The Epithet in Spanish Poetry of the Romantic Period

by

GRAVES BAXTER ROBERTS

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Graduate College of the State University of Iowa

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PREFACE

The study presented here aims to contribute to our knowledge of the technique of the epithet in Spanish poetry, particularly that of the Romantic period.

For the material on the epithet in French poetry prior to and including Victor Hugo's works before 1850, I am indebted to Miss Mysie E. I. Robertson’s thesis, *L’Épithète dans les œuvres lyriques de Victor Hugo*, Paris, 1927. I am also indebted to the Spanish Seminar of 1933-34, University of Iowa, for the material on the epithet in Spanish poetry before the Romantic period.

To Dr. Erwin K. Mapes are due sincerest thanks for suggesting the subject of this study and deepest appreciation for invaluable direction and encouragement during its preparation.
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INTRODUCTION

The problems involved in the determination of the characteristics and the sources of Romanticism in Spain are extremely complex — more so, perhaps, than those connected with any other single period in Spanish literature. This is due partly to the fact that Romanticism in general, as it manifested itself in the different countries of Europe, presented extremely varied and often contradictory aspects. An attempt to weld together into one product, therefore, the Romantic literature of several different countries, would in itself result in much complexity and contradiction. This is more or less what happened when the Spanish emigrados, forced to flee from their native country in the reign of Fernando VII, returned to it in the following reign after spending a number of years in other countries of Europe, notably France and England, where Romanticism was already well developed. One cause, then, of the complexity of Spanish Romanticism, was the fusing in it of characteristics derived from more than one foreign country.

A further source of complexity is the fact that some, at least, of the characteristics of Spanish Romanticism were admittedly drawn from the literature of earlier periods in Spain itself. During the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth there had been published in Spain a number of works which brought forcefully before the public much of the older Spanish literature which had been either unknown or more or less in disrepute during the neo-Classic period. Thus Sánchez had published (1779-1790) in four volumes his Colección de poesías castellanas anteriores al siglo XV. The Schlegel brothers in Germany had become greatly interested in certain dramatists of the Spanish Golden Age, particularly Calderón, and through their lectures and writings had put the qualifications of these authors before the public. Johan Nikolas Böhl von Faber, a German by birth but resident in Cadiz, translated into Spanish, and published in Spain, these writings of the Schlegels. He also championed the cause of Calderón in his controversy, 1814-19, with J. J. de Mora and Alcalá Galiano. Still further, his Floresta de rimas antiguas castellanas, (1821-25) an anthology of Old Spanish verse, and in 1832 his

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Teatro español anterior a Lope de Vega helped greatly in acquainting the Spanish public with their own early literature. Agustín Durán, in addition to his writings on the native Spanish drama, published between 1828 and 1832 the Romancero general, an extensive collection of the national ballads. It is unquestionable, then, that there was in Spain, during the years preceding the Romantic movement proper, a very considerable awakening of interest in the nation's literary past.

For the reasons just given it is clear that the potential sources, both native and foreign, of Spanish Romanticism were extremely varied, and their relative importance has been very differently estimated by different scholars.

It is the object of the present study to contribute to our understanding of the nature and sources of Spanish Romanticism by approaching it from a more or less completely new angle, that of analysis of style. Research of this type is relatively new in all linguistic fields, and almost completely so in Spanish. As far as the present writer is able to discover, no systematic study of any element of style has been made on Spanish Romanticism as a whole, or on any individual poet of the period. Studies on the epithet, or non-attributive adjectival element in language, which is the subject of the present investigation, are even more rare in Spanish. In fact the only such studies known to the writer are the fragmentary ones by H. Hatzfeld on the Quijote and Y. Pino Saavedra on Herrera y Reissig. It is hoped, then, that the present study, connected as it is with a similar investigation of one of the chief French sources of Spanish Romanticism, will be of some service in indicating the source of certain features of the movement.

In order that the findings of the present study, on the characteristics and sources of Spanish Romanticism as shown by an analysis of style, may be effectively compared with conclusions drawn from investigations of other types, let us examine with some care, in chronological order, several of the best known critical studies on the movement.

One of the first in point of time was Antonio Ferrer del Río, who, however, was too close to Romanticism to have any perspective of the movement. He therefore limits himself to biographical sketches

1 Don Quijote als Wortkunstwerk, Leipzig, 1927.
2 La poesía de Julio Herrera y Reissig, Santiago de Chile, 1932.
4 Galería de la literatura española, Madrid, 1846.
of his contemporaries and to critical estimates of their works which are entirely impressionistic. The word Romanticism occurs surprisingly few times in his discussions. The general impression gained from reading this work is that Ferrer del Río, whether by design or not, minimizes the rôle of foreign influences and considers that the Romantic writers continued, in general, the national tradition, though they had certain individual characteristics, products of their own genius. He makes no study whatever of elements of style.

Juan Valera’s essay Del Romanticismo en España y de Espronceda, written in 1854, is one of the earliest essays in readily accessible form which attempts to give conclusive data upon the history and the ideology of Romanticism. Approximately half of the essay is devoted to Romanticism in general, and to Rivas and Zorrilla in particular, and the remainder to Espronceda. With regard to Romanticism, Valera fixes its dates between 1833 and about 1850. He comments upon the preceding “senda fatal de imitación de los clásicos franceses” and suggests that Spanish literature, freed from this school, again took on its ancient original forms in the romance and drama. He asserts that Rivas had abandoned the French neo-Classic school even before Romanticism passed from France into Spain and had imagined “un romanticismo sacado de nuestros romances antiguos, y no imitándolos servilmente, sino tomando de ellos la forma y sabor, . . . compuso sus preciosos romances históricos”. Further evidence of españolismo is found in his confession that he finds Espronceda’s Diablo Mundo superior to anything by Byron or Goethe. Again, with reference to Spanish popular poetry, Valera declares that it is the richest, most varied and most sublime in the world. He gives a rather sketchy account of the introduction of Romanticism into Spain, which was due, he says, to the works of Byron, Chateaubriand, Victor Hugo, Mme. de Staël, Scott, and the teachings of the Schlegels. A very complete list of the characteristics of Spanish Romanticism is given and each one is discussed. Valera seems to be much more interested, in this discussion, in ideas than in form which he dismisses with these words: “En cuanto a la forma, los románticos la desatendían, presumiendo de espiritualistas y poniendo la belleza en lo insubstancial y recóndito. El poeta no escribía ni debía escribir por arte, sino por

inspiración . . ." In conclusion, he points to the popular origin of the Moro Expósito and the Estudiante de Salamanca.

His general conception of Spanish Romanticism he states as follows: "Entre nosotros vino a libertar a los poetas del yugo ridículo de los preceptistas franceses y a separarlos de la imitación superficial y mal entendida de los clásicos y lo consiguió. Las demás ideas y principios del romanticismo fueron exageraciones revolucionarias que pasaron con la revolución, y de las cuales, aun durante la revolución misma, se salvaron los hombres de buen gusto".

To sum up Valera’s views, it appears that he recognizes that foreign influences played some part (to him a very minor one) in Spanish Romanticism, since he cites Germany as the source of Romanticism and admits that Byron influenced Espronceda to some extent. But he deprecates all foreign influences, stating that the soil had already been abundantly prepared in Spain, and leaves the impression that, once freed of French neo-Classicism, Spanish literature at once returned to early popular Spanish sources and to the Golden Age. He certainly considers the Golden Age theatre profoundly popular from all points of view.

Blanco García emphasizes the importance of pre-Romantic tendencies in Spain. Alluding to El panteón del Escorial by Quintana, he says it is like "un cuadro dramático arrebatado a Victor Hugo . . ." In a footnote, he calls attention to Quintana’s romance, La mora encantada, which he considers definitely Romantic. He mentions the influence of Ossian and the predominant stylistic characteristics of those papers. Much stress is laid upon the theories of the Schlegels and the polemic between Bohl de Faber and Mora, assisted by Alcalá Galiano. As concerns foreign Romanticism, says Blanco García, "Una parte de los principios que invocaban los románticos, sobre todo en Alemania, coincidía con los de Lope de Vega y sus continuadores, y por eso lo que podía parecer entre nosotros importación exótica era más bien restauración castiza frente del servilismo reinante". He continues by declaring that since all the emigrados followed closely the most confining precepts of neo-Classicism before leaving Spain, their emigration, with the influence encountered abroad, was crucial. The success of Romanticism at home hung in the balance until reinforced by the emigrados, after which its "triumph" was complete. He cites Rivas and Espronceda as prime examples. He affirms that Spanish Roman-

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6 La literatura española en el siglo XIX, vol. 1, Madrid, 1909. Chapter V.
ticism owed more to the *emigrados* than to the stay-at-home disciples of Victor Hugo, whose code was reduced to the famous prologue to *Cromwell*. Of the Duke of Rivas, Blanco García says: "Imitó, como tantos otros, a los románticos franceses; pero con espíritu de libertad y asimilación discreta, acudiendo para hacer fructuosos los trabajos de reforma literaria a nuestra castiza tradición y a los olvidados modelos nacionales".

It appears from the foregoing that Blanco García was chiefly interested in the historical course of the movement and in its underlying ideas. He believes that it was the influence of foreign Romanticism which brought about the success of the movement in Spain. However, once the movement was launched, the resulting productions were for the most part based on the popular national tradition. It is not at all clear whether or not he considered the two currents, native and foreign, identical in all respects, including style. He certainly points out no differences in the latter respect. Nor does he attempt to determine whether or not the national tradition itself was composite, involving both popular Spanish and Classical elements. This question will be a very important one in connection with the present study.

Enrique Piñeyro in the introduction of his best known work takes 1833 as the starting point of Romanticism and, agreeing with Juan Valera, asserts that this movement ceased to be significant soon after 1850. He considers the erudite investigations into Spain's past literary glories by such men as Durán and Quintana of particular significance in preparing the soil. He attaches some importance to the efforts of the Schlegels and Böhl de Faber to rehabilitate the dramas of Calderón and to find in the Spanish Golden Age argument and inspiration for the Romantic reform in their own country. He says that Lista in 1822 was perhaps the first to try to legitimatize Romanticism in Spain by linking it with the theatre of the seventeenth century, a procedure which was followed by Durán in his celebrated *Discurso* on a much loftier and more inclusive plane. He remarks upon the tolerance toward the new movement exhibited generally by the newspapers and in the discussions in the *Ateneo* and alludes to the ease of the Romantic "triumph". He asserts, however, that foreign influences were decisive and disagrees with Valera, who refused to believe that Rivas' experiences abroad were responsible for his Romantic works.


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It seems evident that Piñeyro recognizes the part played in Spanish Romanticism by the national past and that he considers the chief contribution of foreign influences to have been that of focusing attention upon what he considers popular national literature. He therefore agrees in general with Blanco García. His observations on style give no indication as to whether he observed essential technical differences between the Romantic works and those he considered a part of the earlier, so-called popular tradition of the Romancero and the theatre of the Golden Age. Nor does he give any indication as to whether he considers these two sources as being of purely popular origin as concerns elements of style or whether procedures attributable to other sources were involved.

Le Gentil is principally interested in ascertaining the content of Spanish periodicals of the first half of the nineteenth century with a view to determining which foreign influences were at work in Spain in that period, which influences were paramount and the dates of their respective reigns. In the introduction to his work he concludes that during this period French influences of all kinds, literary, journalistic, scientific, moral, philosophical etc., were very significant at all times except between 1837 and 1843. According to M. Le Gentil, the period during which French Romanticism was the determining factor lasted but two years, from 1835 to 1837. Not that Spaniards ceased to translate Hugo, Dumas, Béranger, and Lamartine, but that already Spanish patriotism had regained the field. Le Gentil seems to contradict Piñeyro’s statement concerning the ease of the Romantic “triumph” when he says that “no people was conquered with more difficulty, or was less spontaneously faithful to the exaggerations of a school . . .”

No attempt to analyze style is made by M. Le Gentil. Apparently to him the effect of foreign influences was, in the final analysis, only that of strengthening national patriotism and of turning the literary trend back beyond the eighteenth century. Since no comparative study of style was made, we do not know whether or not M. Le Gentil considers Spanish literature of this period a logical continuation of the earlier popular tradition as far as elements of style are concerned. Certainly he had no criteria for pronouncing upon it.

José Martínez Ruiz (Azorín) insists that not enough attention

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9 Ricas y Larra, razón social del romanticismo en España, Madrid, 1916.

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has been given to the Spanish current of Romanticism, which was rising before the nineteenth century. To him, José de Cadalso is the first of the Spanish Romantics of the eighteenth century, and he points out the Romantic desengaño in Cadalso, Meléndez Valdés and Jovellanos, all of whom he terms "descabellados románticos". The assertion is made that Classicism in Spain was never more than a pale reflection of France and never took root. The Romantic theatre was simply a logical continuation of that of the Golden Age. Some of the principles of Romanticism, such as the use of common language, had already been exemplified by writers like Moratín and Jovellanos. By pointing out the absurdities of conception in the works of the Duke of Rivas, Azorín attempts to justify his statement that the Romantic drama was exactly the same as that of the Golden Age. He admits that there were superficial differences in form, such as the mixture of verse and prose but evidently attaches no significance to this. He deals almost entirely with the spirit of the works and their underlying conception.

To summarize the above statements, it seems clear that Azorín attaches little or no importance to foreign influences upon Spanish Romanticism. His point of view is that the movement was purely Spanish and represents a reintegration with the national literary past since it evidences all the illogical absurdities of that past, particularly in the drama. Style, with which we are chiefly concerned in our investigation, is entirely ignored.

N. Alonso Cortés stresses the unstable literary tastes of the Spanish public at the time of the inception of Romanticism, and the evidences of Romanticism in Spain's earlier literature. In this connection, he presents considerable data that we have already reviewed. He stresses the significance of Eugenio Ochoa's translations from the French after his return in 1835 from a five-year stay in France. With regard to the importance of French influences in general, he asserts that "... sería preciso que viniese de Francia la impetuosa oleada, para que la escuela quedase formal y científicamente restablecida". The word restablecida suggests that Sr. Cortés regards the movement in its largest sense as the reestablishment of the so-called popular tradition.

One gathers from the above that, although Sr. Cortés' interest in this chapter is chiefly historical, he was entirely aware of the decisive rôle played by foreign influences, particularly French. While

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he holds to the opinion (much less insistently than preceding Span­
ish critics) that Spanish Romanticism was largely a return to the castiza tradición, yet he stresses the fact that the movement did bring into Spanish literature some desirable new elements. With reference to style, the critic does not state what those elements were; neither does he give his views as to the origins of the stylistic ele­ments of the so-called popular tradition nor state to what extent these elements were repeated in the works of the Spanish Roman­
ticists.

Julio Cejador y Fraueca repeatedly states that Romanticism in Spain was not a revolution but a traditional manner in literature for over two hundred years. It was another new Renaissance although no longer classic. In answering his own question: “What did Romanticism do in Spain and what did it bring that was new?” Sr. Cejador says: “Acallar a los cuatro galoclásicos eruditos y dejar que sólo se oyese lo popular que no había muerto y que ya a lo erudito sobrepujaba; enterrar para siempre el recuerdo de Grecia y Roma. Lo que el romanticismo trajo como cosa nueva es cierta espuma septentrional, que no duró más de veinte años y que da el tono a la época”. Again, Sr. Cejador asserts that “... el romanticismo en España fué una especie de vuelta a nuestra litera­tura nacional del siglo de oro...; trajo como novedades el mayor subjetivismo lírico y la mayor popularidad en fondo y forma; la oposición era... no sólo contra el seudo-clasicismo, sino también contra el clasicismo antiguo”. Further evidence of Sr. Cejador’s attitude toward Spanish Romanticism is found in his quotation from Lanson: “El romanticismo antiguo español es un realismo y un nacionalismo, sin esas vaguedades en el sentir y pintar, sin esa melancolía. Tal fué el arte que en España se forjó, librándose del renacentismo italiano desde la época de Felipe II. ... Cuando, hacia 1850, pasó de moda eso septentrional, cuando se desvahó la espuma romántica europea, quedó el realismo español, el mismo de la época de Felipe II y Felipe III, tan nacional como entonces, con menos de los clásicos que entonces, porque el romanticismo acabó con todos ellos”. With reference to Classicism, Sr. Cejador declares that “La literatura clásica como cosa erudita y extraña al pueblo, no pudo ser jamás popular ni nacional”. And again, the effect of Romanticism was to return “... la literatura a la muchedumbre;

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11 Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana, Madrid, 1917, vol. VII, pp. 1-65; 86-
108.

fué la nacionalización de las literaturas. Dejóse el clásico modo.

What the critic means by "national" literature is clear when he says: "Tal a fines del siglo XVI y comienzos del XVII en que nuestra literatura llega a la cabal armonía de lo clásico y lo nacional". With regard to the national literature, we learn that "Nada debe el romance a la poesía griega, ni a la latina, ni a la italiana, ni a la francesa," and that, although erudite poets imitated foreign works, "... el pueblo no supo hacer jamás otra cosa que romances ...; el teatro español es hijo del romance, del romancero. Lope llevó al teatro la vieja épica del romancero..." Referring to the literary types cultivated by the Romanticists, Sr. Cejador says: "Lo primero que hizo el romanticismo fué abrazarse de nuevo al romance y a la leyenda del romancero... El [género] épico fué de todos ellos el que dió más sazonados frutos, por haber tomado la forma de leyendas y romances, reanudando la épica nacional del romancero..." As regards the Romantic drama, comparing it with that of the Golden Age, the critic states: "... el drama romántico es si, aquella comedia, pero con algo más de sobrepuesto, y ese algo más es lo dramático extranjero, que pronto habrá de desparecer".

It is clear from our critic's own words, italicized above, that to him "popular" and "national" literature is anti-Classical and that Romanticism through its opposition to neo-Classicism is therefore anti-Classical and a return to the popular tradition. Whatever may be the basis upon which Sr. Cejador rests these conclusions, it is certain that it is not a systematic study of elements of style.

Américo Castro's greatest contribution to the subject of Romanticism lies in his definition of the movement and the clarity with which he demonstrates that the Romancero and the drama of the Golden Age were not Romantic according to that definition. Sr. Castro is not concerned with form or elements of style in this analysis but rather with the underlying spirit of Romanticism. While admitting the pre-Romanticism of some of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century poets, Professor Castro affirms that foreign influence was the decisive element in Spanish Romanticism because it brought in the conception which was the essence of the movement, namely: "... une métaphysique sentimentale, une conception panthéistique de l'univers dont le

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centre est le moi et qui, sous forme systématique ou désordonnée, intensive ou atténuée, anime toute la civilisation européenne aux débuts du XIXᵉ siècle. Étant donné ce principe de tout ramener au "moi", on attribuait une valeur spéciale à toutes les œuvres et à toutes les situations où l'on voyait que l'homme agissait sur le milieu, ou était déterminé par celui-ci". The critic proceeds to show that this principle did not animate any previous Spanish literature; that the Romancero and the Golden Age theatre merely offered "un cadre, qui était vraiment une merveilleuse trouvaille pour la génération de 1830, dont la formation intellectuelle était le fruit de la sensibilité romantique". The Golden Age drama was rigidly bound by conventional attitudes toward religion, royalty and honor, asserts Sr. Castro. One cannot observe in this literature, he declares, that essential "... conscience de la valeur absolue du sentiment individuel, c'est-à-dire une philosophie subjective et au fond panthéiste, comme celle qui est latente dans toutes les œuvres un peu fortes de la période romantique".

It seems clear from the above that Sr. Castro is concerned with ideas, rather than form. It is also clear that, to him, foreign influences were more those of spirit than of form. He apparently believes that the latter was secured from earlier Spanish literature. No analysis of elements of style was made to determine what new ones may have been introduced or what stylistic affiliation there was between the Romantic works and those of earlier literatures.

Professor Peers and others, notably Professors Churchman and G. Boussagol, have recently gathered the bibliography of the Romantic period, studied its periodicals and investigated its nature and history. They carefully examined the question of the influence exerted upon Spanish literature by such men as Byron, Scott, Chateaubriand, Lamartine and others and reached conclusions based upon documentary evidence.

As an indication of the contribution to our knowledge of Spanish Romanticism made by these contemporary scholars we may cite Mr. Peers' preface to his translation of Piñeyro's work on Spanish Romanticism.14 In this preface Mr. Peers summarizes the results of at least three of his recent investigations15 of Spanish periodical

literature and states that several notions accepted as true by Piñeyro and his predecessors are fallacious: "The legend of the Romantic 'school' (which issued no prospectus and had no single aim and no leader) and of a Romantic 'triumph' (which proves, upon investigation, to have lasted about three years) are referred to constantly in Piñeyro's work. It is now clearly seen that almost as soon as it reached its climax, which was approximately coincident with the production of El Trovador in 1836, this vague formless movement dissolved readily into its component parts, some of which continued to pervade Spanish literature till late in the century. The so-called Romantic 'battle' (culminating, according to the legend, in the Romantic 'triumph') lasted only for a matter of months, and was brought to an end, not so much by the rout of the Classicists as by the desertion of the Romantic generals, though the issue was really decided by the appearance of the Eclectic army which charged at full strength with its battle cry of 'Viva el justo medio!' and within a very short time had carried all before it'.

Professor Peers has also endeavored to trace the influence of certain individual foreign writers. Thus he finds that although Ossianism did penetrate into Spain and that traces of it can be found for a long time afterward, it had but little effect.

With regard to Chateaubriand's influence, Professor Peers finds that his political and religious works were generally preferred to those on which his reputation as a Romanticist mainly rests.

Lamartine, Mr. Peers concludes, was recognized as a great poet very early by leading Spanish critics, but his poetry gained little acceptance in Spain and had almost no influence there before 1850. Victor Hugo's poetry was little known in Spain according to Miss Parker and Mr. Peers. His novels and plays were much better known and liked than his purely lyrical works. Even the former gained popularity slowly and it was only in 1835, five years after Notre-Dame de Paris and Hernani had entered Spain, that Hugo began to enjoy a brief period of popularity. However, by 1839, Hugo's popularity was rapidly declining due to the tendency to

16 Cf. supra p. 12 for a very similar assertion by Le Gentil.
relate Romanticism entirely to a return to the Golden Age, and by 1845 his influence was entirely insignificant.

Two much more extensive studies by Professor Peers examine the works of the Duke of Rivas to determine that writer’s sources, his evolution from neo-Classicism, his fondness for light and color and the philosophical and religious implications of his works. In connection with certain aspects of these studies, particularly the question of light and color and sources, Mr. Peers made a partial investigation of the author’s style. No attempt, apparently, was made at an exhaustive study of elements of style to determine their origin. Indeed, no prior studies existed then to serve as a basis of comparison. In all his investigations Professor Peers repeats much that had been said by earlier critics though they, presumably, lacked the exhaustive documentary evidence upon which he bases his conclusions.

The studies summarized above were not concerned with the elements of style of the Romantic works but with the history of the movement and the influences brought to bear upon it. Only in the case of the studies on Rivas and Espronceda was style considered and then with no intention of discovering the origin and affiliation of the elements which determined its expressiveness.

M. Boussagol in his exhaustive study of the Duke of Rivas devotes considerable space to observation of his style. Before launching into his discussion, however, the investigator admits that he has made no exhaustive or systematic examination. This is evident in his discussion of the epithet which is limited to about one page. The results of this portion of the investigation show that Rivas was fond of rare and picturesque words and tended to reflect in his own works the style of the authors he was reading at the moment. M. Boussagol depended upon his own vast knowledge of literature for his conclusions. With regard to general conclusions concerning Rivas, Boussagol admits the return to the Golden Age and the Romancero, (not to the earliest popular forms but to the romance morisco), but insists that the essential qualities of his Romanticism were due to French influence.

This study indicates a profound knowledge of Spanish literature. The writer evidently had observed that the style of the various

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types of the romances differed as regards the elements of style employed and that the drama of the Golden Age contained elements other than those of purely popular origin. With regard to Spanish Romanticism, it is clear that the critic recognizes Rivas' debt to the technique of earlier Spanish literature but affirms that French influence was the inciting factor in his works most properly called Romantic. What the investigation lacks is a systematic study of elements of style and a determination of the literary affiliation of those elements.

M. Brereton's study of Espronceda's sources, as far as style is concerned, is limited to an exposition of parallelisms in Espronceda's works and those of other poets believed to have influenced him. There is no systematic study of elements of style. Lacking these important data, the author nevertheless states that Espronceda did not continue the national tradition but that he sought inspiration abroad. M. Brereton evidently feels the necessity of a study such as we have suggested before a final judgment can be made, for he says, "Elle [notre thèse] fait ressortir les similitudes, mais elle néglige une grande partie des éléments originaux. . .".

In summarizing the views of the critics we have reviewed above, one is struck by the diversity of points of view, of which there appear to be at least three: that which denies altogether the effectiveness of foreign influences upon the Spanish Romantic movement, that which assigns to those influences an exceedingly minor rôle, and that which considers them as supplying the decisive, essential element, indeed, the essence of Romanticism, without which the movement would not have been properly termed Romantic but instead a mere return to the literature of the Romancero and the theatre of the Golden Age. It is evident that in the opinion of all three groups the greater part of the elements constituting Romantic literature were drawn from what the critics term the "national tradition", that is, Spanish literature of the periods preceding neo-Classicism.

There is a notable lack of clarity, however, as to the characteristics of the national tradition referred to. In the few definite statements on the subject to be found in all the critical material examined, it is said to be definitely popular in its nature. In fact the general trend of opinion, though vaguely expressed, is to that effect. Classicism, which in the minds of the critics is more or less


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exclusively associated with French neo-Classicism, was supposed to be definitely rejected when Romanticism gained the upper hand.

As has been stated, the opinions of the critics above quoted were based upon other considerations than an analysis of style, since until now no studies of this type have been made on the period in question. It is to be our purpose, in the following pages, to analyze representative selections from the poetry of the Romantic period from the point of view of one special element of style, the epithet. This is in order to discover whether, from the standpoint of style, the relative importance of foreign and native elements in Romanticism is approximately the same as that indicated by other types of investigation. Further, we shall attempt to discover whether, judged by the same criterion, the "national" tradition referred to by the critics was really popular in its nature, or whether it represented only another form of the Classicism which they appear so much to abhor.

The epithet was selected as the subject of the present study largely because, as already stated, there exists an exhaustive investigation of the epithet in the earlier works of Victor Hugo, made at the Sorbonne by Miss Mysie E. I. Robertson in 1927. This thesis provided not only invaluable aids as to method, but also exact data on the epithet in Hugo, who of all foreign Romanticists was the one who made the greatest contributions to style.

The plan of the present investigation is as follows:

1. A detailed examination of the thesis of Miss Robertson for information on the characteristics of the French epithet up to and including Hugo.

2. An analysis of representative selections from the principal periods in Spanish poetry prior to Romanticism. In this way it was possible to establish the characteristics of each type of poetry as respects the use of the epithet. The periods investigated were as follows:
   
   (a) Spanish popular poetry
   (b) The courtly lyric
   (c) The poetry of the Renaissance and the Golden Age
   (d) The neo-Classic period

3. A similar analysis of selections from the principal writers of the Spanish Romantic period.

4. A comparison of the findings under heading 3 above with
those of 1 and 2 in order to determine as accurately as possible the literary affiliation of the Spanish Romantic epithet.

The term *epithet*, as employed in this study, signifies a word, a phrase or a clause attached to a noun or its equivalent, without the intervention of a copula, in order to give prominence to a particular quality of the person or thing represented, either as an individual or as a class.\(^{24}\)

It is important\(^ {25}\) that the distinction between the attribute and the epithet be kept clearly in mind. The attribute is joined to the subject by means of a copula and sets forth a quality that it announces as true:

L'Angleterre est *jalouse*

The epithet, on the contrary, implies the reader’s acquiescence in the attribution of the quality:

L'Angleterre *jalouse* et la Grèce homérique,
Toute l'Europe admire . . . . . .

*(Victor Hugo, *Chants du Crépuscule*, I, 1.)*\(^ {26}\)

It will be observed that the epithet as here defined excludes all definitive or limiting adjectives unless they have some peculiar interest. It is obviously necessary also to exclude most descriptive adjectives and adjectival elements which are of universal necessity, such as the most common ones of size, character and the like.

In the present investigation the epithet will be considered under four headings:

I. The grammatical forms of the epithet and of the elements of language modified by it. Besides the adjective itself, which is naturally the most numerous, the epithet may have, among others, the following forms:

a. The noun:

... deux villes *sœurs*

b. The adverb:

*une femme bien*

c. Certain verbal forms, particularly the present and past participles:

\(^ {24}\) Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

\(^ {25}\) Ibid., pp. 14-15.

\(^ {26}\) All the illustrations used in this section are taken from Miss Robertson’s study on Hugo.
la jeune fille, errante en liberté

des plaines ébranlées

d. Various locutions with adjectival functions. Some of the most important are prepositional phrases used for special purposes, as "gazon de satin," "nuit sans aurore," and adjectives modified by complements: "rocs . . . rongés par les flots."

e. Clauses with adjectival functions:

à l'heure où les corbeaux croassent

Of the sentence elements modified by the epithet, the noun is naturally of most frequent occurrence. However, a variety of other elements of language may so function, such as personal, relative and demonstrative pronouns or the infinitive of the verb:

CELIÉS faites à la main
PRENDRE, joueur d'échecs, l'Europe pour damier.

II. The literary functions of the epithet. Some of the most important of these are:

a. To serve as a means of condensation:

treilles mûres (i.e., "treilles de fruits mûrs")

b. To rejuvenate time-worn images or concepts:

Écraser des serpents, tout gonflés de venins.

This is much more vivid than merely the adjective venimeux.

c. In connection with certain literary formulae, such as allusion and periphrasis:

cette vierge aux champs crétois ravie

Les fils de Pégase.

d. To express, or aid in expressing, figures of speech:

ces bruit de nids joyeux

Car la fleur . . .

Souvent cache une perle humide.

III. The rôle of the epithet in conveying physical sensation. The categories relating to vision are naturally the most important. These may be concerned with:

a. Contour of objects:

Ce mont noir qui de loin semble un dos de chameau.
b. Size:

Il gravit la spirale . . .
Sans regarder les toits amoindris sous ses pieds.

c. Material, particularly in a figurative sense:

J'ajoute à ma lyre une corde d'airain.

d. Light and fire, considered either literally or figuratively:

J'aime une lune . . .
Blanche au bord d'un nuage sombre.
l'amour, philtre de feu

The concepts related to the other senses, such as those of smell, taste, hearing, weight and temperature, are relatively unimportant, but present nevertheless some interesting peculiarities. For example, the writer's choice of vowel and consonant, in connection with auditive concepts, may strengthen the impression produced by the meaning of the words:

Les ifs que leur vol fracasse,
Craquent comme un pin brûlant.

IV. The rôle of the epithet in expressing thought and emotion. This may be concerned with:

a. Imagination:

le destin, cette antre habité par nos craintes.

b. Relation of material concepts to moral ones:

vêtu de probité candide et de lin blanc

c. Psychology of persons and animals:

Le chien à qui l'on parle et dont l'ail vous comprend.

d. Moral convictions:

... je maudis . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
Ces rois dont les chevaux ont du sang jusqu'au ventre.

The present investigation, then, is intended to serve as a complement to earlier studies on Spanish Romantic poetry which have ignored more or less completely the question of style. It undertakes a systematic study of the epithet as an element of style, intended to show the nature and origin of the constructions of this type used by the chief Spanish poets of the period. Miss Robertson's thesis has furnished necessary information on the development of the epithet in French.
CHAPTER I

POTENTIAL SOURCES OF THE SPANISH ROMANTIC EPITHET

ANCIENT POETRY, AND FRENCH POETRY
PRIOR TO VICTOR HUGO

The poetry of primitive times, which is devoted almost entirely to narration, uses the attribute very nearly to the exclusion of the epithet. The epithet if found at all is most often one of nature, that is, an adjective which indicates a permanent characteristic of the being or object qualified.

In Hebrew poetry attributes are numerous but epithets are extremely rare. The few one finds are epithets of nature which form very nearly a unit with their noun. In view of its bearing on this study this peculiar type of epithet should be clearly distinguished from several which more or less resemble it. Appearing most frequently in the poetical books of the Old Testament, such as the Psalms, it seems to have been developed from the antiphonal form of verse characteristic of Hebrew, which repeats the same thought with parallel but different wording:

More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold . . .

. . . we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand.

My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God . . .

It seems evident that while the meaning of the epithet was in harmony with that of the noun, it was not considered as altering in any way the concept involved in it, as the same phrase might be used either with or without the epithet.

Like Hebrew poetry, the Greek epic offers only one type of epithet which is of serious interest from the point of view of this study. This is the so-called "ornamental" epithet, found in such expressions as "subtle Ulysses," "bold Hector," and in the Aeneid, "pious Aeneas." This type of epithet singles out the salient quality

1 Psalm XIX, 10.
2 Psalm XCIX, 7.
3 Psalm XLII, 2.
of the individual concerned and emphasizes it at the expense of all his other characteristics. In speaking of inanimate objects the characteristic is singled out which caught the eye or the fancy and this characteristic is invariably repeated in connection with the same object. Examples in Homer are "the flashing spears" and "the swift ships."

As far as the writer has been able to determine, no systematic study of the epithet as an element of style in Latin poetry has been made and much of what is known is inferred from a study of French Classical poetry. It is clear from this indirect evidence that the technique of the epithet in Latin must have been well developed. It appears, moreover, that the Latin poets had formed a definite theory of epithets since they realized that substantives wore out and needed renewal by the addition of epithets.4 It is not possible to single out any one characteristic of Latin poetry as has been done in the case of Hebrew and Greek.

In French poetry5 the evolution has to begin all over again since the inheritance from the Latin and Greek classics was apparently for a long time either lost or generally ignored. In Old French, as in Biblical Hebrew and the classics, epithets are uncommon. Attributes are preferred and the few epithets that are found always retain the idealistic character that they have in all primitive epics.

A very definite contribution was made by the writers of the courtly lyric with their frequent use of the epithets doux, gentil, beau, joyeux, loyal, dur, grieve and faux. These epithets are of idealistic and moral import, directly concerned with the then current ideals of chivalry. Though they were effective in their proper setting their use in later poetry lends an air of artificiality.

The epithet is of small importance in the Middle Ages and as late as the sixteenth century one finds few original and picturesque examples.

The Pléiade attempted to deduce a theory of the epithet, proposing to enrich it by imitation of the ancients, by creation of words borrowed from Greek and Latin, by the revival of old words which had been forgotten and the use of patois and technical terms of the arts and trades. They urged that the "useless" epithet be avoided and that the epithet of real meaning be sought. It is evident from

5 This discussion aims only to summarize general tendencies and therefore does not present characteristics of great individuals such as Corneille, Racine, La Fontaine and others. For a more detailed discussion see Robertson, op. cit., pp. 51-76.
their observations that they realized the limitations of the early forms of the epithet which we have observed above and wished to initiate reforms. They are unfortunately better in theory than in practice and the general impression left by their works is that the epithets of the sixteenth century are the result of a too conscious striving for originality. In any case, almost all their contributions were nullified by Malherbe's legislation.6

In the French Classic period the great study of the writer is man—his passions and thoughts. To such an extreme is this tendency carried that everything else is subordinated to conveying to the reader the reaction of man to his environment. Nature is almost completely ignored as Nature. It is interpreted only through the impression it makes upon some person in immediate contact with it. Therefore valleys are not cool and green but "delightful" and gardens are not filled with flowers, etc., but are "inviting." This same tendency is evident in the reaction to abstractions and even the physical appearance of other persons. Hence war is "horrible," and eyes, no longer blue or brown, become "admirable."

The same analytical tendency is apparent in the profuse use of conventional epithets of noble and moral implication. Such adjectives as auguste, austère, coupable, déplorable, fatal, funeste, horrible, juste, mortel, noble, noir, odieux, sombre, triste, vain are those most often found in Classic tragedy. These adjectives convey only the moral attitude of the poet and have no picturesque qualities.

Furthermore, epithets are used quite often by the French Classicists to "ennoble" substantives which involve ignoble concepts. Thus the word chien being considered ignoble, the epithet dévorant is added to make it acceptable. In the same way "bull" is always linked with some such word as "slow" or "tireless" to tone down the element of obtrusive reality. Even Victor Hugo in the nineteenth century "ennobles" concepts at times. For example, instead of the familiar "coin du feu" he will say "au coin de l'âtre ardent."

This obligation of avoiding certain terms naturally led to a great number of circumlocutions. Much use was made of negation but all that was really expected of the epithet was that it be colorless

6 Since this study is concerned with poetry, we have not presented any discussion of prose writers, although it is possible that their prose may have affected the use of the epithet in poetry, as that of Chateaubriand did in a later period.

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and neutral, changing little or not at all the meaning of the words
that were served by it.

The eighteenth century continues the tradition of the Classical
age with but few changes. Buffon advises avoiding technical terms
and recommends naming things in general terms only. Rivarol
says that poetry should always paint and never name.

The general principle of eighteenth century style is to avoid at
all costs direct expression and to make poetry the recreation of the
élite, accessible only to the initiated. Among the means they used
one of the most important was mythological allusion:

... cette sagesse impie, envenimée,
Du cerveau de Voltaire éclosé tout armée
(Victor Hugo, Chants du Crépuscule, XVII.)

Et cacher, ........................................
Le renard envieux qui me ronge le ventre,
Sous ma robe abrité.
(Idem, Voix Intérieures, XXIX.)

Personifications, particularly of abstractions and of ordinary
objects, play an important rôle:

la Nécessité qui de son bras d’airain
(Le Brun, Épitres, II, 1.)

...... les ondes, .................
Râbelles comme moi ................
(Delille, Le Village natale.)

The principle of appealing only to the initiated led to frequent
use of periphrasis:

La fève de Moka, la feuille de Canton,
Vont verser leur nectar dans l’émail du Japon.
(Delille, Le coin du feu.)

le doux sexe des Grâces
(Le Brun, Épitres, II, 1.)

Figures of speech are purely traditional, lineal descendents with­
out variation from the preceding century. Epithets continue to be
used to ennoble the names of things and to remove from them the
unacceptable savor of life. Numbers, technical terms and all pre­
cise words are excluded.

To sum up, the epithet in French poetry at the coming of Victor
Hugo was of very minor importance and was confined principally
to unessential adjectives. After having experienced in the time of
the Pléiade a certain ephemeral splendor it falls, in the Classical
period, into an entirely subordinate rôle and becomes colorless, abstract and lacking in precision. Its literary functions are reduced to those of useless adornment and futile padding. In the neo-Classic period the same general characteristics persist. The outstanding characteristic of the age, however, was a fondness for indirect expression.

**VICTOR HUGO**

It has been said that before Victor Hugo the epithet was limited in grammatical form almost entirely to the adjective. With his advent the situation was entirely changed. Though at the beginning his style in this particular was entirely traditional, he conferred upon the epithet in the course of a long period of development, an astonishingly rich and artistic variety of grammatical forms. Since in the present study the influence of Hugo upon the epithet in Spanish Romantic poetry is only one of several considered, it is neither possible nor desirable to present a complete analysis of his technique. There will be presented here, therefore, a discussion of only those specific uses of the epithet in Hugo which seem certainly to have influenced the Spanish Romanticists. The above will explain what may seem to be a very fragmentary discussion of his work.

Victor Hugo used the clause with adjectival function principally to express greater picturesque precision than the corresponding adjective. This was a development of the neo-Classic type of indirect expression:

À l'heure où les corbeaux croassent
(O. B., Ballade 13.)

The clause replaces the adjective *crépusculaire.*

In personification, Hugo progressed from the ancient classic types personifying abstractions and natural phenomena to a new type suggested by the poet's fancy and based primarily on the form or attitude of the inanimate object which suggested a living thing:

7 The following abbreviations of titles of Hugo's works are used in this study:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O. B.</td>
<td>Les Odes et Ballades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Or.</td>
<td>Les Orientales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. A.</td>
<td>Les Feuilles d'Automne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. C.</td>
<td>Les Chants du Crépuscule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. L.</td>
<td>Les Voix Intérieures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. O.</td>
<td>Les Rayons et les Ombres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. S.</td>
<td>La Légende des Siècles</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cont.</td>
<td>Les Contemplations</td>
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<td>Chat.</td>
<td>Les Châtiments</td>
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THE EPITHET IN SPANISH POETRY

L’œil du long télescope au regard effrayant
(V. I., XXV.)

The striking characteristic of Hugo’s similes is his new and astonishing comparisons. He progressed to the point of abandoning stereotyped figures by making new comparisons in which the epithet added unforeseen picturesque details. In many of his similes, the epithet is the essential element:

La nuée . . . morne comme un été stérile
(Or., I, 1.)

The epithet often adds some picturesque detail which prepares, justifies or explains the simile, even when the comparison has its starting point in another element of language:

................................ l’odorante vallée,  
Toute pleine de brume au soleil envolée,  
FUMÉ comme un beau vase où brûlent des parfums
(C. C., XXIV.)

Metaphor and antithesis, which are perhaps the most striking of Hugo’s figures of speech, are not mere ornaments of a traditional nature but proceed from his ability to oppose entirely new concepts. The epithet is especially important in the metaphor because it often serves as a link between terms that otherwise might appear to be entirely unrelated.

The appositive metaphor, frequent in Hugo, shows several stages of progress. It passes from the type introduced by a demonstrative:

Pareil au temps, ce faucheur sombre
(V. I., V. 2.)

to simple appositional phrases set off by a comma:

l’homme, ombre qui passe
(F. A., XVIII.)

and finally to the Métaphore Maxima, two nouns coupled to form a compound in which one noun serves as an epithet of the other:

le vautour fatalité
(Cont., IV, 8.)

L’océan Création
(Cont., III, 30.)

Peuple océan jetant l’écume populace
(Cont., II, 2.)

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The symbolism which is involved in the noun epithet is what makes the *Métaphore Maxima* differed from the Classic juxtaposition of two nouns.

In many figures the epithet is essential to the comprehension of the metaphor:

\[ \text{... le poète, cet oiseleur} \]
\[ \text{Qui cherche à prendre des pensées} \]  
(R. O., XXVI, 1.)

The clause above makes clear the comparison of *poète* and *oiseleur*.

In antithesis, the poet contrasts not simple external characteristics, but the symbolic values attached to the qualities opposed:

\[ \text{Laissant chanter l'homme frêle} \]
\[ \text{Et gémir le flot puissant} \]  
(V. I., XVII.)

Hugo's oxymorons discard traditional expressions in favor of more profound concepts:

\[ \text{la sombre lampe des veuves} \]  
(R. O., XXVI, 2.)

Another type of antithesis, which in Hugo lends itself particularly well to the expression of philosophical concepts, is that in which the epithet is opposed to another element of language, such as a verb, noun or clause:

\[ \text{Sa paupière rose} \]
\[ \text{Pour la terre close} \]
\[ \text{s'ouvre pour le ciel} \]  
(F. A., XX.)

\[ \text{le ver est dans le fruit superbe} \]  
(R. O., IV, 5.)

The distinctive character of antithesis in Hugo, therefore, is the opposing of abstract and concrete qualities, of inner significance to external appearance.

Of all of Hugo's varied abilities as a poet, that of representing accurately and vividly the external world was perhaps the most notable. It is interesting to observe that in this connection the epithet remains one of the elements of language on which he most relied for expression.

Of sense impressions, those of vision are by far the most numerous and most important. Hugo was very much concerned with form and we have observed already that a large proportion of his
metaphors and similes are based on resemblances of this nature. Contour is of great importance in Hugo's works:

\[
\text{en ta sombre tour, aux faltes dentelés}
\]

(C. C., XXXII, 1.)

In his later works, sharp outlines are increasingly replaced by indefinite outlines:

\[
\text{L'horizon, perdu dans les vapeurs informes}
\]

(R. O., XXXVI.)

Hugo often expressed concepts of form by geometrical terms:

\[
\text{la tour octogone}
\]

(O. B., V., 18.)

\[
\text{un angle aigu comme un clocher}
\]

(V. I., XXII.)

He became increasingly interested in surfaces and relief, using such epithets as sculpté, ciselé, inégal, rude, nouveaux:

\[
\text{l'inégal pavé de la ville}
\]

(C. C., II, 2.)

In his later works, too, a progressive interest in volume and density is manifested by his replacing outlines by dense masses:

\[
\text{en épaisse feuillée}
\]

(V. I., V. 1.)

\[
\text{au fond du bois massif}
\]

(R. O., XXXV, 5.)

Size was another of Hugo's constant preoccupations. Extremes of size indicated by such epithets as grand, large, profond, vaste, énorme, immense, colossal, monstrueux and prodigieux amount almost to an obsession with him.

Epithets denoting material proceed from those of a decorative nature, expressing richness, brillance, sheen and color, which are most numerous in Hugo's early works, to those in his later works which present a careful, exact description of the materials of which objects are made.

The use of metals to express color was not unusual or new. In fact it had been one of the earmarks of French neo-Classicism. Until the time of Hugo, however, such expressions had been limited almost entirely to d'or and d'argent as simple substitutes for jaune and blanc. Hugo showed a definite tendency to use d'or and
d'argent only for special purposes, as for instance, to describe the appearance of objects seen under certain light effects:

*L' étang, lame d' argent que le couchant fait d'or*

(V. I., XIX.)

He also uses such expressions as *de cuivre* and *de plomb* to express exact shades of color.

Certain names of metals, particularly *airain* and *bronze*, pleased him by their sonority as well as their ability to express strength or brilliance. The figurative use of all such epithets increased in his later works:

*des barrières d'airain*  
*C. C., XV.*

*Adieu les songes d'or*  
*C. C., XV.*

Very striking is Hugo's profuse use of the names of common and precious stones as epithets for richness and (in the *Orientales*) for local color. *Jaspe, porphyre, ambre, corail, marbre, granit, nacre, and ivoire* are among the most numerous:

*un dieu de marbre vert*  
*(Or., I, 4.)*

To describe light effects, Hugo preferred *éclatant, étincelant, scintillant*, and *rayonnant*, used either literally or figuratively for brilliant effects:

*du soir l'étincelante étoile*  
*(O. B., V, 19, ii.)*

*un rayonnant sourire*  
*(F. A., XXIV.)*

and for unsteady or faint light effects, such expressions as

*L 'arc-en-ciel vacillant*  
*(F. A., VII.)*

In his use of epithets of fire, Hugo progressed from the traditional figurative use of *ardent* which had been employed almost exclusively with the nouns *œil* and *amour*, to an increasingly skilful use of a number of such epithets in a material sense, describing fire itself or color:

*La flamme écarlate ...*

*... jette tremblant,*

*Sa lueur sanglante*  
*(Or., I, 8.)*
The expressions most commonly found are ardent, de feu, de flamme, en feu, flamboyant, brûlant, and embrasé.

Immobility, to which Hugo lent new expressiveness, is generally rendered by epithets:

Ces lacs *que rien n’altère*  
le flot *dormant*  
(F. A., XXXVII, 9.)  
(C. C., XXXIII, 1.)

Hugo’s portrayal of audition is often superb, particularly so in his choice of such epithets as *grêle, aigre, clair, argentin, éclatant, sonore, grondant, d’airain* to indicate the precise quality of sound:

*l’aigre* cri des cigales  
(F. A., XI, 2.)

To summarize this portion of our discussion of Hugo’s contribution to French poetry, we may say that the one supremely important thing that Hugo did was to make poets alive to the necessity of *renewing* poetry by using all their sense organs to secure material from which poetry could be made.

The epithet in its rôle of expressing thought and emotion assumes in Hugo an importance unknown in French poetry before his time. It may be concerned with conveying to the reader in a comprehensible way the figures of the poet’s soaring fancy. Thus Hugo, who seemed almost incapable of abstract thought, immediately reduced his imagination to the concrete by the use of appropriate epithets.

Hallucination in Hugo is distinguished from the Classical type by a personal manner which presents the scene clearly, as though actually observed, but with epithets which indicate abnormality:

*Je vis soudain surgir* . . .  
*D’autres villes aux fronts étranges, inouïs*  
(F. A., XXIX.)

In the presentation of psychology of persons, crowds and animals, Hugo was unsurpassed because he found new epithets which expressed accurate and original observation:

*. . . ces passants amassés sur vos pas*  
*En foule émerveillés des chars et des livrées*  
(C. C., VI.)

*Le chien à qui l’on parle et dont l’œil vous comprend*  
(V. I., XXVIII.)

From this discussion of Hugo’s use of the epithet, it is clear that

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his unrivaled achievements in expressiveness, beginning with the exterior world and ending with the inner world of fantasy, dreams, thought, feeling and emotion, all executed with an infinity of delicate shades of meaning, are produced to a very large degree by his wise and brilliant use of the epithet. Hence we may say that the epithet which before Hugo was usually a mere filler, became in his poetry one of the most essential elements of his style.

EARLY POPULAR SPANISH LITERATURE

Early Spanish literature illustrates, perhaps even more clearly than Hebrew, the classics or early French, the almost exclusive use of the attribute, rather than the epithet, in primitive literature. This tendency in early Spanish often led to the absolute exclusion of all epithets, as in the following two passages:

¿Quin uio numquas tal mal,
Sobre rei otro tal!
Aun non so io morto,
ni so la terra pusto!
rei otro sobre mi?
umquas atal non ui!
El seglo ua a caga,
ia non se que me faga;
por uertad no lo creo
ata qui lo lo neo.
Uenga mio maiordo [ma]
qui mis aueres toma.

(Auto de los Reyes Magos, 12th century.)

Un omne de Arabia, estando a la muerte, llamo a su fijo e dixole: "¿Quen-tos amigos tienes?" E el fijo respondoi e dixo: "Segund creo, tengo ciento."
E dixo el padre: "Cata que el philosofo dixo: non alabes al amigo fasta que lo ayas prouado. E yo primero nasci que tu e apenas pude ganar la meytad
de vn amigo, e pues assi es, ¿como tu ganaste ciento?"
(El libro de exempios por
A. B. C., de Climente Sánchez.
Beginning of 15th century.)

The locution with adjectival functions, limited largely to the appositive construction, stands next to the adjective in numerical importance. It takes the form of an appositive of simple identification and may add a detail which has certain values of evocation. At the very earliest date, Spanish fondness for the appositive becomes evident:
El conde don Fernando, omne syn crueldat
(Poema de Fernán González,
O. S. R., 39, 369a.)

El conde castellano (vn) guerriero natural
(Ibid., O. S. R., 39, 370a.)

et avie una hermana muy buena duenna
(Crónica general, O. S. R., 40, 11.)

Of very frequent occurrence is the use of an epithet to reinforce the concept expressed by the substantive without adding a new idea. This represents a development beginning with the "Hebraic" epithet and the épithète oiseuse and continuing down to the time when the poet realized that the epithet, instead of being employed only for vain repetition or idle padding, could be made to stress some quality already implicit in the substantive. When this is carefully and thoughtfully done it is strikingly effective. When carelessly used it results in a pleonasm. The following will serve as examples of the three types of epithets in question:

1. The "Hebraic" epithet:
   oro fino

2. The "useless" epithet:
   oro bueno

3. The epithet reinforces a quality contained in substantive without altering its meaning:
   oro amarillo

The epithets of this type found in Old Spanish border closely on the pleonasm:

Esto me an buelto myos enemigos malos
(La gesta de myo Cid et de Bivar,
O. S. R., 13, 9.)

De lazar e de fanbre dauan li fiera pena
(Gonzalo de Berceo, O. S. R., 27, 355b.)

Juan Ruiz is the only poet who makes large use of antithesis. However, in the greater number of the cases, the artistic resourcefulness exhibited is rather mediocre, the figure being limited to a simple contrast of adjectives of size or color:

Blanca farina esta so negra cobertera
(Libro de buen amor, O. S. R., 49, 17c.)

Very occasionally Juan Ruiz uses figures in which there is anti-

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8 O. S. R. is the abbreviation used for J. D. M. Ford's Old Spanish Readings, Boston, 1911.
thesis between an epithet and a concept expressed by another element of the verse:

En fea letra esta saber de grand dotor

(Libro de buen amor, O. S. R., 49, 18b.)

Portraiture of the individual aided by the epithet stands quite high numerically and is apparently an outstanding characteristic of early popular Spanish poetry:

Blanca era e bermeia,
Cabelos cortos sobre il’oreia,
Frente blanca e logana,
Cara fresca como mancana,
Naryz egual e dereyta,
Nunca viestes tan bien feyta

(Aventura amorosa, S. A., 4, 33-34, 5, 1-4.)

Epithets of smell occur rather infrequently but seem to be characteristic of popular Spanish poetry, particularly those indicating disagreeable odors:

canela, bien oliente

(Pero López de Ayala, S. A., 15, 17.)

Sepulcros escuros de dentro fedientes

(La Danza de la Muerte, S. A., 19, 2.)

The rôle of the epithet in expressing ideas and emotions is limited almost entirely to orthodox religious concepts or to the expression of hatred for people of another faith:

Dyos padre, dios fijo, dios spiritu santo

(Juan Ruiz, Libro de buen amor, O. S. R., 48, 11a.)

los pueblos descreydos

(Poema de Fernán González, O. S. R., 34, 82a.)

To sum up, there is evident in Old Spanish an enormous preference for the attributive. The grammatical forms of the epithet include adjectives, used almost entirely as fillers, and locutions and clauses with adjectival functions.

The literary function of the epithet is that of serving as a weak reinforcing agent which does not alter the concept contained in the noun.

The epithet used to convey physical description is limited almost

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9 S. A. is the abbreviation for J. D. M. Ford’s Spanish Anthology, New York, 1917.
entirely to portraiture of persons and an occasional reference to odors.

The rôle of the epithet in expressing ideas and emotions is confined to adjectives expressing Christian faith and disapproval of Mohammedanism.

Old Spanish literature therefore corresponds very closely to Old French with the possible exception of greater Spanish fondness for apposition.

THE POPULAR SPANISH BALLAD

The Spanish anonymous romance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries continues unbroken the uses of the epithet which were found to be characteristic of Old Spanish literature and particularly those characteristic of the epic. This may present some evidence to support the theory that the ballads are epic débris formed by the breaking down of longer epic poems.

The ballads analyzed for this part of the investigation were all anonymous and chiefly historical. In them the attribute is much preferred over the epithet. In one entire ballad¹⁰ not a single epithet of any classification was found.

The appositive very occasionally contributes to the atmosphere desired (here Moorish) by the addition of a Moorish noun to a Spanish one:

Que se toquen sus trompetas,
Sus añafles de plata
(La conquista de Alhama, S. A., 124, 25-26.)

A very definite characteristic of the ballad is its use of the epithet in an ironical sense. It will be seen that this continues to be an outstanding characteristic of the romance in Spanish poetry as a whole:

¡Buen nombre á tu hermana has dado!
¡Buen título á tu sobrino!
¡Y buen pago á tu criado!
(Bernardo llora á su padre
y celebra sus obsequias,
S. A., 115, 6-8.)

The rôle of the epithet in expressing imagination and ideas is lacking in importance.

We have found that the anonymous Spanish ballad resembles

¹⁰ Romance del rey Don Rodrigo, cómo perdió a España. S. A., pp. 112-114.
very closely the early epic in its preference for the attributive, and, in the epithet, in its paucity of grammatical forms, and fondness for the appositive of identification. It differs from the epic chiefly in the use of periphrasis and clear, unmistakable irony.

THE COURTLY LYRIC

For a period of about one hundred years, from the last quarter of the fourteenth century to the last quarter of the fifteenth, an enormous amount of poetry was produced in Spanish of the general type called the courtly lyric. The most important authors of the period were Furtado de Mendoza, Micer Francisco Imperial, Álvaro de Luna, Juan de Mena, Íñigo López de Mendoza, Alfonso de Baena, Carvajal, the Manriques, and Rodríguez del Padró, though a host of others were quite active. The general influence is presumably Provençal through the Galician but toward the end of the period Italian influences are discernible.\(^{11}\)

The use of the attribute rather than the epithet remains the most prominent characteristic of Spanish poetic style throughout this period. In fact it is possible to cite complete poems by a number of different authors in which no epithets at all are employed. However, the fact that a greater variety of uses of the epithet is found in this period than in the previous one would seem to indicate an increasing development of its possibilities as an element of style.

The adjective used as a filler and the appositive construction are the most frequently found grammatical forms of the epithet. The use of the courtly epithet, principally of the adjectives *gentil* and *dulce* is new in this period, and is interesting for what it implies regarding influence, which is presumably a survival of the Provençal in Galician plus a similar survival in Italian.

Examples concerned with the literary functions of the epithet gain in frequency. Few significant new uses appear, however, except mythological allusion, which would seem to indicate classical influences through Italian channels. Antithesis is more often of an artistic type. Metaphors further emphasize the Spanish fondness for apposition. Metonymy and *entassement* make their appearance in significant numbers, but hypallage and periphrasis are of very little importance.

In conveying physical impressions, the epithet is limited, as in the preceding period, largely to adjectives of the primary colors

\(^{11}\) The question of Arabic influence upon Spanish poetry remains in dispute with the greater number of the critics denying it real significance.
in which black and white predominate. A few cases of figurative use of epithets of metals and mass occur.

The rôle of the epithet in expressing thought and imagination is a very small one. No epithets of imagination were found. Ideas expressed were chiefly concepts of the Roman Catholic church. A faint awakening of social consciousness is indicated, but, in general, the ideas are those of the Middle Ages and there is little evidence of the Renaissance, at least insofar as it is expressed by means of the epithet.

The Poetry of the Renaissance and the Golden Age

It seems reasonable to believe that the poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries should show classical influences due to the Renaissance, which led to more profound and widespread studies of Greek, and especially of Latin, literature. Some of the poets of this period were skilled rhetoricians, as for example Fray Luis de León who for many years taught in the University of Salamanca where, in the advanced courses, Greek and Latin were the languages of the classroom and the classics were daily subjected to penetrating analysis both as to form and content. The popular ballads of the period conceivably would differ very sharply from the learned poetry in their use of the epithet. To such a degree was this found to be true that we have grouped the ballads, of which only the anonymous ones were studied, in the section with Old Spanish popular poetry.

The adjective again is the most important form of the epithet numerically and it most often takes the form of the Greek “ornamental” epithet of the type discussed above. This is very interesting because its prominence leads one to regard it as evidence of study of the classics and an apparent attempt to imitate classic style:

Del duro labrador  
(Garcilaso de la Vega, S. A., 70, 23.)

El Árabe cruel  
(Fray Luis de León, S. A., 101, 30.)

The courtly epithets dulce, gentil and suave are second in fre-
frequency in this period and probably indicate a strong survival of Provençal influence reinforced by a similar survival in Italian:

*Gentiles españoles caballeros*
(Cristóbal de Castillejo, S. A., 77, 25.)

*un dulce mirar*
(Gutierre de Cetina, S. A., 73, 9.)

*el suave Mayo*
(Francisco de Borja, S. A., 169, 15.)

For the first time in our investigation the epithet which is not descriptive but simply gives the poet's impression becomes of considerable numerical importance. Thus he finds eyes "admirable", not blue, and mountains "horrible" rather than steep or densely wooded. This, according to Miss Robertson\(^\text{15}\) is a very definite characteristic of French Classic poetry. Its presence in the Spanish poetry of this period is evidently due to a common origin in older literatures:

*En el plasiente verano*
(Pedro Manuel de Urrea, S. A., 65, 21.)

*Con su cantar sabroso*
(Fray Luis de León, S. A., 96, 4.)

Conventional adjectives used in a moral sense are much less common than the above but occur often enough to be significant:

*gozos vanos*
(Luis Barahona de Soto, S. A., 111, 1.)

*tribunal augusto*
(Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, S. A., 140, 8.)

*mi triste vida*
(Pedro Soto de Rojas, S. A., 175, 7.)

Numerically speaking the locutions with adjectival functions are second only to the adjective in importance. These occur in great variety, though the form which consists of an adjective plus a complement is by far the most frequent. The complement may be one of quantity or quality, time, place, agent, material, purpose or manner. The following examples illustrate the locutions of this type most often found:

*Más frescas rosas, más bizarras flores*
(Pedro de Espinosa, S. A., 156, 11.)

¿No ves ya el puerto á Hercules sagrado?
(Fray Luis de León, S. A., 102, 19.)

Cosas dichas por mujer

(Jorge de Montemayor, S. A., 81, 23.)

The adjectival locution consisting of a preposition and its complement is much less important than the types mentioned above:

Que voces de dolor el alma siente

(Rodrigo Caro, S. A., 157, 21.)

Ó los cansados bueyes, con las frentes Bajas . . .

(Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, S. A., 139, 28-29.)

The elements of language other than the noun which are most often modified by the epithet are the personal pronoun, (by far the most frequent) and the relative pronoun:

Mas yo, ceutado, que callo

(Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, S. A., 74, 13.)

Del sol, que ardiente y de picid a ajeno

(Pedro de Espinosa, S. A., 156, 7.)

The most striking development of the use of the epithet in this period seems to be an enormous advance in its literary functions. There is not only a numerical gain but a remarkable increase in artistic resourcefulness. For reasons which will become clear in the course of the following discussion, much, at least, of this development appears to be due to classical influence.

One of the most notable differences between this and the earlier periods studied is the fact that here we have clearly defined for the first time, a considerable number of figures of speech. Indeed, figures of speech in which the epithet is essential are in this period the most important of all the various literary functions of the epithet. These figures of speech were clearly recognized by the Greek and Latin rhetoricians and their use had been brought to a very considerable degree of perfection by the classic poets. In popular Spanish poetry, on the other hand, there is very little evidence that the writers were aware of the artistic possibilities of certain figures of speech. In fact, there is no indication, in certain compositions, that they were aware of them at all.

Numerically speaking, the most important of the classical figures of speech noted in the poetry of this period is the metaphor. It is interesting to observe in this connection, that in the metaphors of the period we have an evident merging of a classical type of expression with a popular one. We have seen, throughout our discussion of the earlier periods in Spanish poetry, the extreme frequency of apposition. Only infrequently, however, up to the period
now under discussion, did the appositive construction form a figure of speech. In this period it very frequently expresses a metaphor:

_Óyeme, dulce Esposo,
Vida del alma que en la tuya vivo_  
(Malón de Chaide, S. A., 107, 1-2.)

_. . . unos ojos,
Raudales de zafir . . . ._  
(Agustín de Salazar Torres, S. A., 185, 6-7.)

Even aside from the peculiarly Spanish form of the metaphor just mentioned, the figure is frequent. Not only so, but the variety of expressions used, and the clear conception of the artistic effects to be achieved, indicate a very considerable acquaintance with the principles of rhetoric. We have already called attention to the fact that a number of the poets of this period were competent classical scholars.

In some cases the epithet itself expresses the metaphor:

_El mismo cerco alado_ (petals of a rose)  
(Francisco de Rioja, S. A., 170, 11.)

Again, and much more frequently than the above, the figure is, strictly speaking, expressed by the noun, but the epithet is essential for its comprehension:

_Estoy de frescos palios cobijado,_ (shade of a tree)  
(Pedro de Espinosa, S. A., 155, 18.)

_Con líquidos aljófares_ (drops of water)  
(Juan de Jáuregui, S. A., 158, 17.)

Another variant in form is furnished by cases in which the first term of the metaphor,¹⁶ expressed by a phrase, modifies the second term, expressed by a noun:

_. . . a ver el deseado
Sol de tu clara vista_  
(Garcilaso de la Vega, S. A., 70, 19-20.)

Antithesis shows an even more varied development. We have observed in Juan Ruiz¹⁷ a considerable number of examples of this figure. In the earlier periods it was very simply expressed and was concerned chiefly with the most elemental concepts, such as contrasts of colors or size of objects. In the period now under dis-

¹⁶ By the "first term" is meant the starting point of the implied comparison, that is, the real object. The second term is that to which the first is compared.

¹⁷ Cf. supra p. 95.
cussion we find it expressing profound, often highly philosophical concepts. As regards variety of form also, the figure attains in this period a high degree of development. Most frequently the epithet is contrasted with some other element of the verse:

¡Qué descansada vida  
La del que huye el mundanal ruido  
(Fray Luis de León, S. A., 95, 1-2)

Y en los labios de antaño  
No hay claveles ogaño  
(Salvador Jacinto Polo de Medina, S. A., 180, 3-4.)

The oxymoron, recognized since classic times as a specific form of antithesis, is present in considerable numbers:

Estos amargos dulces  
(Pedro Manuel de Urrea, S. A., 66, 28.)

Los venenos dulces  
(Luis Barahona de Soto, S. A., 110, 26.)

Both nouns and epithets are antithetical in the following examples.

Pena del bien pasado y mal presente  
(Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, S. A., 75, 14.)

... y en ciega noche el claro día  
Se torna ...  
(Fray Luis de León, S. A., 97, 5-6.)

- Apparently only Lope de Vega makes use of antithesis between two epithets which without a connective modify the same noun:

y el más obligado pague  
con malas mis buenas obras  
(Las bizarrías de Belisa, III, p. 467.)

The use of two antithetical epithets joined by a connective of concession seems to be limited to Góngora:

Cuando halló de fugitiva plata  
La bisagra, aunque estrecha, abrazadora  
De un Océano y otro siempre uno  
(Solitud 1a, 68, 472-474.)

Hypallage is a definite characteristic of the poetry of this period. The type in which the epithet really modifies an element not expressed but understood, is of most frequent occurrence:

Oye que al cielo toca  
Con temeroso son la trompa fiera  
(Fray Luis de León, S. A., 101, 24-25.)
Two additional kinds of hypallage seem to be limited to Góngora’s poetry. These occur when the epithet applies to a noun other than the normal one:

esquilas dulces de *sonora* pluma  
*Soleáda Is, 59, 177.*

and when the epithet replaces an adverb:

*El lento escuadrón luego*  
*Alcanzan de serranos*  
*Soleáda Is, 73, 649-650.*

The simile in which the epithet is the essential element is the least important figure of the period from the point of view of frequency. In fact, it is only in the earliest Spanish poetry that it seems ever to have received any considerable emphasis. The only form of relatively frequent occurrence is that in which the second term serves as a complement of an epithet contained in the first term:

*Gentes, como salvajes, indiscretas*  
*(Fernando de Acuña, S. A., 72, 20.)*

*El agua, clara como el ámbar*  
*(Pedro de Espinosa, S. A., 155, 3.)*

For the first time in our study of Spanish poetry, personification definitely makes its appearance in a very large number of cases. The epithet plays a most important rôle in this figure. The fact that personification is altogether missing from earlier Spanish poetry and that it is present in this period in great profusion and variety would seem to be further evidence of very definite classical influence.

Personification of abstractions is most important from the standpoint of frequency:

*la dureza de la muerte airada*  
*(Garcilaso de la Vega, S. A., 71, 13.)*

*La sedienta codicia*  
*(Francisco de Rioja, S. A., 173, 29.)*

Very nearly equal in numerical importance to the preceding type is personification of forces and phenomena of nature or of ordinary objects:

*Los que de un falso leño se confían*  
*(Fray Luis de León, S. A., 96, 34.)*

*Al viento fiero, airado*  
*(Idem, S. A., 98, 10.)*
Entassement, or accumulations of epithets to present an object from varied points of view or to emphasize the original concept, is found both in the Latin classics and in the earliest Spanish poetry. It is frequent in the period under discussion:

Por el puro, adormido y vago cielo
(F. de Herrera, S. A., 87, 7.)

Mustia y enmudecida y elevada
De los casados árboles huyendo
(El Bachiller de la Torre, S. A., 167, 1-2.)

The rôle of the epithet in conveying physical impressions, although still of minor importance numerically, now shows a much greater variety than in either of the two preceding periods.

Vision is naturally the most important sense and color epithets are those most frequently used. Adjectives referring to the primary colors are found in almost all the poems studied but are especially prominent in the works of Pedro de Espinosa:

el verde prado
(Francisco de Figueroa, S. A., 110, 12.)
y azules . . . alelúes
(Pedro de Espinosa, S. A., 155, 10.)

Of less numerical importance are expressions which, while not truly adjectives of color, convey a definite color concept:

dorados cabellos
(Jorge de Montemayor, S. A., 81, 10.)
pintados lagartos
(Pedro de Espinosa, S. A., 155, 24.)

Figurative or symbolic epithets of color are somewhat less frequent than the type last mentioned:

Ese color de esperanza!
(Jorge de Montemayor, S. A., 80, 28.)

Next to color epithets in frequency are epithets of light, including those of fire. For the first time light epithets appear in appreciable numbers in a variety of uses.

The epithets of light most often found are those that indicate brilliant or scintillating light:

En luz resplandeciente convertido
(Fray Luis de León, S. A., 98, 24.)

¡Oh sol de resplandor que alegra el cielo!
(Malón de Chaide, S. A., 107, 22.)
Of less frequency of occurrence are epithets which indicate the reflection of light from a polished surface:

Menea fulminante el hierro insano
(Fray Luis de León, S. A., 102, 24.)

Of equal numerical importance with the type immediately above are figurative epithets of fire. These epithets have no antecedents in previous periods:

Con suspiros calientes,
Más que la llama ardientes
(Garcilaso de la Vega, S. A., 71, 32-33.)
Despiertan en mí pecho un ansia ardiente
(Fray Luis de León, S. A., 103, 12.)

Epithets of material used to convey color impressions, although of comparatively small frequency, are vastly increased over the other two periods. Their increased frequency and variety seem to be due to classical influences. Both for this and for other figurative purposes the names of metals seem to be preferred:

¿Son estos lazos de oro . . . cabellos . . .?
(Luis Barahona de Soto, S. A., 110, 16.)

Lleva armado el muchacho
De saetas el cuello,
Y la bestia su pico
De aguijones de hierro.
(Esteban Manuel de Villegas, S. A., 176, 28-31.)

Names of precious stones used in prepositional phrases to convey impressions of color now appear for the first time in our study of Spanish poetry. Though numerically of small importance, the very fact that they now appear seems a definite indication of Renaissance influences:

Parecen sementera de rubíes
(Pedro de Espinosa, S. A., 155, 12.)

Espejo guarnecido de esmeralda
(Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Villegas, S. A., 162, 26.)

It is interesting to note that Góngora is by far the outstanding figure of the period as regards this particular use of the epithet. His strong resemblance to Hugo in this respect leads one to question whether the French poet may not have derived this characteristic, at least in part, from the gifted Spaniard.

Epithets of movement also appear for the first time. To be sure,
they are of small frequency but their mere presence is an indication of classical influence:

\[ Y \text{ huya con sus alas } \text{presurosas} \]
(Fernando de Herrera, S. A., 88, 7.)

\[ \text{con alada planta } \text{voladora} \]
(Juan de Jáuregui, S. A., 159, 13.)

Although epithets of hearing stand next in frequency to those of vision, they are several times less frequent. In both Herrera and Góngora they are practically negligible. But, comparatively speaking, they show some increase in numbers and variety over those of early popular Spanish poetry and the courtly lyric. The most significant use is that of an epithet which indicates the emotion of a person by describing the sound of his voice:

\[ \text{con voz } \text{doliente} \]
(Fray Luis de León, S. A., 103, 15.)

\[ \text{su } \text{triste acento} \]
(Esteban Manuel de Villegas, S. A., 176, 7.)

Somewhat less often found are epithets which convey the emotional effect produced by the sound upon the hearer:

\[ \text{A las } \text{piadosas y } \text{dolientes } \text{quejas} \]
(El Bachiller de la Torre, S. A., 165, 18.)

Again for the first time in the Spanish poetry examined in this study, temperature epithets are of more than negligible frequency, being particularly noticeable in both Herrera and Góngora. They are equally divided between literal and figurative uses:

\[ \text{en sus } \text{frescos arenales} \]
(Juan de Jáuregui, S. A., 158, 24.)

\[ \text{Estos } \text{calientes versos o estos } \text{frios} \]
(Salvador Jacinto Polo de Medina, S. A., 179, 6.)

A study of the foregoing exposition seems to point to very definite classical influences in Spanish poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The influences are not very striking in the division devoted to the study of the grammatical forms of the epithet but they are most remarkable in that concerned with its literary functions. For the first time, epithets are used frequently, and with great variety of expression, in connection with figures of speech. Even in its rôle of conveying physical impression the development of the epithet is striking. Light epithets are more frequent, and fire epithets are used for the first time. For the first
time, also, appear epithets of movement and the use of names of precious stones to convey color effects. A greater variety of senses—sight, hearing, temperature and smell—are stimulated. Of the entire group, however, only epithets of vision and of sound occur in appreciable numbers.

There is no new development worthy of mention in the rôle of the epithet in conveying imagination and ideas.

THE NEO-CLASSIC PERIOD IN SPAIN

The Age of Affectation continued18 in Spain through the first third of the eighteenth century despite the accession of a French Bourbon, Felipe V, the founding of the Royal Library (1711) and the Spanish Academy (1713). Although taste for French literature spread rapidly under the Bourbons and French authors were read in the original, little change was effected until the Diario de los Literatos de España took up the fight begun by the appearance in 1737 of Ignacio Luzán’s Poética. The struggle was not won for many years and it was only from 1766 on that French influence officially ruled supreme under the protection of the Conde de Aranda.

Since Spanish poets of this period very consciously based their works upon French Classicism and neo-Classicism, it appears more than probable that a study of the use of the epithet should reveal some very interesting and clear-cut examples of French influence. As is true of all the earlier periods of Spanish poetry, the grammatical form of the epithet that is most frequent is the adjective. The épithète oiseuse of French poetry, that is, the epithet which merely fills out the metre or rhyme, is in great favor among the Spanish neo-Classicists. This epithet is not the same as the traditional “Biblical” epithet of antiphonal origin which had no such purpose, although like that form, it has no descriptive power:

la gran filosofía

(alba pura)

(Fray Diego González, S. A., 218, 8.)

The “Biblical” epithet19 is often found in the poetry of this period. It retains its original form:

19 Cf. supra, pp. 24 and 35.
el alto cielo
(Fray Diego González, S. A., 215, 38.)
¡Sús! reyes de la tierra
(José María Blanco, S. A., 249, 13.)

More important numerically are certain adjectives of moral attitude popular with the French neo-Classicists. Those most often used in Spanish are torpe, excelso and ilustre.20

Torpes envidias
(Vicente Antonio García de la Huerta, S. A., 192, 20.)
La excelsa majestad
(Alberto Lista y Aragón, S. A., 251, 2.)
más ilustre castellano
(Manuel María de Arjona, S. A., 230, 18.)

In numerical importance, locutions with adjectival functions stand next to the adjective itself. The complement without a preposition is strikingly important numerically. This seems to be rather conclusive evidence of French influence since the construction, though extremely frequent in French, was of very infrequent occurrence in Spanish until this period:

La hermosa primavera
. . . . . . coronada
La bella frente de jazmín
(Ignacio de Luzán, S. A., 191, 18-20.)

Although numerically unimportant, locutions consisting of the preposition de and a complement are worthy of mention because there is found among them one construction of special interest. It consists of a concrete de phrase modifying an abstract noun. Miss Robertson21 seems to regard this as original with Victor Hugo. In view of the chronology, it is open to question whether this Spanish form may not have had some influence upon French:

La redondez inmensa de la tierra
(Fray Diego González, S. A., 215, 33.)

Figures of speech more clearly than anything else seem to indicate rather profound penetration of French neo-Classicism. Only a few poems, almost entirely lacking in epithets, by such individuals as the Moratins, Samaniego and Iriarte are exceptions.

Synechdoche in which the epithet plays an essential rôle is more

20 yu is frequently used in the sixteenth century, notably by Garcilaso de la Vega.
important numerically in this period than ever before. Miss Robertson\textsuperscript{22} very definitely mentions this as an outstanding characteristic of French neo-Classicism. The most common form among the Spanish poets is the use of a part of the body for the person:

\begin{itemize}
  \item su \textit{casto} pecho
    (Fray Diego González, S. A., 217, 11.)
  \item tu \textit{cobarde} mano
    Manuel José Quintana, S. A., 242, 12.)
\end{itemize}

Only slightly less numerous is the kind of synecdoche, very rare in the preceding period, in which the singular is used for the plural. The epithet is usually only indirectly concerned. Its frequency in the period we are discussing now, coupled with the fact that it is one of the principal characteristics of French neo-Classicism, is obviously significant:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Del \textit{Godo vencedor}
    (Manuel José Quintana, S. A., 243, 10.)
  \item al huésped \textit{ominoso} (the French)
    (Juan Nicasio Gallego, S. A., 245, 2.)
\end{itemize}

Less frequent than the two types above but more numerous than ever before in Spanish poetry is the use of an attribute for a person:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Mi \textit{crédulo} error
    (Juan Meléndez Valdés, S. A., 214, 32.)
  \item al grito \textit{heroico}
    (Juan Nicasio Gallego, S. A., 248, 11.)
\end{itemize}

Metonymy is more or less characteristic of all preceding Spanish poetry but in the neo-Classic period its frequency is several times greater than ever before. The use of “container for thing contained” is most numerous, as it was in the other periods reviewed:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{atónita} España rendía
    (Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, S. A., 209, 14.)
  \item la \textit{heroica} Gerona
    (Idem, S. A., 210, 27.)
\end{itemize}

“Sign for thing signified” is of very nearly equal frequency. It is justified or explained by the epithet:

\begin{itemize}
  \item el águila \textit{insolente} (emblem of Charles V)
    (Manuel María de Arjona, S. A., 230, 15.)
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{22} Op. cit., p. 68.
un yugo servil
   (Juan Arriaza y Superirela, S. A., 255, 18.)

A form of metonymy apparently new in Spanish is that which substitutes instrument for agent. It is less frequent than those above but is nevertheless well represented. It is clear that the epithet is an essential element:

su vencedora espada
   (Nicolás Fernández de Moratín, S. A., 207, 7.)
lá bárbara cuchilla
   (Manuel María de Arjona, S. A., 231, 31.)

We have seen that personification\(^2^3\) was an outstanding characteristic of the Classical period in contrast with the popular tradition in which it is entirely absent. In the present period it is of notably frequent occurrence. Traditional personification of cities and countries is numerically most important and constitutes, apparently, the only type significantly neo-Classical:

La heroica España
   (Manuel José Quintana, S. A., 239, 19.)
Lloró la destrucción Mantua afligida
   (Juan Nicasio Gallego, S. A., 244, 29.)

This particular type was not abundant in the Classic period.

The literary formulae, which first became important in the Renaissance period, continue and augment greatly their frequency. Inversion of noun and epithet has evidently become a stock device to meet the demands of rhyme or rhythm:

"—Juramos," claman: agitado el viento
Lleva en vuelo los gritos hasta el Sena;
Y del libre Español el noble intento
Del esclavo francés es mengua y pena.
   (Manuel María de Arjona, S. A., 231, 25-28.)

Periphrasis is of apparently equal numerical importance with inversion. This is evidently due to insistence upon avoiding the exact word. This tendency is very characteristic of French neo-Classicism:\(^2^4\)

... otra vez el tirano de Europa (Napoleon)
El solar de Pelayo insultó (Spain)
   (Gaspar Melehor de Jovellanos, S. A., 208, 21-22.)

\(^2^3\) Cf. supra p. 44.
\(^2^4\) Robertson, op. cit., p. 67.
A type of epithet which here occurs for the first time in numbers sufficient to warrant mention is the epithet of evocation. It serves in most cases to lend an air of the supernatural or to connect in the reader's mind the moral with the material:

*Visión nocturna grave*
(Fray Diego González, S. A., 217, 30.)

¡Sombras inultas que en fugaz gemido
Cruzáis los anchos campos de Castilla!
(Juan Nicasio Gallego, S. A., 248, 21-22.)

The last example above is particularly interesting. The epithet *fugaz* gives the connotation of limitless extent to the concept expressed by *anchos campos de Castilla*.

Epithets of size are now far more numerous than ever before. There is, however, very little of the tendency toward resounding extremes of concrete size, which we have seen to be characteristic of Victor Hugo. More often they modify abstractions and when they do modify a concrete noun, nearly always it is in some combination which seems to form a *cliché*:

*el vasto mar*  
(Manuel José Quintana, S. A., 235, 6.)

*tus inmensos términos*  
(Idem, S. A., 236, 11.)

The use of the epithet in description of atmospheric conditions, time of day and season of the year is limited to a series of time-worn expressions in which there is evident no actual observation of Nature but simply the repetition of a restricted number of *clichés* taken from the Classical heritage:

*frescura deleitosa*  
(Juan Meléndez Valdés, S. A., 214, 13.)

*alba pura*  
(Fray Diego González, S. A., 218, 8.)

*triste invierno*  
(Ignacio de Luzán, S. A., 191, 1.)

*hermosa primavera*  
(Idem. S. A., 191, 18.)

Abril hermoso
(Nicasio Álvarez de Cienfuegos, S. A., 223, 2.)

The rôle of the epithet in expressing imagination receives scant attention from the Spanish neo-Classicists. The same is true of

25 Cf. supra p. 31.
ideas only to a slightly lesser degree. Although there is an enormously increase in the number of epithets used in connection with ideas, it becomes clear upon examination that the range of ideas is really very small and that those most frequently expressed are the traditional ones which relate to psychology. These may refer to individuals or to persons representative of a group:

El piloto holandes se atreve en vano,
Ávido pescador . . .
(Ignacio de Luzán, S. A., 191, 11-12.)
ciudadano fiero y generoso (Juan de Padilla)
(Manuel María de Arjona, S. A., 230, 13.)

Expression of ideas concerning animal psychology, either traditional or based upon personal observation, is found in one poem only, *El murciélago alevoso* by Fray Diego González, and for that reason cannot be considered characteristic of the period.

In general, the characteristics of neo-Classicism in Spain seem to bear a very close resemblance to those of France as presented by Miss Robertson. No new grammatical forms of the epithet appear but there is a rather striking increase in the frequency of occurrence of the "Biblical" epithet, the "useless" epithet, and the non-prepositional locution. This last we believe indicates an unmistakable French influence because this type of locution, very common in French poetry, was scarcely used in Spanish before the eighteenth century. In its literary functions the epithet appears to be gaining in importance, particularly in the figures of speech and in what we have termed the literary formulae. The epithet plays a minor rôle in physical description, and its importance in the expression of imagination and ideas is still very slight.

We have now completed our survey of the potential sources of the Spanish Romantic epithet. We have found, as a general characteristic of primitive poetry, an overwhelming preponderance of the attributive over the epithet, often to the total exclusion of the latter. In Hebrew only one form of epithet occurs which has a clear influence upon later literatures,—the colorless epithet of nature apparently due to the antiphonal character of Hebrew poetry: "fine gold", "the living God". Similarly, Greek appears to have contributed only one type of epithet which has persisted: that represented by "fleet-footed Achilles". It would appear from its influence upon later literature that the development of the epithet

in Latin must have been very considerable. No systematic study of it, however, seems to have been made.

In Old French the evolution of the epithet recapitulates that just discussed, the development in Latin apparently having been forgotten. As in the older languages, epithets are extremely rare compared with the attributive. The few epithets found are chiefly of the "Biblical" and "Homeric" variety. The Pléiade in the sixteenth century attempted to imitate the classics in their use of the epithet but the result was disappointing, because of a too obvious striving after originality which resulted in a certain artificiality. Any gains made were lost in the following century which set poetry in rigid classic molds.

In the French Classic period a considerable development in the use of the epithet seems to have taken place though no exhaustive data are available. At least several notable developments date from this period: the adjective of personal impression, admirable or délicieux, used instead of adjectives of actual description; the conventional adjective used in a moral sense, such as auguste, fatal, noble, and the adjective used to "ennoble" a vulgar term "chiens dévorants." Among the literary functions, classic metaphors, metonymy, synecdoche, and antithesis became conventionalized. The literary formulae became increasingly important. The epithet played only a very insignificant rôle in physical description, since writers were accustomed to tell how they felt about a thing rather than to describe it. The possibilities of the epithet in expressing imagination and ideas were more or less completely overlooked.

There is comparatively little change, as regards the use of the epithet, from the Classic to the neo-Classic period in France. Some outstanding peculiarities of the latter are the excessive development of the expression toute faite, like flot amer or célestes spheres, the insistence on indirect expression rather than the mot propre, which involved the excessive use of certain types of allusion and periphrasis, and a general tendency to traditionalize, so that the poet sought his descriptive terms, not in his own powers of observation and description, but in the limited list of expressions already sanctioned by good usage.

With Hugo came an enormous change in the use of the epithet in French. He used, besides the adjective, nouns, prepositional phrases, locutions and clauses as epithets. Scarcely less important was his development of various kinds of complements used to

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modify simple adjectives. Besides the noun, personal, relative and demonstrative pronouns, infinitives and even whole sentences might serve as the element of language on which the epithet depended.

As regards what we may term the literary functions of the epithet, the development was at least equally great. In many ways Hugo succeeded in making the epithet an instrument of concision, whereas before him it had been considered a more or less useless filler. In expressing figures of speech and related forms the epithet was given unprecedented importance which brought about great changes in the grammatical form of the figure. The metaphor was given extreme numerical importance and underwent a correspondingly great development as compared with other figures. Similes lost their traditional conventionalized form and were based upon observation in which the epithet played an essential rôle. Personification ceased to find its source in the classics and became the product of a tendency to attribute intelligent life to everything Hugo saw about him. This naturally led to personification by resemblance of form and ended in hylozoism.

More than in any other connection, the epithet in Hugo's hands acquired importance in the field of physical description. He had certain habits of mind which aided him tremendously in this particular. Thus he habitually viewed objects from an artistic viewpoint, being impressed largely with their contours and their colors. Size, and especially extremes of size, were his constant preoccupation, and led to the development of many original turns of speech for its expression. Expressions descriptive of light and fire are of extraordinary frequency and importance.

Hugo's use of the epithet to express thought and emotion was also of great importance, but was usually so closely bound up with his own personality that it had relatively little influence on other poets. Perhaps the most important usages of this type are connected with the psychology of individuals or crowds and with "hallucination."

The most distinctive feature of Hugo's poetic style is his altogether new and remarkably expressive use of the epithet to express concepts derived from the physical senses. After Hugo the epithet becomes one of the essential and expressive elements of French poetic style.

The earliest type of Spanish poetry resembles the other types of primitive verse already discussed in its preference for the attri-
utive to the more or less complete exclusion of the epithet. Among the types of epithets found the most important numerically is a type closely resembling the "Biblical" or "Hebraic" epithet, discussed above. Grammatically speaking, a fondness for apposition is particularly noticeable.

Portraiture of the person by means of the epithet is an outstanding characteristic as is likewise a fondness for horrible details in descriptions of unpleasant objects. Epithets of smell play their part in the foregoing and, although infrequent, they occur more often than those of sound. In the realm of imagination and ideas, the epithet is limited to the expression of orthodox religious concepts and dislike for people of another faith.

The period of the courtly lyric adds only the courtly epithet to the grammatical forms common in the earlier periods. In all other uses the development is essentially at a standstill, except that a larger number of poets are beginning to make free use of the epithet. In spite of this, the attributive is still preferred.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there is a tremendous development in the use of the epithet. The chief types represented include, besides the "Biblical" and courtly epithet, conventional epithets used in a moral sense and those which do not describe but state the poet's impression. A larger variety of adjectival locutions is used. The literary functions of the epithet are greatly increased by the new importance it assumes in metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, personification and hypallage. Antithesis becomes uniformly more profound and philosophical. Inversion, allusion, and periphrasis assume new importance and classical influences are obvious. In physical description, epithets of color, light and fire, materials, size, movement, sound and temperature attain new significance. In fact, the development reached by the end of the sixteenth century continued with minor variations practically unchanged until the Romantic period.

During neo-Classicism there was little change from the preceding period except one of emphasis. Late in this period a premium was placed upon wordiness and grandiloquence which apparently had its origin largely in Herrera. This resulted in a profusion of simple adjectival epithets: "Biblical", "Homeric", "useless", conventional used in a moral sense and those of personal impression. French influence is indicated in a fondness for the non-prepositional complement. Among the figures and formulae, there is a
shift of emphasis to synecdoche and periphrasis. This parallels the same tendency in French literature of this period. Again the rôle of the epithet in expressing ideas and imagination is a very restricted one, being limited almost entirely to epithets of psychology of the individual.

The most important observation concerning the study just presented, aside from the history of the epithet proper, is that the long Classical tradition which began at least as early as the sixteenth century poets, notably Garcilaso de la Vega, continued unbroken in Spanish poetry for about three hundred years. There was no such thing in poetry as a turning away from classical models. Rather the tendency was for the popular characteristics of Spanish poetry to become lost in the vastly more numerous ones of Classicism. It thus happened that the poetic tradition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which by the time of the Romanticists was regarded as the purest expression of cultivated Spanish poetic genius, was beyond all comparison more classical than popular.

The above conclusions regarding poetry in general and lyric poetry in particular are apparently demonstrable in the case of dramatic poetry. A somewhat limited sampling of the dramas of Lope de Vega and Calderón points to the same conclusion as that arrived at by a distinguished recent critic.27 This is, that during the early part of the Spanish Golden Age the popular and classical traditions, as represented, of course, by different authors, existed for some time side by side with little intermingling, except in the case of the auto sacramental. Somewhat later, largely through the intervention of Lope de Vega, a more or less complete artistic fusion of the two traditions occurred in which the popular uses of the epithet were almost completely submerged in the vastly greater number and variety of classical usages. Even in the drama, the "national tradition" was predominantly classical as concerns elements of style.

27 Ludwig Pfandl, Historia de la literatura nacional española en la edad de oro. Traducción del alemán por el Dr. Jorge Rubio Balaguer, Barcelona, 1933, pp. 112-113, 404-407.
ÁNGEL PÉREZ DE SAAVEDRA,
DUQUE DE RIVAS

Ángel Pérez de Saavedra, later Duke of Rivas, was born in Córdoba, March 10, 1791. For family reasons, as a child, he was entrusted to the care of two aunts, sisters of his father.

His education was begun in Córdoba under a French tutor, with whom he studied history, geography and French. He was also taught the rudiments of drawing by M. Verdiguier, a French sculptor then resident in the city.

While he was still a child, the family removed to Madrid. There he attended the Real Seminario de Nobles, where Victor Hugo was to be sent nine years later. Though not a distinguished student, he applied himself well to the study of history and poetry and translated Latin into excellent Spanish verse.

In 1806 young Saavedra left school to enter the army, in which he served more or less continuously until 1820. At this time he secured six years' leave of absence, to be spent on a government mission in certain foreign countries. It was due to this appointment that he made his first visit to Paris beginning in May, 1821. Here he probably learned much of the literary upheaval,¹ which had even then begun in Paris.

After several months in Paris² he was elected a deputy to the new Cortes, organized by Fernando VII as a concession to the demands for a constitutional monarchy. Because he showed himself in that capacity to be a consistent liberal, Saavedra was compelled to flee when, in 1823, Fernando VII was restored to absolute power. He spent six months in England, six in Gibraltar, and five years on the British island of Malta.

At the last-named place, he formed acquaintances which were destined to have a profound influence upon his artistic development. He met here John Hookham Frere,³ a cultured Englishman in the

¹ In 1819 were published the poetry of André Chénier and the first volume of Marceline Desbordes-Valmore; in 1820 the Méditations poétiques of Lamartine, and in 1822 Hugo's Odes et poésies diverses.
² May to December 1821.
³ Unfortunately no exact data are at present available on what books constituted Hookham Frere's library. Such information would go far toward explaining Rivas' literary tendencies during this period.
consular service, who was well acquainted with early Spanish literature. Knowing Saavedra's poetic ability, Frere urged him to write something on the order of Scott's metrical romances, based on Spanish legends. The result was *El Moro Expósito*, Saavedra's longest work, begun at Malta in 1829.

In March 1830, Saavedra left Malta for France where he lived first at Orleans, then in Paris and Tours and finally again in Paris. His interests were at this time literary and artistic rather than political. He exhibited several portraits in the Louvre exposition of 1831, finished the *Moro Expósito* in 1833 and prepared the first draft of *Don Álvaro*. In 1834, after the death of Fernando VII, he returned to Madrid and swore fealty to the government under Isabel II. In the same year he published the *Moro Expósito* and *Florinda* together with some lyrics and historical romances. In the same year also he inherited the title of the Duke of Rivas, due to the death of his elder brother.

The year 1835 was almost equally eventful. In that year occurred the first presentation of *Don Álvaro* which corresponded, in Spain, to the first presentation of Hugo's *Hernani*. It produced a tremendous impression though the public did not fully appreciate its great qualities.

As a result of political difficulties, Rivas spent the year 1836-1837 on Gibraltar where he wrote a number of his later *Romances Históricos*, the entire collection of which was published in Madrid and Paris in 1841.

In 1844 Rivas was appointed ambassador to Naples, which position he held until 1850. With the publication of the *Legendas* in the five volume edition of his works of 1854-1855, the poet's significant creative work was over. It remains only to relate that he served as ambassador at Paris from July 1859 to July 1860. His health now began to fail and after a lingering and painful illness, he died June 22, 1865, laden with every honor his admiring land could bestow upon him.

The consensus of opinion of critics is that Rivas' early works are neo-Classic in style. However, with one exception, all those we have consulted claim to discern a constant evolution in Rivas toward Romanticism, greatly accelerated by foreign influences. Garçilaso, Luis de León, Fernando de Herrera, Pedro de Espinosa,

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5 E. Piñeyro, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.
Ercilla y Zúñiga, Meléndez Valdés and Quintana are believed to have influenced these early poems most.

It is clear from Alcalá Galiano’s prologue to the Moro Expósito that at the date of composition of this work (1829-1834), Rivas had conceived ideas regarding literature which differed sharply from those evident in his earlier poems. There is little evidence, however, that this change of conception affected his ideas regarding style. In fact we have little information from any source as to whether Rivas believed any specific peculiarities of style to be characteristic of Romanticism. It is to be our problem, in the following pages, to discover what was Rivas’ habitual use, in his admittedly Romantic verse, of one specific element of style, namely, the epithet. We shall attempt further, by comparing his practice with that of the writers discussed in the preceding chapter, to discover what influence most affected him in this particular.

Let us consider first the possible foreign influences affecting Rivas’ use of the epithet.

Among the adjectives, which constitute the most important grammatical form of the epithet in Rivas, the most numerous of all is the so-called “Romantic” epithet. It is interesting to trace the probable origin of his use of adjectives of this type. He had had many opportunities of absorbing the sad, tender, melancholy style of Ossian since the first translation of these papers appeared in Spain in 1788. Other translations appeared in 1800 and 1804. Scott and Chateaubriand may have aided in supplying the note of mystery which is so characteristic of the Romantic figures, for example, Mudarra and Don Alvaro. To Scott and Chateaubriand also, may be attributed a heightening of his love for the past, its heroes, legends and ruins. In France, undoubtedly all these tendencies were greatly strengthened and the result of these years of development is found in the profusion of epithets which create

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6 Besides those of a more general nature, the prologue mentions the following guiding principles:

“In place of the classic ‘rules’ Rivas has tried to interest his readers in his story and characters; to adapt his style to his argument, to adapt it to the persons speaking; to give his pictures the form and color of his conception; to describe what has really happened, or might happen; to represent customs historically accurate; to preserve a measure of realism even in painting the ideal; to express himself clearly and correctly and at times with elegance; to versify ‘as well as he may;’ to follow his own impulses and obey the inspiration of his own mind.”


an atmosphere of mystery, melancholy, the supernatural, vagueness, and the decaying monuments of the past, all of which seem truly Romantic. The following examples will illustrate the use of the epithet to secure the above-mentioned effects:

Mas ¡ay! ... un velo misterioso enubre
Su incierto origen ...

(M. E., 6, 1-2.)

(Zahira) Melancólica siempre y retirada

(M. E., 7, 10.)

tus arruinados torreones

(M. E., 5, 7.)

Satanism, which has been regarded as a manifestation of one aspect of Romantic philosophy, is presented in the poetic works largely by use of the epithets, satánico and infernal. They are apparently new in Spanish poetry, the most probable influence being that of Byron:9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet I</th>
<th>Epithet II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>satánica risa</td>
<td>infernal influencia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(R. H., 10, 3.)</td>
<td>(R. H., 56, 17.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apparently the only type of clause with adjectival function that is significant numerically in Rivas' Romantic poems is that which is used instead of an adjective in order to secure greater artistic precision. This is interesting because it is an innovation in style which seems to have appeared first in Victor Hugo's *Odes et Ballades* and was thereafter a prominent feature of his style. The following two examples form an interesting comparison:

A l'heure où l'on entend lentement revenir
Les grelots du troupeau qui bêle

(Hugo, Or., XXI.)

... a la hora en que en mitad del cielo
Su ardiente y viva lumbre el sol ostenta

(Rivas, M. E., 142, 15-16.)

Rivas' usage is evidently modeled upon that of Hugo since we were unable to find anything analogous in our study of earlier Spanish poetry.

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8 The following abbreviations of the titles of Rivas' work are used in this chapter:

- M. E. El Moro Expósito
- R. H. Romances Históricos
- L. Leyendas

Among the uses of the epithet in its rôle of conveying physical description are a number which give the impression of vague, shadowy outlines or shapelessness. This seems to be new to Spanish poetry and corresponds, apparently, to the Ossianic principles of vagueness and indecisiveness. It is characteristic of Romantic writers generally. In Rivas it is united with the mysterious, weird or supernatural with considerable effectiveness:

En espectros informes  
(M. E., 197, 18.)

fantasma incierto y vago  
(L., 270, 23.)

In Rivas we find occasional reference to relief, an interest in which is prominent in Hugo. Neither poet attempted to secure great precision, Rivas limiting himself to such epithets as esculpido and de relieve:

... donde ve esculpidos  
De figuras humanas los contornos  
(M. E., 196, 24-25.)

cinco lises de relieve en oro  
(L., 383, 15.)

Epithets of light seem to be less frequent in Rivas’ Romantic poetry than those of color, despite Professor Peers’ insistence upon the preeminence of light effects. We refer, of course, only to light effects expressed by the epithet. The most interesting observation on this subdivision of our study of Rivas is the fact that epithets of reflected light, from a metal surface in particular, are most frequent. This may be explained by a love of arms and armor, which is so prominent in some of the poems of Hugo and the works of Sir Walter Scott:

De hojas sutiles de bruñida plata  
(M. E., 30, 8.)

En una y otra fulgida alabarda  
(L., 381, 24.)

Another general characteristic of Romanticism was a rather large use of epithets of faint or unsteady light and of light effects in darkness. In Rivas these effects occur with considerable fre-

10 Cf. supra p. 31.
12 Boussagol, op. cit., p. 418.
13 Cf. Eviradnus, etc.
quency, since they are well suited for creating the desired atmosphere of some of his poems:

\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots \text{a la llama } & \text{mezquina} \\
\text{Con el ambiente } & \text{ondeante} \\
\text{A la luz de } & \text{escasa luna} \\
\text{Lanzando } & \text{azules centellas}
\end{align*}
\]  

(R. H., 4, 25-26.)  
(R. H., 424, 5.)  
(R. H., 3, 15.)

Apparently for the first time in Spanish poetry, Rivas uses epithets of immobility. This is perhaps attributable to Victor Hugo or de Vigny or to both, since both were very skilful in conveying such effects by means of the epithet:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hondo silencio en el concursino reina,} \\
\text{Que inmóvil verle triunfador aguarda} \\
\text{Cuatro hombres de armas inmobles}
\end{align*}
\]  

(M. E., 34, 5-6.)  
(R. H., 60, 5.)

Victor Hugo's epithets of immobility more often indicate calm and repose. Rivas' epithets of the same kind create the impression of alert anticipation, more characteristic of de Vigny, in such passages as the following from *le Cor*:\(^{14}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Une biche attentive } & \ldots \\
\text{Se suspend immobile au sommet du rocher}
\end{align*}
\]

Characteristic of Victor Hugo's early works\(^{15}\) was a special fondness for such stones as jasper, porphyry, marble, granite, coral and mother-of-pearl. This same characteristic, to a more limited extent, is found in Rivas and, since nothing similar appears in earlier Spanish poetry, the influence of Hugo appears probable:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Trozo de mármol con labores toscas} \\
\ldots \ldots \ldots \text{En la capilla} \\
\text{Labrada de hermosos jaspes}
\end{align*}
\]  

(M. E., 457, 12.)  
(L., 329, 17-18.)

A rather large number of epithets which indicate the precise quality of sound is found in Rivas. This appears to be a Romantic trait. We have seen\(^{16}\) that the Spanish Classic and neo-Classic

\(^{14}\) Boussagol, op. cit., p. 446.  
\(^{15}\) Cf. supra p. 32.  
\(^{16}\) Cf. supra p. 47.
poets, following to its logical conclusion the analytical psychology of their day, much preferred to use epithets of sound concerned with emotion. This latter tendency is of small importance in Rivas and the shift of emphasis to the former is probably due to foreign influences:

- un grito agudo
- cascada voz

Professor Peers\(^\text{17}\) places considerable emphasis upon Rivas' observation of Nature, particularly with respect to its grandiose aspects. Our study confirms his impression insofar as it applies to the epithet. The great frequency of epithets of this type would seem to indicate a Romantic interest in Nature motivated by foreign influences since the neo-Classic manner concerned itself only with Nature in its soft and delicate moods:

- ¿Es el ronco huracán que . . .
- . . . el mar levanta,
- Para que estos peñascos, . . .
- . . .
- Hinchado embista y con bramantes ondas
- Y con furor hirisono deshaga!

As regards imagination and ideas we have seen that in the earlier periods of Spanish poetry the writers were extremely deficient in their ability to present concepts of this sort through the medium of the epithet. To a rather large degree this is true of Rivas if we compare him with Victor Hugo, for example. The only important case of this use of the epithet occurs in a certain form of anti-clericalism, expressed by satirical epithets applied to servants of the church. This appears to be due to foreign influence, perhaps that of Scott and Byron, since such epithets were not found in our analyses of earlier Spanish poetry:

- Raro acompañamiento do resultan
- Insignias entre si contradictorias
- De pastor y guerrero, de prelado
- Y de rico-home . . .

In some very important respects, Rivas is quite deficient as a

Romantic. Epithets which express the famous desengaño are entirely missing. Nor does Rivas rebel against the indifference of the world and the apparent indifference of the Deity. His only special preoccupation is old age. We find no clear manifestation of social pity, or of a tendency to identify himself with the masses. Rather the contrary seems to be true for on the rare occasions when he mentions the people his epithets are unsympathetic and even contemptuous:

\[ \text{Necia se asuste la canalla infame} \quad \text{(M. E., 415, 22.)} \]
\[ \text{el vulgo vil} \quad \text{(M. E., 417, 30.)} \]

To sum up, it seems clear that certain foreign Romantic influences considerably affected the use of the epithet in Rivas’ Romantic verse. Epithets of a general Romantic nature are much the most numerous, and are instrumental perhaps more than any other type in securing a definitely Romantic atmosphere. The literary functions of the epithet are increased through Hugo’s influence particularly in the use of a locution of greater artistic precision than the corresponding adjective. Additional influence of Hugo seems clear in epithets of vague outlines, relief, common and precious stones as real materials, light and those which describe sound in precise terms. In the rôle of the epithet in expressing imagination and ideas, only those of anti-clericalism seem due to foreign Romantic influences.

The types of epithet in Rivas which show clearly the influence of Spanish popular poetry are not numerous. Some of them, however, are of such frequent occurrence that their effect upon his style is considerable. As regards the grammatical forms of the epithet, the preponderance of the appositive construction seems significant. Especially is this true because the most frequent type of appositive is that which merely serves as a means of identification, often mentioning only a title. In almost every respect, Rivas’ use of the simple appositive conforms to early popular Spanish models:

\[ \text{Al cruel Giafar, al padre de Kerima} \quad \text{(M. E., 88, 27.)} \]
\[ \text{Sentado está el rey Don Pedro,} \]
\[ \text{Joven de gallardo talle} \quad \text{(R. H., 8, 4-5.)} \]

\[ ^{18} \text{Cf. La vejes, 1847.} \]
Differing sharply from Classic and neo-Classic practice, apposition with a pronoun is much less frequent:

Aquel tu amigo leal  
Tú Virgen santa

(L., 272, 24.)

(L., 326, 1.)

The desire to approach the style of early popular Spanish doubtless motivated Rivas’ almost complete elimination of allusion, which is rare in the early period. That this elimination was intentional is made clear in Alcalá Galiano’s celebrated prologue to the Morq Expósito.¹⁹

In Rivas, portraiture of the person and of animals is one of the most important functions of the epithet in its rôle of conveying physical impression. As a portrait painter Rivas would naturally be interested in such details and he doubtless observed how much concerned the early popular writers were with details of the person. It is probable that the fondness for the description of personal appearance and the details of costume, so characteristic of Romanticism generally, originated in the frequency with which these things occurred in early epic material. Be that as it may, the correspondence between Rivas’ portraiture and that of early popular Spanish seems clear:

La faz adusta, desdénosa y fiera  
Boca anhelante, los bigotes rojos,  
Y con brillo satánico en los ojos

(L., 384, 8-10.)

Rivas’ equestrian portraits present further evidence of early popular Spanish influence. A great number of them are found, almost all of which receive exactly the same treatment. M. Boussagol²⁰ affirms that Rivas took them from the romances moriscos and that they were not due to his interest in painting alone because they are more or less stereotyped:

En revueltos caballos berberiscos,  
Cándidos cual la espuma con que esmaltan  
Los frenos y pretales, adornados  
De cascabeles de sonora plata

(M. E., 15, 3-6.)

Cultivation of the horrible is rather pronounced in Rivas’ Ro-


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mantic poetry and is achieved largely by the use of the epithet. This is very definitely characteristic of early popular Spanish poetry. Epithets of smell are intimately concerned:

Aquella divina boca
Aquella serena frente
Tornados en masa informe,
Hedionda y confusa vénse,
Donde enjambre de gusanos
Voraz cebándose hierve.

(R. H., 288-9, 23-30, 1-2.)

As concerns the use of the epithet to express thought and emotion Rivas might readily have found in the ballads epithets employed to portray an individual’s behavior while in a specific state of mind. Other poets writing in the popular manner had done so before him:

Así con voz ahogada, interrumpida,
Y de temblor no inteligible, dijo

(M. E., 198, 13-14.)

Rivas makes frequent use of epithets to express orthodox religious views and to express his own feelings toward his accepted creed. He shows himself to be a perfectly orthodox Christian although Professor Peers finds that his philosophy is sometimes almost oriental. The poet’s interest in religious offices apparently becomes more active as he grows older, being particularly evident in the Leyendas:

... Virgen santa,
Lucero de la mar, del cielo Reina,
Madre del Redentor . . .

(L., 326, 1-3.)

The use of the epithet in expressions of feeling toward another people and their religion is a prominent trait of early Spanish poetry. It is one of the clearly defined characteristics of Rivas’ Romantic works:

22 Cf. Revelation de un ermitaño, etc. S. A., p. 22.
23 Cf. N. F. de Moratin’s Fiesta de toros in Madrid, S. A., 204; 17; 206, 1-3.
De los malditos moros

el torpe Mahometismo

(M. E., 413, 9.)

(L., 214, 15.)

It seems evident then, that Rivas was influenced by early popular Spanish poetry and that he had assimilated some of the outstanding characteristics of that poetry, namely, the appositive locution, the elimination of allusion, portraiture of persons and animals, the cultivation of the horrible, expression of orthodox religious concepts and expression of feeling against alien people and their religion.

The writings of the most famous of the Renaissance poets, Garcilaso, Luis de León, Herrera and Góngora, together with the Moorish and pastoral romances have been said to be the prime influences upon the works of Rivas. Certainly the preponderance of Classical influences is evident in the grammatical forms which Rivas’ epithets most frequently take. The adjective, obviously, is most numerous. Standing close to the Romantic epithet in frequency is that Classical adjective which records the personal impression experienced by the poet in the presence of a given situation or thing. These epithets are by no means descriptive in the true sense of the word:

primorosa lanza

(M. E., 33, 8.)

aquél día delicioso

(M. E., 305, 23.)

Conspicuous among Rivas’ adjectives, though not as frequent as the above-mentioned type, are those conventional Classic ones indicating a moral attitude. They correspond exactly with those of the Classic period, the most common ones being noble, justo, triste, fatal, vano and augusto:

con noble gallardía

(M. E., 34, 25.)

Con justo desprendimiento

(R. H., 179, 14.)

We have seen that critics mention Herrera as an important influence upon Rivas. One of the indications of this influence is a special fondness for the Greek “ornamental” epithet.

26 Boussagol, op. cit., p. 345.
Del otoño _feras frutos opimos_ (L., 216, 15.)

los _rudos_ Totonaques (L., 268, 9.)

Compare the above with the following from Herrera:

_Eufrates fértil_ (S. A., 90, 17.)

_el claro_ Español y _belicoso_ (S. A., 91, 32.)

The use of the courtly epithet\(^3^0\) was very frequent in the poetry of Herrera, Lope de Vega and Góngora. It persists in Rivas but in rather small numbers. The ultimate source, of course, is Provençal but we have found no mention of Rivas' studying that poetry and are therefore inclined to believe that it came into his own verse through Classical Spanish sources:

su _gentil_ Kerima (M. E., 84, 17.)

dulces afanes (R. H., 6, 26.)

Among the locutions with adjectival functions, the adjective which has a complement is most important numerically. The type most often found is the adjective which, although complete in itself, has a complement which gives greater precision:

. . . . . . los caballos . . .

. . . _obedientes al freno y acicate_ (M. E., 31, 15.)

Several other varieties of this type of locution are found. In order of frequency they are those in which the complement refers to (1) agent, (2) place and (3) time:

. . . _asuntos de Alemania,
AGITADA _por Lutero_ (R. H., 241, 5-6.)

_Sobre sus frentes el terror ESCRITO_ (M. E., 198, 26.)

los dos _partidos ya AQUIETADOS_ (M. E., 359, 27.)

A comparison of the above with the examples quoted in our analysis of the Classic period\(^3^1\) seems to show that Rivas is entirely Classical in the use of these epithets.

\(^3^0\) Cf. _supra_ pp. 25, 38 and 39.

\(^3^1\) Cf. _supra_ pp. 40-41.
The elements of language modified by the epithet are those of the Classic tradition. Rivas apparently adds nothing, either of his own invention or from foreign sources. Aside from nouns, the personal pronoun is the sentence element most often modified by the epithet. Much less frequently does the epithet modify the relative pronoun and very rarely a demonstrative:

\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots y\text{ mal herido,} \\
\text{Pudo al cabo salvarse en las fuluás} \\
\text{el que joven, en zenit sentado} & \quad (L., 268, 3-4.) \\
\text{AQUÉL reducido y corto,} \\
\text{ÉSTE numeroso y fiero} & \quad (L., 214, 5.) \\
\end{align*}
\]

The influence of the Classic poets upon Rivas seems still more pronounced in the literary functions of the epithet. We have seen\textsuperscript{32} that it was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that figures of speech and literary formulae became unmistakably prominent characteristics of Spanish poetry. We shall find that almost all the characteristics found in the Classic writers exist in Rivas, with practically no changes in form and about the same relative frequency. The appositive metaphor is numerically the most important type of figure in Rivas just as it was in the Classic age:

\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\text{de la aurora mensajero} \\
\text{Apareció el lucero matutino} & \quad (M. E., 197, 13.) \\
\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\text{Virgen santa,} \\
\text{Lucero de la mar, del cielo Reina} & \quad (L., 326, 1-2.) \\
\end{align*}
\]

Compare those above with the following verse from Góngora:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{La Virgen, aurora bella} & \quad (S. A., 142, 21.) \\
\end{align*}
\]

In the same period, the epithet became an essential element in another type of metaphor by preparing, justifying or explaining the figure. This type was then and is in Rivas only a little less important numerically than the appositive metaphor:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{El mar humilla sus movibles montes} & \quad (L., 327, 9.) \\
\end{align*}
\]

\textsuperscript{32} Cf. supra p. 41.
The above is clearly comparable to such Classic passages as the following from Jáuregui:

Con líquidos aljófares del río

(S. A., 158, 17.)

Personification follows metaphor in frequency. The types most numerous in Rivas are of the oldest Classical type, namely, personification of abstractions, phenomena of nature and ordinary objects. The forms are in great favor in Virgil and Horace and the Spanish poets of the Renaissance.33

el tiempo voraz

(M. E., 4, 15.)

la mar sañuda

(L., 327, 5.)

¡Oh naves de Aragón desventuradas!

(L., 324, 9.)

Very definite influence of Fernando de Herrera seems evident in Rivas’ ascription of physical form to the Creator. Particularly interesting is the fact that in both Herrera! and Rivas brazo and mano are most often mentioned. The epithet is often only indirectly concerned:

Por la alta diestra de Jehová benditas

(L., 216, 22.)

... Cuando el Señor omnipotente
Rompe con brazo airado las barreras

(L., 325, 3-4.)

Antithesis in which the epithet is directly concerned is only slightly less frequent in Rivas than personification. Antithesis in general in Rivas has been attributed to the influence of the sixteenth and seventeenth century poets, particularly those of the seventeenth century.34 Indeed there are two types of antithesis in Rivas, one of which, as far as our analysis permits us to say, is found previously only in the works of Lope de Vega, and the other only in Góngora.

Antithesis of the first type is formed by opposing two epithets without a connective which modify the same noun. The noun is stated only once:

En la, si antes feroz, ya humilde gente

(M. E., 360, 8.)

33 Cf. supra p. 44.
34 Boussagol, op. cit., p. 422.
The second type is that in which a noun, stated only once, is modified by two antithetical epithets connected by a conjunction of concession:

La invencible infantería
Descalza, pero contenta

(R. H., 186, 9-13.)

Antithesis between an epithet and a concept developed by other means received its greatest development with the advent of the Renaissance. It is numerically the most important form of antithesis in Rivas and apparently represents a part of his indebtedness to the Spanish Classic poets:

En nuestros debates propios
Siempre ha de haber extranjeros

Sale de la hermosa vega
Que le parece el infierno

(R. H., 62, 24-25.)

(R. H., 120, 11-12.)

The oxymoron is nearly as well represented in Rivas' works as the type illustrated just above. It likewise is very frequent in the Renaissance poets:

sordos gritos
funesto gozo

(M. E., 251, 25.)

(R. H., 63, 18.)

Hypallage is of greater relative importance in Rivas' Romantic poems than in any of the periods before him. This figure had practically no development at all before the Renaissance in Spain. Most numerous is the type in which the epithet really modifies an unexpressed element:

Fieles ladridos

... un albornoz ...
Que baja en nobles ... pliegues

(M. E., 86, 18.)

(M. E., 362, 6.)

It is curious to find so frequent in Rivas, hypallage in which the epithet modifies a word in the sentence other than the normal one.

35 Cf. supra pp. 42-43.
36 Cf. supra p. 43.
In our analysis, Góngora was the only poet before Rivas who made use of this type of hypallage:

De negra sangre cálido torrente

(M. E., 88, 13.)

Un mar de rugiente sangre

(R. H., 61, 13.)

Simile, although it stands, as seems customary in Spanish, at the end of the list of figures, is several times more frequent in Rivas than in any preceding period. It has been said that Herrera was the initiator of the simile in Rivas' works. Our study, however, has been unable to discover similes in Herrera's poetry. We were to be sure concerned here, as in all cases, only with figures in which the epithet was an essential element. It seems true, nevertheless, that Rivas was in this instance subject to Classic influences because the simile is not important numerically in the other periods before him:

El cual, feroz como las fieras mismas

(M. E., 255, 14.)

Accumulations of epithets occur rather often in Rivas' Romantic poems. They are of two important types: (1) those which are of similar sense for emphasis of the original concept or (2) those which present the substantive from a variety of points of view. The second type is much more frequent:

Así con voz ahogada, interrumpida,
Y de temblor no inteligible, dijo.

(M. E., 198, 13-14.)

... una expedición guerrera,
Tan cristiana como noble

(R. H., 302, 1-2.)

Classical accumulations in Spanish usually present a thing from a variety of points of view, which is the type most numerous in Rivas.

It is true of Rivas, as it seems to be true of all poetry, that the rôle of the epithet in conveying physical impression is overwhelmingly that of presenting visual impressions, the great majority of which are conveyed by epithets of color. Critics have observed the abundance of color in Rivas and at least one has made a special

37 Boussagol, op. cit., p. 424.
38 Cf. supra p. 45.
study of this subject. Almost all have dismissed this characteristic by remarking that Rivas possessed an unusual memory and used over and over again a rather limited number of color epithets. By far the most frequently occurring epithets of color are red, white and black, followed in decreasing order of frequency by blue, green, brown and grey. Rivas indicates shades of color by such epithets as verdinegra, alazán, overo, ruano, gualdo, morado, ámbar, and castaño.

Certain epithets which specify no definite color but nevertheless convey an impression of it are quite frequent: con vistoso ornato (L. 379, 8); sus pintadas plumas (L. 383, 5); ropajes espléndidos de gala (L. 380, 20).

Symbolic and figurative uses of color are confined to conventional black and white.

The principal epithets of light and fire in Rivas are, with the exceptions we have already mentioned, traditionally Classic ones. Most common are ardiente, rutilante and refulgente, whose relative frequency stands approximately in the above order:

- lucero refulgente
- sol ardiente

Other epithets of a like nature—luciente, resplandeciente, esplendente and abrasador—occur infrequently:

- luna, de luciente nácar
- Del astro abrasador la estiva llama

Rivas' use of epithets of material seems to follow the example set by the Renaissance poets. Metals used for color are most often found:

- Varios leves celajes de oro y grana
- Escarcha en copos de plata

The use of precious stones as epithets of color seems to be just

---

40 Cf. supra pp. 62-63.
41 Cf. supra pp. 45-46.
as definitely Classical in source as the above. This type of epithet is rare in Rivas' Romantic works:

La llana y ancha vega parecía
En Marzo campo inmenso de esmeraldas

(L., 216, 7-8.)

Epithets of sound are of several varieties, most of which comprise traditional epithets, such as sonoro, ronco, bramante, tonante, suave, apacible and the like. There is little evidence, except as we have observed elsewhere, of a search for new and unforeseen epithets of sound. A few epithets are found which follow the Classical analytical tendency in presenting emotional effect upon the hearer or emotion indicated by tone of voice. This type of sound epithet is most common among the Spanish Renaissance poets:

Oye de fúnebres cantos
El triste són . . .

una voz sumisa

(R. H., 421, 1-2.)

(R. H., 361, 13.)

One of the most notable characteristics of certain of the Renaissance poets was their rather frequent use of temperature epithets. This was particularly true of Herrera and Góngora. In the Romantic poetry of Rivas, we now observe that such epithets stand unusually high numerically. This close correspondence with the Renaissance poets makes Classical influence appear obvious:

Del Rhin en la orilla helada

la siesta ardiente

(L., 218, 20.)

(R. H., 418, 3.)

Less frequent are epithets of temperature used figuratively:

Vino a mí la vejez; sus manos frías
De mi vigor los restos me robaron

(M. E., 254, 30; 255, 1.)

Rivas evidently goes back to the Classic period for his epithets of movement since they are all entirely conventional. They are relatively frequent: veloz corriente (R. H. 424, 11); Torrente fugitivo (L. 214, 30); fantasmas voladoras (M. E. 197, 17); galope sosegado (M. E. 34, 3).

42 Cf. supra pp. 63-64.
To sum up, from the evidence that our analysis has presented there seems to be no doubt that Rivas’ use of the epithet in his Romantic poetry was to a very large degree influenced by the Classical poets of sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain. The influence is strong not only among the grammatical forms of the epithet but particularly so among its literary functions. Furthermore, a very large portion of the epithets used to convey physical impression, such as those of color, light, fire, material, movement, sound and temperature, apparently do nothing more than continue the Classical tradition.

Although Rivas was perhaps the person who did more than any other to break the bonds of neo-Classicism in Spain, yet, because of his early training, it is hardly to be expected that he should rid himself of all the stylistic characteristics of that period. Critics agree that his first poetry was neo-Classic. Most of them consider Rivas’ development toward Romanticism a gradual one and concerned with spirit rather than style.

One of the most numerous among the grammatical forms of the epithet in Rivas is that which we have called the “useless” adjective, one of the most frequently employed of the neo-Classic forms. It is simply a filler used because it contains convenient rhyme or assonance or a suitable number of syllables to complete the meter:

- *flexibles bridas*  
  (R. H., 185, 25.)

- *antiguas vividoras palmas*  
  (M. E., 4, 18.)

A certain number of conventional adjectives used in a moral sense were added by the neo-Classicists to the group favored by the Classicists. Of these, we find in Rivas a special preference for *ilustre*:

- *Hijo ilustre*  
  (R. H., 181, 14.)

Among the locutions with adjectival functions Rivas seems indebted to the neo-Classicists for but one, the non-prepositional complement. This type of locution is very frequent in the neo-
Classic period but is altogether negligible in other periods before Rivas:

En un cordobés overo,  
_De sudor cubierta el anca_  
(R. H., 126, 14-15.)

_Y el mismo Pescara llega,  
_De llanto el rostro cubierto_  
(R. H., 178, 5-6.)

There seem to be, at first glance, many evidences of neo-Classicism in Rivas’ use of the literary functions of the epithet, but upon investigation most of them are found to be quite unimportant numerically.

Personification of cities, countries, etc., in which the epithet plays a decisive rôle was not found in our analysis prior to neo-Classicism. Its use is one of the clearest indications of neo-Classic style. It occurs with small frequency in Rivas. M. Boussagol considers it the result of the poet’s improvising tendencies which threw the burden of composition upon bookish memories:

_Cuando atónito el orbe te aclamaba_  
_Reina feliz del musulmán imperio_  
_de Granada en el turbante_  
(M. E. 5, 4-5.)  
(L., 214, 17.)

Synecdoche was the most important figure in point of frequency in the neo-Classic period. Its rôle was a much smaller one in the periods before it. It would seem only natural to believe that Rivas was influenced by the profuse use of this figure in the poems of the neo-Classic poets. The kind of synecdoche which occurs most often in Rivas’ works is that which attributes to a part of the body qualities properly belonging to the whole person:

_infeliz cabeza_  
(M. E., 144, 16.)

_brazo airado_  
(L., 325, 4.)

_mustios brazos_  
(L., 325, 28.)

The use of an attribute for the person is much less common:

46 Cf. _supra_ p. 49.
48 Cf. _supra_ pp. 49-50.
Generally speaking Rivas was successful in eliminating the specifically neo-Classic forms of synecdoche. We have seen that the type mentioned above is comparatively rare. Still more so is the type in which the singular is used for the plural. The epithet is only indirectly concerned here:

... el duro brazo ...
Del Ángel de la muerte ...

Metonymy, which occurs several times more frequently in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries than in the preceding periods, is also an important figure in Rivas' Romantic poems. The epithet is here absolutely essential. The most important form numerically is "'container for thing contained':

aquella tierra venturosa

"'Instrument for agent'"\(^{49}\) which first occurred in the neo-Classic period is rare:

Al son de belicosos instrumentos

Among the literary formulae the overwhelming profusion of inversion of noun and epithet in Rivas seems to be due to two reasons: first, because of its great frequency in the poetry of the neo-Classicists and, second, Rivas' disposition to write in the easiest way. In all cases found, inversion serves to meet the needs of rhyme, rhythm or assonance:

Y del docto arzepreste las arengas;
De las dueñas y antiguos servidores
Del palacio el contenido y esperanzas;
Y las patrañas necias y discordes

Despite Rivas' evident intention to depart from the most obvious neo-Classic traits and return to what he considered the true Spanish tradition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he nevertheless

\(^{49}\) Cf. supra p. 51.
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makes frequent use of periphrasis which has every appearance of
the neo-Classic type: 50

\[ \text{los huecos y agitados bronce} \] (M. E., 306, 14.)
\[ \text{el fruto inocente y tierno} \] (R. H., 122, 18-19.)
\[ \text{De sus plácidos amores} \]

Before the time of Rivas epithets of evocation had reached their
greatest development in Spain in the period of neo-Classicism:

\[ \text{en tu horror sublime} \] (Juan Nicasio Gallego, S. A., 244, 5.)
\[ \text{Visión nocturna grave} \] (Fray Diego Gonzáles, S. A., 217, 30.)

In Rivas we find a very large number of these epithets used to
create an atmosphere of the strange, supernatural and divine:

\[ \text{Te reconozco en fin, oh grave acento} \] (M. E., 4, 3.)
\[ \text{... ¿no escuchas el sonido} \]
\[ \text{De las solemnes voces ...?} \] (M. E., 4, 5-6.)

Adjectives of size almost always modify abstractions or appear
in hallucination in Rivas' works. Rarely do they give an image of
concrete size. This is quite in accordance with neo-Classic prac­tice: 51

\[ \text{comprensión inmensa} \] (R. H., 305, 25.)
\[ \text{voz tremenda} \] (M. E., 415, 15.)
\[ \text{desventura enorme} \] (R. H., 301, 26.)

In the epithet's rôle of expressing imagination and ideas the only
expressions which seem to be due to neo-Classic influences are a
large number of epithets which refer to mental or moral qualities
with somewhat the idealistic simplicity of the Greek 'ornamental'
epithet except that the observation is accurate and, original:

\[ \text{Enrique alevoso} \] (R. H., 63, 4.)
\[ \text{El soñador extranjero (Columbus)} \] (R. H., 124, 14.)

50 Cf. supra p. 51.
51 Cf. supra p. 52.
To summarize our conclusions on neo-Classicism in Rivas, it may be said that he retained a surprisingly large number of epithets peculiar to that period, considering his general disclaimer of neo-Classic ideals. Among the grammatical forms of the epithet these are unimportant with the exception of the "useless" epithet. Many of the literary functions, however, including personification of cities, synecdoche, metonymy, inversion, periphrasis and evocation are clearly neo-Classic in origin as are epithets to convey the impression of size. Lastly, the most important use of the epithet in its rôle of presenting thought and emotion is neo-Classic in source.

This study of Rivas’ use of the epithet in his Romantic poetry leads to the conclusion that the poet was to a considerable extent successful in restoring the tradition established by the sixteenth and seventeenth century poets. Certainly the greatest number of his uses of the epithet belong to those two centuries, whose style, fused with that of the early popular poetry, had by Rivas’ day apparently come to be regarded as the true national poetic tradition.

It is nevertheless true as was suggested by Gil y Carrasco that "... los grillos (of neo-Classicism) que con tanto valor se arrojaba a quebrantar le sujetaban más de lo que él mismo creía, y la costumbre y los recuerdos de tantos años influían poderosamente y sin saberlo él en su ánimo..." since we have found apparently unmistakable evidence of a strong neo-Classie survival in his use of synecdoche, inversion, periphrasis, evocation and the natural epithet of individual psychology.

Foreign Romantic influences are clearly discernible, we believe, and are of two kinds: general and specific. The general influences are evident in the "Romantic" epithet which expresses melancholy, mystery, vagueness, an interest in the past, an atmosphere of the strange and supernatural and certain light effects. They are also clear in Rivas’ fondness for the grandiose in Nature. Specific influences we have attributed to Byron for Satanism and anti-clericalism; to Hugo for a particular type of locution and certain epithets of outline, relief, materials, light and sound; and to de Vigny for epithets of tense immobility. Romantic influences upon the epithet are numerically inferior to those of neo-Classicism.

The influence of early popular Spanish poetry is limited to a particular form of the simple appositive locution, portraiture of


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persons and animals, cultivation of the horrible and revolting and expression of certain concepts concerned with religion. We attribute the fact that Rivas almost eliminated allusion to his desire to approach the popular style. Popular influences upon the epithet are the least important of all those we have considered.
CHAPTER III

JOSÉ DE ESPRONCEDA

Espronceda was born March 25, 1808 in Almenadrajo, Extremadura. In 1820 the family settled in Madrid, where in 1821 Espronceda entered the Colegio de San Mateo. Among the teachers were José Gómez Hermosilla and Alberto Lista, both of whom were noted classical scholars. Espronceda’s classical and linguistic training at the Colegio included courses in Latin, Greek, French, English and mythology, his best work apparently having been done in Latin.

When the Colegio de San Mateo was closed by royal order in 1823, Espronceda was among the group of students who went to Lista’s academy of humanities. He was prominent in the Academia del Mirto, the purpose of which was to aid in the restoration of national poetry by following the example of Meléndez, Cienfuegos, Jovellanos and Quintana, taking as models the Latin poets, particularly Horace.

In 1825 revolutionary and seditious activities caused Espronceda to receive a sentence of five years’ imprisonment in the monastery of San Francisco in Guadalajara, only four months of which he actually served. It was there that he began his *Pelayo* which he was destined never to complete.

Finding life too distasteful in Spain, in 1826 Espronceda left for England, arriving there about September 1, 1827. There he is said to have studied Milton, Byron and Shakespeare and to have written his poems, *La entrada del invierno en Londres*, *A la patria*, and others.

About the first of the year 1829, Espronceda went to Paris where he remained with little interruption until 1833. In 1833 he re-entered Spain but in the latter part of the same year was banished from Madrid to Cuéllar in Old Castile for writing some satirical verses censuring the government. Here he began to write his historical novel, *Sancho Saldaña*, after the manner of Sir Walter Scott. It was published in the following year.

Though during the years immediately following he published several works of considerable merit, including the comedies *Ni el
tío ni el sobrino and Amor venga sus agravios, it was not until 1840, after the publication of his volume of Poesías, that he was recognized as a literary figure of the first rank. In October of the same year his Diabó Mundo began to appear, each canto being sold separately. It was never finished, publication being interrupted by the poet’s sudden death in May 1842.

The opinion of the critics is that Espronceda’s first compositions, between the ages of thirteen and nineteen, were guided entirely by Lista, and that through him the youthful poet was influenced by Meléndez Valdés and Herrera, progressing from the pastoral idylls of Meléndez to the warlike chants of Herrera. With regard to the poems written at a later period critics disagree. Some declare that neo-Classic influences persisted until at least 1830, and never entirely ceased. Others believe that the influence of Byron was crucial, and still others that his most important models were French. Whatever may be the merits of the respective opinions, they would in any case throw little light on the present study since they are almost never concerned with style.

It seems reasonable to believe that, since Espronceda spent four years in France during the most flourishing years of French Romanticism, he should have become thoroughly familiar with the aims and purposes of this new movement. Did he, however, study the stylistic innovations of the school and is there any evidence of conscious imitation of them in his works? We shall undertake to arrive at an answer, in part, to these questions and others by means of a study of the use of the epithet in Espronceda’s poetic works, considering first, as indicated above, the possible influence of foreign Romanticism.

The “Romantic” adjective is the most numerous type of epithet and occurs much more often in Espronceda’s poetry than in that of Rivas. It has been said that Espronceda’s first rather hesitant departure from neo-Classicism was due to the influence of Scott and Ossian. Certainly Espronceda uses a vast number of adjectives that lend vagueness or melancholy or show a decided interest in the past. Still more striking is his use of adjectives to convey an atmosphere of unreality, the weird and supernatural. The characteristics just mentioned are probably due to the vogue of Ann

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1 Victor Hugo, Les Orientales (1829); Hernani (1830); Feuilles d’Automne (1831), etc.
2 Cf. supra pp. 60-61.
3 Geoffrey Brereton, Quelques précisions sur les sources d’Espronceda, Paris, 1933, pp. 53 ff.
Radcliffe, Scott and Byron which, according to M. Brereton, certainly reached Spain by 1834, even if Espronceda had not become thoroughly acquainted with it during his stay in England:

¿Por qué este sentimiento extraño y vago
(C. C., v.47, 178, 2736.4)

Por la calle fatal del Ataúd
(Ibid., 298, 5050.)

Ginete fantástico
(C. C., v.50, 30, 89.)

Del gótico castillo el albanero
Antiguo torreón . . . . .
(Ibid., 93, 1558-1559.)

We have shown⁵ that Rivas was evidently influenced by Victor Hugo in his use of a clause instead of an adjective to secure greater artistic precision. In Espronceda the same influence seems to be at work:

Era la hora en que el mundano ruido
Calma, en silencio el orbe sepultado
(C. C., v.47, 53, 145-146.)

Among the literary functions of the epithet, only that of expressing irony and one form of personification occur in Espronceda. Irony is no doubt due to the influence of Byron and Hugo fused with the same tendency which we have observed in the ballads.⁶ The idea is Byronic. The form is that found in the ballad and in Hugo:

Que por vos no he de dejar
Tan honrosa compañía
Buena fama
Lograreis entre las bellas
(C. C., v.47, 292, 4947-48.)

Compare Hugo’s:

La belle ambition et le rare destin!
(F. A., XV.)⁷

⁴The following abbreviations for the identification of Espronceda’s works are used in this chapter:

⁵ Cf. supra p. 61.
⁶ Cf. supra p. 37.
⁷ The abbreviations of Chapter I are used here. Cf. p. 28.
Personification dictated by resemblances of form and other physical peculiarities, new to Spanish poetry and characteristic of Victor Hugo, occurs in Espronceda’s verse:

Allí torrentes de lava
Lanza mugiente volcán
(T. C., v.50, 31, 110-111.)

Toledo . . . . . . .
. . . eleva su muralla altiva
(T. C., v.47, 48, 39-40.)

Vision is most important numerically among the sensory impressions conveyed by the epithet in Espronceda’s works. Under the head of vision there are several uses of the epithet which do not seem to be found in earlier Spanish. We have indicated these in the works of Rivas and we now find them recurring in those of Espronceda. The epithet appears with greatest frequency in these new ways in expressions of form with reference to contour, particularly shadowy, indefinite outlines. This characteristic is apparently Ossianic in its origin but is found in the works of all the Romantics:

Visiones fosfóricas
Trémulas imágenes
Sin marcada faz
(Vago enjambre de vanos fantasmas
(Ibid., 40, 279.)
(Ibid., 40, 281-2.)
(Ibid., 29, 60.)

It is interesting to note that the above type of epithet is usually found associated, in Espronceda, with a peculiarity which he quite evidently derived from Hugo. It will be recalled that Hugo was particularly given to a very personal type of hallucination, which differed from ordinary description only in the use of epithets indicating abnormality. In spite of this characteristic in Hugo, his picture is ordinarily vivid and clear-cut. Espronceda, in passages like those just cited, employs a type of hallucination clearly like that of Hugo, but with epithets of the Ossianic type. The result is a phantasmagoria whose visions are the very essence of formlessness.

Miss Robertson has indicated Victor Hugo’s predilection for

8 Cf. supra pp. 62 ff.
9 Cf. supra p. 33.
opaque, colored or striped stones in his early works, especially in the *Orientales*. This fondness evidenced by Victor Hugo we have observed recurring in small numbers in Rivas. It is also found with about the same frequency in Espronceda. Since only precious stones used figuratively for color were found in earlier Spanish poetry, we attribute this usage to the example of Victor Hugo:

De conchas y corales
Y nácar a tu frente
Guirnalda reluciente,
Mi bien, te ceñiré

(C. C., v.47, 115, 1268-71.)

The most frequently recurring light epithets are those of faint or unsteady light and of light effects in darkness. We have elsewhere attributed these epithets to general foreign Romantic influences:

Con trémula luz alumbran
en fúnebre luz ilumine
Con roja vaga aureola

(Ibid., 333, 5959.)

Con roja vaga aureola

Epithets of immobility are, we believe, definitely Romantic since there are many remarkable instances of them in Victor Hugo and also in de Vigny:

Sus ojos la muerta mirada fascina

(C. C., v.47, 301, 5124.)

Con inmóvil, irónica mueca
Inclinaron, . . . . .

(Ibid., 329, 5861-62.)

M. Brereton has shown that Byron’s influence did not have very definite effects upon Espronceda’s works until he wrote the *Diablo Mundo* in 1840. He asserts that the original idea for that work may have been suggested by *Don Juan*. Professor Churchman calls special attention to mockery in the *Diablo Mundo*, ascribing it unreservedly to Byron’s influence. Our own study of the ironical and satirical epithet in the expression of ideas tends to confirm these assertions. Irony and satire color Espronceda’s

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expression of almost every sentiment whether it be concerning the Deity, the universe, the government, society, moral conventions, science or even the poet himself:

¿Es Dios el Dios que arranca la esperanza,
Fúvido, injusto y sin piedad tirano
(C. C., v.50, 42, 348-49.)

¡Oh imbécil, necia y arraigada en vicios
Turba de viejas que ha mandado y manda!
(The government)
(Ibid., 133, 2629-30.)

Periódicos (¡amable cofradía!)
(Ibid., 154, 3150.)

¡Oh! la casta matrona ruborosa
(Ibid., 125, 2401.)

Espronceda condemns bitterly the vices and faults of his time: the new spirit of commercialism and venality which was then possessing Europe. This use of the epithet has been attributed to the influence of Auguste Barbier:14

Miseria y avidez, dinero y prosa,
En vil mercado convertido el mundo,
(C. C., v.47, 204, 3213-14.)

Satanism15 is starkly portrayed in the Diablo Mundo. It seems to be due to Byronic influences and to Espronceda’s personal disillusionment, bitterness and pessimism. There is no precedent for it in any earlier period of Spanish poetry:

Y ese gusano que roe
Tu corazón . . . .
... . . . . .
Soy yo, el lucero caído,
El ángel de los dolores,
El rey del mal . . .
(C. C., v.50, 47, 495-500.)

A general characteristic of Romanticism was the expression of the idea of the heartless indifference of the universe. This we find frequently in Espronceda:

... gira en torno indiferente el mundo,
Y en torno gira indiferente el cielo
(C. C., v.47, 45, 10-11.)

Another characteristic of the Romantic movement was disillusion-

14 Brereton, op. cit., pp. 129-130.
15 Cf. supra p. 61.
ment. In Espronceda the desengaño is induced by the example of Byron and by the Spaniard’s own harsh experiences with life. It does not become apparent in Espronceda until 1836 and is particularly emphatic in the Diabolo Mundo:

Malditos treinta años,
Funesta edad de amargos desengaños

(C. C., v.50, 106, 1880-81.)

Epithets which aid in expressing social ideas such as social injustice presumably are due to his reading of Victor Hugo. They are not found in Byron who was a true aristocrat, while one of Hugo’s greatest traits of character was his identification of self with the masses:

Esos ricos tan galanes,
... reclinados
En magníficos carruajes,
Parece que se desdenían
En su soberbia insultante
De mirar a los que cruzan
A pie como yo las calles

(C. C., v.50, 209, 4369-77.)

Another characteristic of Hugo which was clearly reflected in Espronceda, was the use of the epithet to express the tragic aspect of things, particularly human restlessness and weakness:

Lanzarse a descubrir y alzarse al cielo
... Miserables enanos,
Y con voces hacer mezquina guerra
Y levantar las impotentes manos,
Es ridículo asaz y harto indiscreto

(C. C., v.50, 116, 2174-79.)

It seems likely that Hugo exerted direct influence upon Espronceda as regards the use of the epithet for self-characterization:

Contino imaginado en mi fe pura
Sueños de gloria al mundo y de ventura

(C. C., v.50, 93, 1546-47.)

The above example may be compared with the following one from Victor Hugo:

Sans doute en mon avril, ne sachant rien à fond,
Jeune, crédule, austère ...

(V. I., XXX.)
We have now observed in the foregoing discussion certain indications of foreign Romantic influences in Espronceda's use of the epithet. We have called attention to the "Romantic" epithet which was characteristic of the movement in general, and to the use of an adjectival clause for greater precision, which seems to derive from Hugo.

The use of the epithet in irony, which is frequent in Espronceda, may have derived either from Byron and Hugo or from early Spanish.

The rôle of the epithet in physical description is important, and includes such Romantic apportations as the indication of vague contours, interest in common and precious stones as real materials, and the use of adjectives of immobility, all of which we attribute to the influence of Victor Hugo.

In conveying thought and emotion, the rôle of the epithet, with the exception of a variation of Hugoesque hallucination, is confined almost entirely to the expression of ideas. Never before in Spanish had a poet identified himself so completely with society and its hopes, ills and faults. By means of the epithet, Espronceda satirizes the newspaper, government, conventional morality, science and sordid commercialism. He speaks ironically of himself and inquires rebelliously about the Deity. He accepts Satanism. In all of this, with the possible exception of his hatred of the new spirit of materialism, he is influenced by Byron. His social pity, his violent dislike of base commercialism, his compassion toward tragic human weakness and his characterization of himself as a youth, represent the influence of Victor Hugo. The _desengaño_ is due to the Romantic movement in general, and in particular, to Espronceda's own life.

There appears to be nothing in Espronceda's use of the various grammatical forms of the epithet which would indicate that he was influenced to any visible degree by early popular Spanish poetry. The same statement is apparently true of the literary functions of the epithet.

As regards the rôle of the epithet in conveying the personal appearance of an individual, its prominence seems to be due to popular Spanish influence. We have seen\(^6\) that this is a definite characteristic of that kind of poetry and that it is very frequent in Rivas. It occurs in appreciable numbers in Espronceda:

\(^6\) Cf. supra p. 36.
Dueña de rubios cabellos
su heroica, simpática figura

Portraiture of animals, a popular characteristic, is much less frequent in occurrence:

Y en un caballo con la crin tendida,
La cola suelta, vagorosa al viento,
Y la abierta nariz de fuego hinchada

The cultivation of the horrible, aided by means of the epithet is very striking, particularly in the latter part of the Estudiante de Salamanca. We have assigned these manifestations to the influence of early popular Spanish and to the spirit of realism so characteristic generally of Spanish picaresque literature:

El cariado, livido esqueleto
. . . . . . . . . .
La árida, descarnada y amarilla
. . . . . repugnante faz

The following verses quoted from the anonymous Revelación de un ermitaño will illustrate the above tendency in early Spanish poetry:

O cuerpo maldito, vil, enconado,
Lena de fedor e grand calabrina

Espronceda follows the popular tradition in expressing certain ideas, such as the psychology of an individual as revealed by outward manifestations:

Pálido el rostro, cejijunto el ceño
Y torva la mirada, aunque afligida

Other very characteristic popular traits are the use of epithets to express orthodox religious beliefs and disapproval of other faiths and their adherents:

Delante el sepulcro de Dios he jurado

17 Boussagol, op. cit., p. 410.
19 Cf. supra p. 56.
Evidence, therefore, of the influence of early popular Spanish upon Esproncada's use of the epithet is quite small. We have been able to find nothing at all among the grammatical forms of the epithet or its literary functions which presents conclusive proof of such influence.

The rôle of the epithet in conveying physical impressions is confined to portraiture of persons and animals, and to the presentation of the horrible, both of which had their origin in early popular Spanish poetry.

Ideas are expressed by the epithet in two distinctly popular ways: (1) by describing the external manifestation of a mental state, and (2) to express orthodox religious views and disapproval of other religions.

Prominent among Esproncada's epithets there are several types of adjectives characteristic of the Renaissance period. The most numerous type is that which does not describe but merely gives the poet's impression.

Following the above numerically is the conventional adjective expressing a moral attitude:

The courtly epithet occurs quite often and indicates Classical influences which came into Spanish through the Provençal. The adjectives dulce and gentil are most numerous:

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20 Cf. supra p. 40.
21 Cf. supra p. 40.
22 Cf. supra pp. 25 and 38.
gentil castellano (C. C., v.47, 228, 3681.)

Y el de su dulce Oscar
(Ibid., 118, 1337.)

The Greek "ornamental" epithet which we also found very frequent in the Classical period occurs less often in Espronceda. The epithets recall Herrera:

Vencedor del turco fiero (C. C., v.47, 230, 3726.)
el alarbe rudo
(Ibid., 59, 243.)

With one exception the locutions made up of adjective plus complement show about the same variations and relative frequency in Espronceda that they did in the Classical period. The following types are given in order of frequency:

una mujer velada en blanco traje (C. C., v.47, 300, 5108.)

Del sol de la Libia quemado el semblante
(Ibid., 228, 3697.)

Tendido á mis plantas de fieras estocada
(Ibid., 233, 3804.)

Evidences of the Classical tradition abound among the literary functions of the epithet. It is hardly an overstatement to say that in this division Espronceda introduced nothing to break the long reign of Classicism.

According to all our criteria, Espronceda’s metaphors are of Classical origin. As always, we are referring to those metaphors in which an epithet is concerned. The most important metaphor is that in which the epithet prepares, explains or justifies the figure. It will be remembered that this metaphor first occurred in the Classical period:

La catarata encendida

. . . . . .

Océano inmenso volcado
(C. C., v.50, 39, 255-7.)

Mas ya el pértigo de plata

Muestra . . . la luna
(C. C., v.47, 112, 1192-3.)

23 Cf. supra p. 39.
24 Cf. supra pp. 41-42.
Only slightly less important numerically are appositive metaphors,\textsuperscript{25} also characteristic of the Classic period:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Mujeres, de beldad rico tesoro} \\
(C. C., v.50, 216, 4534.)
\end{quote}

(\begin{quote}
¿Cómo caíste despeñado al suelo, \textit{Astro de la mañana luminoso}? \\
\textit{Ángel de luz} \ldots \ldots \\
(Ibid., 99, 1700-02.)
\end{quote} )

Another Classical metaphor\textsuperscript{26} which occurs somewhat less frequently in Espronceda’s works is that in which the first term, expressed by a phrase, modifies the second term, expressed by a noun:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Nublado el sol de la esperanza mía} \\
(C. C., v.47, 45, 2.)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{En sueño delicioso del deseo} \\
(C. C., v.50, 97, 1670.)
\end{quote}

The most important type of antithesis in Espronceda in which the epithet is concerned, is the oxymoron\textsuperscript{27} of definitely Classical origin:

\begin{quote}
\ldots \ldots \ldots \textit{con sombrío} \\
\textit{Fuego} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \\
(C. C., v.47, 53, 140-41.)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{noble avaricia} \\
(C. C., v.50, 34, 176.)
\end{quote}

Very nearly equal in frequency to the above is the type in which the antithesis is between an epithet and a concept presented by another element of language:\textsuperscript{28}

\begin{quote}
\textit{La noche tenebrosa} \\
\textit{Tu faz ALEGRA Á} \\
(C. C., v.47, 114, 1250-1.)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\ldots \ldots \ldots \textit{apena interrumpido} \\
\textit{Del dulce sueño su mortal cuidado} \\
(C. C., v.47, 53, 147-8.)
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{25} Cf. supra p. 42.
\textsuperscript{26} Cf. supra p. 42.
\textsuperscript{27} Cf. supra p. 43.
\textsuperscript{28} Cf. supra pp. 42-43.
Antithesis between two adjectives joined by a connective of concession and modifying the same substantive was found in Rivas.\textsuperscript{29} It was shown in that case that this type occurred previously only in the works of Góngora. Various critics\textsuperscript{30} have attributed to the influence of Góngora certain features of Espronceda’s style. We believe this should be so attributed also:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Y áspero a par que juguetón y atento}\\
\textit{(C. C., v.50, 157, 3245.)}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{Airoso, aunque el rostro con mortal color}\\
\textit{(C. C., v.47, 330, 5884.)}
\end{quote}

Hypallage\textsuperscript{31} in the poetry of Espronceda is dependent entirely upon the epithet. There are two important types, both of which are characteristic of the Classical period. The first is that in which the epithet modifies a noun other than the normal one:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Remolinos de polvo violento}\\
\textit{(C. C., v.47, 332, 5937.)}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{Juega en las aguas del sereno río}\\
\textit{(C. C., v.50, 95, 1603.)}
\end{quote}

The other type, which is of equal numerical importance, is that in which the epithet replaces an adverb:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Rodrigo en tanto Verterá entre sus hembras débil llanto}\\
\textit{(C. C., v.47, 52, 125-6.)}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{en arco rápido cae}\\
\textit{(C. C., v.50, 39, 256.)}
\end{quote}

Three types of Classical personification in which the epithet is directly concerned occur in Espronceda. The first and most numerous is traditional personification of phenomena of nature or of ordinary objects.\textsuperscript{32}

\begin{quote}
\textit{nave audas}\\
\textit{(C. C., v.50, 95, 1590.)}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{Del muro que trémulo Las siente llegar}\\
\textit{(C. C., v.47, 327, 5796-7.)}
\end{quote}

The second type,\textsuperscript{33} only a little less frequent, is personification of abstractions:

\textsuperscript{29} Cf. supra pp. 43 and 71-72.
\textsuperscript{31} Cf. supra pp. 43-44.
\textsuperscript{32} Cf. supra p. 44.
\textsuperscript{33} Cf. supra p. 44.
We have observed that Rivas imitated Herrera\(^{34}\) in attributing physical form to the Deity and that both were particularly concerned with the "hand" of God. The same peculiarity appears in Espronceda as is evident in the examples below:

¿Quién es que inunda a veces de alegría,
Y otras veces cruel con mano impía
Llena de angustia y de dolor el suelo?

Y hierve el rayo en su irritada mano

Accumulations of epithets in a series for emphasis of a given concept or to present an object from many points of view are frequent in Espronceda. Though found in the Latin classics and even in early popular Spanish poetry this type of expression is most characteristic of the Classical period in Spain:

\[
\text{¿Quién es que inunda a veces de alegría,} \\
\text{Y otras veces cruel con mano impía} \\
\text{Llena de angustia y de dolor el suelo?} \\
\text{Y hierve el rayo en su irritada mano}
\]

Classical influences seem to be indicated in the most important subdivisions of the epithet in its rôle of conveying physical description. These are color, light, materials, sound and temperature.

Espronceda's color epithets are only about half as numerous as those of Rivas. He makes no innovations such as the use of nuances of color and his epithets are applied in the same way as in the days of Pedro de Espinosa, Herrera, Fray Luis de León and Góngora:
Symbolic and figurative color epithets are often found. They are limited to traditional black and white:

La nube sombría de negro pesar  
(C. C., v.47, 228, 3696.)

Aun cercaba tu frente el blanco velo  
Del serafín . . . . . . . . . .  
(C. C., v.50, 99, 1704-5.)

The greater number of Espronceda’s epithets of light show no variation in form or use from those of the Renaissance period. There is no indication that Espronceda had any Romantic interest in light reflected from the surface of armor or weapons such as we have found in Rivas. The most important category conveys an impression of brilliant or scintillating light:

aquel brillo radiante  
(C. C., v.47, 173, 2610.)

El fúlgido sol naciente  
(Ibid., 173, 2628.)

Epithets of reflected light are usually employed in a traditional way but occasionally are applied figuratively:

Con jaeces tan brillantes  
C. C., v.50, 209, 4371.)

Mentira, tu eres Luciente cristal  
(Ibid., 34, 180-81.)

Fire epithets of the traditional Classic type play a large rôle in Espronceda’s poetry. The use of ardiente in a figurative sense occurs rather often:

en ansia ardiente  
(C. C., v.50, 93, 1532.)

Del corazón ardiente  
(Ibid., 267, 5690.)

Of equal numerical importance with the above are other expressions of fire such as encendido, flamígero and llameante:

el encendido rayo  
(C. C., v. 47, 49, 72.)

Gigante forma flamígera  
(C. C., v.50, 31, 100.)

Like Rivas Espronceda has recourse to the material epithets

35 Cf. supra p. 62.  
36 Cf. supra pp. 74-75.
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characteristic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Metals used to indicate color are most often found:

Color de oro y nácar (C. C., v.50, 35, 182.)
leve punto de luciente plata (C. C., v.47, 300, 5086.)

Precious stones used to indicate color are less frequent:

su frente de nácares (C. C., v.50, 149, 3032.)
Mécese el sol en lechos de esmeralda (Ibid., 150, 3039.)

In keeping with the analytical nature of Classicism, Espronceda makes frequent use of epithets indicating the emotional effect of a sound upon the hearer:

queja lastimera (C. C., v.50, 267, 5678.)
Sordo acento lúgubre (C. C., v.47, 326, 5781.)

Occasionally the epithet conveys the emotion dominating the person or thing uttering the sound:

Con lastimada voz (C. C., v.50, 263, 5563.)
Bárbaras carcajadas de alegría (C. C., v.47, 54, 176.)

Conventional epithets of sound such as blando, sonoro, ronco, horrísono, dulce and the like are of frequent occurrence and need not be illustrated as the use differs in no way from the Classical tradition or from the manner in which Rivas used them.

Conventional temperature epithets are of comparatively rare occurrence. Literal and figurative uses are of approximately equal frequency:

Blanda la brisa, trasperente y fría (C. C., v.47, 336, 6047.)
con sarcasmo . . . frío (Ibid., 291, 4929.)

The above discussion has shown that influence of sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish poetry upon Espronceda's use of the epithet seems clearly evident in three of the four divisions of this study.
The use of adjectives which give the poet's impression rather than a description, of conventional adjectives used in a moral sense and of the courtly epithet seems unquestionably Classical. Almost all the locutions with adjectival functions are identical in form and purpose with those of the same period. These things indicate that the grammatical form of the epithet in Espronceda owes much to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The literary functions of the epithet that we have found are likewise often a continuation of the Classical tradition. Among the figures of speech, Espronceda's metaphors, antitheses, hypallage and the most important forms of personification are clearly identified with Spanish Classicism. Accumulations of epithets bear the stamp of the same period.

The most important categories, numerically, in which the epithet figures in its rôle of conveying physical impression, are likewise traceable to Classical sources. Epithets of color, light and material, analytical epithets of sound, and finally, temperature epithets seem, beyond any doubt, to come from the technique of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

One of the curious phenomena among the grammatical forms of the epithet in the neo-Classic period in Spanish was the vigorous recurrence of the ancient "Biblical" epithet. After flourishing in early popular Spanish, it became negligible in importance until the coming of neo-Classicism. It occurs in very appreciable numbers in Espronceda:

\begin{align*}
\text{virgen pura} & \quad (C. C., v.47, 168, 2506.) \\
\text{alto firmamento} & \quad (C. C., v.50, 41, 305.)
\end{align*}

The "épithète oiseuse" or useless epithet, also very characteristic of the eighteenth century, occurs with less frequency than the above. In this respect Espronceda markedly differs from Rivas who used it quite often. Apparently Espronceda was not as much given to improvising as Rivas:

\begin{align*}
\text{pradera espaciosa} & \quad (C. C., v.47, 106, 1068.) \\
\text{aura presurosa} & \quad (Ibid., 171, 2565.)
\end{align*}

37 Cf. supra pp. 48-49.
38 Cf. supra p. 48.
Of the group of conventional adjectives of a moral nature, added by the neo-Classicists to the group favored by the Classicists, Espronceda prefers tenebroso:

La noche tenebrosa  
(C. C., v.47, 114, 1250.)

Corresponding to our observations of Rivas, only one locution with adjectival functions which may be attributed definitely to neo-Classic influences is found in Espronceda. This is the form involving a complement without a preposition, which was one of the most frequently used types of epithets in the eighteenth century:

Vedle, don Felix es espada en mano,  
Sereno el rostro, firme el corazón  
(C. C., v.47, 298, 5054-5.)

Espronceda must have observed and been impressed by the variety and frequency of synecdoche in the neo-Classic poets. Miss Robertson considers its presence in the early works of Hugo to be conclusive evidence of neo-Classic influences. Two types of it are found in Espronceda in appreciable numbers. The more numerous is that in which a part of the body is used for the person:

mi pecho valiente  
(C. C., v.47, 233, 3798.)

Vuestro llagado corazón que llora  
(C. C., v.50, 263, 5577.)

Less numerous but more characteristic of neo-Classicism is the use of an attribute for the person:

la infiel sangre  
(C. C., v.47, 167, 2482.)

Much the same statement as the above may be made concerning Espronceda’s use of metonymy. Three types are found, all of which occur with special frequency in the neo-Classic period: “container for thing contained,” “cause for effect” and “instrument for agent.” In all cases the epithet is essential:

el mundo amedrentado  
(C. C., v.47, 235, 3840.)

arpa lastimera  
(Ibid., 170, 2552.)

---

39 Cf. supra pp. 40 and 68.
40 Cf. supra pp. 49 and 76-77.
... y la segur impia
Manejó placentero

(Ibid., 168, 2504-5.)

Literary formulae are well represented in the works of Espronceda. He was strictly neo-Classic in considering justifiable any form of inversion of epithet and substantive which served the purposes of rhyme, rhythm or assonance. Allusion, which is chiefly classical, is much less frequent. Periphrasis is even more rare. In all cases the chief influence seems to be neo-Classic:

Del cielo las bóvedas

La sacra ninfa que bordando mora
Debajo de las aguas cristalinas

Del bronce pavoroso (cannon)

(Ibid., 96, 1630-1.)

Epithets of size are limited to the traditional ones: *profundo, inmenso, gigante, colosal* and *tremendo*, which, except in hallucination, almost always modify abstractions. The usages involved seem entirely neo-Classic, there being no evidence of the technique of Hugo:

*Profundo misterio*

*Gigante forma* (hallucination)

(C. C., v.47, 229, 3710.)
(C. C., v.50, 31, 100.)

Espronceda is concerned with Nature but in a neo-Classic way, not as a direct observer. There are in him very few scenes in which Nature is observed in her grandiose aspects. There are but rarely storms and tempests, no wild mountains and bottomless precipices, no roaring torrents and wind-lashed trees. Critics have observed this and M. Foulché-Delbosc\(^4\) has shown very definite correspondences between Espronceda’s descriptions of Nature and those of Meléndez Valdés. M. Brereton\(^4\) asserts that Espronceda’s night themes owe much to Meléndez Valdés and that to the end of his days the poet was never able to depict Nature except in neo-Classic terms. Professor Churchman\(^4\) has observed that Espronceda sings Nature in her more delicate and soft moods. He


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attempts the terrible and weird only in supernatural scenes. Our own analysis confirms these observations in the most emphatic way:

Suave, leve brisa

(C. C., v.47, 116, 1289.)

Sereno el cielo, calma la mañana

(Ibid., 336, 6046.)

Neo-Classic influences upon the rôle of the epithet in expressing thought and emotion are limited to the expression of psychology of the individual by means of an epithet which expresses accurately and in an original manner the salient natural trait of the person. Epithets of this sort often resemble very closely the Greek "ornamental" epithet because they sum up in a word the nature of the person under consideration. We attribute this characteristic of Espronceda's use of the epithet to neo-Classic influences because both the Greek "ornamental" epithet and the natural epithet were much more abundant then than in any preceding period:

. . . . . Abenámar,
El más bravo de los moros

(C. C., v.47, 225, 3600-1.)

Caiga el fiero Cairvar

(Ibid., 119, 1370.)

Neo-Classic influences, thus, seem clear in the "Biblical" epithet, the épithète oiseuse, conventional adjectives used in a moral sense and the adjective plus a complement used without a preposition. The literary formulae, synecdoche, metonymy and one form of personification are evidently patterned after neo-Classic models of the literary functions of the epithet. In the rôle of the epithet in description, epithets of size and of atmospheric condition are taken from neo-Classic sources. Among expressions relating to thought and emotion, only the use of the epithet to convey an idea of psychology of the individual by naming the outstanding trait seems to be attributable to neo-Classic sources.

To sum up our study of Espronceda, we conclude that the poet found the greater part of his technique of the epithet in Spanish Classic poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To a much lesser degree was Espronceda indebted to Spanish neo-Classicism, since the frequency of most of the characteristic neo-Classic uses of the epithet is small. Our study is concerned with style, and neo-Classic style as compared with Classic represents in nearly every case simply a shift of emphasis. In general, Espronceda
emphasized technique characteristic of the Classic period rather than the neo-Classic.

Foreign Romantic influences are limited very largely to French and English sources as far as the technique of the epithet is concerned. These influences were most evident in one grammatical form of the epithet, its use in physical description and in the expression of imagination and ideas.

Popular Spanish poetry plays a small rôle. Espronceda does not exhibit the same Romantic interest in archaeology as does Rivas and therefore does not have the plastic, picturesque vocabulary that Rivas uses to recall the past in dress, pageant and architecture. The popular tradition in Espronceda is evidenced principally in cultivation of the horrible and portraiture of the person together with expression of orthodox religious concepts and hatred of other religions.
CHAPTER IV

JOSÉ ZORRILLA

José Zorrilla was born in Valladolid in 1817. In 1828 his parents moved to Madrid. There the boy was placed in the Real Seminario de Nobles where it is said he spent more time reading Chateaubriand, Walter Scott and Fenimore Cooper than he did studying. His course included Latin, French, Italian and philosophy. In 1833 he was sent to the University of Toledo, though the family was at the time living at Lerma. At Toledo he resided with an uncle, a church dignitary whom Zorrilla scandalized by reading novels and copying towers, palaces and inscriptions instead of aiding the clergyman with the celebration of mass. He immersed his spirit completely in the atmosphere of antiquity which lay heavily upon the old city, particularly upon the Moorish streets and the synagogues and mosques then converted into churches. Ferrer del Río¹ asserts that Zorrilla owes his poetic education to Toledo. There, also, in 1834, he read Victor Hugo's *Orientales*. In 1835 he entered the University of Valladolid to study law. He did little studying since he hated law and instead he read Delavigne, Victor Hugo, Espronceda, A. Dumas père, Chateaubriand, Juan de Mena and Jorge Manrique. Having failed in his work at the university, Zorrilla in 1836 ran away to Madrid. He had been there some nine months when he read his verses at the interment of Larra. The young poet soon became acquainted with García Gutiérrez, Espronceda, Hartzenbusch, Ventura de la Vega, Donoso Cortés, Pastor Díaz and J. Francisco Pacheco. For several years he wrote for various newspapers, reviews and the Teatro de la Cruz where most of his plays were produced.

Zorrilla's *Cantos del trovador* appeared in 1840-41; his *Vigilias del estío* in 1842 and the *Recuerdos y fantasías* in 1844. In 1845 he spent four months in Paris where he became acquainted with A. Dumas père, George Sand, Alfred de Musset, Théophile Gautier, Frédéric Lemaître and others of the literary world. In 1850 he made a second visit to Paris, this time remaining for four years. It was during this period that he completed all he was to write of

his *Granada*, published in 1852. At this point Zorrilla’s significant literary work was ended. Financial and marital difficulties caused him to leave France in November 1854 for Mexico where he lived for some eleven years, returning to Spain in 1866. The rest of Zorrilla’s long life was a struggle with poverty which was at length ended by his death in 1893.

Zorrilla’s early *leyendas*² are said to have been inspired by his early translations of certain works of Victor Hugo, particularly the *Orientales*, and his imitations of them in his own compositions. It is not known to what degree this affected his style, since no complete critical study of Zorrilla’s style has ever been made. It seems obvious that Zorrilla was greatly influenced by Victor Hugo’s metrical innovations. It shall be our problem in a part of this chapter to determine what was the influence in Zorrilla’s poetry of Victor Hugo’s innovations in the use of the epithet.

Zorrilla himself felt that he owed much to the reading of the novels of Sir Walter Scott and Fenimore Cooper but it seems clear that the Spaniard’s *leyendas* do not resemble at all closely anything in the works of either of these authors. The Spanish poet based his works upon Spanish epic material and their greatness is due only to the most profound artistic qualities native in him. The Spanish epic store, historical or imaginary tales in verse, echoes of national traditions, aroused in Zorrilla the idea of an artistic and poetic mission that he had to fulfill. This was to show that there was more poetry in Christianity than in paganism and to restore the old sentiments of honor, loyalty, nobility, courage and austere piety. Whether he was influenced in this respect by Victor Hugo can be determined better after a comparison has been made of the utterances of both men. By placing his *leyendas* in the period of the Austrian monarchy, Zorrilla recalled the most glorious period of Spain’s history. The ballad, especially the *romances fronterizos*, furnished the poet with a great deal of inspiration for his *Granada* and it would not be surprising to find that Zorrilla frequently used the epithet in the manner characteristic of the ballads.

The influence of certain Golden Age poets, in particular Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina and Calderón,³ has often been mentioned by critics but they seem to be referring to ideas in Zorrilla’s plays rather than to effects upon elements of style in his strictly poetic

³ E. Piñeyro, *op. cit.*, pp. 182 f.
works. No study, as far as we have been able to determine, has been made of the influence of Classical and Golden Age style upon Zorrilla's use of the epithet.

Since Zorrilla reached early manhood in the most flourishing years of Romanticism and his early reading had been largely Romantic and pre-Romantic, one would seem justified in assuming that his poetry should reveal fewer indications of the influence of the neo-Classic period upon his use of the epithet than we have found to be the case in Rivas and Espronceda.

We shall attempt in this chapter to answer some of the questions that the above discussion has raised: what effect did these various influences, Romantic, popular, Classic and Neo-Classic, have upon Zorrilla's use of the epithet and which influence predominates in his technique? Let us consider first the apparent influence of foreign Romanticism.

Zorrilla followed the fashion of his day in his use of the "Romantic epithet." In all his poetic works we find an abundance of epithets which show his fondness for the supernatural, the cult of the Middle Ages and Ossianism. These epithets apparently came into his works from his reading of Chateaubriand, Scott, Byron, Hugo, Rivas and Espronceda — in short, from the literary movement as a whole:

\[
\begin{align*}
esta
torrecilla \text{ } \text{\textit{solitaria}} \\
noble \text{ } y \text{ } \text{\textit{melancólica figura}} \\
armonía \text{ } \text{\textit{misteriosa}} \\
\text{Aun asoma su frente \textit{carcomida} . . . (Toledo)}
\end{align*}
\]

(Granada II, 118, 9.)
(Ibid., 228, 23.)
(Obras 1, 3, 91.)
(Ibid., 3, 6.)

Among the literary functions of the epithet are metaphors which Zorrilla appears to have modeled on the type of certain new and original ones found in Victor Hugo. We have observed that the French poet largely discarded trite, obvious, conventional Classical figures and opposed very dissimilar terms for which the epithet was often indispensable as a connecting link. Some of Zorrilla's appositive metaphors illustrate the practice quite well:

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4 Cf. supra pp. 60-61 and 83-84.
5 Blanco Garcia, op. cit., p. 199.
6 Cf. supra pp. 29-30.
Profunda melancolía

Vibora envenenadora

¡Dolor, dolor! — Férreo yugo

Crisol donde se aquilatan

virtudes

De la fe sublime escuela

(Obras 1, 508, 9-11.)

(Obras 3, 145, 3-23.)

Compare the above with the following from Victor Hugo:

Les superstitions, ces hideuses vipères

La foi, ce pur flambeau

Ce mot d'espoir

Cette chaloupe où peut se sauver l'équipage!

(C. C., XXXVIII.)

(V. I., XXVIII.)

A rather large number of categories show Romantic characteristics in the epithet's rôle of conveying sensory impressions. Vision is, of course, the most important sense. Under the subdivision of form, Zorrilla uses with small frequency a variety of epithets to present the impression of relief, broken or crossed lines and masses dominated by curved lines. Of these, the first named is relatively frequent and the second rare. These uses of the epithet, as we have seen, are apparently not found in earlier Spanish poetry. We attribute their use to Victor Hugo's influence:

sus labradas puertas

la cruzada reja

nubes,

levemente

Rizadas por las auras vespertinas

(Granada I, 56, 10.)

(Obras 1, 406, 89.)

(Obras, 3, 105, 79-82.)

In our discussion of Rivas, we observed that literal use of common and precious stones as materials was apparently a new procedure in Spanish poetry, attributable to Victor Hugo's lavish use of them in the Odes et Ballades and the Orientales. It will be remembered that Zorrilla made a number of translations from Vic-

7 The use of the abbreviations in Chapter I is continued throughout this study.
8 Cf. supra pp. 74-75.
tor Hugo.9 This tendency of Hugo recurs in Zorrilla but with a decided preference for sparkling iridescent materials.

Romantic interest in arms and armor10 seems to explain Zorrilla’s use of the epithet to give the impression of light reflected from a metallic surface:

\[
\text{Parecen con el sol cintas brillantes} \\
(\text{Lines of soldiers in armor marching in the sun}) \\
(\text{Granada II, 13, 3.})
\]

Another indication of general foreign Romantic influences is seen in Zorrilla’s use of epithets of faint or unsteady light. This use, however, in only occasionally found:

\[
\text{Débil luz de una linterna} \\
(Obras 1, 153, 25.)
\]

\[
\text{La pálida luz vacila} \\
(Ibid., 155, 12.)
\]

Epithets of immobility, which we have seen to be of French origin,11 are rare in Zorrilla’s poetic works. They are used exclusively in a literal sense:

\[
\text{Y ella inmóvil y en silencio} \\
(Obras 1, 306, 95.)
\]

An entirely new use of the epithet in Spanish occurs in Zorrilla’s use of technical terms in the arts which in nearly all cases refers to architecture. The usage, which is quite frequent, seems clearly traceable to Hugo:

\[
\text{bóveda ogival} \\
(Obras I, 3, 79.)
\]

\[
\text{torre oriental} \\
(Granada II, 120, 6.)
\]

Compare the above with these excerpts from Victor Hugo:

\[
\text{Avec la tour saxonne et l’église des Goths} \\
(F. A., XXIII.)
\]

\[
\text{Le dôme oriental du sombre Val-de-Grâce} \\
(R. O., XIX.)
\]

Although Espronceda surpasses Zorrilla in his ingenious uses of the epithet to express ideas and imagination generally, Zorrilla greatly excels the older poet in the presentation of crowd psychol-

10 Cf. supra pp. 62-63.  
11 Cf. supra pp. 33 and 63.
ogy. This characteristic predominates to such a degree in Victor Hugo that the influence of the French poet seems conclusive:

\[
\begin{align*}
Todos los ojos clavados \\
En la puerta del salón, \\
Toda la gente del baile \\
Agotada en derredor, \\
En impaciente y atenta \\
Duda un instante quedó
\end{align*}
\]

\textit{(Obras 1, 203, 47.)}

Compare the above with Victor Hugo's presentation of crowd psychology:

\[
\begin{align*}
Tout ce peuple inquiet, plein de confuses voix \\
\textit{(F. A., III.)}
\end{align*}
\]

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that foreign Romantic influences, particularly of Victor Hugo, are found in Zorrilla. Among the grammatical functions of the epithet, there is an abundance of Romantic epithets. Some reminiscences of Victor Hugo's metaphors are found in the literary functions of the epithet. Epithets used to convey physical impression are large in variety but small in frequency. Those of form, materials, light, immobility and technical terms in architecture occur and are apparently due to Victor Hugo's influence. As regards the expression of thought and emotion the epithet has practically no rôle in Zorrilla except in expressing crowd psychology.

There is no truly Romantic desengaño, there are no serious doubts, no mockery, no great concern about the masses, no interest in the conduct of the government or railing against social conventions. In general, Juan Valera seems to be correct in saying that his poetry exemplifies "art for art's sake."

Apparently the only way in which Zorrilla continued the popular tradition in the grammatical forms of the epithet was in his use of the appositive construction the sole purpose of which is to add some identifying detail:

\[
\begin{align*}
Envolta en oscuro velo, \\
Emblema claro del luto
\end{align*}
\]

\textit{(Obras 1, 155, 17-18.)}

Our analysis discovered nothing in the literary functions of the epithet as Zorrilla used it to indicate a continuation of the popular poetic tradition. But there are several definite indications of such

---

a continuation in the epithet's rôle of conveying physical impression. The most important category is portraiture of the person:

De negros ojos y de tez morena

(Granada I, 56, 16.)

The cultivation of the horrible is not so characteristic of Zorrilla as it is of Rivas and Espronceda. Nevertheless, a number of clear examples are found:

. . . un cadáver sombrío y macilento
Que en sucio polvo dormirá mañana

(Obras 1, 1, 4-5.)

In our discussion of Rivas and Espronceda, we came to the conclusion that the use of the epithet to convey the temporary emotional state of an individual by describing his outward physical manifestations was a continuance of the Spanish popular tradition. Few examples of this usage are to be found in Zorrilla, but certain ones are strikingly effective:

. . . sus facciones transformadas
Rayos resplandecientes despedían

(Obras 3, 104, 74-5.)

Zorrilla is apparently indebted to the Spanish ballads for his occasional conventional epithets of animal psychology:

el brioso bruto (horse)

(Granada II, 230, 13.)

The most numerous epithets of thought and emotion are those which express orthodox religious beliefs or which express opinions of other religions. They are definitely of popular origin. Zorrilla uses more epithets of this sort than either Rivas or Espronceda which is in keeping with his avowed purpose of exalting the national religion:

La Virgen soberana

(del torvo paganismo)

(Obras 1, 507, 21.)

(Obras 3, 146, 75.)

Our findings regarding the popular tradition in Zorrilla lead to some interesting conclusions. Although he is considered the poet who, more than anyone else, eradicated sterile neo-Classicism and

13 Cf. supra p. 37.
14 Blanco García, op. cit., p. 197.
restored the national tradition, it was certainly not the pure national tradition as represented by early popular Spanish poetry that he restored. Among the grammatical forms of the epithet we found only the appositive locution to attribute to the popular tradition. Nothing at all was found among the literary functions. Portraiture, and a much less emphatic cultivation of the horrible than in Rivas and Espronceda, complete in Zorrilla the popular uses of the epithet to convey physical impression. In the epithet’s rôle of expressing thought and emotion we found only the customary popular expression of religious feeling.

There are several varieties of adjectives among the grammatical forms of the epithet which we have elsewhere identified as definitely Classical in character. Of these, four are quite abundant in Zorrilla. In order of frequency they are: the Greek "ornamental" epithet, the epithet which gives the poet’s impression instead of describing, the conventional epithet used in a moral sense and finally and quite infrequently, the courtly epithet.

All the locutions with adjectival functions which have been discussed in previous chapters are found in Zorrilla. He makes no variation in form or use. The most numerous are those made up of an adjective and a complement, usually of the type in which a complement gives added precision to an epithet complete in itself:

Quince ginetes armados
Del casco a los acicates

(Obras I, 305, 13-14.)

Other epithets with complements of agent, place, quantity or quality, time, manner and purpose, in order of frequency, are most significant numerically and constitute the great majority of the locutions with adjectival functions.

In general, the most important figures of speech among the literary functions of the epithet are quite in keeping with the Classical tradition. A few examples of Zorrilla’s metaphors will make this statement clear. The most numerous type is the appositive:

Trina, incontrastable antorcha
El alcaide Aly-Athar, de fe relámpago

(Obras 3, 146, 20.)

(Granada II, 232, 9.)

15 Cf. supra pp. 24-25 and 39.
16 Cf. supra pp. 26 and 40.
17 Cf. supra pp. 26 and 40.
18 Cf. supra pp. 25, 38 and 39-40.
Truly Classical is Zorrilla’s metaphor, the first term of which is a prepositional phrase modifying a noun which forms the second term. This metaphor is prominent among Zorrilla’s figures although not so frequent as the appositive construction just mentioned:

- el coral... de sus labios rojos  
  (*Obras* 1, 406, 44.)
- en el mar de la vida  
  (*Obras* 3, 146, 37.)

The metaphor in which the epithet is either essential for the comprehension of the figure or prepares, justifies or explains it stands next in importance:

- Sobre el blanco montón de sus turbantes  
  (*Granada* II, 13, 5.)
- Los fugitivos cristales (of a river)  
  (*Obras* 1, 304, 74.)

Antithesis follows metaphor in numerical importance among Zorrilla’s figures of speech. Artistic antithesis between the epithet and a concept presented by another part of speech is most frequent and exhibits nothing to indicate a breaking away from the Classical tradition:

- Bajando de su altura  
  ... a la mansión oscura  
  (*Obras* 3, 105, 7-8.)
- Para tan suma dignidad pigmeo  
  (*Ibid.*, 2, 67.)

The oxymoron stands next in importance:

- sacrilega oración  
  (*Obras* 1, 3, 56.)
- luz sombría  
  (*Obras* 1, 53, 34.)

Rarely found is antithesis between two epithets, joined by a connective of concession, modifying the same noun. It will be remembered that this type apparently originated in Spanish poetry with Góngora:

- Miriam entonces, plácida, serena,  
  Aunque del Santo Espíritu agitada  
  (*Obras* 3, 105, 14-15.)

---

19 Cf. *supra* pp. 43 and 71.
The influence of Fernando de Herrera seems obvious in the attribution of physical form to the Deity. This form of personification is of most frequent occurrence in Zorrilla:

Desplegó el indomable poderío
Del brazo prepotente

(Obras 3, 105, 39-40.)

Traditional personification of abstractions is but slightly less important numerically:

La orgullosa razón
la pérvida astucia

(Obras 3, 106, 3.)
(Ibid., 147, 6.)

Personification of natural phenomena or of ordinary objects is infrequent:

El soplo . . . del cierzo impío
la casta luna

(Obras 1, 3, 17.)
(Granada I, 53, 6.)

Hypallage in Zorrilla's poetic works is limited altogether to traditional forms of the Classic period. Most important numerically is that in which the epithet modifies a noun other than the normal one:

Se halló de extensas nieves en un desierto horrendo

(Granada I, 159, 17.)

Hypallage in which the epithet replaces an adverb is rare:

No tienen más intención
Que hacer humilde memoria

(Obras 1, 404, 25-6.)

From the point of view of numerical significance only one type of simile is found in which the epithet is of decisive importance. This is the ancient Classical type in which the second term serves as a complement of an epithet contained in the first:

Grato como la esencia de la rosa

(Granada I, 50, 4.)

Pura como la lágrima de un niño

(Obras 1, 1, 31.)

Accumulations of epithets are used in a traditional manner to emphasize a concept or to present an object from several points of

http://ir.uiowa.edu/uissl/
view. They are less important numerically than any of the figures except simile:

\[
\text{De fábrica divina,} \\
\text{Tan pura y cristalina} \\
\text{Es un cántico tremendo,} \\
\text{Ronco, vago, agonizante}
\]

(Granada I, 162, 6-7.)

(Obras 1, 3, 93-94.)

The rôle of the epithet in conveying physical impression is Classical in the most numerous categories in the field of vision, sound and temperature. Under the heading of vision, epithets of color, light, movement, and materials are found. As in the other poets studied, epithets of color are most frequent and are limited to the primary colors, blanco and negro predominating.

Symbolic use of color occurs but infrequently:

\[
\text{Los otros con la tinta de escarnio}
\]

(Granada II, 228, 14.)

This form of the epithet recalls one from the works of Jorge de Montemayor:

\[
\text{Ese color de esperanza}
\]

(S. A., 80, 28.)

Zorrilla was very much preoccupied with epithets which convey the impression of transparency. They are the most frequent type of light epithets in his works. Diáfano is most often found, followed by transparente, límpido, and cristalino, in order of frequency:

\[
\text{diáfanas corrientes} \\
\text{Los límpidos pilares}
\]

(Obras 3, 147, 55.)

(Granada I, 163, 17.)

Epithets of brilliant light present no new uses. The striking characteristic of these epithets is their large variety. Luminoso and espléndido are perhaps a little more frequent while brillante, resplandeciente, deslumbrador, luciente and radiante are also found.

Among the epithets of fire, ardiente used figuratively, is most important:

\[
\text{su ardiente corazón}
\]

(Obras 1, 508, 56.)
Other epithets of fire taken together almost equal *ardiente* in frequency. Literal and figurative expressions occur in almost equal numbers:

- **Resplandores de incendio**
  
  *(Granada II, 122, 9.)*

- **Fiebre ardorosa**
  
  *(Obras 1, 508, 15.)*

Zorrilla uses a large variety of epithets of movement, none of which apparently is due to his own observation. They are taken as needed from the Classic store. He seems to have no preference unless it be the epithet *flotante*. He also uses *acelerado, fugitivo, errante, voluble, intranquilo, pausado, rapidísimo, vertiginoso, veloz and móvil*. Reference to our discussion of epithets of movement in the Renaissance\(^{20}\) will indicate precedents for the above.

The epithets of material encountered form simply a continuation of the Classical tradition. Precious stones used for color are frequent. It will be remembered that this is characteristic of the Golden Age poets, especially of Góngora:

- **En montes de zafir**
  
  *(Obras 3, 105, 77.)*

Names of metals used as epithets of material with literal or abstract meaning occur more often than those of precious stones:

- **Cintas de oro parecen sus hileras**
  
  *(Lines of soldiers)*

  *(Granada II, 231, 27.)*

- **alas de oro**
  
  *(Obras 3, 1 2.)*

It seems unnecessary to illustrate Zorrilla’s use of conventional epithets of sound such as *ronco, sonoro, blando* and the like. Nor shall we illustrate the use of epithets of sound which indicate the emotion of the speaker or the effect of the sound upon the listener, since all are traditional. The various epithets habitually applied by Zorrilla to certain musical instruments are also closely in line with tradition:

- **arpa bien acordada**
  
  *(Obras 1, 154, 55.)*

- **órgano sonoro**
  
  *(Ibid., 507, 20.)*

\(^{20}\) Cf. supra pp. 46-47.
Epithets of temperature have scarcely any importance at all in Zorrilla because of their rarity. All that we find are used literally. It seems evident, then, that the Classical tradition played a very large rôle in Zorrilla’s use of the epithet. Among the grammatical forms alone several Classical types are found. Especially was Classical influence strong in the literary functions of the epithet. Most of Zorrilla’s metaphors, his hypallage, antithesis, the most numerous forms of personification and simile, and accumulations of epithets seem unmistakably Classical. Furthermore a very large proportion of the epithets used to convey physical impressions simply continue the most numerous epithets of light, fire, materials, movement, sound and temperature which were found in the Classical period.

Zorrilla was much farther removed from neo-Classicism than Rivas and somewhat more so than Espronceda. As far as we have been able to determine, Zorrilla did not have the intensive early training in rhetoric and poetics that Espronceda received from Lista. We should therefore expect Zorrilla to use less neo-Classic technique and the frequency of occurrence of the forms involved to be relatively small.

Among the grammatical forms of the epithet are two types of adjectives which are characteristic of the neo-Classical period. They are both found in Zorrilla with about the same frequency. These are the “useless” epithet\(^{21}\) and the “Biblical” epithet. Zorrilla’s use of these epithets in no way departs from the practice of neo-Classicism and for that reason illustrations are unnecessary.

The non-prepositional locution is also found in Zorrilla in large numbers. It is curious to observe that all three poets discussed so far have made use of this locution with almost identical frequency:

\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots & \text{ acudió, del puro gozo} \\
& \text{El rostro lleno } \\
& \text{(Obras 3, 104, 59-60.)}
\end{align*}
\]

The only other locution to be discussed in this section is a rare but exceedingly interesting one. It is a phrase consisting of the preposition \textit{de} and a material object which modifies an abstract noun, thus concentrating the attention upon the quality of the thing rather than upon the thing itself. This epithet seems to have been extremely rare in all poetry until the second half of the nineteenth century.

\(^{21}\) Cf. supra p. 48.
It occurs in the poetic works of Victor Hugo before the exile. But it also occurs in the eighteenth century in Spanish poetry:

La redondez inmensa de la tierra  
(Fray Diego González, S. A., 215, 33.)

Zorrilla’s use of this locution is quite similar to the above:

blanca la inmensidad del suelo  
(Granada I, 100, 5.)

Personification of cities, etc., synecdoche, metonymy, literary formulae and epithets of evocation are all found in characteristically neo-Classic forms in Zorrilla. Personification is rare:

Allí yace Toledo ........................................
Mal envuelta en el manto de sus reyes  
(Obras 1, 3, 3-5.)

On the other hand, synecdoche seems to be even more frequent in Zorrilla than in Espronceda. The type which uses a part of the body for the person is most numerous:

con fraternales manos  
(Obras 1, 508, 69.)

Temerario el corazón  
(Ibid., 155, 8.)

The use of an attribute for the person is less often encountered:

... en unos ojos
De pudoroso mirar  
(Obras 1, 305, 89.)

su presencia criminal  
(Granada II, 119, 6.)

Zorrilla almost eliminated the favorite type of synecdoche of the neo-Classicists, the use of the singular for the plural:

Cifras ........................................
Que alzó la mano del hombre  
(Obras 1, 3, 71.)

Metonymy occurs with much less frequency than synecdoche. The following neo-Classic types are found with about the same frequency:

23 Cf. supra p. 49.
container for the thing contained:

esta rica ciudad  
*Granada II, 119, 19.*

sign for the thing signified:

De la venganza a las sangrientas manos  
*Granada II, 12, 14.*

With the exception of Classical allusion, which Zorrilla, like Rivas, intended to eliminate, the literary formulae are quite well represented. Inversion is especially abundant:

*Del mundo las edades*  
*Obras 3, 105, 25.*

*Del hombre en el corazón*  
*Obras 1, 509, 6.*

Periphrasis is much less often found than inversion. The surprising strength of neo-Classicism seems indicated when Zorrilla resorts to such indirection as the following:

Ese retrato de hielo,
Fetidez y corrupción (the body)  
*Obras 1, 1, 37-8.*

Allusion is usually Biblical, occasionally mythological. It is relatively rare:

Y el curso de su carro diamantino
Parando en el cenit ... (the moon)  
*Granada I, 53, 5-6.*

Zorrilla uses a large number of epithets of evocation from late neo-Classical sources to impart an atmosphere of awe, the supernatural or the divine:

silencio solemne  
*Obras 1, 3, 78.*

Dios 
Es quién presta a mi voz sus ecos graves  
*Obras 3, 2, 56-9.*

In the epithet's rôle of conveying sensory impressions neo-Classic influences are most evident in those epithets which describe atmospheric conditions. To Zorrilla as to the neo-Classicists Nature is almost invariably tranquil and serene:

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25 Cf. supra p. 52.

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Es una noche tranquila
la apacible tarde

Epithets which convey visual impressions are confined to those of size. The epithets of size like the great majority of those of the neo-Classicists, modify abstractions:

tu inmensa gloria
la enorme culpa

Since the rôle of the epithet in expressing imagination and ideas was so insignificant in Spanish neo-Classic poetry, one should expect to find little evidence of this type of influence upon Zorrilla. Such is the case since the only epithets found are those that convey conventional ideas of psychology of the individual:

Zoraya, la insolente favorita
Niña alegre y bulliciosa

It seems clear from our discussion above, that the influence of neo-Classicism upon Zorrilla's use of the epithet was much weaker than in the case of Rivas and Espronceda. Among the grammatical forms the epithet are found only two types of adjectives, of relatively small frequency, and two locutions, one of which was mentioned only because of its curious nature. Among the literary functions, although the literary formulae, excepting allusion, are well represented, synecdoche is the only figure of speech of neo-Classic source which is important numerically. Epithets of evocation occur often, but among the epithets of sensory impression only those of size and atmospheric conditions have any numerical importance. Under the heading of thought and emotion the natural epithet of psychology alone may be attributed to neo-Classic influence.

This study of Zorrilla's use of the epithet in his poetic works leads to the conclusion that the poet was to a very great degree successful in restoring the tradition established by the Spanish poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The vast majority of his uses of the epithet belong to those two centuries of Renaissance influences, which, fused with the characteristic early popular Spanish
The epithet in Spanish poetry

style, had evidently come to be regarded as the true national tradition.

From the point of view of the particular element of style which is the subject of this study, we cannot agree with Juan Valera concerning Zorrilla's poems that "nada de extranjero se recuerda al leerlas."\(^{26}\) We have observed that Zorrilla's use of a particular type of metaphor, of certain epithets of form, materials, reflected light, immobility and technical terms of architecture do recall Victor Hugo. Furthermore, the use of the Romantic epithet to lend an atmosphere of vagueness, melancholy and mystery is apparently conclusive evidence of foreign Romantic influence.

Nor, from the same point of view, can we agree entirely with Blanco García that Zorrilla "arrancó para siempre del arte la planta exótica del pseudo-clasicismo . . ."\(^{27}\) because we have found apparently undeniable evidence of neo-Classic uses of the epithet in his poetry. However, these uses are scarcely perceptible among the far greater number of uses which represent a fusion of the popular and the Renaissance tradition. From all other points of view, Blanco García seems to have demonstrated the correctness of his statement.

CHAPTER V

JUAN AROLAS

Juan Arólas was born in Barcelona in 1805. In 1814 the family removed to Valencia where young Arólas entered the Escuelas Pías. Five years later, at Peralta de la Sal, he began his novitiate as a priest. He early showed poetic talent, imitating the Classic and neo-Classic manner in his youthful poems. In fact, reading and imitating the classics, both Latin and Spanish, was his constant and favorite occupation. His Cartas amatorias belong to this period. In 1821 he entered the priesthood and was sent to Zaragoza to study philosophy and thence to Valencia where he studied theology. In October 1825 he began teaching classes in syntax and beginning Latin in the Colegio Andresiano in Valencia where he remained until 1842. During this period he made his reputation as a poet. The Colegio Andresiano was then a center of culture. Connected with it were excellent professors of classical languages, representatives of the dying humanistic spirit, who adored Horace and Virgil. They wrote Latin hexameters but did not disdain the more modern tendencies of art and poetry.

In 1833 Arólas and his friend Pascual Pérez, like himself a Romanticist and a liberal, founded the Diario Mercantil which became at once one of the most prominent Romantic and liberal organs in the provinces.

In 1837 Arólas published his long narrative poem La sifídia del acueducto. In 1840 his first volume of poems appeared in Valencia. These literary labors, combined with his teaching and much newspaper work, undermined his health. In 1842 his friends, hoping to relieve him of so much mental activity, secured for him the position of Capellán of the Escuela Normal de Maestros. In the same year, a second collection of his works was published in Barcelona. A third collection in three volumes was printed in Valencia in 1843.

After a year in his position, Arólas' mind failed completely and he was kept in strict confinement until death released him in 1849.

The early poems of Arólas were written under the influence of Classic and pseudo-Classic models and the poet produced nothing

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of even secondary importance before 1833. From that period on, asserts Señor Lomba y Pedraja,¹ who has made the only extensive study of the poet, Arólas devoted himself entirely to the Romantic movement. At that time Valencia was one of the most important literary centers of Spain. According to Professor Peers,² the Valencians were particularly alive to foreign Romantic influences, even more so than to those of Romanticism in Spain itself. The writers, however, represented an earlier stage of Romanticism than was general at that date, being apostles of melancholy and pessimism. This Romanticism was similar to French pre-Romanticism in its religious spirit, its tendency to melancholy and the avoidance of all excess. Arolas' poetry may be considered representative of it.

Evidences of the influence of Victor Hugo's early works, Lamartine, Byron and Milton are found by Señor Lomba y Pedraja,³ who does not, except in rare instances, make clear whether or not this influence affected Arolas' style. Certainly no complete study was made of foreign Romantic influences upon Arolas' use of the epithet. It is therefore to be our undertaking in the remainder of this chapter to attempt to determine in what manner this influence was exerted upon the epithet as an element of style and at the same time to ascertain which type of poetry, foreign Romantic, early popular Spanish, sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish or Spanish neo-Classical, influenced most Arolas' use of the epithet.

Differing sharply from the three major Romantic poets we have studied, Arolas uses comparatively few "Romantic" epithets. The few that he does use convey an atmosphere of the supernatural or relate to the Middle Ages:

*Negra sombra persegía*  
(C. C., 95, 119, 10.)  

*De Caleb cercaba el lecho*  
*Sombra horrible a los mortales*  
(Poesías, 1840, 210, 13-14.)

Among the literary functions of the epithet, Victor Hugo's penchant for symmetry seems to have influenced Arolas to repeat the noun in at least one case of antithesis in which two antithetical

¹ José R. Lomba y Pedraja, Prologue of Poesías del P. Arólas, Madrid, 1928, p. v.  
⁴ C. C. 95 refers to Poesías, 1928, Clásicos castellanos, vol. 95.
epithets relate to the same noun. This type of antithesis occurs in Arólas for the first time in our study of Spanish poetry:

Cuando tu desdén fingido
Te valió un desdén de veras

(Poesías, 1840, 4, 9-10.)

Note the structural similarity of the above with the following:

A moi la couronne d'épines!
A vous la couronne de fleurs!

(C. C., XXVI.)

The influence of Victor Hugo seems to be indicated further in the use of the epithet for physical description. The cases are interesting but are unimportant numerically. With reference to form the following examples are found:\(^5\)

curved lines:

cauce serpentino

(Poesías, 1840, 336, 8.)

geometrical terms:

Y taladran . . . . . . .
Con punta triangular una coraza

(Ibid., 337, 9-10.)

Epithets of light reflected from a metallic surface indicate Romantic interest in arms and armor, attributable to Victor Hugo:\(^6\)

el ceñidor con daga rutilante\(^7\)

Arólas apparently borrowed the use of estaño as a material directly from Victor Hugo.\(^8\) It does not occur in our study of Spanish poetry before Arólas:

Ricas cúpulas de estaño

(Poesías, 1840, 203, 7.)

Cent coupoles d'étain

(Or., III.)

The use of common and precious stones as real materials has elsewhere been attributed to Hugo.\(^9\) There are a number of examples of this in Arólas:

\(^5\) Cf. supra pp. 30-31.
\(^6\) Cf. supra p. 63.
\(^7\) Lomba y Pedraja, El P. Arólas, su vida y sus versos, Madrid, 1898., p. 77.
\(^8\) Cf. supra pp. 31-32.
\(^9\) Cf. supra p. 63.
En vestidos . . . . .
Escarchados de hermosa pedrería

(Poesías, 1883, 301, 23-4.)

Láminas de cristal y zafir puro

(Ibid., 552, 11.)

Foreign Romantic influences upon Arólas' use of the epithet are, then, apparently limited to that of Victor Hugo, with the exception of the "Romantic" epithet which was characteristic of the whole movement and which we have seen to be unimportant numerically. The influences are most significant in the epithet's rôle of conveying physical impression. Epithets of form, reflected light, and materials seem to owe much to Hugo and helped to supplement a function of the epithet which had in all other periods been relatively weak, namely, physical description.

A study of the influence of popular Spanish poetry upon Arólas' use of the epithet should be attended with interesting results, since it has been said that Arólas often found the source of his leyendas in early Spanish ballads and chronicles.10 It seems that he made a rather thorough study of such literature and incorporated into his own poems certain salient features of the epithet, characteristic of early popular Spanish. The appositive locution which adds only identifying details is found in large numbers. The following examples are reminiscent of the ballads:

Gauvén era un caballero
Rival del mejor caudillo

(Poesías, 1883, 350, 18-19.)

Rodrigo Téllez Jirón,
Maestre de Calatrava

(Poesías, 1840, 247, 16-17.)

The use of epithets in an ironical way is characteristic of certain compositions by Arólas. This is the only literary function of the epithet that appears attributable to the popular Spanish tradition:

Era el viejo senescal
Persuadido en su conciencia
De la cándida inocencia
De su esposa angelical11

(Poesías, 1883, 349, 12-15.)

Portraiture, as we have already observed, is characteristic of

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10 Lomba y Pedraja, op. cit., p. 46.
11 The poem must be read in full in order to appreciate the ironical intention of the epithets.
early popular Spanish poetry. It is also very prominent in Arolas’ poems:

Es muy garrida la mora
Con los labios de coral
De una tez que se colora,
De alto seno virginal

(Poesías, 1840, 49, 10-13.)

The cultivation of the horrible, also an early Spanish characteristic, is very much less evident in Arolas than in Rivas and Espronceda. Only a few cases were found in our study:

Sus llagas alimentaban
Los gusanos que roían

(Poesías, 1840, 210, 17-18.)

Arolas wrote a large number of religious poems in which he used many expressions which represent a continuation of the popular poetic tradition extolling Catholicism as opposed to Mohammedanism and other faiths:

Y el hombre, el soberano de tus seres

esos eran los dioses indecentes

(Poesías, 1883, 19, 20.)

The characteristics of the popular Spanish tradition exhibited in Arolas are practically the same as those we have found in Rivas, Espronceda and Zorrilla. The frequency of occurrence of such epithets is smaller in Arolas because of another popular characteristic of his poetry, an extremely extensive use of the attributive. Arolas therefore is perhaps more popular in his non-use of the epithet than in his use of it.

Critics have indicated that Arolas was very fond of the Latin classics and that definite traces of the influence of Garcilaso, Gil Polo, Luis de León and Lope de Vega are to be found in his works.12 If such influences appear evident in a cursory examination and comparison, it seems likely that an analysis of the use of the epithet should reveal in what way and to what degree Arolas was thus influenced in technique.

Arolas uses no new grammatical forms of the epithet. As one might expect the adjective is most important numerically. The most frequently used type of adjective seems to be a modern pro-

totype of the Greek "ornamental" epithet. Next in frequency is the courtly epithet which is of common occurrence in Classical Spanish. Blanco García, however, asserts that Arolas was directly influenced by the Provençal poets and the fact that the poet uses an unusually large variety of courtly epithets favors this view:

caballeros muy fieles y sin reproche
(Poetas, 1883, 501, 2.)

Conventional Classical epithets used in a moral sense are quite often found but the epithet which gives the poet's impression of a thing instead of describing it, has only a small fraction of the frequency of the types of epithets previously mentioned. The use of these epithets exhibits nothing new and needs no illustration.

Arolas uses a large variety of locutions with adjectival functions. The most numerous of these is the adjective which, though complete in itself, has a complement which gives added precision:

Armyos con sus aceros
(Poetas, 1883, 501, 4.)

Other locutions in order of frequency include those which have a complement of agent, quantity or quality, place and time. They deviate in no respect from the forms they assumed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

A rather frequent use of the locution consisting of a de phrase which is exactly equivalent to the corresponding adjective, is found in Arolas:

Con voz de alegría
(instead of voz alegre)
(C. C., 95, 19, 2.)

Arolas exhibits the same emphatic return to the Classical period of Spanish poetry in the literary functions of the epithet that we have found characteristic of the major Romantic poets.

Most numerous among the figures of speech is the appositive metaphor which in no way differs from those we have discussed in the works of Rivas, Espronceda and Zorrilla. But there is an unusually large number of metaphors in which the second term is contained in the epithet. These metaphors were so rare in the other Romantics studied as not to warrant mention. In Arolas their frequency makes them worthy of illustration:

Tu seno de limpia plata
arrastrará su disco moribundo (sun)

Metaphors in which the epithet is essential for comprehension or prepares, explains or justifies the comparison are less often found than those mentioned above:

Tesoño feliz y hermoso (María de Padilla)

Cerrado en esta cárcel o aposento
Caduco, deleznable y arcilloso (the body)

Arolas also uses with considerable frequency that peculiarly Spanish Classic metaphor which consists of a noun as the second term modified by a de phrase which is the first term:

EL MULADAR de sus pasiones

No conoce de amor LA FIERA LLAMA

Personification stands next to metaphor in numerical importance but is much less frequent. Most often, following the practice of the Classics, abstractions are personified:

Si la muerte cruel mi paso ataja

Personification of natural phenomena is much less frequent:

Auras ledas

Only two forms of hypallage occur with sufficient frequency to warrant mention. The more numerous of these is the type in which the epithet replaces an adverb:

Las lágrimas que vierte solitarias

Much less frequent is hypallage in which the epithet modifies a noun other than the normal one:

Una nube de páldia tristeza

Simile in which the epithet is essential is limited to the type in which the second term serves as a complement of an epithet con-
tained in the first. As seems characteristic of Spanish poetry, simile of this type is not of frequent occurrence in Arolas’ poems:

*Triste como la noche el rostro lindo*  
*(Poesías, 1883, 203, 5.)*

... una joven hermosura,  
*Linda como el rosicler*  
*(Ibid., 351, 9-10.)*

Antithesis is much less often found in Arolas than in the three major Romantic poets. Only two types occur with frequencies deserving mention. The oxymoron is the more important numerically:

*arrullo feroz*  
*(Poesías, 1883, 1, 7.)*

*frágil monumento*  
*(Poesías, 1840, 337, 3.)*

Antithesis in which both noun and epithets are antithetical is rare:

*tanta negra noche y claro día*  
*(Poesías, 1883, 52, 7.)*

In the epithet’s rôle of presenting sensory impressions, vision is of course most important. Arolas uses epithets of color with great frequency. Yellow and white occur most often, followed in order of frequency by black, blue, green and red. Symbolic use of conventional black and white also occurs. In addition to epithets which give an impression of a definite color, Arolas also uses the epithets *rico* and *vistoso* to convey an impression of rich coloring.

Epithets of light and fire stand next in frequency to those of color but are far less numerous. *Brillante* and *radiante* are most often found among the epithets of light. They are used both literally and figuratively:

*Velaron entonces con alas radiantes*  
*(Poesías, 1883, 102, 11.)*

*(Fakma) Brillante como el coral*  
*(Poesías, 1840, 149, 9.)*

*Ardiente, vivo y de llama* occur as epithets of fire. Of these *ardiente* is much the most important numerically. Figurative uses are found principally:

*Tú clavas en la luz pupila ardiente*  
*(Poesías, 1883, 52, 21.)*
The only Classical epithets of sound of any importance are those which convey the emotional effect made by the sound upon the hearer:

*Cantaba Fameo con voz dulce y grata*  
*Poesías, 1840, 214, 11.*

To sum up our discussion, it seems clear that the Classical tradition played a very large rôle in Arolas' use of the epithet, several varieties characteristic of that period being found among the grammatical forms. Still more evident is its influence in the literary functions of the epithet since Arolas' metaphors, personifications, similes and antitheses, with exceptions previously mentioned,14 seem unmistakably Classical. In addition to this, a very large number of the epithets used to convey physical impression simply continue the most common epithets of color, light and fire, materials, and sound, of the Classical tradition.

Our study of Rivas, Espronceda and Zorrilla has shown that the first two of these poets, due to early training, remained much more neo-Classic in their use of the epithet than the last. It has been said that Arolas' early poems were characterized by the influences of the Classic and neo-Classic tradition and that Cadalso, Forner and Meléndez Valdés were his principal neo-Classic models.15 Judging from the effect of this early training and writing upon Rivas and Espronceda, we should anticipate finding definite indications of neo-Classic influences upon Arolas' use of the epithet.

The *épithète oiseuse* or useless epithet which serves no purpose but to fill out a line or supply desired rhyme or assonance is quite prominent in Arolas' poetry. Much less frequent is the use of *torpe* and *ilustre* which were prime favorites of the neo-Classic poets. The non-prepositional locution is not found as often in Arolas as in the other Romantic poets:

*Llena de esperanza el alma*  
Fuíme . . . . . . .  
*Poesías, 1840, 150, 11-12.*

This completes the list of neo-Classic types of epithets as far as grammatical form is concerned. Among the literary functions of the epithet synecdoche is the most important figure numerically.

14 Cf. supra pp. 121-122.  
15 Lomba y Pedraja, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

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Of the three neo-Classic types found, that one which uses a part of the body for the person is much the most frequent:

*Cérfido corazón del pecho impuro*  
*(Poesías, 1883, 251, 12.)*

The use of an attribute for the person has only a fraction of the importance of the type above:

*Con hálito feroz*  
*(Ibid., 250, 16.)*

The singular for the plural is rare:

*su labio maldito*  
*(Ibid., 102, 26.)*

Metonymy, a great favorite with the neo-Classicists, is of small numerical importance:

*Su ejército atrevido y sanguinario*  
*(Ibid., 250, 23.)*

It is only in the literary formulae that neo-Classic influences seem as strong as one would expect. Inversion and periphrasis are abundant and although allusion occurs with scarcely half their frequency, it is nevertheless more important in Arólas than in the major Romantic poets. Most frequent is inversion which supplies the desired rhyme, rhythm or assonance:

... *de cuerdas armoniosas*  
*Al son blando . . . . .  
*(Poesías, 1840, 274, 17-19.)*

Periphrasis is but little less frequent:

*Esos bravos insulares* *(the English)*  
*(Poesías, 1883, 452, 15.)*

*Las bodas de los hijos del desierto*  
*(C. C., 95, 221, 7.)*

Allusion is principally historical, occasionally mythological:

*Verdugo de Roma, tirano precito* *(Nero)*  
*(Poesías, 1883, 102, 24.)*

Epithets of size as used by Arólas follow the neo-Classic manner in modifying abstractions and forming clichés:

... *con un enorme peso*  
*Me oprimía el corazón*  
*(Poesías, 1840, 148, 15-16.)*
Epithets relating to atmospheric conditions are not important numerically and those found in our analysis show Nature idealized in a calm, gentle mood:

Salía la luna, su plácida luz
Bañaba en la arena . . .

Far more numerous than those of atmospheric conditions, etc., are epithets of smell, all of which in our study are of an idealistic nature. None of the popular brutality is to be found in these epithets. They recall instead Meléndez Valdés:

En atmósfera de aromas

Única flor de embalsamado ambiente

The rôle of the epithet in expressing imagination and ideas in Arolas is limited to ideas of individual psychology expressed by an epithet which sums up the salient trait of personality:

Mothé se llama el jefe temerario

Rambaldo generoso

To sum up our discussion, it seems evident that Arolas was considerably influenced by neo-Classicism in his use of the epithet. This influence is strongest among the grammatical forms of the epithet and its literary functions, the latter due to an abundance of synecdoche, inversion, periphrasis and allusion. The influence is particularly weak in physical description, which is not surprising since the neo-Classicists themselves neglected it. The rôle of the epithet in expressing imagination and ideas, aside from the natural epithet, is negligible.

In résumé of the entire chapter we may say that sixteenth and seventeenth century influences most profoundly affected Arolas’ use of the epithet. This fact is particularly notable in the grammatical forms of the epithet, its literary functions and the most numerous categories of its use in physical description. Next in numerical importance are uses of the epithet attributable to neo-Classic influences, which are evident in synecdoche, periphrasis, inversion and
allusion among the literary functions. Less numerous but much more striking are foreign Romantic influences which, with the exception of the Romantic epithet, we attribute to Victor Hugo. His influence is evident in at least one type of locution, one case of antithesis and in several categories of the use of the epithet in physical description. Although the cases involved are of small importance numerically, the continuation of the popular Spanish tradition is clearly marked in apposition, ironical epithets, portraiture, the cultivation of the horrible and the insistence upon orthodox religious concepts.
CHAPTER VI

GERTRUDIS GÓMEZ DE AVELLANEDA

Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda was born in Puerto Príncipe, Cuba, in 1814. Her father was a Spanish naval officer from the province of Seville. Except for tutors in history and geography, the future poetess was largely self-educated. She early wrote plays and practiced the translation of French poetry. At the age of twelve she knew by heart the best selections of Quintana, Arriaza and Meléndez. She was also fond of Racine and Corneille.

In 1836, Avellaneda accompanied her family to Spain where she resided practically all the rest of her life.

Her first verses were published in a Seville periodical in 1839. Her favorite authors at this time were Scott, Mme. de Staël, Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Lista, Quintana, and the Spanish Heredia.

In 1840, now in Madrid, she won the friendship of Gallego, Rivas, the Duque de Frías, Quintana, Espronceda, Zorrilla, Tassara, Pastor Díaz, Bretón de los Herreros, Hartzenbusch, Roca de Togores and others. At this time she was devoting herself to the study of Latin, history and other subjects which she considered necessary for her intellectual career. The following year she published her first volume of poems with a prologue by Juan Nicasio Gallego.

In 1846 Avellaneda married don Pedro Sabater, a hopeless invalid who died the same year. The effect of this bereavement is seen in her poetry in the marked increase in religious exaltation.

Four years later she published the second edition of her poems, identical with the edition of 1841 except that fifty-four new poems were added.

Avellaneda’s second marriage took place in 1855. Her husband, Colonel Domingo Verdugo Massieu, was seriously wounded in a political affray three years later. In consequence his health failed, and after years of care and anxiety on the part of the poetess he died in 1863.

Avellaneda came to the United States in 1864 and spent most of the time in New York. A short trip to Niagara Falls inspired her
A vista del Niágara. Back once more in Seville, she spent most of the rest of her life (1865-1871) preparing the final "complete" edition of her works.

According to the critics Avellaneda took Quintana for her model but later tempered his severity by her reading and translating of the French and English Romanticists, chiefly Byron, Hugo and Lamartine. The influence of these poets, and of foreign Romanticism in general, can be safely assumed. However, it appears that she at length turned aside from French lyrical inspiration and returned once more to Quintana and Gallego. Her religious poetry takes as its models Luis de León, Racine and the poetical books of Bible.

No exclusive study of elements of style has been made of Avellaneda's poetry. An excellent study of her dramatic works pronounces them a product of eclecticism. It is further stated that her dramatic verse is poor in figurative speech and that the figures encountered are of the most conventional type. Even this research is but little interested in matters of style, and hence makes little contribution to our knowledge of the epithet in Avellaneda. Our conclusions must therefore be based more or less exclusively upon our own analysis of her verse.

The "Romantic" epithet in Avellaneda's poetry is not as frequently found as it was in the poetry of Rivas, Espronceda and Zorrilla. Furthermore, there is no cult of the Middle Ages. All the epithets which may be called "Romantic" lend an atmosphere of melancholy or the supernatural. This marks a definite departure from one characteristic feature of Romanticism:

Es la hora melancólica, indecisa

(pálidos fantasmas

(Obras I, 98, 13.)

(152, 21.)

Epithets of faint or unsteady light, the presence of which we again attribute to general foreign Romantic influences, are rather numerous in Avellaneda's verse:

tibia luz

(98, 4.)

1 Roland M. MacAndrew, Naturalism in Spanish Poetry, Aberdeen, 1931, p. 165.
2 Blanco Garcia, op. cit., p. 192.
4 Only volume I of Avellaneda's works was used. Hereafter only page and line will be given with citations.
el desmayado albor

(249, 28.)

The only Romantic influences aside from those we have mentioned above were found in the use of the epithet to express imagination and ideas. Like Victor Hugo, Avellaneda uses epithets to condemn the faults of her times:

necia vanidad

(106, 11.)

infandos placeres

(200, 8.)

To Avellaneda the efforts of science are futile:

¡Oh! ¡qué tropel de estériles deseos
Surca esa ardiente atmósfera de gloria!
¡Cuántos vanos trofeos,
Cuánta pompa ilusoria

(95, 28-32.)

Like Hugo too, Avellaneda was preoccupied with the tragic aspect of life:

¡Yo, miserable gusano
De este miserable suelo,
Que por más que cual águila remonte
Del pensamiento el vuelo,
Sólo he de hallar, cerrando mi horizonte,
Un sepulcro mezquino

(96, 9-15.)

Avellaneda may have imitated Byron in the expression of extreme melancholy though this is generally characteristic of Romanticism:

En este extraño y áspero destino

(203, 17.)

Este infortunio acerbo

(203, 22.)

To sum up, it is evident that foreign Romantic influences upon Avellaneda’s use of the epithet are quite small, being limited in the grammatical forms to the “Romantic” epithet, in physical description to those of light and, in its rôle of expressing ideas, to the expression of moral convictions and philosophy.

Avellaneda’s poetry is lyrical. She was therefore, evidently, little interested in early popular Spanish poetry as a source of technique although she used it undoubtedly as a basis for some of
her plays, with which we are not concerned here. It seems reason-
able to believe that this early poetry should influence little or not at all the verse of the Cuban poetess. If any indications of such influences exist in her poems, they probably represent a continuation of popular traits which were incorporated into what came to be considered the "national poetic tradition".

Portraiture of the person seems to be the only indication of the influence of the popular Spanish tradition that is found in Avellaneda's use of the epithet to convey physical impression:

Los negros cabellos

Los ojos hundidos,
Marchita la tez

(104, 1-4.)

The only other indication of a continuation of the popular tradition is found in epithets expressing ideas relating to religious concepts:

la terrestre vida

El mundo material y el invisible

(99, 17.)

(250, 13.)

It seems evident that the influence of early popular Spanish upon Avellaneda's use of the epithet was almost negligible. The influence was undoubtedly exerted indirectly and its manifestations represent merely a perpetuation of two distinctive uses of the epithet in early popular Spanish poetry.

Avellaneda is said to have been inspired by such Spanish Classicists as Herrera, Rioja and Fray Luis de León and by the French Classicists, Corneille and Racine. Since we have found only small evidence of foreign Romantic and early popular Spanish influences upon Avellaneda's use of the epithet, the presumption is in favor of a relatively considerable Classical influence.

With the exception of the "Romantic" epithet, the most numerous grammatical forms are certain adjectives which are characteristic of the Renaissance period. We refer to the derived Greek "ornamental" epithet, the conventional epithet used in a moral sense and the epithet which expresses the poet's impression instead of describing. All of these occur in large numbers and are used in

such a way as to give the impression of having been inspired by the works of Spanish Renaissance poets. The examples are given below in the same order as the types above mentioned:

Del amante Petrarca
raza augusta
colinas amenas

Avellaneda’s use of locutions with adjectival functions also seems definitely Classical. Aside from its traditional form, the following example is interesting because it is apparently a direct imitation of Fray Luis de León:

¿Por qué no puedo,
— libre de la materia que me oprime —
a ti llegar,

¿Cuándo será que pueda,
Libre de esta prisión, volar al cielo

(Fray Luis de León, S. A., 98, 18-19.)

Other locutions consisting of an adjective plus a complement of agent, time, place, quantity or quality, or manner, in order of frequency, are found but exhibit no unusual features.

An abundance of locutions in apposition with a pronoun, and relatively few in apposition with a noun lead us to believe that Avellaneda in this respect followed Classical models:

¡Tú, de mis penas íntimo consuelo,
De mis placeres manantial querido!

A ti te amo también, noche sombría

(2, 3-4.)

(99, 21-23.)

Among the literary functions of the epithet, the greater number of the figures of speech continue the tradition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Metaphor is the most important figure numerically and the type which is found in greatest numbers apparently first appeared during the Renaissance in Spain. In this type the first term consists of a de phrase modifying a noun which is the second term. This metaphor is more frequent in Avellaneda than in any of the poets we have discussed previously:

en la copa de la vida

(49, 7.)
Next in importance are appositive metaphors which as we have seen represent a fusion of popular and classical tendencies. A few examples will show how closely these metaphors of Avellaneda are related to the Classic period:

En aquella edad primera
— Breve y dulce primavera

¡Virgen de paz, sublime Poesía!

Metaphors in which the epithet is necessary for the understanding of the figure or in which it prepares, explains or justifies the comparison, are likewise often found. Metaphors of this type first occurred in our study of the Renaissance period:

el líquido llano (the sea)

la luna en su esmaltado coche

The metaphor whose second term is contained in the epithet is less frequent in occurrence:

En la aurora liasonjera
De mi juventud florida

Antithesis of two types occurs in large numbers in Avellaneda’s poetic works. The most important type is that in which an epithet stands in antithesis with a concept expressed by another element of language:

Que por flores tomé duros abrojos

Amargo cáliz con placer agoto

Antithesis between noun and epithet (oxymoron) is numerically somewhat less important:

la elocuencia muda

con turbulento arrullo

---

6 Cf. supra pp. 41-42.
Personification, mainly of abstractions, occurs very often in Avellaneda's works:

el hado severo  \( (50, 9.) \)
el odio adusto  \( (202, 17.) \)

Though much less often found than the type mentioned above, attribution of physical form to the Deity is worthy of mention because it is apparently clear evidence of the influence of Herrera:

Retira el Creador su excelsa mano  \( (155, 2.) \)

Personification by pure fancy in Avellaneda in at least one instance seems to find an antecedent in Fray Luis de León:

Si parda nube de tu luz celosa
Breve momento sus destellos vela

¡Ay! nube envidiosa
Aun deste breve gozo, ¿qué te quejas?

(Fray Luis de León, S. A., 98, 13.)

Even more outstanding than in the preceding section are the indications of sixteenth and seventeenth century influences in the epithet's rôle of presenting physical impression. Most of the categories in this division, including practically all those of high numerical importance, continue unchanged the Classical tradition. Vision is most often appealed to and epithets of color predominate. A variety of shades of color are mentioned: cerúleo azul (248, 6); vivaz verdor (248, 16); verde sombrío (247, 15); azul oscuro (300, 7).

Epithets of light follow those of color in importance. Those of brilliant light often used figuratively are of first rank numerically:

espléndidas fiestas  \( (247, 21.) \)
esse sol brillante  \( (295, 20.) \)

Epithets of fire occur in large numbers, nearly always used in a figurative way. Ardiente is much the most numerous:

ardiente Poesía  \( (2, 5.) \)

\(^7\) Cf. supra p. 71.
Tu pecho *abrasado*  
*alma enardecida*

Names of metals and of common and precious stones usually indicate color:

*Nubes de plata*  
*su zafíreo asiento*

Very occasionally names of metals are used in an abstract sense:

*Y el fallo que pronuncias — trasmitido  
Por una y otra edad en rasgos de oro —*
*Siempre sus votos mi cadena de oro  
Firme sujeta.*

Epithets of movement are traditionally Classic. They include such adjectives as *fugaz, tardo, raudo, rápido* and *ligero*.

Conventional epithets of sound such as *dulce, suave, sonoro, armonioso* and the like are numerous in Avellaneda. Epithets which convey the emotional effect of sound upon the hearer or the emotion dominating the speaker are also well represented:

*el soñoliento rumor*  
*acento cariñoso*

It will be recalled that an abundant use of epithets of temperature was characteristic of certain Golden Age poets. Avellaneda uses them with much more frequency than the Romantic poets who have preceded her in this study. Literal usage is more common, though figurative uses occur:

*frescos doseles*  
*En su alma inerte y corazón helado*

To sum up, it seems obvious that the sixteenth and seventeenth century tradition played a far greater rôle in Avellaneda’s use of the epithet than either foreign Romantic or early popular Spanish

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8 Cf. *supra* p. 47.
influences. In a number of cases it is possible to indicate instances in which Avellaneda apparently imitated individual Renaissance poets.

Neo-Classic influence upon the grammatical form of Avellaneda's epithets is apparently quite small. A small number of conventional adjectives of moral import of the neo-Classic type9 are found. As for locutions with adjectival functions, the type most characteristic of neo-Classicism, the non-prepositional locution,10 is rare in Avellaneda's works.

We have found a much more abundant use of synecdoche in Avellaneda than in any of the poets who preceded her in our investigation. Three types are found, in the following order of frequency: "part of body for person", "attribute for person", and "singular for plural":

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cobarde corazón} & \quad (106, 1.) \\
\text{los tímidos amores} & \quad (4, 11.) \\
\text{otro labio hermoso} & \quad (205, 4.)
\end{align*}
\]

Metonymy, although not as well represented as synecdoche, occurs in appreciable numbers. The type, "container for thing contained", is particularly frequent:

Adiós, patria felís

(1, 9.)

The type, "cause for effect", apparently occurs more often in Avellaneda than in any poet before her:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{. . . la campana} & \quad (9, 17-18.) \\
\text{Dulce . . . .} & \quad (200, 11.)
\end{align*}
\]

"Instrument for agent" occurs infrequently as does "sign for thing signified":

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{La triste lira mía} & \quad (150, 17.) \\
\text{pendón ilustre} & \quad (345, 1.)
\end{align*}
\]

9 Cf. supra p. 49.
10 Cf. supra p. 49.
It is in the great abundance of inversion and periphrasis that neo-
Classic influences are most evident. Allusion, although it occurs in
greater numbers than in the other poets we have studied, is much
less frequent. All the types represented are completely traditional:

*De cien virtudes la pura esencia* *(298, 14.)*

*e l hue co br o nce (cannon)* *(51, 5.)*

¡Oh padre benigno del mudo sosiego! *(Morpheus)* *(53, 7.)*

More than any poet thus far in our investigation and with far
greater variety, Avellaneda uses epithets of evocation which convey
an atmosphere of mystery, the supernatural and divine. Such
epithets as *místico, mágico, misterioso, extraño, divino, portentoso,
solemne, grave, inefable, secreto, ignoto, celestial* abound in her
lyric works.

The discernible influences of neo-Classicism upon the rôle of the
epithet in presenting sensory impressions include a restricted num­
ber of categories of rather high frequency. Epithets of size are
particularly numerous and their close relationship to neo-Classicism
seems obvious. *Profundo, vasto and inmenso* occur most often and
in almost every case modify abstractions. No attempt is made to
give an emphatic impression of concrete size: *paz profunda* *(100,
18)*; *vasta soledad* *(197, 24)*; *inmenso orgullo* *(106, 32)*.

Idealized epithets of smell play a large rôle in Avellaneda’s de­
scription of Nature. Realistic, brutal epithets concerned with this
sense are apparently not used at all:

*balsámicas flores* *(57, 30.)*

*carro de aromas* *(351, 15.)*

Epithets of smell used in an abstract sense are rare:

*Los perfumados sueños* *(203, 14.)*

Avellaneda’s epithets which indicate atmospheric conditions,
season of the year, and time of day, are those of calm, peace and
serenity, almost without exception. Nature is presented in her
soft, delicate moods with no hint, as far as our analysis was able

11 Cf. *supra* p. 52.
to discover, of the Romantic aspects of Nature. Juan Valera\textsuperscript{12} refers to the vagueness and generality of the poetess' descriptions of Nature and asserts that she tends to "falsify Nature", presumably by presenting only the ideal side of it. The following examples seem to confirm these observations:

\textit{la apacible y dulce primavera} (3, 9.)

\textit{las olas mansas} (302, 12.)

We may summarize our discussion by stating that there seem to be very definite indications of neo-Classical influence upon Avellanedá's use of the epithet. These influences are restricted to a small number of categories with relatively high frequency and are most evident in the literary functions of the epithet and its role of conveying sensory impressions.

To sum up our investigation of Avellanedá's lyric works, it seems evident that she was little influenced by foreign Romanticism and the popular Spanish tradition. Foreign Romantic influences upon the epithet are limited to the "Romantic" epithet, certain epithets of light, and to the expression of ideas involving moral conviction and philosophical attitudes. Avellanedá was apparently little interested in narrative poetry outside of her dramatic works and we find little evidence of popular influences except portraiture and the expression of some orthodox religious views.

There is abundant evidence of sixteenth and seventeenth century influences upon all her poetry in nearly all the categories of our study. These influences seem obvious in the grammatical forms of the epithet, in its literary functions in particular and in its role in conveying sensory impressions. Influence upon the use of the epithet to express thought and emotion seems to be lacking. Neo-Classical influences are much less inclusive than those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but find abundant representation in certain categories, particularly in the literary formulae.

Avellanedá seems to have made no conscious effort to become known as a Romantic poet. She apparently selected the style which suited her needs wherever she found it and it was most often of the Classic type. In her lyric poetry as in her plays, she was an eclectic.

\textsuperscript{12} Critica literaria, vol. 5, pp. 77-79.
CHAPTER VII

GUSTAVO ADOLFO BÉCQUER

Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer was born in Seville, February 17, 1836. At the age of ten, having lost both of his parents, the boy was placed in the Colegio de San Telmo where he showed great interest in literature and wrote a drama and some of his first poems. In collaboration with a friend, Narciso Campillo, Bécquer began writing a novel in the manner of Walter Scott. Even at this early age, according to Julio Nombela, Bécquer was reading the Odes of Horace, Balzac, Byron, Musset, Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Espronceda and E. T. W. Hoffman.

In 1847, the Colegio de San Telmo was closed and until 1850, Bécquer studied painting. Convinced that he would not be a good painter, he went to Madrid and engaged in newspaper work. Still later, in collaboration with his friend, Julio Nombela, he dramatized Victor Hugo’s Notre-Dame de Paris. In 1856, Bécquer devoted himself to his unfinished Historia de los templos de España which was inspired by Chateaubriand’s Le Génie du christianisme.

It was during the period 1857-1858 that Bécquer is thought to have first become acquainted with the Lieder of Heine. This came through the medium of a translation of fifteen of Heine’s songs by Florentino Sanz in 1857. Toward the end of 1858 and during the following year, Bécquer wrote some of the Rimas.

In 1860, he became further acquainted with German poetry through his friend, Augusto Ferrán y Forniés who published a Colección de cantares in El Contemporáneo. Again in 1862, Bécquer might have read in La Abeja of Barcelona, Canciones de Enrique Heine, translated by Juan Font y Guitar. Furthermore, on May 5, 1867, Mariano Gil Sanz published a translation of Heine’s Intermezzo in El Museo Universal. But Dr. Franz Schneider1 is inclined to believe that Bécquer’s friendship with Augusto Ferrán, who was a student of German literature, explains the fact that, without any tangible coincidence, there is such a clear poetic correspondence between the Rimas and the Lieder.

1 Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer as “poeta” and his knowledge of Heine’s Lieder, Modern Philology, 19, 1922, pp. 249 ff.

http://ir.uiowa.edu/uissll/
The last ten years of Bécquer’s life were spent in journalistic activities and occasional travel in northern Spain. In 1864, failing health obliged him to retire to the monastery of Veruela near Moncayo in Soria where he wrote the Cartas desde mi celda. In 1868, he collected the few Rimas that had been printed, added them to those he had more recently written and put them all together in one volume which he called El libro de los gorriones. This book was found ready for publication after his death, which occurred two years later, December 22, 1870.

When Bécquer arrived in Madrid in 1854, Romanticism, according to Juan Valera, was a thing of the past. Espronceda was dead, Zorilla was in France, Rivas’ literary activity was over and doubtless Bécquer never became acquainted with the latter nor with Avellaneda since they moved in very different circles. Critics have never been able to agree as to the influences at work in Bécquer, but a synthesis of opinions would indicate that he was influenced by Rioja, Heine, Musset, Byron, and José María de Larrea. All seem to agree that these influences are intangible ones of atmosphere rather than form. Our analysis of the epithet may aid in determining whether these or other influences determined his style.

The “Romantic” epithet is of very frequent occurrence in the Rimas. It occurs much more often than all other simple adjectives combined. The greater number of these adjectives express vague, sweet melancholy or lend an atmosphere of the supernatural in a most nebulous fashion:

\[ \ldots \text{El más sombrío y triste} \]
\[ \text{De los páramos cruza} \]
\[ \text{(Obras 3, 176, 9-10.)} \]
\[ \text{Misteriosos espacios que separan} \]
\[ \text{La vigilia del sueño} \]
\[ (180, 7-8.) \]

Epithets referring to the Middle Ages are less frequent. This is curious because it has been said that Bécquer “had a passion for medieval buildings, dress, customs and legends.” Evidently the nature of the Rimas did not lend itself easily to such subjects:

2 Crítica literaria, vol. 1, p. 12.
3 Cf. supra, pp. 60-61.
4 Since only volume 3 of Bécquer's works was used, reference hereafter will be made only to page and line.
5 MacAndrew, op. cit., p. 190.
El gótico blasón

. . . las musgosas Paredes . . . . .

Among the literary functions of the epithet, there is apparently an imitation of Hugo in Bécquer’s use of the unusual type of simile in which the resemblance is established by two epithets, one in each term. It is exceedingly rare:

. . . sonrisa LEVE
Suave como el rastro luminoso
Que deja un sol QUE MUERE

Et les ROUGES lanciers fourmillant dans les piques,
Comme des fleurs DE POURPRE en l’épaisseur des blés.

In the use of the epithet for physical description, Bécquer seems to have been influenced by Hugo in employing the phrases de granito and de piedra. Bécquer is the only poet included in our study who used de granito. Both expressions differ from Hugo’s most characteristic use in that they have literal meaning only:

Penacho de su yelmo de granito

Aquel lecho de piedra

The epithet which conveys the impression of faint or unsteady light is one of the most numerous in Bécquer’s Rimas. This characteristic was common to very nearly all the Romanticists:

Primero es un albor trémulo y vago
Raya de inquieta luz que corta el mar

In the epithet’s rôle of expressing thought and emotion we have found only two Romantic categories represented in an unmistakable way: hallucination and a sense of the tragedy of human life.

Hallucination in Bécquer seems to represent a fusion of Victor Hugo’s personal manner with the vagueness characteristic of Ossianism. We have observed this tendency in Espronceda6, who may indeed have been the actual model of the younger poet:

6 Cf. supra p. 85.
Bécquer, like Byron and Hugo, is oppressed by a sense of the futility of life with its weakness, restlessness and ignorance:

— ¡Ah! barro miserable

¿Todo es vil materia . . . ?

We may say then, that there are only a few striking instances of foreign Romantic influences upon Bécquer's use of the epithet. The "Romantic" epithet in him is principally Ossianic. In the epithet's rôle of conveying physical description, certain epithets of material and light seem to point to the influence of Victor Hugo. In the realm of thought and emotion, the use of the epithet seems to indicate the influence of Ossian, Hugo and Byron.

Among the grammatical forms of the epithet we have found only one indication of Bécquer's indebtedness to early popular Spanish: the ironical use of the epithet. This is, however, extremely doubtful, for irony was common among many of the modern poets who are known to have influenced him. Indeed, no specific influence need be attributed for this use of the epithet in Bécquer:

¿Quién me dió la noticia? . . . Un fiel amigo . . .
¿Me hacía un gran favor! . . . Le di las gracias.

The only use of the epithet in physical description which could be attributed to early Spanish sources occurs in portraiture of the person: boca de rubíes (137, 25); rubías pestañas (138, 21); labios rojos (143, 21); pupila azul (144, 2). Again, no attribution of a specific source seems necessary.

It will be observed, however, from the examples above, that Bécquer does not give more than one or two details at a time and that he is preoccupied with the eyes and the mouth. This is far removed from the detailed description characteristic of the early period.

The influence of early popular Spanish upon Bécquer's use of the epithet is at best debatable. We are inclined to believe that he was not at all influenced by the early Spanish tradition.
The grammatical forms of the epithet clearly attributable to Classic Spanish influences are few and of very moderate frequency. The epithet which gives the poet’s impression instead of describing the scene, quality, or thing, stands first. This is in keeping with the subjective nature of the *Rimas*:

*El resplandor enojoso* (149, 19.)

*Con qué admirable aplomo* (158, 10.)

The courtly epithet is rare:

*La dulce Ofelia* (133, 15.)

The Greek “ornamental” epithet, or rather its modern prototype, is rare:

*Las náyades ligeras* (132, 4.)

A variety of locutions with adjectival functions occurs with a fair degree of frequency. Most important is the epithet which has a complement for added precision:

*algún sacristán muerto en pecado* (179, 15.)

Other locutions — epithets with complements of place, time, quantity or quality, agent, and appositive locutions — are found in small numbers and in such form as to indicate no deviation from the Classical tradition.

The literary functions of the epithet, with the exception of the metaphor, have a rather small place in Bécquer’s works. The variety of functions is undiminished but the frequency is usually small.

The appositive metaphor occurs in large numbers and is the most significant figure. The form is Classical but some of the comparisons seem new and original with Bécquer:

*Luego asoma a mi labio otra sonrisa*

*Máscara del dolor* (164, 9-10.)

The Classical metaphor, the first term of which is a *de* phrase modifying the second term, a noun, is of less importance numerically speaking:
Del sol tiemblo en la hoguera

En el mar de la duda en que bogo

In the following metaphors of Classical type, the epithet prepares, explains, or justifies the figure. This form occurs with a frequency about equal to the type illustrated immediately above:

. . . tu frente que corona
Crespo el oro en ancha trenza

Olas gigantes . . . .
. . . . . . . .

Envuelto entre las sábanas de espuma,
¡Llevadme con vosotras!

Two Classical types of antithesis are found but with a frequency much below that of the other poets studied. The oxymoron is numerically the more important:

húmedo fuego

Silenciosa armonía

The type in which the antithesis is between the epithet and a concept developed by other means is comparatively rare:

Dimos formas reales a un fantasma

Hypallage of Classical form is of rare occurrence. The only type that we have found is that in which the epithet really modifies an unexpressed element:

Al través de tus párpados, dormida,
Tranquilo fulgor viertes

Personification is rare and finds expression in but two types, of equal frequency: the traditional classical forms of personification of phenomena of Nature and personification by pure fancy:

Discreta y casta luna

La tierra se estremece alborozada
Simile in which the epithet is an essential element has been found to be an unimportant figure in Spanish poetry. In Bécquer we find the same tendency to ignore this figure. Only rarely does he use the Classical type of simile in which the epithet, contained in the first term, has a second term as a complement:

\[
\text{aquellos ojos tan claros como el día}
\]  

(154, 7-8.)

The rôle of the epithet in physical description is a larger one than in its literary functions. Epithets appealing to the eye are most numerous, with those of color taking first rank. Bécquer uses a surprising number of expressions of color. White, red, blue, and yellow occur most often. Black, green, and grey are much less important.

In keeping with the Classical tradition, epithets of light most frequently indicate brilliancy:

\begin{align*}
\text{nube } & \text{radiosa} \\
\text{luminosa estela}
\end{align*}

(181, 15.)  

(130, 16.)

Classical use of epithets of transparency and translucency are of less frequent occurrence:

\[
\text{Lámpara transparente}
\]

(149, 2.)

Epithets of fire occur with astonishing frequency. \textit{Ardiente} is used a great deal more than ever before. It even occurs a few times with literal meaning, a use that did not often appear in the Classical period:

\[
\text{ardiente chispa}
\]

(147, 1.)

\textit{Ardiente} is, however, used with greatest frequency in a figurative way which is very characteristic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries:

\[
\text{palabras } \textit{ardientes}
\]

(167, 6.)

Deseo \textit{ardiente}

(188, 1.2.)
Bécquer also uses a considerable variety of other epithets of fire, including *abrasador, encendido, abrasado,* and *de lumbre,* all used figuratively in the Classical manner.

The poet is fond of names of metals to indicate color, especially such epithets as *de oro* and *de plata.* Names of precious stones are also used for the same purpose but with less frequency. Góngora was very fond of such epithets: penacho *de plata* (145, 8); boca *de rubies* (137, 25).

A variety of other materials is also used to convey the concept of color: mano *de nieve* (134, 3); fantasma *de niebla y luz* (136, 14).

Bécquer uses a larger variety of epithets of movement, and with greater frequency, than any of the poets who preceded him in this study, but they are all a part of the Classical tradition and are apparently the result of an habitual association of substantive and epithet: caballo *volador* (126, 8); astro *errante* (130, 15); cendal *flotante* (140, 13).

Epithets of sound are largely the conventional ones such as *ronco,* *sonoro* and the like. Very occasionally one finds epithets of sound which indicate the emotional effect made by the sound upon the hearer or which make clear the emotion dominating the person uttering the sound, which we have likewise found to be Classical characteristics:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{of como una voz . . . triste} & \quad (181, 1.) \\
\text{Su adiós lastimero} & \quad (185, 9.)
\end{align*}
\]

It is evident from the above discussion that the influence of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries upon Bécquer’s use of the epithet bulks large compared with foreign Romantic and early popular Spanish influences. This influence is particularly strong in the literary functions of the epithet in metaphors. In the rôle of the epithet in conveying sensory impressions the evidence is most imposing in epithets of color, light, materials and movement.

The non-prepositional locution is the only significant indication of neo-Classical influences among the grammatical forms of the epithet:

\[\text{Cf. supra p. 47.}\]
Among the figures of speech, the literary functions of the epithet present very few indications of neo-Classic influences. Personification is entirely missing. Synecdoche, so numerous in the poets we have discussed previously, is in Bécquer represented by two types, only one of which, "part for the whole," is important numerically:

_Inteligente mano_  
_amorosa cabeza_  

Synecdoche of the type "singular for plural" is rare. The epithet is only indirectly concerned:

_... el aliento_  
_Que apresurado escapaba_  
_Del labio seco._  

Metonymy is almost non-existent. The only type found, "container for thing contained," is rare:

_ME parece posible arrancarme_  
_Del miserable suelo._  

The literary formulae — inversion and periphrasis — are much more numerous than the figures of speech. Inversion continues to meet the needs of rhythm and assonance and occurs with about the same frequency in the _Rimas_ as it does in the poems of the poets studied before, except Rivas:

_De mi alcoba en el ángulo los miro_  
_Cual derrama de luz templado rayo_  

Periphrasis offers, among other examples, a reference to Shakespeare. This formula occurs much less frequently than inversion:

_De bardo inglés en el horrible drama_  
_la región vacía (heavens)_
There does not appear to exist in the *Rimas* a good example of allusion in which the epithet plays an essential rôle.

One of the most striking features of Bécquer’s style is his use of epithets of evocation. They apparently represent a later development than that evidenced by the Romantic poets who preceded him and who found antecedents for such uses in late Spanish neo-Classicism. This later development we are not prepared to discuss as it seems to fall outside the limits of the present study. The essential peculiarity of evocation in Bécquer is that through the abundant use of such epithets as extraño, solemne, misterioso, eterno, silencioso, divino, sombrío, informe, hondo, indefinible, invisible and vacío, he is able, in the words of Juan Valera, “decir las cosas con tono sentencioso de revelación y misterio, y cierta vaguedad aérea, que no... fija el pensamiento del lector a un punto concreto, sino que le deja libre... para que busque lo inefable...” We quote the above because it represents almost word for word one of the very important tenets of the French Symbolists. An example of Bécquer’s use of such epithets is found in the following verse:

Yo sé un himno gigante y extraño

The epithets are suggestive of those thoughts which are a part of the human mind but which defy expression. One may readily prove this statement by noting the difference in response when one or the other of the epithets is omitted.

Bécquer sometimes makes use of negative epithets for the same purpose:

En mar sin playas onda sonante,
En el vacío cometa errante,
Largo lamento
Del ronco viento,
Ansia perpetua de algo mejor,
Eso soy yo.

Espíritu sin nombre,
Indefinible esencia,
Yo vivo con la vida
*Sin formas de la idea*

---

8 Juan Valera, *Cartas americanas*. Quoted by Cejador y Frauca, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 222.
Epithets of size are numerous but nearly always modify abstractions in the traditional neo-Classic manner:

\[\textit{su profundo sueño}\]

(167, 7.)

Epithets of time, season of the year and atmospheric conditions reveal a conventional neo-Classic attitude toward Nature. There are no Romantic descriptions of Nature in grandiose moods and manifestations. Bécquer’s descriptions of Nature, as far as the epithet is concerned, show a lack of personal observation and a tendency to fall into improvisation through the use of a convenient \textit{cliché}. There is, indeed, very little description of Nature for art’s sake. Nature usually enters the \textit{Rimas} clothed in a figure of speech.

The above analysis would indicate that neo-Classic influences are clear in Bécquer’s \textit{Rimas}. Negligible in the grammatical forms, they begin to show strength in the literary functions of the epithet in figures of speech and reach a high point in the literary formulae and in a certain form of evocation. In the epithet’s rôle of conveying sensory impressions, they are most conspicuous in epithets of size used to modify abstractions.

To sum up the findings of the present chapter, the influence of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems to be paramount in Bécquer’s technique of the epithet as it has been in the Romantic poets who preceded him in this investigation. This influence is most apparent in the literary functions of the epithet and its use in physical description, particularly in the use of epithets of color, light, fire, material, movement and sound. Neo-Classic influence follows the above in numerical importance. It is evidenced in the use of the literary formulae, epithets of size and the manner of presenting Nature. Foreign Romantic influences are very nearly equal to those of neo-Classicism because of the very large number of “Romantic” epithets used as well as the many epithets of faint or unsteady light. Influence of the popular tradition is scarcely discernible.
CONCLUSION

Previous to this investigation the Spanish Romantic period had been studied from the point of view of literary sources, ideas and atmosphere. Only very partial studies had been made of style and those with no intention of determining sources of technique. This study has concerned itself with one element of style, the epithet. It has summarized from an already existing study the development of the epithet in primitive literatures and in French up to and including the earlier works of Hugo.

It has also followed its development in Spanish poetry before the Romantic period and has determined the grammatical forms, the literary functions, the rôle of the epithet in conveying physical description and the expression of ideas and imagination in the various periods. This done, an analysis of representative selections from the poetic works of Rivas, Espronceda, Zorrilla, Arolas, Avellaneda and Bécquer was made in order to classify accurately their technique of the epithet. These techniques were then compared with the data gathered by the method stated above and influences were predicated on the basis of resemblance of form, literary reminiscence, frequency of occurrence in any given period and the poet's known reading, education and contacts.

Foreign Romantic influences upon the grammatical forms of the epithet are particularly evident in the "Romantic" epithet, which is found in large numbers in all the Spanish Romantic poets with the exception of Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda. Rivas, Espronceda and Zorrilla seem to imitate Hugo's artistic use of periphrasis in which the epithet in the form of a clause replaces the corresponding adjective for greater vividness. Zorrilla at times appears to have caught the spirit of some of Hugo's new types of metaphor. Rivas, Espronceda, Zorrilla and Arolas are indebted to Hugo for the use of epithets emphasizing contour, relief, immobility and the use of names of common and precious stones as real material epithets. Rivas, Zorrilla, and Arolas use epithets descriptive of light reflected from the polished surface of weapons, armor, shields and the like which seems to be due to the imitation of Hugo's Romantic interest in local color. Further general foreign Romantic in-
fluences found in all the poets studied are indicated in the use of epithets of faint and unsteady light and light effects in darkness. Zorrilla is apparently influenced by Hugo in his use of technical terms of architecture. Espronceda and Avellaneda seem to be influenced by Hugo in their use of epithets of protest against social injustice and the vices and sordid materialism of their day. Rivas and Espronceda were undoubtedly influenced by Byron in their Satanism and in a certain form of anti-clericalism, both expressed largely by the epithet. Espronceda in particular exhibits the influence of Byronic melancholy in a variety of such epithets on numerous occasions.

The influence of the popular Spanish tradition is evidenced by a fondness for portraiture by means of the epithet in all the poets except Bécquer. In Rivas, Espronceda and Zorrilla the epithet plays a prominent rôle in portraiture of animals. The influence of the early period is further shown in the use of a large number of epithets to express horrible details of unpleasant subjects. This tendency is not found in Avellaneda or Bécquer. Indeed, the influence of the early period upon these two poets is scarcely discernible. In the expression of ideas, the popular tradition persists in all the poets except Bécquer in the expression of orthodox religious concepts and disapproval of other religions and their adherents. In each of these categories the number of examples is relatively small.

The influence of the period of the courtly lyric, as far as the epithet is concerned, is shown perhaps in the use of a fairly large number of courtly epithets although we prefer to believe that these epithets came into the works of the Romanticists principally from those of the poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The influence of the Spanish Classical poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is clearly marked in the grammatical forms of the epithet in all the poets. The "Homeric" epithet, conventional epithets used in a moral sense and the epithet of personal impression are well represented in all the poets except Bécquer. The great majority of the figures of speech which are numerically most important: conventional metaphors, traditional personification, metonymy, simile and antithesis, all show the epithet functioning in unmistakably Classical ways. In the epithet's rôle of conveying physical description, the most numerous categories of color, light and fire, movement, materials to express color, and those of
sound and temperature find clear antecedents in the Classical period.

The influence of neo-Classic technique of the epithet is evidenced in its grammatical forms by the large number of "useless epithets", "Biblical" epithets and non-prepositional complements. The literary functions of the epithet exhibit the same influence in an extremely frequent use of synecdoche, and occasionally in personification of cities, countries, continents and the like. This is true of all the poets except Bécquer. The literary formulae, inversion of epithet and substantive, allusion and periphrasis indicate in general neo-Classic influences. With respect to the use of mythological allusion the Romantic poets were divided in their attitude. Rivas set himself to eliminate it entirely, Zorrilla hated it and the poetry of Bécquer did not lend itself to its use. It is present, however, in the poetry of Espronceda, Arolas and Avellaneda. On exceedingly rare occasions, it appears, apparently unconsciously, even in the poetry of Rivas and Zorrilla, thus showing the surprising strength of neo-Classicism. Inversion of substantive and epithet is very common in all the poets but conventional periphrasis finds less frequent representation.

In the epithet's rôle of conveying physical description, neo-Classic influence is seen only in epithets of size used in a conventional way to modify abstractions. With the exception of Rivas, who occasionally depicts violence in atmospheric conditions by means of the epithet, the poets studied present Nature in a strictly neo-Classic way, using epithets of atmospheric conditions, time of day and season of year, etc., which portray Nature in her soft, delicate moods. The only indication of neo-Classic influences upon the rôle of the epithet in expressing ideas and imagination is found in a fondness for the natural epithet expressing the psychology of the person, due undoubtedly to the general tendency of neo-Classicism to express ideas by means of clichés. This is found in all the poets with the exception of Bécquer.

Classic and neo-Classic influences upon the use of the epithet are therefore paramount in the poetic works of all the Spanish Romantic poets studied, the former being much the more important. Foreign Romantic influences, chiefly that of Victor Hugo, are next in importance, followed in fourth place by those manifestations which we attribute to a persistence of the popular Spanish tradition. The
influence of the courtly lyric, with the possible exception of the courtly epithet, is at all times and in all poets entirely insignificant. It will be seen that these conclusions are in sharp contrast with some of those reached by critics concerned with other literary phenomena than those of style, as indicated in the Introduction. These critics certainly believed that practically all the characteristics of Spanish Romanticism were drawn from what was termed the "national tradition", which was conceived to be popular and anti-Classical in its nature. Next to this in importance, in their minds, was the influence of foreign Romanticism, whose chief function was to liberate Spanish literature from the yoke of French neo-Classicism. Once so liberated, it was believed to have discarded even this temporary aid.

Our conclusions should be of real value in dispelling a widespread misconception as to the true nature of the "Spanish popular tradition" in so far as this tradition had to do with style. We have shown that this tradition was only to a slight degree popular, as far as the technique of the epithet was concerned. It was formed by the fusion of a few ancient popular usages with the powerful Renaissance tradition, in which process the former were lost among a vastly greater number of Classical techniques. The Romanticists, in returning to this tradition, likewise used an immense preponderance of epithets of Classical origin.

Again, light has been thrown on the degree to which the Spanish Romanticists actually rid themselves of the characteristics of neo-Classicism, which Spanish critics quite unanimously regard as an evil influence. This investigation has clearly shown that the proportion of techniques drawn from neo-Classicism retained by the Spanish Romanticists, was higher than that due to either the truly popular Spanish tradition or importations from foreign Romanticism, standing in second place among the five potential sources of Spanish Romanticism which were examined. In other words, neo-Classicism was never more than partially dislodged, and its influence was more important, even to the end of the Romantic period, than any other except that of Renaissance Classicism.

A very general conclusion to be drawn from the investigation is that while literary schools and their ideology are ephemeral things, the development of style proceeds slowly and steadily, undergoing only slight changes from one period to the next.
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