years before his death he periodically published the fruits of what was part political showmanship and part personal diversion. His production, although homogeneous in philosophical and linguistic focus, can be roughly grouped into two categories : (1) Poems which dealt directly with some contemporary occurrence (the birth of a royal infant, an important act of the Monarch, etc.), and (2) Poems which paralleled the old adventurous or amorous tales of the knightly heroes. All of the published poems were written in a language imitative of the old Castilian sounds, as reflected in the *Romancero*. The total number of poems which saw their way into print was a mere nineteen, but many more were actually written; Pastor Díaz claimed that "aunque el señor Durán haya escrito no pocas composiciones poéticas, corto es el número de los que ha dado a luz".[1] He wrote most of his verses for fun; a few served his purposes politically (although more from patriotism than ambition), and often he was persuaded by his friends to make them available to the public.

The fact that he began early in his career to experiment with verse was commented upon by himself and his friends; his first public endeavor, however ("Pero yo mezquino, por la vez primera/Pulsando la lira"[2]), was in conjunction with the arrival in Madrid of María Cristina de Borbón, who had come from Naples to marry Fernando VII. The marriage in December of 1829 inspired Durán to write *Trovas en lenguaje antiguo al augusto enlace del muy manífico rey e sennor D. Fernando VII con S. M. la Reyna Donna María Cristina.* The poem consisted of fourteen stanzas of eight lines each in duodecasyllables. The dominant rhyme scheme followed the dictates of the medieval *coplas de arte mayor* (a verse form long unused) : A-B-B-A-A-C-C-A.

Linguistically, Durán was evidently a master of old Spanish – both the orthography and the phonetics displayed his facile ability to imitate the medieval poets :

> Triste e sollozosa Espanna yascía
> E apenas ventura jamas esperaba,
> Uno e otro día el sol s'ocultaba;

[1] Pastor Díaz, p. 270.

[2] There were others: the *Correo* wrote: "Conocemos otra producción del mismo Sr. Durán, escrita en el mismo estilo, y dirigida a un eminente personaje, protector distinguido de las artes, la cual sería deseable viese la luz pública como documento poético, no menos honroso para el autor y muy a propósito para la gloria del parnaso moderno." 1830-II-8. The identity of the "eminente personaje", like the poem itself, has remained undiscovered.

Tornando l'Aurora ya non se reía,
E mustia la rosa al suelo caía;
El manso arroyuelo ya non mormuró,
Y ya l'avecilla sus trinos calló,
E ya solo pena e luto se vía.

The verses, true to their inspiration, were uneven – stanzas 2, 3, and 4 were unevenly weighted with nine lines, and syllable count was often strained, as were many of the attempts at consonantal rhyme. There is no doubt that this was intentional, since Durán recognized the liberties taken by the old poets in order to achieve their desired ends.

He captured the full spirit of the ballads, acting the part of the travelling singer of ballads willing to perform in the plaza or the marketplace. Praise of the monarchs, allusions based on mythology, historical and contemporary references all blended in signalling this joyous occasion for the country. The death of Fernando's third wife, María Amalia de Sajonia, had clouded the country in sadness; with joy it reacted upon hearing of Fernando's decision to remarry. Whether he approved of the king's policies or not (he did not), Durán was truly happy at the thought of new domestic peace and a potential succession to the throne.

Fallesce mi espíritu, fallesce é no alcanza
A absconder l'alma tamanna alegría;
Afeto m'enciende, respeto m'enfria,
E apenas encuentro la dinna alabanza.

The beautiful queen ("Celestial Espossa") was received with open arms in the hopes of prosperity, unity, and glory for a noble nation.

Quintana, Arriaza, Gallego, Bretón, Espronceda, and Gil Zárate, among others, had also graced her arrival with verses[3]; the newspapers deemed Durán's worthy of notice along with those of the first two distinguished poets. The *Gaceta*[4] and the *Diario de Avisos*[5] both announced that these charming *Trovas* were for sale, and the *Correo* credited them with "imitación muy linda del lenguaje antiguo, y cierta donosidad en los pensamientos".[6] The *Correo's* reserve on the profundity of the piece was certainly justified. But Böhl wrote how he and Doña Frasquita had enjoyed this poem :

> Dos correos consecutivos me han traído las graciosas trovas que ha compuesto Vmd. al nuevo enlace de nuestro Soberano. Ya se hará Vmd. cargo que con mi afición a la antigua poesía, habré gozado en doblada manera desta composición, que une el encanto del estilo a las ideas más delicadas y oportunas. Mi mujer no ha quedado menos prendada de su buen desempeño y ambos hemos celebrado la hermosura de la impresión y de papel.[7]

[3] Mesonero Romanos, *Memorias de un setentón*, II, p. 62. The beautiful queen became at once a source of poetic inspiration for many established and aspiring poets. See Enrique Chao Espina, "María Cristina como fuente de inspiración poética", *El Español*, 1945-II-24.

[4] 1830-I-19.

[5] 1830-I-25; 1830-VII-23.

[6] 1830-II-8.

[7] *Epistolario*, XIX.

Fernando and María Cristina soon found themselves in the happy position of expectant parents, and their happiness was shared by their loyal subjects. Fernando had, after all, no successor to his throne even after three wives. In twenty-one stanzas of *coplas de arte mayor*, Durán once again raised his voice in tribute to the monarchs, writing *Trovas en antigua parla castellana con motivo de la succession qu'ofresce el Tálamo del Sennor Rey Don Fernando VII y su augusta espossa Donna María Cristina.* The edition also contained a glossary of sixty-eight antiquated words used in the *Trovas* with their modern counterparts to facilitate the public's comprehension of the language. In tone and quality these were much the same as the first verses; with obligatory praise of the rulers, he hailed their desired offspring. They were amusing but empty verses, in which Durán alluded lightly to the political turmoil facing the nation, and called upon Fernando's wisdom to enable the country to achieve stability. He was aware of Cristina's liberal tendencies and the right-wing challenges from the supporters of Fernando's brother Carlos. Durán cautiously implored the queen : "Noble intercessora sed al vuesso esposso,/Plannir non aquexe d'oy mas nuesso suelo,/Fuyan de la Patria contristura et duelo", and added that the king "Con vuessas virtudes porneis fin dichoso/A tantos penares é á tanto tormento". The poem received only a brief mention in the *Diario de Avisos* (1830-VII-23).

Similar sentiments were expressed on the occasion of Princess Isabel's birth on October 10, in *Trovas en antigua parla castellana al feliz alumbramiento de la Reyna d'Espanna nuestra Sennora.* Longer than the previous poems (twenty-four stanzas), but written in the same style, Durán claimed that this was to be the "último canto del Trovador", a statement which his later verses negated. He sang chords reminiscent of the likes of Garcilaso :

> L'Arpa encantadora qu'el viento mescia
> Exale sospiros, que sus cuerdas d'oro
> Assaz blandamiente al eco sonoro
> Aduzcan las vozes qu'amor nos encia.

Why he bothered with these hyperbolic (obsequious?) verses is an interesting question, knowing as we do that Durán despised the oppressive politics of the king. Possibly encouraged by his contemporaries who were busily writing similar verses, possibly just to try his poetic wings, or possibly (but unlikely, notwithstanding Gallardo's protestations to the contrary) with an eye to future governmental favors, he wrote some things that may have caused him anguish ("Rey muy generoso", "Sennor escelente en Dios atquirido", etc.). On the other hand, it could have been a sincere belief on Durán's part that an enlightened despotism, an unshakeably strong monarchy, was a politically viable possibility during the less restrictive years of 1828-1830. Moreover, with Quintana praising the king (by choice or not), and Lista propagating a progressive approach to the country's economic and social ills, Durán may have been swayed into a belief of better times to come. The illusion was shattered but the verses kept on coming.

These and future *Trovas*, though, did imitate quite accurately the old language. Durán had been a linguistic student since his first days as a collector of

old verse during his years in Seville; years of reading and playful practice gave him the ability to mimic the language of the poems which had inspired him. Despite certain modern objections,[8] this imitation was well received. Gallardo publicly attacked Durán's ability to write "fabla antigua" when their friendship dissolved in the thirties; in the *Criticón* he wrote : "¡Durán, Bibliotecario primero, el cual para hacer un Catálogo de las MS. que hace dos años ha, se ha puesto a aprender a leer letra antigua!"[9] This was patently untrue; as witnessed by the *Trovas*, he had mastered the language of times past well before 1836 – and Gallardo knew this full well. Böhl wrote to Durán in 1830 claiming that "Gallardo ha celebrado mucho las trobas",[10] and Gallardo himself in 1831 wrote the following to Durán about his recent *Trovas al alumbramiento* : "Puedo no obstante decir a V. que sus *Trobas* son en el género encomiástico (gracias que no he debido al Cielo) un papel de oposición al lauro de Poeta de Cámara que le disputa a V. el amigo Arriaza que hace años le gozaba en cómoda y no reñida posesión."[11] A month later he added : "Un arcaizante a quien he dado a leer las Trovas, dijo (y es voto) que las halla más propias que las de Moratín."[12] Hence, he both knew and approved of Durán's efforts as a panegyrist in old Spanish, and in his later comments the truth was obscured by his jealous rages. Pastor Díaz, not without a touch of exaggeration, proclaimed : "La singular facilidad con que imita a nuestros antiguos poetas en todos sus géneros es muy propia de una persona que tanto los ha estudiado, que tan bien los conoce, y que ha hecho suyos sus palabras, sus giros de expresión, el enlace de sus ideas, y la manera de desleir sus pensamientos. Las imitaciones del Sr. Durán, no solo igualan sino que esceden a sus modelos."[13]

Fernández de los Ríos also recognized that Durán "maneja con facilidad el habla antigua",[14] and Cutanda in his necrology of his friend stated unequivocally that Durán managed to "familiarse con el lenguage de los siglos XIV y XV, y hacerlo suyo, pero con tal perfección, con tal soltura . . . que en este ningún escritor moderno se le ha logrado acercar siquiera".[15] Durán himself tried to recreate scientifically and correctly the old language, and showed little sympathy with authors who attempted imitation without the proper background of study. In a note to a *romance* which he published in his 1851 *Romancero* he showed his irritation by writing :

[8] "Una vez solamente, que yo sepa, ha incurrido Estébanez – como Hartzenbusch, como Durán, como otros menores – en la funesta idea de escribir 'fabla antigua', ridícula manía de los eruditos de aquel tiempo, que creían felices imitaciones lo que no era sino notación penosa de ideas y sentimientos modernos con vocablos arcaicos tomados de aquí y allá." José Fernández Montesinos, *Costumbrismo y novela: Ensayo sobre el redescubrimiento de la realidad española*, 2nd. ed. (Madrid : Castalia, 1960), p. 30.

[9] Gallardo, *El Criticón*, n°. 5 (1836), p. 63.

[10] *Epistolario*, XX.

[11] *Epistolario*, XXXII.

[12] *Epistolario*, XXXIII.

[13] Pastor Díaz, p. 272.

[14] Fernández de los Ríos, *Album biográfico*, p. 31.

[15] Cutanda, pp. 584-5.

> He aquí un romance escrito en tonto, sobre un asunto muy patético e interesante [the death of Raquel]. A mil leguas se descubre la afectación de usar el lenguaje antiguo por un poeta que no le conoce, y que cree usar de palabras viejas, porque no son las usuales modernas. Así se observa, entre las que usa, un grande anacronismo, por estar mezcladas las de una época con las de otras, sin atender que aquellas estaban olvidadas cuando las otras en uso. Fuera de esto, aunque las voces sean antiguas, no lo es la frase, la locución ni el giro que usa para expresar los pensamientos.[16]

The classically-structured *coplas* to the baby's birth, populated by Aurora and Apollo, were counterbalanced by a hand-written *romancillo* which Durán presented to the queen with the *Trovas al alumbramiento*. His studies in that area of old poetry encouraged him to try his hand at the popular verse form. The pentasyllabic *romancillo* consisted of seventy-eight lines in sustained a-a assonant rhyme. But apparently Durán found it impossible to break away from the classical references he had set up since his first poems – Aurora, "la noble Mussa" and "bellas ninfas" popped up here too as well as the very same praises of the monarchs and the hopes of a brighter tomorrow for a troubled Spain. It was, like the others, a light exercise in versifying :

Venit Princessa
D'amor cercada
Et dat conforte
A nuessa Patria.
Ya vos atiende
Regia morada
Maguer non dinna
De dicha tanta.

On Fernando's Saint's Day, May 30, 1831, Durán published another *trova*, although not so called. *A Nuestro Augusto Soberano en el solemne 30 de mayo* appeared in the *Cartas Españolas* to commemorate, in three *coplas de arte mayor*, the king's special day. Once again, the praise of Fernando, couched in images of springtime and nature ("Gradosso, aplasciente el mes de las flores"), Cristina ("Flor de los donayres gracia e fermosura"), Spain, and Apollo dominated this pleasant, if inconsequential, poem.

Fernando's serious attack of the gout in 1832 left him for dead in the eyes of many of the Spanish people. During his illness the queen was forced into revoking the Pragmatic Sanction which Fernando had published in March of 1830 to insure the right of his child to rule after his death – be the child male or female – thereby excluding Carlos from any chance of the succession. For the supporters of Carlos it was a popular move; for those of Cristina it was not, and would soon be reversed (in October the liberal supporters of Cristina re-entered the ministry under the direction of Cea Bermúdez). Upon recovering, the king sided with his wife against his brother. It was immediately after the reconfirmation of the valid-

[16] *Romancero general, BAE*, 16 (1851), p. 12.

ity of the Pragmatic Sanction that Durán published his *Trovas a la Reina nuestra Senora por la salud recuperada de nuestro amado Monarca su augusto Esposo el Sr. D. Fernando VII, y en celebridad de sus benéficos decretos.* Most probably, the move was calculated to assuage the conscience of the pressurised queen, since the verses reflected the true position of Fernando and Cristina, that is, that Isabel shall rule.

The dominant sentiment was the grief over the king's illness :

Atropos[17] cercaba el lecho doliente
Del Reye querido, del noble Fernando,
E con tixera Lachésis[18] consiente
Ir ya de su vida el filo cortando.

But the dominant political f•cus was on the legitimate right of the female to rule. In the poem, the dying Fernando, in handing over the royal sceptre to Cristina, stated :

En tanto qu'el cielo me torna salud
El bien de la Patria te fío, t'entrego;
.....
Verá que su estrella lusciente l'inclina
Ansi el Castellano leal, siempre fiel,
A ser venturoso por voz, mi Cristina,
Mientras brille l'astro de nuessa Isabel.

In proclaiming the historical precedent for a female ruler, Fernando pointed out that

Por fembras Castiella también fue regida
E un mundo adquirimos allá en Occidente;
Granada por fembras se vió conquerida,
Por fembras triunfamos del Moro valiente.
Aragon, Navarra ansi s'adunaron,
E á Castiella dieron la fuerte el leal
Por fembras el Cetro, é á España l'ornaron
De l'aurea corona que non tiene igual.

He insisted that Isabel would inherit the throne :

Si empero á mi vida destino fatal
La flama apagasse con que brilla agora,
Seredes del Pueblo somisso, leal,
Plasciente conhorte, et fiel guardadora.
Por vos coronada, de nuessos mayores

[17] One of the three Fates : she held the scissors which cut the thread of life.
[18] The Fate who determined the length of the thread of life.

En el Regio Trono, veráse Isabel,
La prenda inocente de nuessos amores,
Sin mengua, é ceñida del sacro laurel.

Durán realized that a public proclamation was dangerous in the light of growing hostility from Carlos' followers ("Et truécanse paces anuncios de guerra"), but "E yo de mis Dueños leal servidor,/Qu'acato á las Fembras qual cosa divina,/ . . . /Ensalzo á los Reyes Fernando e Cristina". He made his statement and pushed it no further. The "benéficos decretos" of the title were the queen's amnesty for political prisoners and the reopening of the universities, which had been closed by Calomarde. These liberal acts insured Durán's support, whose poem was among those written by Manuel Cuesta, Bretón, Pacheco, Gil y Zárate, Julián Romea, and Antonio Menéndez.[19]

Structurally, the poem was a change from the preceding ones – but an external change only, since the language and the poetic sentiments expressed were very similar to his other compositions. A fifty line *lira* introduced the *Trovas*, which were twenty-two stanzas of double *serventesios*, that is, quartets of *arte mayor* (duodecasyllable) with consonantal rhyme in A-B-A-B. Like his other compositions, he did not write this one for mass consumption : the bookseller Cuesta let it be known that "Esta producción se imprimió sin otro fin que el de presentarla a SS. MM. y de repartir algunos ejemplares entre amigos; pero la favorable acogida que obtiene, y el anhelo con que se busca, me indujo a pedir al autor el permiso, que me ha concedido, para imprimirla de nuevo y publicarla". When it went on sale, the *Diario de Avisos* publicized it (1832-XI-23). It appears to have achieved a modest degree of popularity, for it was reprinted in the *Revista Española* (1832-XII-17), and years later in the *Memorias de la Academia Española*, III (1871), pp. 631-7.

Four months later Durán turned his attention once again to the beloved Cristina in a *romance* which appeared in the *Boletín de Comercio* (1833-III-1). In fifty-eight lines, an "anciano venerable" tells his son of the beauty, grace, and enchantment of the queen : "Como las flores de mayo/Era graciosa y florida;/ Su faz de nieve y de rosa,/Y su boca purpurina." Durán succeeded in capturing the lightness, freshness, and ease of his own respect for the beautiful young queen. The verses flowed, gaily enumerating her special qualities while comparing them to nature's own expressions of beauty ("Como el lirio de los campos/Brillaba su lozanía"). Unlike Durán's feelings for the king, one can readily see in poems such as this the true depth of his feelings for Cristina – the poem is not profound in the least, but its very spontaneity reveals the poet's admiration for the captivating charm of the queen.

Durán favored the moderate-to-liberal policies of María Cristina much more than he did the repressive ones of her husband. After Fernando's death, Durán casually aligned himself with her, and worked under government patronage. Her abdication in favor of Espartero in October of 1840 coincided with the loss of his position at the library; it was therefore with relief and joy that he welcomed her back from Paris in 1844. Undoubtedly pleased with being reinstated in his post,

[19] Enrique Chao Espina, *Pastor Díaz dentro del Romanticismo* (Madrid: C. S. I. C., 1949), p. 273.

he hailed her return with *Trovas en antigua fabla castellana al feliz retorno a España de S. M. la reyna madre Dona Maria Cristina de Borbon*, in fifteen stanzas. Once again he chose the *coplas de arte mayor* (duodecasyllable, eight lines per stanza, consonantal rhyme in A-B-B-A-A-C-C-A) as the form for his expression.

La Estrella radiante que ñublo escondiera
Agora aparesce con mas esplendor :
La Estrella que un tiempo cantó el Trovador
Cuando otra vegada acá paresciera :
Traición mal fadada, maldad mucho fiera
De la nuessa vista crueles lanzaron,
E a climas remotos, infames, llevaron
La noble Matrona que el Cielo nos diera.

Durán bitterly attacked the "insanos traydores" of recent years (Espartero, Linage, Zurbano, Seoane, Van Halen, although all unnamed) who had forced the Queen Mother into exile, and lamented the never-ending battles between conservative and liberal forces for control of the government. Following Espartero's defeat, this position was the safest and most popular. He hailed the ill-fated rebellion against Espartero by O'Donnell and his followers in 1841 :

Mas ende algun tiempo el sueño letal
Sacude sañoso el noble León,[20]
E fuego brotando del su corazón,
De muy cruda guerra nos da la señal.

Durán praised Cristina's later attempts at peaceful settlement of the disputes : "Afable é piadosa quitades cuidados,/E ya los agravios están olvidados/Magüer que causaran espanto é horror." Although he was loyal to Cristina, his loyalty was not entirely altruistic. He begged her :

Membradvos, Señora, que muy gradescido
Vos fuera é constante aquel servidor
Que muchas vegadas vos fizo loor,
E que á vuessas plantas se pone rendido.

Politically, things remained relatively stable in the years following the Queen Mother's return and the declaration of the majority of Isabel. When Isabel and her effeminate husband, Francisco de Asis, had a child on November 20, 1851, the event was honored by the leading poets of the day, among whom appeared Durán : *Trovas de arte mayor al feliz y deseado alumbramiento de la augusta Reina de Espanna donna Isabel II de Borbón y al dichoso primero natal dia de la muy noble Princesa donna Maria Isabel su fija* was the title of his offering.

[20] Diego de León was in charge of the Madrid uprising, but he was captured and executed by Espartero. He comported himself with such nobility and dignity at his execution that his heroism became a rallying point for enemies of the government.

Tonrat, Mussa mia, aun otra vegada
Del fuego sagrado á inspirar mi aliento :
Lievat á la Patria solaz et contento
Plasciente regalo et priez estimada.
De Isabel augusta la noble, presciada
D'Espanna Emperante, cantat los loores,
Quand abre fecundo el gremio d'amores,
Que fasen del pueblo la dicha doblada.

So began Durán's twenty-six stanzas of *coplas de arte mayor* with the same rhyme pattern and syllable count as his previous *Trovas.* It was dated December 23, 1851. He certainly cannot be accused of inconsistency in the structure of these compositions! The poem offered little but a continuous praise of the queen and the noble Infanta, sung by a beautiful "Ninpha" and recorded by the humble troubadour Durán. These verses were as shallow as the rest of his compositions, offering little more than a pleasant pastime to the reader, and of course hopeful enjoyment to the monarchs. That they merited inclusion in a "corona poética" was questionable; but included they were, along with the poems of writers as important as Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, Carolina Coronado, Cánovas del Castillo, Cayetano Rosell, Larrañaga, and those previously mentioned. The edition was publicized by *La Epoca* on two occasions (1852-I-21; 1852-II-19).

Praise of Isabel ("Esa que vistes la Corte/De vuesa Isabel ornare,/De la noble et dinna Regna/D'Espana la siempre grande") appeared in his last poem of contemporary significance, although the verses were directed *Al muy alto y prepotente emperador de los franceses Napoleón III* on the occasion of the birth of his son, Louis, the Prince Imperial, on March 16, 1856.[21] Spain was spiritually aligned to the Second Empire through the Empress Eugenie, formerly the Spanish Condesa de Montijo y Teba ("Eugenia la castellana,/Ya de Francia natural") whose mother had once been a lady-in-waiting to Queen Isabel. She was loved for her beauty and elegance throughout the world.

La Condesa tan fermosa
Qu'en el mundo non hay tal,
Honra et prez de las Españas,
Gloria suya et maiestat;
La blanca como azucena,
La de labros de coral,
La del viso sonrosado,
La del talle divinal.

Nothing happened in the poem except for Durán's rejoicing in the name of all Spain for the good news of their northern friends. As announced, it was a *glosa* of an anonymous old *romance* beginning "Caballero, si á Francia ides", which Durán had published in his 1849 *Romancero* (No. 319). The only similarity between them, though, was the device of the lady begging news from a knight about

[21] The poem was printed months later in the *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 1856-VIII-17.

some beloved person who had gone off to France. Durán's was much longer (one hundred and eighty lines as compared to thirty-four lines), and his rhyme pattern was more uneven than his model, although they both affected paired assonance in words accented on the last syllable. As can be seen, this composition like all the others was written in imitation of old Spanish.

Durán's poems which reflected contemporary events cannot hold interest much longer – in fact, this *romance* to Eugenie was the last one of this type he was to publish. Notwithstanding the adulation of his peers,[22] Durán's contemporary verses had minimal interest : his ideas were as repetitive as his poetical allusions and images. Even the structure remained virtually unchanged (mainly *coplas de arte mayor* plus a couple of *romances*). We may even level at him the same criticism he had directed at some of the poems in his own *Romancero*, which he said were written by men "rimando, no poetizando". The sentiments expressed had little substance, and were hardly more than parlor entertainment. Yet, as such, they were pleasant to read and enjoyed a rather wide circulation in their day.

[22] In 1845, Pastor Díaz wrote : "Todos estos cantos colocan al poeta a una misma altura, y acreditan su feliz ingenio y hermosas facultades", p. 270.

II

Imaginative Poems

If the poems which aspired to some contemporary significance left Poetry unenriched, Durán's imaginative verses were much more rewarding. He called upon his heroically-inspired imagination to create or reproduce tales of the adventures of the medieval knights and their troubled ladies, remaining faithful to the spirit of his medieval models. He sang these tales with wit and humor, and lovingly hovered over each incident with care.

One published poem, though, stands apart from the heroic cycle, and was one of the rare times that Durán ventured into the realms of religious and philosophical thought in his poetry. Under the guise of a love poem, *Imitación de la poesía y coplas del siglo XV*[1] was another contribution to the long peninsular tradition which the theme enjoyed, a tradition dating back to the earliest *cancioneros*.[2] It also brings to mind echoes of Santa Teresa's *Vivo sin vivir en mí*. Of course Durán did not attempt the mystical concentration of Santa Teresa, nor did he directly imitate her poetry (this was, after all, patterned after fifteenth-, not sixteenth-century poetry), but the similarities of idea are striking enough to imply that he was directly familiar with the great mystic's work, and was subtly influenced by the ambiguity of meaning and the contrasts of joy/sorrow and life/death noticeable in her poem.

La ausencia tuya me mata,
Y mátame tu presencia;
No hay remedio a tal dolencia,
Que ansi me hiere y maltrata.
Y pues no vivo sin tí,
Y muero estando conmigo,
No solo soy mi enemigo,
Defiéndame Dios de mí.

These profane lines of Durán bring into focus similar lines of Santa Teresa, written plaintively to her beloved Lord :

Vivo ya fuera de mí,
Despues que muero de amor;

[1] *Revista de Madrid*, 2nd. series, I (1839), pp. 261-2. Pastor Díaz reprinted this in its entirety, pp. 272-4.

[2] For examples from the ancient lyric tradition, see Dámaso Alonso and José Manuel Blecua, *Antología de la poesía española. Lírica de tipo tradicional* (Madrid: Gredos, 1964), and Eduardo Martínez Torner, *Lírica hispánica: relaciones entre lo popular y lo culto* (Madrid: Castalia, 1966).

Porque vivo en el Señor,
Que me quiso para sí.
Cuando el Corazón le di
Puse en él este letrero :
Que muero porque no muero.

Durán's tears continued, as he lamented his unnamed and unrequited love :

Dicha ya no hay para mí,
Pues siendo yo el enemigo,
Que a mí mismo me castigo,
Defiéndame Dios de mí.
Llorar quiero y no concede
El dolor salida al llanto,
Que un dolor que duele tanto
Ningún alivio hallar puede.

Are we to believe that Durán was carried off in raptures of painful ecstasy as was Santa Teresa? Hardly, as noted by the cerebral quality of these verses. There is more emotion, more sustained feeling and more originality in these than in his *Trovas* to the queen, but we nevertheless feel that it was more an intellectual exercise (as were his other verses) than an anguished attempt to express his true feelings.

Linguistically, this poem did not imitate its supposed fifteenth-century model, as Durán claimed it would, for it was written in a modern Spanish lightly seasoned with attempts at archaisms : "ansí", and "yo el mi corazón" were the only such examples. He did imitate a popular old form by writing it in twelve stanzas of *redondillas*, but even at that the A-B-B-A rhyme was not consistent (stanza three was a *cuarteta* rhyming A-B-A-B).

Also apart from heroic inspiration were several of the unpublished works of Durán. Pastor Díaz complained, as we have seen, that many of these poems were destroyed by their creator, who was obviously unsatisfied with them. The rough-drafts of six others, though, have been found among his literary papers at the Real Academia Española, and they reveal yet another facet of this fascinating man. These poems appear to have been written either for poetic practice, or to be scribbled in the autograph album of some genteel lady whom Durán had the opportunity to meet at a *tertulia* or social function. A number were merely exercises in imitating Golden Age love poetry, although it must be said that the imitations were executed with an ear and a feeling for that earlier verse. The best of the lot achieved an expression of lyrical tenderness when the lover, broken and shattered by an unrequited love, turned to the haughty woman to plead for compassion. These imitations of the sufferings of earlier poets place Durán, in the guise of "el Trovador", in the pastoral role so popular during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Clearly the strongest of these poems was a *romance heroico* whose first lines conjured up images of the funereal verse of Góngora, Quevedo, or Lope :

Abre la tumba su sedienta boca
Voy a exalar el postrímero suspiro

Me encuentro solo, abandonado y triste,
Sin hallar un consuelo al dolor mío.

The dates of these compositions are uncertain; several alluded to Durán's age ("Es muy viejo el Trovador", "¿Qué te pudiera decir/Ya marchito/Sin gusto y sin apetito/Quien solo espera morir?"), although this could have been nothing more than a literary pose to underscore the "depth" of his suffering. Even these unpublished poems reflect his constant devotion to his country's medieval and Golden Age verse.

The rest of his poems fit into the lyrico-heroic cycle. *La pastora ausente*, written on June 25, 1831, and published in the *Cartas Españolas* in July (Vol. 1, p. 208), was a *letrilla* on the same theme of the broken-hearted shepherdess who could not contain her tears over her absent lover. The poem's forty-four lines glossed "Llorad ojos míos/Mis ojos llorad,/Pues que vivo ausente/De quien amo más", and was executed quite ably, infused with the girl's sadness while echoing the old style of composition. It was the first poem which Durán signed with his pseudonym "el Trovador".

The *Revista Española* (1833-IV-5) published another of the Trovador's poems which amply reflected its author's attraction to the sensuous yet dangerous themes of the Moors. This was a *romance* in five dramatic scenes ("La Tempestad", "El Desterrado", "La Peregrinación", "Los Desengaños", "El Destino"), composed of 292 lines. Durán included all the adventurous themes of the Moorish *romances* as the titles testify, and combined narration and dialogue with colorful, animated images of nature, love, patriotism, bravery, and vengeance. These themes reappeared in Durán's poetic repertory in *La infantina de Francia* and the *Leyenda*, as well as in the historical *romances* of Rivas and Zorrilla. The pain of frustrated patriotism became perhaps the poem's strongest note :

El patrio amor le detiene,
ínstale el temor que parta;
y en tan contrarios deseos
no acierta a mover la planta.
En la Libia ve el destierro,
persecución en su patria,

and the poet's anguished "Al aire envia suspiros,/que el aire encienden y abrasan, /y desde allí ¡para siempre!/se despide de la España" underscored the tone.

Both twenty lines of *romance* and thirty-one stanzas of *cuartetos* were employed to sing the *Dulces y sentidos amores de la infanta Celinda con su paje el conde de Claros* which the *Observatorio Pintoresco* published in 1837 (pp. 37-9). In the *romance*, the poet called for the attention of the "duenna/fermosa, rico ornamento/d'Espanna" to hear the beautiful story of these two German lovers. Don Claros, a noble and gallant young man, was page to the king's daughter, Celinda, "virgen aplasciente, qual rosa temprana/allá en primavera de clara mannana/qu'á amor entre flores guaresce et cobija". One day while hunting, Cupid's arrows and the idealised natural surroundings conspired to unite the two young people, and Don Claros

Blando beso imprime, todo enardescido
En los rojos labios al coral iguales
De su bien querida, que los celestiales
Oios torna al conde de amor muy ferido.

Their love was passionately consummated as they swore their eternal allegiance to one another :

Conde
Celinda, á quien amo mas que al sol las flores
Mas que el pez al água, á luz mariposa,
¿Serás siempre mía? . . .
Infanta
Contenta et dichosa
Mientra me duráren tus dulces amores.

But unknown evil awaited them in the form of a "preste ladino", who lasciviously coveted the love of the beautiful Infanta. His plan was to denounce them to the king. He refused Claros' attempt to bribe him into silence, but challenged Don Claros to a manly battle to defend his honor and claim to Celinda. She fainted; Claros prepared for the fight, but the usurper fled to tell the king.

Dexat la corona de un torpe manchada,
Dexatla, buen Reye, que honor non avedes
De un conde, de un page aviltado sedes
En la vuessa fija de vos tan amada,
En susso la peña yo vide que en brazos
Estaba la infanta dese conde infiel.

The king became furious at such a public attack on his honor, and had the clergyman killed for his treason. The lovers were married a few days later, from which time they lived happily ever after. The moral : ". . . sean de exiemplo por siempre tenidos/ D'aquellos que amores jamas respetaron."

The grace and spirit of this story and the facility with which Durán handled the archaic words was more indicative of the poems he wrote which contained a plot. He could and did keep the narrative moving, embellishing the thread of the story with descriptions of nature, people and, best of all, the emotions which played upon the principal characters. They were not empty exercises of rhetorical praise of the queen (or someone else), but light, eminently readable tales of love and adventure in imitation of the old poetry which the people found so appealing.

About ten years later he was again inspired in this direction. In his youth he recalled having seen an old *romance* which dealt with the loves of the daughter of a French emperor and the son of the king of Hungary. The manuscript was then lost, but the tale impressed him enough to attempt a restoration of it.

El códice, por desgracia perdido, donde en nuestra juventud vimos esta composición, era quizá del siglo XV, según lo parecía por su letra; pero por su

estilo, el giro, el lenguaje y los modismos, el texto primitivo debió ser anterior, y mucho. De creer es pues que la novela del siglo XVI, escrita por Luis Alamani [*sic*], en contraposición de la *Griselda* de Bocacio [*sic*], y cuyo asunto es muy parecido al de estos romances, fuese tomada de ellos, despojándolos de toda la parte maravillosa y de encantamientos, o acaso, y me parece más probable, de alguno de los cuentos o fabulillos de troberas franceses del siglo XII, de donde también con el original a la vista, o ya de las narraciones populares introducidas por la comunicación con la Francia.[3]

Durán carefully reconstructed it in nine consecutive *romances* totaling 1533 lines. The restoration was imitative of the old language in which he employed all of the distinguishing characteristics of that period – metathesis, apocopation of end vowels, confusion of -v- and -b-, elimination of entire syllables, the epenthetic -e, doubled consonants, etc.

The plot followed these lines : the son of the king of Hungary fell madly in love with the haughty, bellicose, and beautiful Infanta de Francia, whom many knights had courted without success. The princess despised him, but could find no obvious faults in his noble character. One day while they dined together, a small piece of rice stayed on the chin of the young man, and the princess, finding the excuse she needed in the trivial lapse of etiquette, had him thrown out of her sight. Deeply insulted, he swore vengeance. Alone in the forest he dreamed of a dove turned into a lady, who told him that the Infanta would love him some day, and gave him an enchanted ring. Through magic, the ring showed him a story of how the rooster dominates his hen by force, and related, "Como el gallo a la gallina/Fue a vencer,/Vence el home mas aina/La mujer". The prince, disguised as a shepherd, went to Paris to find work in the gardens of the princess. He had been given the ability to weave beautiful cloth; the greedy princess wanted it as soon as she saw an example of his craft, but the shepherd would not sell it for money – she could have it, he said, for a hug. Furious, she refused, but the cloth was so exquisite that she soon changed her mind. Now, however, he demanded a kiss instead, and her greed forced her to accept his request. With that kiss she fell hopelessly in love with him.

A little later the princess saw him with a golden chicken which laid eggs of pearl and once again coveted that treasure. Now kisses were not enough, he said, and he demanded the right to make love to her. In love herself, she acceded and the plan was carried out that very night. Months later the princess lamented that she was to bear a child, and to avoid the wrath of her father wished to flee with her lover. In their flight he made things miserable for her until she could stand no more. In the mountains she gave birth to a healthy son. They set up house in a small hut far away from the conveniences of the court. From a traveler they learned that they were in Hungary, where the daughter of the king of that country was being married and would inherit all the kingdom, since the son, gone now three years, was assumed lost forever (it was heard that he died of a wound inflicted by a contemptuous princess). She was saddened by the tale, and declared her ever-strengthened love for her shepherd. He went then alone to his sister's

[3] *Romancero general, BAE,* 10 (1849), p. 174.

nuptial feast, transforming himself along the way into his royal finery with the aid of the magic ring. Everyone was deliriously happy to see him; he returned secretly to the hut with all the regalia of the court, and changed into the shepherd once again. With the lords and ladies hiding in the forest, and satisfied that the princess loved him as a man, he revealed his true identity to her. At first she could not believe his story, but finally she realized her follies; the prince inherited the kingdom, and the two lived in splendid happiness ever after.

The plot, Durán admitted, roughly paralleled that of Alamanni's novel, but details were changed to suit his own imaginative desires – counts were elevated to kings, the tale extended itself outside the borders of Spain, the pomegranate seed became a grain of rice, the prince-turned-merchant was transformed into a shepherd, and so on, all of which were of minor importance to Durán. It was in his narrative abilities that he succeeded in reconstructing a thoroughly delightful series of *romances.*

Immediately the greedy nature of the princess was revealed :

Grandes fiestas se poblican
En Francia la naturale;
Van faser unos torneos
En París la grande cibdade,
Por casar esa Infantina
La fija del Emperante.
Todos la casar quieren,
Et ella non quier casare,
Magüer que su padre es viejo
Et lo habie de feredare.

Yet love subdued her haughty, covetous nature, as exposed in the lover's first kiss :

Cuando sin mas se parar
Amos se van a abrazare,
E sobre su boca é labros,
Se comienzan de besare.
Perdido ha el seso la niña,
Non se puede reportare,
Ca sintiera allá su pecho,
En grande fuego abrasare.
Ya del paño non se cura,
Non se lembra del tiellare,
Si non fuera que la dueña
Le hobiera de recabdare.

Her first words of contempt ("Tirad de aquí ese villano,/Tirad ese mal joglare,/Tiradle de mi presencia") became softened by love ("Ca sabes qu'eres mi dueño,/Yo tu captiva é tu esclava"). Tenderly, the prince, upon revealing his identity, said :

Infanta, la mi señora,
¿Cómo non me conoscies?
Non soy ya el pastor villano,
Que tú enante me creies :
Soy el Infante de Hongría
Que villano se fengie :
Para haberte de probar
Engañada te traie,
E por vengar de la afruenta
Que dentro el alma tenie.
Ven á ser Reina é señora
Del Estado que yo habie,
E á rescibir en mis brazos
Galardon que te debíe.

These examples suffice to demonstrate how thoroughly influenced Durán was by his dedication to the *romances*. With great facility and sparkling wit he could recreate the songs of the *pueblo*, uniting the elements which went into the creation of the *romances* – the northern and oriental influences as well as the noble spirit and candid speech of his ancestors. And above all, he kept his tales simple, embellished only with the essentials to keep the plot exciting. Wolf, not one to be impressed by any weak imitations of his own favorite poetic form, claimed that Durán had executed this task "con éxito magistral".[4] He did, in fact, conform to what Fernández-Guerra later regarded as the demands of a good poet : "Al poeta cumplía trasladar su imaginación a aquellas edades en que la fe encendía los corazones, en que se profesaba de obra y no de palabra la hidalguía, en que el valor no era farsa o chiripa, ni la honradez un nombre vano. Participar de sus errores, de sus aprensiones, de sus desvarios y rarezas."[5]

The next decade was for Durán rich with this type of creation – four times he returned to the genre, penning heroic love poems in imitation of the medieval models. His *Duelos por amor y celos*, which appeared in the *Semanario Pintoresco Español* (1853-IV-24, pp. 135-6), was also a reconstruction from an oral tradition. He never specified the exact source, but wrote : "No es cuento una historia/ Que el vulgo guarda y admira/Estampada en la memoria." This was also a very personal tale which he told smoothly, often injecting his presence as the blind ballad singer into its development by the use of the first person : "Cuento os dije", "dirélo/Aunque me haya de pesar", "No es culpa mía", "Día y hora no diré", etc. His involvement and disguise as the *ciego* became such that he claimed it was temporarily impossible to continue, so shaken was he by the legendary beauty of the heroine :

Esto decían, y á mi
Que por ella bebo el viento,
Me han dejado tan así,

[4] Wolf, p. 199.
[5] *La España*, 1856-VIII-6.

Que no sé do llevo el cuento,
Ni dónde el hilo perdí.

Through this artifice, he managed to establish a playful intimacy with the reader in an attempt to tell an old story from a less distant perspective. Linguistically he also reduced the time span between the reader and the event by limiting his old Spanish to minor syllable changes ("agora"), assimilation ("dejallo") and word links ("adoróla"), all of which subtly suggested the poem's earlier flavor. This was a clever and effective device by which Durán displayed once again a knowledge and an appreciation of the historical progress of the Spanish language.

Written in fifty-two *quintillas* and four intercalated *cuartetas* (276 lines), with consonantal rhyme in A-B-A-B-A, the plot dealt with an exquisitely beautiful Andalusian woman who fell in love with a gentlemanly lady-killer. Durán bordered on the lyrical when he wrote of how the young man fell in love with the heroine :

Mas el amor ceguezuelo
Ordenó en sus altas miras
Que cayese en el anzuelo
De la bella que á Algeciras
Convirtió en segundo cielo;
Y la vaga mariposa
Que de flor en flor anduvo,
Al ver la fragante rosa,
Estática se detuvo
Sobre su corola hermosa.
Así el galan se quedó
De la dama tan prendado,
Como me quedara yo
Si allí la hubiera mirado
Con los ojos que él la vió.

When she caught him philandering, her rabid jealousy forced her to challenge the other woman to a duel. She defeated her rival but compassionately refused to kill her, then turned to her lover with these words :

Por valiente caballero
El corazón te rendí :
Advierte en el trance fiero
Si de tu escuela aprendí
A esgrimar el fuerte acero.
Tú de mí aprender pudieras
A ser constante, villano;
Y tal traicion no me hicieras;
Mas déjote de mi mano;
Huye, vete donde quieras.

At this point the *ciego* insisted that he did not know the outcome of the story. Did they make up or go their separate painful ways? He was glad that he never found out the lovers' fate, since

Y me place de ignorar
El fin que tuvo este trato,
Pues caros pueden costar,
Cuando amor toca a rebato,
Los gustos que suele dar.
Y bien pudo el caballero
Despues de tanto querer,
Como era tan hazañero,
Ser ingrato á la mujer
Que mas que á mi vida quiero.

Thus, Durán presented a witty and neat fusion of the blind poet's emotional involvement with the beautiful lady and the events of the tale, injecting his emotional response into his own story in order to heighten the reader's response to it. This was not an original device, since the *romances* were full of such narrator-narration interplay, but Durán imitated it with wonderful success.

Once again Durán tried his hand at a different verse form, choosing a blend of two and four line *estribillos* with the *romance* (a total of 144 lines) to express a pastoral theme in *De la mañanica de Sant Joan* (*Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 1854-VI-18). Unlike the others, it was not the story but the form which conveyed the poem's charm, as well as the lyrical expression. The *estribillos* ("En la mañanica/De señor Sant Joan" and "Del Rosale venimos, madre,/¡Ay del Rosale!/En la mañanica/De señor Sant Joan") were interpolated every two or four lines. In the fields glistening with dew, sun, lush greenery, and flowers, several beautiful young girls

Echando estan suertes
Para adivinar,
En la mañanica
De señor Sant Joan,
Si en antes que venga
El otro Sant Joan,
En la mañanica
De señor Sant Joan,
Serán ya casadas
O no lo serán.

They danced and frollicked in the idyllic fields while begging their young men to come to them.

Las rosas son sin espinas
En este dia non mas;
Venid a cogerlas frescas,

Antes de se marchitar,
Cuando pase la mañana
De señor Sant Joan.

The girls were caught up in disparate emotions – playful sexual desire guarded by necessary virginity. The tone of the poem changed when the girls returned home where their mother offered them this worldly advice :

Non la su demanda
Vayedes negare,
Que flor que no riegan
Marchita se cae.

The contrast of the innocent girls with their sage, worldly mother made for a gay, light poem which centered around the proverbial enchantments of the Día de San Juan (and note the publication date), the longest day of the year especially coveted by young lovers. The subject enjoyed a long and rich poetic tradition in Spain. Durán himself described the poem as "trobado a guisa de coplas del tiempo viejo".

At this point we shall break the chronology to discuss Durán's last poem, the *Dama de la torre*, which was published in *La América* (1858-I-24), thus leaving his longest and most delightful poetic production until the end. Well before 1858, Durán had befriended a young Mallorcan scholar, Mariano Aguiló y Fuster, who was actively researching into the popular poetic traditions of Cataluña.[6] Aguiló had already published a *Colección de romances tradicionales* in Catalán, a work which much impressed Durán since the young man was becoming for his language what Durán was already for his own – the major collector of its popular poetry. Durán was influenced by this new and necessary recognition of Catalán verse enough to attempt a Castilian imitation of it. The result was a blend of the two traditions – the story came from Catalán and Durán rewrote it in old Spanish.

Much more violent than his previous endeavors, the plot treated the Cain and Abel theme in this way : Don Blasco was jealous of his noble brother Don Rodrigo because of the latter's beautiful wife, and planned to kill him by taking him into the mountains on a hunting trip ("mano a mano caminaban,/Mas fengiendo cortesia,/Don Blasco deja ir delante/Al que muerte prevenia"). He carried out his evil plan by stabbing his brother in the back, and then he returned in

[6] Durán wrote : "El distinguido y joven amigo mío D. Mariano Aguiló, solo y sin protección, exhausto de recursos, sin más auxilio que su amor á las letras y su patriotismo, ha recorrido las aldeas, las chozas, las cabañas de los Pirineos, de Cataluña, y de toda la Corona de Aragón, y a fuerza de celo, de maña, de trabajos y privaciones ha conseguido descubrir una mina de datos literarios e históricos, recogiendo de boca de los aldeanos y payeses multitud de romances populares e innumerables versiones de ellos. Según el giro que entre nosotros ha aceptado la crítica histórica y la literaria, los trabajos de Aguiló parecen, no solo útiles, sino indispensables para elevar los estudios a la altura en que se hallan en otras naciones." "Prólogo", *Leyenda*, p. vii. Durán was as enthused over Aguiló's collections as he was over any others, an enthusiasm which he conveyed to Gayangos and Wolf. As Director of the Biblioteca Nacional he was influential in having Aguiló's *Biblioteca catalana* awarded the 1860 library prize.

hopes of claiming his Blanca Flor, Rodrigo's lovely wife. Seeing Blasco returning alone, Blanca feared the worst :

Ploro por que mi Rodrigo
Non vient en tu compañia,
Et cuido que traicionero
Le hayas quitado la vida.
¿Que fieiste del hermano
Que tanto bien le queria,
Qu'en su torre te albergaba,
Que a su mesa te ponia?

Blasco defiantly admitted to her his crime, then threatened her to keep silent. The crafty lady then devised her plan of vengeance, and pretended to love Blasco ("Ca de hoy seredes mi dueño"); she invited him into her bed chamber where

Et con un fierro afilado
Le atraviesa el corazon.
Et apos por los cabellos
Asiéndole, le cortó
La maldecida cabeza,
Que tal felonía ordió.
Chorreando negra sangre
La clave en el mirador,
Para escarmiento de homes
Villanos et sin honor.

The king, when he heard of the deed, pardoned Blanca Flor (in the best tradition of Golden Age *comedias*).

This was a short *romance* (116 lines) in paired assonantal rhyme which captured the spirit and emotional impact of the heroic past. It could just as well have been inspired by a Castilian tale, since the theme, development, and execution were very similar to many *romances* from Durán's own *Romancero*. Following the tradition of his sources, Durán left out the lyrical and rhetorical flourishes which he was capable of including – likewise philosophical considerations. If there was a moral to be gleaned from it, it was at the reader's discretion; the poem was not intentionally didactic. It was, like so many of his other verses, an exercise in versifying and spinning a tale in the manner of his ancestors. Nothing profound, but it was enjoyable, witty and adventurous enough to justify its existence.

Two years earlier (1856-V-30) Durán had produced his most successful poem : his *Leyenda de las tres toronjas del vergel de amor*, subtitled, *Este es un romance e unos polidos cantares fechos agora nuevamente por D. A. D. á guisa de los que joglares é ciegos cantáran en el tiempo viejo*. He wrote "fechos agora nuevamente" because this was not an original creation – or rather, the inspiration and idea came to him from other sources, but the final product was most certainly his alone.

In a prologue, he explained the motivation behind this work. For years he had been interested in collecting those vulgar tales which were part of oral tradition only, in an attempt to preserve some of their spirit and spontaneity. Aguiló had begun this for Catalan traditions, and there was work being done in Portugal by Almeida Garrett – this, then, was Durán's attempt to rescue from oblivion one of the tales of the Castilian tradition. As with his reconstruction of the *Infantina de Francia*, this story came to him from the vague memories of his childhood.[7] These tales truly excited him, and transported him back over the years, not only to his childhood when he listened enthralled to them from the lips of some old man, but to the Middle Ages themselves. He saw himself almost as a reincarnation of that medieval spirit.

> Cuando me ponía a escribirlos, sin saber cómo ni por qué, me reconcentraba dentro de mí mismo, abandonaba mi personalidad actual, y como si lo presente desapareciese, me hallaba transportado a épocas remotas ya pasadas, con toda el alma impregnada del espíritu caballeresco, heróico y vagabundo de nuestra edad media, al menos tal como sus ideas se asimilaron a mi corazón en mi infancia y primeros juveniles años . . . Como en la de los viejos cantores y en la de los ancianos narradores, rebosaban en mi fantasía frases, pensamientos y versos improvisados, palabras balbucientes de una lengua por fijar, frases de una sintáxis vaga aún, ideas inconexas y mal ligadas. Todo esto salía de mi mente sin buscarlo, sin intención siquiera de imitar a nadie.[8]

The eight syllable *romance* predominated. Although the *romance* was the major form, the poem contained other verse forms like the repeated *estribillo*, hendecasyllabic sextets, and *romancillo*. Durán seemed unconcerned about this unorthodox mixture : "Sé muy bien que el cambio de metros es impropio en esta clase de antiguas composiciones; pero lo he admitido en la mía, por haber hecho romance uno de aquellos cuentos viejos en prosa que contenían multitud de cantarcillos proverbiales, que he procurado seguir como tema de los que se introducen en mi obra."[9] It was quite long, consisting of 2659 lines, and with it Durán included notes on the orthography he used and a glossary in which he gave the modern equivalents of one hundred and sixty-eight old words (many of them unnecessarily : e.g., aniello-anillo, joglar-juglar, etc.). But the outstanding feature was the unfolding of the semi-historical, semi-marvellous tale.

The narrator introduced the reader to a story which imitated Spain's heroic and noble past, and was laced with enchantments and magical occurrences :

> Plázeme imitar la fabla
> Del pueblo, ruda et altiva;
> Del pueblo conqueridor,
> Que del arte non sabia.
> Del que cántara á Bernardo

[7] That he had been considering this reconstruction for a number of years can be substantiated by his discussion of the theme in the prologue to his 1849 *Romancero*, p. xxii.

[8] "Prólogo", *Leyenda*, pp. xii-xvi.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Qu'en Roncesvalles vencia
A Carlomagno et Roldan
E á sus Doce en compañía;
  Del qu'en el Cid se nos muestra,
Quando firme proponia,
Et respetoso, ant'el Rey
Los tuertos qu'el Rey fazia;
.....
  En esta fabla veredes
Cosas que hoy pocos creerian,
Et qu'en la pasada edad
Dubdarlas fuera herejía.

One warm summer's day the noble Don Flores, son of the Emperor of Trepisonda, went out into the woods to relax and escape the heat. While dozing, two green birds appeared to him telling him something about three grapefruits in a garden of love – they used to be beautiful princesses (daughters of the Sultan of Hungary, the King of France, and the King of Castile), but they were kidnapped by a vile Moorish traitor who tried to molest them. They valiantly rejected his advances, but for revenge and to hide them he turned them into grapefruits and hung them in his well-protected garden – protected by a boiling lake and a fearsome giant ("Feo, que es miedo miralle,/Fuerte, que causa pavor"). When a hunting party passed through the forest, the birds were frightened away. Was Don Flores dreaming?

Flores became shiftless, upset, and ill.

Siéntome, el padre, morir;
Nadie non lo ha d'empachar.
  Dame el corazon latidos,
Qu'el pecho me van quebrare,
Et á pos sin se mover
Semeja ya de fincare.
  La sangre fierve un momento,
E otro muy fria v'a estare;
Sin luz et secos mis ojos
Non poeden ver, no plorare.
  Lenta fiebra me consume,
Fuerzas me quieren dexare;
El mal, mi padre, qu'he,
Non vos lo sabré explicare.

Many wise men arrived to cure him (and to collect the reward offered by his father) but all attempts were useless. Finally, upon an old woman's suggestion, he was sent off to the country to rekindle his spirit and his body. After four long days in the wilderness he and his vassals happened upon a raging river, and while the others refused to cross it, Flores forged ahead. The rest thought him drowned when they did not see him surface, but they reported to his father that he took off

by himself in search of adventures. He did survive, though. After many more days of arduous existence he came upon a hermit who informed him that it was his fate to rescue the three princesses, whereupon he presented Don Flores with three magic treasures : a ring which could heal, a crystal apple which could give food and drink, and an emerald which could raise him into the air. Leaving in search of the garden, the hero met a frightening, fire-breathing dragon which almost killed him; but Flores overpowered it and enlisted the ring's aid to cure his wounds.

For seven more days and nights he wandered in the desert where faint from hunger and thirst he remembered the crystal apple, which restored his strength. He spied the garden in the distance, but the walls, towers, giant, and fiery lake made it seem impregnable. Another little bird told him how to get in. He snatched up the three grapefruits and instantly found himself transported to the desert with the giant pursuing him. The emerald extricated him from that predicament. One by one he peeled the grapefruits : the first two immediately demanded water, but since Flores was in the desert where there was none, they angrily left him for their respective homes. By the time the third, Rosalinda, the daughter of the King of Castile, asked for water, they had come upon a green pasture and a magic fountain. She was grateful.

Tuya es toda l'alma mia.
  Tuya, el caballero,
Soy, é á tu mandar;
Como amiga, como amante,
Como esposa, al tu talente
Siempre somisa he d'estar.

They would marry and take their rightful places at court, another little winged creature told them. After declaring eternal love to each other, Flores left to prepare their return home. Rosalinda was crying softly near the fountain when a Moorish maid approached and, seeing the princess's reflection in the water thought it to be her own. When she found out the truth, an enormous jealous hate surged up inside of her.

  Odio eterno la perjura,
Mucha enemiga la toma,
Como si culpa toviese
De su torpeza la otra.
  Allá dentro el corazon
Cela su rabia enconosa
Et con fengida homildad
Saluda á la que más odia.
.....
  Muy más la negra se ardie,
Muy más zelos la devoran,
Muy más l'invidia la roe,
E á venganza se provoca.

She took out a needle and stuck it into the head of the princess, who was summarily transformed into a dove. The dove flew off crying while the Moorish slave planned her ugly revenge. When Flores returned, she succeeded in convincing him that she was his lovely blonde princess, transformed by an evil enchantment. He was distraught, but powerless to do anything except believe her.

At court the marriage celebrations were being prepared. The real princess watched everything, helpless to rectify the horrible situation and destined to sob her lonely life away. Flores spied the sobbing dove and felt sympathy for the poor thing, but the Moor created a threatening scene in order to draw his attention away from it. She then ordered it killed, but the dove escaped by getting Flores to protect it. He saw the needle; the false princess tried in vain to stop him from removing it, and fatally collapsed in her efforts. Of course the princess was transformed back to her natural state, to Don Flores' delight and surprise. They married and "lived happily ever after".

Such is the outline which Durán embellished with his fertile imagination. Abundant in adventure, rich in magic and enchantments, the tale was not lacking in humor, as when the doctors failed to cure Don Flores' ills.

Juran unos por Galeno,
Et otros por Hipocrás;
A Aberroes é á Avicena
Claman otros sin jurar.
Nadie cede en la querella,
Ninguno non v'a cejar,
Ca es de nescios el su error
Querrer siempre sostentar.
Batallando está el enfermo
Con dos males á la par :
Uno es su fiebre, el otro
Los que la quieren sanar.

Nor was moralization absent – the talking bird chastized the lovers for escapades outside the marriage bed :

Fijo del Emperador,
E vos, la noble matrona,
Coidad que d'una corona
Vos atiende el resplandor.
La Princesa de Castilla
Un trono debe ocupar,
Et non la flor semejar
Qu'en el praderal s'homilla.
En los ornados salones
Id á ostentar vueso ardor.
Ca mejor triunfa el amor
So los regios pavellones.

But the narrator explained the realities of human nature :

Pecados d'amor
Son de perdonar,
Qu'amor á las almas
Quita libertad.
Si Dios non perdona
Pecados d'amar,
Muy pocos el cielo
A gozar vernan.

Of note also was the violent racial hatred which pervaded the work : not a hatred of Durán's creation, but merely of his reflection of the times when the clashes between the Christians and the Moors often meant death to one or other of the antagonists. This element was evident in hundreds of *romances* as well as prose and other writings from the Middle Ages (remember Berceo's *El niño judío*). Durán, whose keen ear for imitation aided the success of his verses, was keen in the perception of this element also. The Moors were not only enemies, but mean, hateful dogs, black menaces, and "prieto, torpe et feo,/Sucio, et infame, et traidor", as one was called. The whole oriental influence was striking, from the large part played by the two Moors to the magic baubles, dragon, and enchantments suffered by the principal characters. Durán was obviously seduced by the voluptuous sensuality and the fantasies of Arabic customs. Any dependence on these fantastic elements was notably absent from many of the historical *romances*, since in the early days of their development the cultural and especially the religious ways of the Arabs were anathema to the Christian heroes : "Tal era el odio con que los españoles mirábamos la fe de nuestros enemigos, que ni aun en poesía podíamos soportar sus ficciones, que detestábamos como obras del diablo. Nuestros heroes son por esta causa en los romances antiguos hombres extraordinarios y fuertes, sus armas de fino y acerado temple, y sus caballos de noble raza; pero no como en los libros y poemas caballerescos, encantados ni fadados."[10] Durán did not share this view – his preference lay with the marvellous, the hero who sacrificed everything for love, the seductive palaces and enchanted gardens, as this *Leyenda* demonstrated.

This poem contained the same linguistic elements which had appeared in most of his other poems, but since this was longer, there were obviously more, and more consistent examples of those tricks : repeated reliance on archaic words, metathesis, substitution of f- for initial orthographic h-, use of -o- for the -ue-diphthong, etc. Its entire conception and execution were archaic, yet fresh and well in keeping with the spontaneity of times past.

As mentioned above, Durán was finally persuaded by his friends to publish this poem for public consumption. In the forefront of that public desire was Juan Valera, who reviewed this "precioso librillo" for the *Revista de Madrid* (1856-VII-31). Valera recognized the poem's popular roots, but credited Durán with creating an original work : "lo principal de la forma y el discreto artificio con que todo está enlazado es obra de Durán, que se diría que asistió a las bodas de Don Flores y de la princesa, y que allí aprendió la historia y el modo de contarla."[11]

[10] "Discurso preliminar", *Romancero caballeresco*, I (1832), p. xxix.
[11] Valera, *Obras completas*, II, p. 79.

For Valera, the poem had "todo el sabor y la frescura de los más antiguos",[12] and since only a small number of copies had been distributed among his friends, he took the liberty of publishing large sections of it for his audience.

Fernández-Guerra reviewed the *Leyenda* for *La España* (1856-VIII-6). He could certainly be accused of a bias, given that he was such a good friend of Durán's; nevertheless, he made several justifiable observations. He amply supported Durán's claim that his story was taken from the Spanish oral tradition by stating, ". . . en las diversas provincias de la Península ibérica . . . es conocido . . . el cuento de cierta dama a quien una mora esclava que pretendía obtener el amor del rey su esposo, estándola peinando al sol la convirtió en paloma, clavándole un alfiler en la cabeza". Fernández-Guerra placed his firm seal of approval on Durán's ability to resuscitate the noble spirit of the Middle Ages through the reconstruction of the environment, details, emotions, and language of their heroic predecessors. He outlined the poem's major qualities :

> . . . no detiene el vate en descripciones inútiles, y sin dejar de engalanarla diestramente con ellas, sabe huir de enfadosas pinturas tan frecuentes en estos tiempos, donde se invierte medio libro en la descripción de una mañana, de un caballo, de una sala, de un vestido . . . Este comedero de pedantes, recurso de poetas pobres y de ingenios pueriles, este común escollo, por necesidad habia de burlarle sagazmente un maestro. Asi es que el cuento no se cae de la mano, y sus breves descripciones son manantial de placer indecible.

That Durán improved upon the original belied a brilliant imitation, but that was of no concern to this reviewer. The *Leyenda* could stand on its own merit and take its place on the Spanish Parnassus. Perhaps over-enthusiastically, Fernández-Guerra reflected Durán's position in the eyes of his contemporaries : "Objeto de admiración y estudio serán en los tiempos venideros las trovas, cuentos y profundos trabajos críticos del sabio cuanto modesto señor don Agustín Durán; cuyos rasgos de imaginación partirán el mismo lauro de los escelentes romances históricos del duque de Rivas, y de las leyendas de Zorrilla, Hartzenbusch y Espronceda."

Still another lengthy review appeared in the *Revista de Ciencias, Literatura y Artes* (volume II, pp. 613-21) the same year in Seville, written by Amador de los Ríos. He judged the *Leyenda* to be, among other things, an opportunity to demonstrate to young people the interest inherent in old Spanish literature. "No ven sin embargo que guarda la antigua literatura, inapreciables tesoros, fuentes de verdadera inspiración y desconocen que engañados por lo dulce de la holganza, despojan sus obras del sello de nacionalidad que en las del tiempo viejo resplandecen." This was essentially the same battle which Durán had fought all his life, beginning with the *Discurso*. As each generation produced a new generation, their interest, as far as Amador was concerned, was in need of restimulation. This poem, "una de las obras más espontáneas que ha producido la moderna literatura", was a wonderful example of what could be done.

For *El Contemporáneo*, Durán was an "escritor castizo y elegante poeta".[13]

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[13] 1862-XII-2.

Elsewhere, Valera, after describing Durán as a "poeta . . . por la erudición y por el entusiasmo que el romancero le infundía",[14] thought enough of this poem to include 276 lines of it in his *Florilegio de poesías castellanas del siglo XIX*, and Hartzenbusch read selections from it in his moving eulogy to his departed friend. Obviously, Durán's contemporaries did not agree with Peers' judgment that the *Leyenda* (along with the *Infantina*) "would have been striking enough thirty years earlier, but, now that the Romantic revival is no longer in its beginnings, are commonplace",[15] to say nothing of Montesinos's acrid comments. A dissenting current opinion stated that "esta conseja caballeresca, escrita en variedad de metros, nos demuestra el profundo conocimiento del señor Durán en el lenguaje antiguo castellano y en su sabor popular".[16]

Looking back over the verses Durán published which gave free rein to his imagination, certain characteristics become noticeable. Other than an interesting mixture of metric combinations and careful reconstruction of the old language, most of his poems exuded a powerful sexuality : lovers who fell passionately in love and freely consummated that love amidst idyllic natural surroundings, lascivious men who lusted after the supple bodies of beautiful young maids, and illicit love affairs which eventually were condoned and sanctified by marriage, demonstrating the ultimate goodness of true love. Joined with these elements were the characters' attributes of nobility and physical beauty, residues of the northern influence in Spain. Magic, dreams, and semi-dreams were often employed to further complicate the plots, with a heavy dependence on disguises and violence.

Taken as a whole, his poetic production was decidedly unbalanced – part of it cold and correct but dull, counterbalanced by a gracious, witty, lively body of verse. He was well versed in all of the varied forms of the Spanish poetic tradition, as shown by the variety of his chosen forms. He justified his continued use of the medieval tradition in this way :

> El deseo de acallar mis escrúpulos me indujo a examinar la razón de mis propensiones, y a buscar en el estudio de la poesía popular una teoría que explicase las causas de su belleza y de su utilidad. En efecto, así lo hice, y desde que publiqué mis ideas, las narraciones viejas que se han conservado muchos siglos por tradición oral, los romances y los dramas antiguos, hijos espontáneos de nuestra idiosincrasia nacional, ya no sólo no son desdeñados por los sabios, sino que sirven de punto de partida, de estudio y aun de inspiración a cuantos están dotados de espíritu filosófico o de estro poético. Si ahora escaseamos de imitadores serviles de los clásicos, abundancia tenemos de poetas que continúan a nuestros trovadores, a Lope y a Calderón; si retrocedimos algo en la parte estética y artística, impuesta por los preceptistas extranjeros del siglo XVIII, mucho hemos atesorado de originalidad y de espontaneidad; y si hemos decaido un tanto en corrección, también nos hemos ensalzado en libertad de ingenio,

[14] Valera, *Florilegio*, I, p. 33.
[15] Peers, II, p. 228.
[16] Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano*, IV (Barcelona : Palau, 1951), p. 558.

> hallando en nuestra fe y en nuestra consciencia lo que antes buscábamos en otro espíritu de civilización, harto apartado del que nos era peculiar.[17]

This had been his goal when he began writing twenty-five years earlier; with pride he saw it flourish and gain stature in his country.

At his death, this plea was voiced by the *Gaceta de Madrid* (1862-XII-6) : "D. Agustín Durán era asímismo un elegante e ingenioso poeta, y nos esperamos que, publicados ahora sus versos, su fama de poeta se divulgará cuanto es justo", hoping that his *Infantina* and *Leyenda* would become as popular in Spain as the works of Bürger, Wieland, and Thomas Moore had become in their respective countries. Later, these two poems were deemed "ingenuas narraciones en *fabla*, nacidas de la comunicación de su espíritu con el de los antiguos cantores anónimos".[18]

Durán had no established poetic theory, other than the adulation of the medieval romantic ideal. Perhaps his poetry can be best defined in terms of what it was not : it was not a poetry of despair or desolation, nor did it display anything stronger than a light nostalgia for the loss of the heroic past (but in literature as opposed to real life). It was not a flamboyant poetry, electrically charged with daring metaphors or complex imagery; yet it was not simplistic either. Durán revealed his enthusiasm for his poetic form and content but with a reserve indicative of the "justo medio" which he tried to attain in his daily life. His wife, doña María, never appeared in his verses. In a word, the most succinct appraisal of his verses is that offered by Sainz y Rodríguez : "La inspiración poética de Gallardo, como la de Durán y otros eruditos es, pudiéramos decir, de reflejo y arqueológica, pero así y todo hay momentos de verdadero acierto",[19] and, we might add, pleasure.

[17] "Prólogo", *Leyenda*, pp. x-xi.

[18] P. Francisco Blanco García, *La literatura española en el siglo XIX*, II (Madrid : Saenz de Jubera Hermanos, 1909), p. 414.

[19] Sainz y Rodríguez, *Gallardo*, p. 156.

PART FOUR

CONCLUSION

Mucho, mucho temo haber incurrido en errores involuntarios. Ni soy, como en otra parte he dicho, ni pretendo ser inspirado, ni maestro: aspiro solo a ser razonador, y a razonadores, no a discípulos me dirijo.

AGUSTIN DURAN

Very much attuned to the revolutionary reappreciation of Spanish Golden Age drama of the Schlegel brothers and Böhl von Faber, Durán took pen in hand in a steady stream of criticism and theory surrounding the acceptance of the Spanish national, popular theater. Theater was a mirror of society, and if Spanish society was to be valued for its Christian, monarchical, and heroic qualities, it must by extension be seen that her theater was equally valuable. Being uniquely Spanish, it was not classical and need not conform to classical demands. The term the Germans applied to it was "romantic"; the true romanticism sprouted forth from the deep well of the national character, not from the wildly un-Spanish, frenzied theater which had been imported from abroad and which gained support during the 1830s. The major representatives of the romantic school were Lope, Tirso, Moreto, Ruiz de Alarcón, and Calderón, and it was carried into the eighteenth century by Ramón de la Cruz. The classical theory of study and acknowledgment of strict rules was good as far as it went, but it excluded too many other possibilities (i.e., the spontaneous, unpolished *romances* and the above-mentioned theater). Durán supported the validity of both : he "vio como nadie que el teatro español era manifestación del pueblo español, continuador de la épica del romancero y puso como fundamento de la verdadera literatura el arte popular, nacido de las circunstancias etnográficas, de las creencias religiosas, de la historia de la raza . . ."[1].

At least two leading literary figures consciously propagated Durán's views (although both gradually adopted a more classical stance) : Donoso Cortés, in his "Discurso en apertura en Cáceres (1829)"[2] closely echoed his friend's demand for a revaluation of national norms, and Lista, most notably in his lectures given at the Ateneo, likewise opened himself up to a broader interpretation of historical romanticism.[3] Interestingly, the reciprocity of influences between Lista and Durán was commented upon by the latter : "Cuando Lista discutía estas materias con su discípulo Durán, defendía aquél el exclusivismo clásico, y éste la necesidad de admitir otra clase de drama que, saliéndose de las leyes admitidas del teatro del

[1] Julio Cejador y Frauca, quoted by Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, *Ensayo de un diccionario de la literatura*, II (Madrid : Aguilar, 1964), p. 335.

[2] Juan Donoso Cortés, *Obras completas*, I (Madrid : Editorial Católica, 1946), pp. 23-46. See also his "El clasicismo y el romanticismo", I, pp. 381-410.

[3] See particularly Lista's articles, "Del romanticismo", "De lo que hoy se llama romanticismo", and "Resumen de los artículos anteriores sobre el romanticismo", in *Artículos críticos y literarios*, II (Sevilla : Calvo-Rubio y Compañía, 1844), pp. 34-43. The *Heraldo de Madrid*'s comment (1894-X-14) that Lista "no hizo más que reproducir las ideas capitales que acerca de este mismo punto contenía el discurso" (taken from Pastor Díaz, p. 248) is, however, a little too narrow.

siglo XVIII, prescindiese a veces de la verosimilitud material y admitiese otra más ideal, filosófica y fantástica, la cual residía también en la naturaleza inteligente. De estas discusiones resultó, sin duda, que el maestro fuese en adelante un poco menos rígido en sus opiniones, y que el discípulo adquiriese un poco más juicio . . ."[4]. The teacher could learn from the pupil; witness what Lista wrote to Durán in 1831 : "El defecto de Moratín en sus *Orígenes* y de Martínez de la Rosa en su *apéndice* sobre la comedia, y de otros muchos, es, ha sido, y será haber estudiado su asunto con preocupaciones y ojos clásicos y querido por fuerza violentar a una nación a recibir una literatura que estaba en pugna con su creencia, espíritu y costumbres. De esto hemos hablado mucho y Vmd. escrito no poco y bien."[5] The following comment, made about Lista, could have been equally applied to Durán (in fact, the argument exists that it could not have been made without Durán) : "[Lista] orienta la juventud hacia el pasado nacional y cristiano, crea definitivamente el culto calderoniano, ensalza las glorias del teatro y de la sociedad del Siglo de Oro, reparando muchas de las injusticias de la crítica demoledora del siglo anterior."[6]

While most critics recognized Durán's importance in the acceptance of national literature, some, including Alcalá Galiano, denied it, writing, ". . . hay por el contrario quien sustente que nuestros innovadores del día son verdaderos renovadores o restauradores de la antigua comedia castellana."[7] Durán objected to this and other attacks which stemmed from the misinterpretation of his doctrines : ". . . cuando en otra ocasión ataqué la intolerancia de los clásicos y demostré que el abandono de sus reglas convencionales no impedía producir obras bellas y perfectas, no solo los enemigos de mi sistema me trataron de anarquista literario, sino que muchos amigos de mis doctrinas, y esto me dolió no poco, las tradujeron asaz anárquicamente. . . ."[8] Others have rightfully pointed out that Durán's criticisms became out-dated – what in fact was revolutionary in 1828 was passée thirty years later. This was certainly correct, but it must not be forgotten that this merely emphasized Durán's sincerity and lifelong dedication to the rehabilitation of old drama. If it became passively accepted, it was due to his efforts : his appreciation of that drama did not evolve much – he became more sure of himself and literary criticism came around to see things his way.

Durán's demand for new rules for the new romantic genre, yet deep respect for the classics and recognition of the need to study but not imitate the ancient models, was not new. His strength derived from being the right man at the right time – as Hartzenbusch said about the *Discurso* : "Fue grande la influencia de aquel escrito, debida a las dos circunstancias que necesitan reunir cuantos aspiren a corregir opiniones erróneas : verdad y oportunidad, tener razón y decirla a tiempo."[9] Twenty years later Durán assessed his own position *vis à vis* those who vilified Spanish Golden Age drama : "Mi único mérito en este caso fue conocer

[4] Reproduced by Sainz, *Gallardo*, p. 171.
[5] Epistolario, XXXVI.
[6] Juretschke, p. 373.
[7] "Literatura", *Revista de Madrid*, I (1838), p. 41.
[8] "Poesía popular. Drama novelesco. Lope de Vega", *Revista de Madrid* (December, 1839), pp. 64-5.
[9] Hartzenbusch, *La Iberia*, 1863-I-15.

que era llegada la hora de la emancipación literaria; el de atreverme a romper la primera malla de la red que la impedía, y en fin, el de arrojar en el suelo ya preparado la semilla que debía brotar. Apenas entonces teníamos un crítico que osase defender nuestra antigua literatura considerándola en sí misma, y como medio necesario para recuperar la perdida originalidad e independencia que debiera nacer de la unión de lo pasado con lo presente. . . . "[10] With Böhl in Cádiz or his home town of Puerto, and the *Europeo* in Barcelona, it was also propitious that Durán resided and published in Madrid, the center of what literary activity there was before Fernando VII's death, and the heart of that activity up through his own death twenty-nine years later.

Durán argued the *romance* as the first verse form of the nascent Castilian language, which faithfully reflected its spirit, history, moral values, and customs. He was absolutely convinced that the originality and spontaneity of the *romance* were indigenous to the Spaniard, and he spent long years disseminating those convictions. Beginning in 1828 he dedicated over twenty years of his life to the publication, systematization, and study of that poetry which was to him the true reflection of Spain's past glories, glories which had been weakened, subverted or lost since the dawning of the eighteenth century. His attempts – subsequently successful – to vindicate the *Romancero* met with obvious approval, although it must be admitted that his attempts were not new here either. But "the right man at the right time" managed to gain the attention of Spain's intellectuals which his predecessors had failed to achieve – his Spanish predecessors were few and their collections meager; his foreign ones were ignored in his country.

His efforts stimulated others to reproduce texts that were threatened with extinction (Ochoa, Hartzenbusch, Gayangos); as early as 1841 his influence was well recognized : ". . . desde la época asaz cercana en que dio a luz su colección D. Agustín Durán y tal vez gracias a esta obra, se ha despertado en Europa y en España el deseo de conocer más a fondo la literatura de nuestros padres, esa literatura de inestimable valor por tantos años despreciada y desatendida. . . ."[11] Can it be forgotten that the 1830's saw the flourishing of original *romances* by the decade's most distinguished writers – Estébanez Calderón, Lista, the duque de Rivas, Roca, Romero Larrañaga, and above all Zorrilla? The crowning glory of his *Romancero general* of 1849-51 secured his place in literary history as a scholar dedicated to preserving for posterity an important segment of Spain's literature. The Academy itself pronounced him "a todos superior en el juicio de la parte popular de nuestra literatura",[12] a judgment not in the least exaggerated.

His influence on the growth and progress of Spanish letters was formidable, and Durán himself was not ignorant of this. In 1849 he wrote : "Emprendí estas tareas cuando un poder arbitrario dominaba nuestra patria, y por ello me fue imposible manifestar libremente las ideas filosóficas que abrigaba; pero arrostré la dificultad bordeándola, deseoso de que la juventud amiga de las letras comenzase su emancipación omnímoda, rompiendo primero los estrechos límites que al ingenio y la inteligencia había impuesto una crítica empírica y exclusiva, que la obligaba a imitar modelos indirectos de la naturaleza representada bajo formas ya muertas, o

[10] "Prólogo", *Romancero general, BAE,* 10 (1849), p. vi.
[11] *El Iris. Semanario Enciclopédico,* 1841-IX-5, p. 154.
[12] *Actas,* Book 24, folio 146 (1861-IX-7).

cercanas a expirar, aun en el mismo sitio de la cuna."[13] His publications, he felt, "dieron a la crítica un nuevo giro, y la sacaron del camino empírico y estrecho que tomó al mediar el siglo XVIII". He added immeasurably to the *Volksgeist* concept – the idea of the "alma del pueblo", in which each country expressed its true spirit through its art, philosophy, and religion. Durán urged his countrymen to immerse themselves in Spain's art (*romance* and theater) in order to discover their spiritual selves. He succeeded, managing to "provocar la emancipación del pensamiento literario y . . . despertar la idea de nacionalidad",[14] or as Wolf put it, "ha alcanzado Durán el gran mérito de provocar una apreciación de la literatura nacional libre de prejuicios, volver a despertar el amor a la poesía popular y volver a poner en honor los romances".[15]

Hartzenbusch seconded Durán's self-appraisal; Wolf listed his major achievement as being "el primero que en España ha puesto por fin en claro y se ha expresado osadamente lo que muchos con él habían sentido oscuramente hacía largo tiempo, no atreviéndose a confesarlo por prejuicios y miedo de ser tachados de herejía por los pseudoclasicistas que seguían dando el tono".[16] No small achievement indeed. His fellow member of the Academy, Valera, judged him "el príncipe de nuestros críticos en la primera mitad del siglo XIX",[17] and five years after his death he was still considered "como el caudillo más insigne de la escuela romántica histórica".[18]

Years later, the *Heraldo de Madrid* reflected that his influence touched "la mayor parte de los escritores que se han distinguido en su época", a claim which we can now not doubt, and that his work especially in the *Discurso* "promovió, facilitó y preparó . . . la revolución literaria verificada en los años posteriores".[19] Menéndez Pelayo intended, as can be expected, to highly praise Durán's successes in his *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, a work which his death unfortunately left unfinished,[20] but he managed to call Durán the "iniciador de la crítica moderna en España por lo que hace a los romances y al teatro".[21] "El servicio que prestó Durán", Menéndez Pelayo wrote elsewhere, "no sólo como admirable colector, sino principalmente como crítico, como despertador de inteligencias, como primer maestro en España de una estética nueva, como renovador de un

[13] "Prólogo," *Romancero general, BAE,* 10 (1849), vi.

[14] Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *La epopeya castellana a través de la literatura española* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1959), p. 219.

[15] Wolf, p. 99.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Juan Valera, *Florilegio de poesías castellanas del siglo XIX*, I (Madrid: Fernando Fe, 1904), pp. 32-3. Later, Valera wrote: "Durán contribuyó, antes y más que nadie, a elevarla [poesía nacional] de nuevo de la postración y del injusto menosprecio en que había caído", V, p. 96.

[18] Francisco Fernández González, *Historia de la crítica literaria en España desde Luzán hasta nuestros días con exclusión de los autores que aún viven* (Madrid: Alejandro Gómez Fuentenebro, 1867), p. 65.

[19] 1894-X-14.

[20] *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, V (Madrid: C. S. I. C., 1962), p. 505. See also Hans Juretschke, *Menéndez Pelayo y el romanticismo* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1965), p. 18.

[21] From "El romanticismo español", reprinted by Juretschke, *Menéndez Pelayo*, pp. 202-203.

sentido poético y tradicional que comenzaba a perderse, es de los que no admiten encarecimiento posible, y para los cuales sólo la gratitud de un pueblo puede ser digna recompensa."[22]

Durán at once recognized, and in fact defined, the trends of this romanticism as initiated by Schlegel and Böhl. In Montesinos' words, "El romanticismo de estos románticos se reducía – a más de una condición básica : aproximación de la literatura a la vida – a la aspiración de hacer de la literatura española una literatura nacional, no un eco de otras, por antiguas y respetables, o por brillantes y populares que fuesen. . . . El romanticismo de los teatros y de los gabinetes de lectura era otra cosa . . . Los románticos supieron poco del pasado porque era arduo el informarse y más sencillo el imaginarlo".[23] Undoubtedly so, yet we can hardly agree with his attacks on Durán's intellectual achievements, attacks which are repeated today time and again : "Faltó a nuestros románticos un gran erudito que los guiase a través del pasado literario español; sólo tuvieron a Durán, escasísimo de conocimientos y de alcances."[24] The *Discurso* opened up a new chapter of Spanish criticism and identification of romanticism while at the same time representing the culmination of the Schlegel-Böhl traditional interpretation of Spanish literature. He wanted, as Amador noted, to "restituir al pueblo español el sentimiento de su nacionalidad, tristemente amortiguado por los bastardos intereses de añejos sistemas".[25]

Durán was not given to exaggeration or self-aggrandizement; rather he always stated what he knew as honestly and sincerely as it was within his capacity to do. If his every interpretation has not held up under later scrutiny, history has amply confirmed his conviction that medieval and Golden Age Spanish literature had historical, moral, social, and literary merit. His only request was that this truth be respected; and he pleaded, "sed mis jueces, no mis discípulos; oponed vuestra razón a la mía; discutid y juzgad sin limitaros a creer, porque yo no puedo aseguraros de mi acierto, ni deciros quizá lo que es, sino lo que sé. . . ."[26].

The importance of Durán as a major literary force in the nineteenth century is indisputable, given the wealth of documented evidence as to criticisms, responses, and denunciations which his works elicited. His interest in his country's *romances*, *sainetes*, and *comedias* gave impetus to Spain's participation in one of the important trends of nineteenth-century Europe, the rise of nationalism. Placing him within the mainstream of romanticism is easy enough, but analyzing his contributions has been a more demanding task. It is tempting to force Durán into the mold of typical nineteenth-century reactionary thought, viewing with a jaundiced eye his vociferous defense of monarchical and Christian principles, and reading his *Discurso* as an end product of the conservative "tradición española" thought prevalent in Spain at the beginning of the century. Yet his crusading for what he defined to be new literary principles in the form of "romanticism" and his struggle for intellectual enlightenment militate against such a facile categorization.

[22] *Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria*, I (Santander: Aldus, 1941), p. 146.

[23] José F. Montesinos, "Reseña de *Liberales y románticos*, por Vicente Llorens Castillo", *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, IX (1955), p. 290.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

[25] Amador de los Ríos, *Historia*, I, p. lxxiv.

[26] Quoted by Hartzenbusch, *La Iberia*, 1849-X-27.

Was Durán an active propagator of the myths of "la España tradicional" or was he a rebel, however misguided, fighting against the accepted literary conventions of his day? He was a man of conviction, whose literary criticism was daring, eloquent, and straightforward. His failures were as notable as his achievements. He failed to recognize that romanticism came to be something profoundly different from what he believed, even hoped, it to be. The "moralization" of Spanish society along monarchical and Christian lines did not, and of course could not, occur. Yet he turned everyone's attention toward popular poetry and Golden Age theater, and his sensitivity, dedication, and honesty stand themselves as monuments along with his *Romancero general* to his belief in the value of the old literature of Spain.

APPENDICES

A

Death Certificate

En San Martin de Madrid a dos de diciembre de mil ochocientos sesenta y dos: Como Teniente Mayor de Cura de esta Iglesia parroquial mandé enterrar en nicho del cementerio de la Real Archicofradía Sacramental de la misma, San Ildefonso y San Marco, el cadáver del Exmo. Sr. D. AGUSTIN GATTO DURAN, de setenta y cuatro años de edad, Director general de Archivos y Bibliotecas del Reyno y de la Nacional de esta Corte, nral. de la misma, hijo del Sr. D. Francisco Gatto Durán, nral. de la villa de la Puebla del Maestre, diócesis de Badajoz y de Dª Antonia de Vicente Yáñez, nral. del Real Sitio de San Lorenzo, en este arzobispado, de estado casado con la Exma. Sra. Dª María Cayetana Cuervo: Recibio los Santos Sacramentos. Falleció el día primero del corriente, en el Postigo de San Martín, número veinte y tres, a consecuencia de una pneumonía aguda, según certificación de facultativo. Otorgó testamento con fecha veinte y dos de mayo de mil ochocientos cincuenta y cinco, ante el Escno. de S. M., Notario del Reyno y del Colegio de esta Corte D. Dionisio Pérez, en unión de su referida esposa, por el que dispuso que su cadáver fuese amortajado como dispusiere el que de los dos sobreviva y testamentarios que nombrara, a cuyo arbitrio dejó también la designación del sitio donde haya de ser sepultado, entierro funeral misas y demás sufragios que hayan de celebrarse por su alma y su limosna encargándoles que todo sea sin pompa, y sí lo mas humilde posible: Legó a las mandas forzosas la limosna acostumbrada: Declaró que de su matrimonio existian tres hijos llamados D. Francisco de Asís, casado con Dª Birginia Sirvent, Dª Mariana que lo está con D. Pantaleón Ondovilla y D. Juan, que se halla soltero, al que, usando de las facultades que le conceden las leyes, le mejoraba en diez y seis mil reales, a deducir del tercio del caudal, percibiendo dicha cantidad por mitad al fallecimiento de cada conyuge. Nombró por tutora y cura adbona de aquel de sus hijos que lo necesite a la repetida su Sra. esposa relebada de fianzas. Legó el quinto de sus bienes a la misma. Citó memoria. Instituyó y nombró por sus únicos y universales herederos a sus mencionados hijos D. Francisco, Dª Mariana y D. Juan Gatto Durán y Cuervo, y a los demás que Dios fuere servido darles, durante su matrimonio. Nombró por albaceas testamentarios a su referida esposa la Exma. Sra. Dª Maria Cayetana Cuerbo y a los enunciados sus hijos carnales y político D. Francisco y D. Juan Gatto Durán y D. Pantaleón Ondovilla, con calidad de insolidum, facultades permitidas por derecho y prórroga del término legal: Rebocó las demás disposiciones, y lo firmé Dn Francisco Javier Cañellas. Rubricado.

B

Certificate from Vergara

Como Secretario que soy de la Direccion General del Real Seminario de Nobles de Vergara, que está a cargo del Señor D. Domingo de Iribe. Certifico que el caballero Seminarista D. Agustín Durán ha estudiado en este Real Seminario desde veinte y dos de Mayo de mil ochocientos y uno hasta diez y siete de Noviembre de mil ochocientos y dos, la Gramatica latina, y Retorica, con buena aplicacion y aprovecham[ien]to como consta de las certificaciones dadas por los Profesores de este Real Establecimiento, y como lo acreditó el mismo interesado en los examenes públicos que sufrió a mediados y fin de curso. Todo ello resulta de los libros que paran en la Secretaria de mi cargo, y a que me refiero. Y para que conste donde convenga doy la presente sellada con el sello del Seminario, firmada de mi mano, y con el Visto Bueno del Señor Director. En Vergara a veinte y tres de Mayo de mil ochocientos diez y siete. V[is]to b[ue]no Iribe. Josef Gabriel de Irrutia.

C

Certificate from San Isidro

Dn. Andres Navarro, Catedratico de Filosofia Moral en los Reales Estudios de San Isidro de esta Corte. Certifico, y en caso necesario juro: que D. Agustin Duran, ha asistido a mi catedra en clase de discipulo con puntualidad, y aprobechamiento, desde el dia primero de octubre, hasta veinte y uno de Dix[iembr]e todo el año de ochocientos y siete, en cuio día se dio punto por vacaciones. Y p[ara] q[u]e conste, y usos q[u]e le comvengan doy la presente. Madrid, ocho de enero de mil ochocientos ocho. Andres Navarro.

D. Casimiro Flores Canseco, Catedratico de lengua Griega y Secretario de los R[eale]s Estudios de esta Corte. Certifico q[u]e D. Andres Navarro, por quien esta dada y firmada la certificacion anteced[en]te es Catedratico de Filosofia moral en estos R[eale]s Estudios como se titula y nombra. Asimismo certifico que D. Agustin Duran, nral. de esta Corte, contenido en dha Certificac[i]on se halla matriculado en la citada clase de Filosofia p[ar]a el curso q[u]e principio en 1º de Oct[ub]re ultimo, y concluira en fin de Junio proximo, segun resulta del Libro de Matricula q[u]e existe en la Srta. de mi cargo, a q[u]e me refiero, y p[ar]a q[u]e conste doy la pres[en]te q[u]e firmo en Madrid a once de En[er]o de mil ochocientos y ocho. D. Casimiro Florez Canseco. Secret.

Legalizacion. Los Años del Rey nro. Señor, vecinos y del colegio de esta corte que abajo signamos y firmamos certificamos y damos fe: Que Dn. Casimiro Florez Canseco por quien ba dada y firmada la certificacion antece[den]te es Catedratico de lengua Griega y actual Secretario de los R[eale]s Estudios de San Isidro de esta corte, como se titula y nombra, y da entera fee y Credito, Judicial, y Extrajudicialm[en]te. Y p[ar]a que conste damos la presente sellada con el de las Armas del n[uest]ro Colegio en Madrid a once de Enero de mil ochocientos ocho. Cristoval de Buenacasa. Isidoro Lopez Albano. Fran[cis]co Villacampa.

D

Marriage Certificate

En la Parroquial Iglesia de San Martín de Madrid a diez y seis de Junio de mil ochocientos veinte: Yo Fr. Rodrigo Palacio The. Cura de ella; en virtud de mandamiento del Lizdo. Dn. Antonio Maria Grande Pbro. Teniente Vicario de Madrid y su Partido que pasó ante Segundo de la Cuerda por Llave Notario su f[ec]ha doce del corriente haviendo precedido un solo dia de amonestación por estar dispensadas las dos restantes; sin haver resultado impedimento alguno, y siendo examinados y aprovados en Doctrina Cristiana Desposé y Velé, in facie Eclesie a DN. AGUSTIN FRAN[CIS]CO GATTO DURAN, hijo de Dn. Fran[cis]co y de Da. Antonia Vicente Yañez difunta, con Da. María Cayetana Cuerbo, hija de Dn. Juan Antonio y Da. Eugenia Mrnz, t[esti]g[o]s d[ic]ho Cuerbo, y Dn. Andres Alias y lo firme. Rodrigo Palacio.

E

Example of Each Class of 'Romance'

(1) 691. Mata Mudarra a Ruy Velazquez.

A cazar va Don Rodrigo,
Y aun Don Rodrigo de Lara:
Con la gran siesta que hace
Arrimádose ha á una haya,
Maldiciendo á Mudarrillo,
Hijo de la renegada,
Que si á las manos le hubiese,
Jura de sacarle el alma.

El señor estando en esto
Mudarillo que asomaba:
– Dios te salve, caballero;
Debajo la verde haya.
– Así haga á tí, escudero;
Buena sea tu llegada.
– Dígasme tú, el caballero,
¿Cómo era la tu gracia?

– A mí dicen Don Rodrigo,
Y aun Don Rodrigo de Lara,
Cuñado de Gonzalo Bustos,
Hermano de Doña Sancha;
Por sobrinos me los hube
Los siete infantes de Lara.
Espero aquí á Mudarrillo
Hijo de la renegada;
Si delante lo tuviese
Yo le sacaría el alma.
– Si á tí dicen Don Rodrigo,
Y aun Don Rodrigo de Lara,
A mí Mudarra Gonzalez,
Hijo de la renegada,
De Gonzalo Bustos hijo,
Y alnado de Doña Sancha:
Por hermanos me los hube
Los siete infantes de Lara:
Tú los vendistes, traidor,
En el val de Arabiana;
Mas si Dios á mí me ayuda
Aquí dejarás el alma.
– Espérame, Don Gonzalo,
Iré á tomar las mis armas.
– El espera que tú diste
A los infantes de Lara:
"Aquí morirás, traidor,
Enemigo de Doña Sancha."

(II) 3. La morilla burlada.

Yo m'era mora Moraina,
Morilla de un bel catar:
Cristiano vino á mi puerta,
Cuitada, por m'engañar.
Hablóme en algarabía
Como aquel que bien la sabe: –
– Abrasme las puertas, mora,
Si Alá te guarde de mal. –
– ¿Cómo t'abriré, mezquina,
Que no sé quién te serás?
– Yo soy el moro Mazote,
Hermano de la tu madre,
Que un cristiano dejó muerto;
Tras mí venía el alcalde.
Si no abres tú, mi vida,
Aquí me verás matar.
–Cuando esto oí, cuitada,
Comencéme á levantar,
Vistiérame una almejía
No hallando mi brial,
Fuérame para la puerta
Y abríla de par en par.

(III) 352. Lanzarote del Lago.

Nunca fuera caballero
De damas tan bien servido,
Como fuera Lanzarote
Cuando de Bretaña vino,
Que dueñas curaban dél,
Doncellas del su rocino,
Esa dueña Quintañona,
Esa le escanciaba el vino,
La linda reina Ginebra
Se lo acostaba consigo;
Y estando al mejor sabor,
Que sueño no había dormido,
La Reina toda turbada
Un pleito ha conmovido.
– Lanzarote, Lanzarote,
Si ántes hubieras venido
No hablara el orgulloso
Las palabras que habia dicho,
Que á pesar de vos, señor,
Se acostaria conmigo. –
Ya se arma Lanzarote
De gran pesar conmovido,
Despídese de su amiga,
Pregunta por el camino,
Topó con el orgulloso
Debajo de un verde pino,
Combátense, de las lanzas,
A las hachas han venido.
Ya desmaya el orgulloso,
Ya cae en tierra tendido,
Cortárale la cabeza,
Sin hacer ningun partido;
Volvióse para su amiga
Donde fué bien recibido.

(IV) 888. Llegan los campeones del Cid a Valencia, y celebran allí su victoria contra los alevosos condes de Carrion.

De aquese buen rey Alfonso
Los del Cid se despedian
Para volverse á sus tierras,
Pues ya vencidos tenian
A los condes de Carrion
Por el aleve que hacian.
Llegados son á Valencia
A do el buen Cid residia:
Gran placer hubo con ellos,
Muy gran gozo, y alegría
Muy mayor, cuando dijeron
Como el buen Rey dado habia
Por alevosos los Condes,
Y á Don Suer que los regia.
Hincado se habia de hinojos
Las manos puestas arriba,
Grandes gracias da á Dios
Por la venganza que habia
De los malos yernos suyos,
Y el tio que los regia.
A Doña Jimena Gomez
Muy alegre le decia:

– Jimena, ya sois vengada
De tan grande villanía
Como ficieron los Condes
A nos, y á las nuesas fijas. –
Cuando sus fijas oyeron
Lo que tanto oir querian,
Recibieron gran placer,
El mayor que ser podia.
Muy gran loor dan á Dios,
Gracias grandes le rendian,
Porque vengó su deshonra,
Y con los brazos corrian
A abrazar al buen Bermudez,
Y á toda su compañía;
Besarles quieren las manos
Del placer que ende habian.
Muy grandes fiestas hicieron
Que duraron ocho dias,
Porque Dios les dió venganza
De los que el mal cometian.

(V) 479. Muerte de Policena.

A la qu'el sol se ponia
En una playa desierta,
Yo que salia de Troya
Por una sangrienta puerta,
Delante los piés de Pirro
Vide á Policena muerta.
Los pechos tiene desnudos
Y la cara descubierta,
Los ojos claros, tan vivos
Como si fuera despierta.

La llaga de la garganta
En solo señal de muerta.
Lloran los caudillos griegos,
Y ninguno se concierta;
Que la mengua de tal yerro
Y pasion tan cruda y cierta,
Quieren de su voluntad
Que en ellos se convierta.

(VI) 1346. Caso raro y milagroso de una mujer que parió trescientos setenta hijos de un parto.

Estén atentos los hombres
Sin haberse de admirar;
Las mujeres temerosas
D'esto no se han de espantar,
Y es que aconteció en Irlanda,
Verísimo, sin dudar,
Que yendo una mujer pobre
Su limosna á demandar

Llevándo en sí muchos hijos
Hermosos para alabar,
Allegó á pedir limosna
Por poderse alimentar
A madama Margarita,
Que así la solian llamar,
Princesa, dicen algunos,
Que fué de Irlanda, sin par,

La cual en ver tantos niños
Fué á la pobre á preguntar:
– ¿Tus hijos son todos esos? –
Tal respuesta le fué á dar:
– Sí, mi señora, y de un padre,
El cual vive á su mandar. –
Respondióle: – Es imposible,
Antes cierto es de pensar,
Que ellos son de muchos padres,
Y esto no puedes negar. –
La pobre mujer aflicta,
Como se viese infamar,
Con las manos hácia el cielo
Fuése en tierra á arrodillar
Diciendo: – ¡Oh plegue á Dios,
Como él lo puede obrar,
Que tantos hijos de un padre
Vengas, señora, á alcanzar,
Que no puedas conocerlos
Ni ménos poder criar! –
Fué este ruego tan acepto,
Que esta dama fué á engendrar
Trescientos setenta hijos,
¡Cosa de maravillar!
Todos los parió en un día
Sin peligro, y con pesar,
Chicos, como ratoncillos,
Vivos, sin uno faltar;
A los cuales un obispo
A todos fué á baptizar
En una fuente de plata.
Despues fuéron á gozar
De aquella gloria suprema
Que no se puede preciar.
Esta fuente en una iglesia
Hoy en dia suele estar,
Y á nuestro emperador Cárlos
Se la fuéron á mostrar;
Y esto ser verdad testiguan
Autores muy de estimar:
Uno es Baptista Fulgoso,
Enrico, con Algozar,
Y el gran doctor valenciano
Vives, que no es de olvidar.

(VII) 963. Muerte de Don Manrique de Lara.

A veinte y siete de marzo,
La media noche sería,
En Barcelona la grande
Muy grandes llantos habia,
Los gritos llegan al cielo,
La gente se amortecia
Por Don Manrique de Lara
Que deste mundo partia.
Muerto lo traen á su tierra
Donde vivo sucedia;
Su bulto llevan cubierto
De muy rica pedrería;
Cercado de escudos de armas
De real genealogía
De aquellos altos linajes
Donde aquel señor venía.
De los Manriques y Castro
El mejor era que habia;
De los Infantes de Lara
Derechamente venía.
Con él salen Arzobispos
Con toda la clerecía,
Caballeros traen sus andas,
Duques son su compañía;
Llóralo el Rey y la Reina
Como aquel que les dolía;
Llóralo toda la corte,
Cada cual quien mas podia.
Quedaron todas las damas
Sin consuelo ni alegria;
Cada uno de los galanes
Con sus lágrimas decia:
– El mejor de los mejores
Hoy nos deja en este dia. –
Hizo honra á los menores,
A los grandes demasía,
Parece al Duque su padre
En toda caballería.
Solo un consuelo le queda
Y es el que mas él queria,
Que aunque la vida muriese
Su memoria quedaria.
Parecióme Barcelona
A Troya cuando se ardia.

(VIII)–A. 585. De cómo el rey Don Rodrigo se enamoró de la Cava, viéndola lavar sus cabellos á la vera de una fuente.

En una fuente que vierte
Por aqua, cristal y perlas,
Está bañando la Cava
El oro de sus madejas.
Sobre el cuello de marfil
Lleva esparcidas las hebras,
Que como sirven de lazos,
Tambien al cuello se acercan.
Míranla sus bellos ojos,
Porque viendo su belleza
Como segundo Narciso
Al primero no parezcan.
Mirándola está Rodrigo
Por entre las verdes yedras,
Y embelesado y suspenso
Le dice d'esta manera.
– ¡Ay Dios, quién fuese Troya,
O Páris de tal Elena,
Aunque en España no quedase joya
Qu'el fuego no abrasase como á Troya!

(VIII)–B. 234. El español de Oran.

Servia en Oran al Rey
Un español con dos lanzas
Y con el alma y la vida
A una gallarda africana,
Tan noble como hermosa,
Tan amante como amada,
Con quien estaba una noche
Cuando tocaron al arma.
Trescientos cenetes eran
Deste rebato la causa,
Que los rayos de la luna
Descubrieron las adargas;
Las adargas avisaron
A las mudas atalayas;
Las atalayas los fuegos;
Los fuegos á las campanas,
Y ellas al enamorado
Que, en los brazos de su dama,
Oyó el militar estruendo
De las campanas y cajas.
Espuelas de honor le pican,
Y freno de amor le pára:
No salir es cobardía,
Ingratitud es dejarla.
Del cuello pendiente ella,
Viéndole tomar la espada,
Con lágrimas y suspiros
Le dice aquestas palabras:
– Salid al campo, señor,
Bañen mis ojos la cama,
Que ella me será también
Sin vos, campo de batalla.
Vestios, salid apriesa,
Que el general os aguarda,
Y os hago á vos mucha sobra,
Y vos á él mucha falta.
Bien podeis salir desnudo,
Pues mi llanto no os ablanda,
Que teneis de acero el pecho,
Y no habeis menester armas. –
Viendo el español brioso
Cuánto le detiene y habla,
Le dice así: – Mi señora,
Tan dulce como enojada,
Porque con honra y amor
Yo me quede, cumpla, y vaya,
Vaya á los moros el cuerpo,
Y quede con vos el alma.
Concededme, dueño mio,
Licencia para que salga
Al rebato, en vuestro nombre,
Y en vuestro nombre combata. –

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Durán as Author or Editor

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"Abre la tumba su sedienta boca"

"Gota a gota al pecho mío"

"Si otorgado me fuera"

"Si tu querer inconstante"

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Several letters from Durán to Böhl are preserved in the Böhl family archive in Puerto Santa María. Copies of these letters were generously sent to me by Julio Rodríguez-Luis. The information contained in them has not been utilised here, since I received them after this study went to press.

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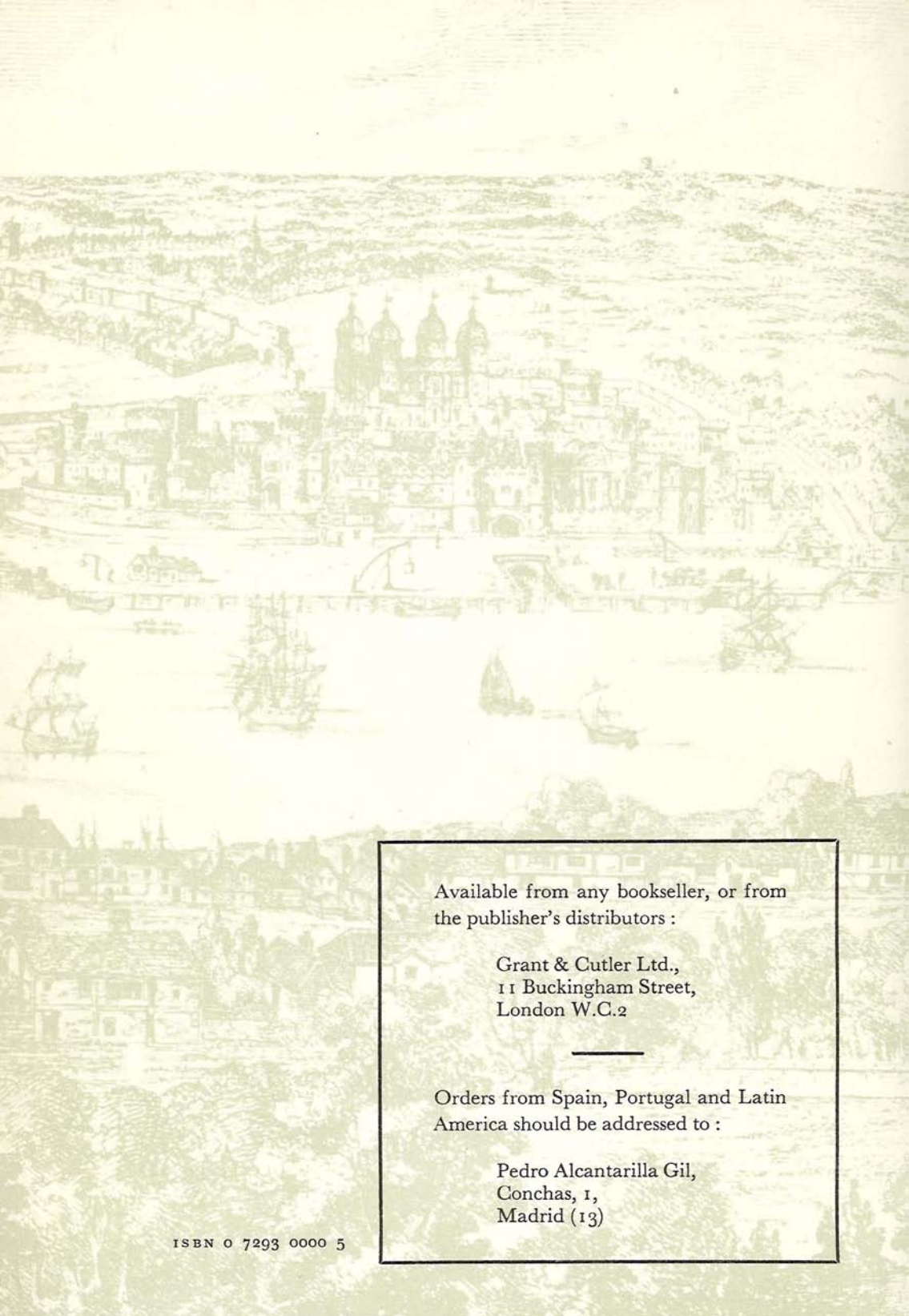

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