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AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POETIC SENSIBILITY:

FRAY DIEGO TADEO GONZALEZ

A DISSERTATION

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AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POETIC SENSIBILITY:

FRAY DIEGO TADEO GONZÁLEZ

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AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POETIC SENSIBILITY:

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CHAPTER I

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN RETROSPECT

All too often, when reading of that period of Spanish literary history between the Golden Age and Romanticism, one comes upon such terms as "decadent," "sterile," and "foreign"; manuals of Spanish literature commonly slight a period of fully one hundred and fifty years, from the death of Calderón in 1681 to the return of the emigrados in 1836. The exceptions to this rule of neglect are relatively few: Feijóo, Isla, Villarroel, Cadalso, Jovellanos, Ramón de la Cruz, Meléndez, and the younger Moratín. And even some of these authors are explained away as eighteenth-century anachronisms--"transitional," "precursors," "pre-Romantics," "Classical in form, Romantic in spirit."

Vilification of the eighteenth century, however, is not solely a twentieth-century phenomenon; it began in the eighteenth century itself, the most famous condemnation being that of Juan Pablo Forner:

Estamos en un siglo de superficialidad. Oigo llamarle por todas partes siglo de la razón, siglo de luces, siglo ilustrado, siglo de la filosofía. Yo le llamaría mejor siglo de ensayos, siglo de diccionarios, siglo de diarios, siglo de impiedad,

siglo hablador, siglo charlatan, siglo ostentador.¹

And the following satirical observation, from the late eighteenth century, is taken by a modern critic as "an apt caption for a large part of the poetic production of the age": "En la portada, a manera de empresa, un elefante enjaulado, con este mote: 'No sea que vuele'."²

In a fundamental late nineteenth-century work on the eighteenth century, Emilio Cotarelo y Mori writes:

... el siglo pasado no es conocido todo lo que merece, ni aun bajo el aspecto literario. La indignación excesiva de Moratín, como dice un escritor eminente [Canovas del Castillo], contra los autores de su tiempo, y el desprecio con que Quintana trató a casi toda la producción de la anterior centuria, hicieron que nadie cayese en la tentación de abrir nuevamente este proceso, y letras, ciencias y artes fueron envueltas en un común y general anatema.

A demostrar la injusticia de tal proscripción, al menos de su parte literaria, vinieron sucesivamente dos obras ya clásicas aunque modernas [Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto, Bosquejo histórico-crítico de la poesía castellana en el siglo XVIII (1869); Meléndez y Pelayo, Historia de las ideas estéticas en España (1886)], que, profundizando en el estudio de aquella era, hallaron algo más que aquella tan pregonada barbarie que solía achacársele.³

However, in one of the works referred to by Cotarelo, Cueto, upon reaching the end of what he calls his "ingrata y prolija tarea," is less than just. He concludes that Forner was right, that the eighteenth century was a time of decadence, of transition, of profound moral and literary change; it investigates rather than creates,

¹Quoted by Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto, "Bosquejo histórico-crítico de la poesía castellana en el siglo XVIII," Poetas líricos del siglo XVIII, Tomo primero, B.A.E. 61 (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1869), p. CCXXXVI.

²William Atkinson, "Luis de León in Eighteenth Century Poetry," Revue Hispanique, 81 (1931), p. 363.

³Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, Iriarte y su época (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1897), p. vi.

it weakens religious faith, diminishes the traditional character of the nation, and seems to be but the preparation for another century. It is a century, in fine, without its own ideas, without definitive doctrines, without moral energy, without enthusiasm, and without poetry. Nevertheless, Cueto admits that in this century there are new forces and new truths which hold both promise and threat for the future.

Por lo mismo, el siglo XVIII, tal como fué, tal como lo hicieron las leyes providenciales de la historia, es digno de profundo estudio en todas sus manifestaciones morales, políticas y literarias. Con respecto al sentimiento de lo bello en las letras amenas, que es el punto de vista peculiar del presente estudio, poco lisonjero es el juicio absoluto que puede formarse relativamente á la España del siglo XVIII.⁴

The extent to which the eighteenth century has been neglected and even disdained in the twentieth century was described almost two decades ago in an article entitled "Desiderata in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Scholarship"; the author quotes Azorín's dismissal of life in eighteenth-century Spain as "la pazguata, rígida, seca, muerta existencia de la España intelectual y universitaria del siglo XVIII -- España de ergotistas y disputadores vacuos." Romera-Navarro is quoted as saying of the same period, "la literatura de aquel siglo es la menos original y valiosa de nuestra historia moderna."⁵

Gerald Brenan, who elsewhere has written so sympathetically of Spain and Spanish letters, repeats in his history, The Literature of the Spanish People, what is a manifest untruth:

⁴Cueto, op. cit., pp. CCXXXVI-CCXXXVII.

⁵Jacob Ornstein, "Desiderata in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Scholarship," Hispania, XXXV (Aug., 1952), p. 296.

The eighteenth century came in with bad omens: the native tradition was exhausted and the only foreign influence was that of France. The verse of this period consists, therefore, of dull regurgitations of earlier poets such as Lope de Vega and of frigid, academic imitations from the French classics.⁶

Who were the French writers so dully regurgitated by the Spaniards?

There were no French poets in the eighteenth century worthy of imitation.

Were these "French classics" the poets of the sixteenth and seven-

teenth centuries? We shall see again and again that the models of

good taste and style for Spanish poets throughout most of the eight-

eenth century were the bucolic poets of antiquity and the Spanish

lyric poets of the sixteenth century. Indeed, the eighteenth century

re-discovered the poets of the Spanish Renaissance and is the link

between the Golden Age and Romanticism. This much is admitted even

when the century as a whole is dismissed as dull. For example, one

of the critics already quoted concedes the importance of the eighteenth

century even while he draws an unfavorable conclusion from the simile

of the caged elephant.

The elephant was too effectively shackled by political and social conditions to attempt flight; enough that its limbs were not wholly atrophied. And when romanticism wrought the disenchantment and gave back the singing-bird, the revolutionary in the new norms could never obscure the evolutionary. This brief conspectus of some in whom a particular ferment /started by Fray Luis de León/ kept working has tried to show that, dull as the eighteenth century may be, it has its importance in the continuity of literature.⁷

In the work just quoted, the author studies the considerable influence of Fray Luis de León in a number of late eighteenth-century poets,

⁶Gerald Brenan, The Literature of the Spanish People (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1965), p. 334.

⁷Atkinson, op. cit., p. 375.

specifically those in Salamanca. To dismiss, at the end of the article, the entire century as dull is to infer that the influence of Fray Luis in no way mitigated--perhaps even contributed to--that dullness. Such insistence on the dullness of the eighteenth century is completely gratuitous and, unfortunately, de rigor.

Another of the myths contributing to the neglect of the Spanish eighteenth century is that it is so un-Spanish, afrancesado rather than castizo. An attempt to combat this and other such myths is made by Russell P. Sebold in "Contra los mitos antineoclásicos españoles." Professor Sebold takes as his point of departure one of the common-places of Spanish literary history:

"...the age called neoclassic is characterized...by imitation of French and classic models." El lector de este pasto ritual se forma la trillada imagen mental de una época poblada por Fedras, Andrómacas y Británicos de tercera mano, cuya falta de relieve se alivia tan sólo con unas cuantas odas pastoriles también de tercera mano. Ante tales "datos," naturalmente, nadie quiere darse la molestia de coger tales libros del estante.

Mas se nos presenta una curiosa contradicción cuando los historiadores de la literatura llegan a identificar los modelos concretos de los neoclásicos españoles. En la poesía lírica, por ejemplo, los historiadores no nos señalan las obras de Malherbe, Boileau, Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, Houdar de la Motte ni Voltaire, sino las de Garcilaso, fray Luis de León, Rioja, Quevedo y Esteban Manuel de Villegas.⁸

In fact, says Sebold, if it were not for the creative and critical work of the eighteenth century, it is possible that today we would not know the poetry of Garcilaso, which, when it was re-printed in 1765, had not seen a new edition for one hundred and forty-three years. Similarly, the poetry of Fray Luis de León had not been printed for one hundred and thirty years when it was re-printed in

⁸ Russell P. Sebold, "Contra los mitos antineoclásicos españoles," Papeles de Son Armadans, XXXV (1964), pp. 86-87.

1761. If to this is added the importance of the work of Tomás Antonio Sánchez, who in 1779 published El Cid and the works of Berceo and the Archpriest of Hita in Poesías antiguas castellanas, one can easily agree with Sebold's conclusion that the Spaniard who is proud of his literary heritage owes an enormous debt to his own neo-Classics.⁹

Further proof of the national inspiration of Spanish poetry in the eighteenth century can be found in the Poética of Ignacio Luzán. As one of his reasons for writing the Poética, Luzán says that in Spain very few have applied themselves to explaining poetic precepts. But the lack of formal works on poetics does not mean a lack of poets; on the contrary, there have been many excellent Spanish poets, says Luzán, who have had singular success in the practice of writing poetry. Among those who have gained immortal fame through their verses are Garcilaso, Camoens, the Argensola brothers, and Fernando de Herrera.¹⁰ And even though Luzán abhors the excesses of gongorismo, in reacting against it he praises the Spanish poetic tradition rather than that of the French:

... á mi entender, se deberá tambien apreciar mas un Soneto afectuoso de Garcilaso, ú de Lupericio Leonardo, ú de otro qualquier Poeta de buen gusto, que todos los conceptos y toda la afectacion de Góngora, ó de otros Poetas del mismo estilo.¹¹

Luzán himself is a subject of controversy and misunderstanding. The controversy revolves around the question of the Poética's provenience: Is it fundamentally Italian in its sources or is it French

⁹Ibid., p. 113.

¹⁰Ignacio Luzán, La Poética, ó reglas de la Poesía en general, y de sus principales especies (Madrid: Sancha, 1789), I, p. 4.

¹¹Ibid., I, p. 125.

(i.e., based on Boileau)? What does it owe to Aristotle and Horace?

One 1928 study of the Poética resumes the arguments that have been advanced in favor of the various theories of provenience and compares the work of Luzán with more famous works of the same type:

Lo que no puede menos de admitirse, es que la Poética, sea grande o pequeño su influjo en las letras españolas, tiene un gran valor absoluto. Si se la compara con otras poéticas famosas, hay que reconocer que es la más completa y documentada que existe: la de Aristóteles, que ha servido de base a casi todas las otras, es fragmentaria y, en muchos lugares, obscura o incomprensible a pesar de los muchos comentadores de gran saber que desde 1548 han dedicado su vida a aclarar sus muchas dificultades; la de Horacio es aún menos completa que la de Aristóteles, a quien en casi todo sigue; la de Boileau es una imitación (casi una copia) de la de Horacio. ... La Poética de Luzán es el tratado más completo que se ha escrito sobre teorías poéticas, y si su influjo en la literatura no ha sido tan grande como el de las otras, las causas hay que buscarlas en otra parte y no en la obra misma.¹²

More recently, Sebold has had recourse to modest statistics to show that Luzán's work is neither "aristotelismo afrancesado" nor greatly influenced by Muratori or Boileau.¹³ claims that are apparently based more on ritual repetition of literary commonplaces than on actual reading of the Poética.

Misunderstandings about Luzán derive from not reading him. He is, in Sebold's words, an eminent scholar and critic, a writer whom any Western nation would be proud to count among its own.¹⁴ Luzán makes no claims for originality; he acknowledges that everything in his book was said two thousand years before him by Aristotle. Still, his wish is to give old ideas new currency. Paradoxically, Luzán defends old ideas against those who would reject them as being

¹²Juan Cano, La Poética de Luzán (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1928), pp. 4-5.

¹³Sebold, op. cit., pp. 94-95. ¹⁴Ibid., p. 95.

newfangled or contrary to current opinions:

Bueno fuera que desecháramos el oro de Indias porque viene de un nuevo mundo, y que por la misma antipatia á las novedades, hubiese aun quien cerrase los ojos por no ver la circulacion de la sangre, ó las tubas fallopianas. ...¹⁵

And to all who would presume to judge him, Luzán offers this final admonition:

A todo esto añado solamente, que antes de hacer juicio de mi obra, la leas toda hasta el fin, con animo desapasionado, y dispuesto á abrazar la verdad donde quiera que la encuentres.¹⁶

The appearance of the Poética in 1737 was not happenstance.

It was the result of a growing sensibility in Spanish life and letters. The Biblioteca Real had been chartered in 1712, the Academia Española in 1714. Feijóo began publication of his Teatro crítico universal in 1726. The year 1737 also saw the founding of the Diario de los literatos and the publication of the Orígenes de la lengua castellana by Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar (1699-1781). In 1738 the Academia de la Historia was chartered and in the following year the first of the patriotic organizations such as the Sociedades de Amigos del País was formed to encourage cultural and charitable works.

Probably the most progressive period of the eighteenth century was the reign of Charles III (1759-1788). Under this enlightened despot were instituted the reforms that created the beginnings of a modern nation. In 1777, for instance, Charles III required that anatomy and dissection form part of the medical studies at the universities; he established the hospital of San Carlos in Madrid and founded colleges

¹⁵Luzán, "Prologo de la primera edicion," Poética, I, pp. LVI-IVII.

¹⁶Ibid., p. LIX.

of surgery in Cádiz and Barcelona.¹⁷ He was also the founder or patron of the Botanical Garden, the Astronomical Observatory, the Seminary for Nobles, religious schools, and schools for free primary instruction.¹⁸ Also during the reign of Charles III, the Inquisition lost almost all of its remaining political power.¹⁹

Thanks to the Bourbon kings, the physical appearance of Madrid improved throughout the century. Improvements begun by Philip V (reigned 1700-1746) and Ferdinand VI (1746-1759) were carried on by Charles III, called "el gran protector de la capital":

A este rey y a sus ministros se deben los edificios del Museo del Prado, de la Aduana, puertas de Alcalá y San Vicente, Casa de Correos, Imprenta Nacional, Hospital general, templo y convento de San Francisco el Grande, Observatorio Astronómico, Reales Caballerizas, Fábrica platería de Martínez, Fábrica de Tapices, Fábrica de china (porcelana). Además arregló el Prado de San Jerónimo, los paseos de Florida y Delicias, el canal de Manzanares y casi todos los caminos que conducen a la capital.²⁰

In 1746 an anonymous writer called Madrid "la corte más sucia que se conoce en Europa."²¹ In 1761, two years after his ascension to the throne, Charles III ordered that sidewalks be built along the façades of buildings, and drainpipes along the eaves; he ordered construction of wells for clean water and sewers for sanitation; in order to dignify the streets of the capital, the King forbade that hogs be allowed to root in public; he improved street lighting and installed several miles of sewers. To curb the abuse of begging, "de que proviene el abandono del trabajo útil y honesto y nace la multitud de vagos de

¹⁷Fernando Díaz-Plaja, La vida española en el siglo XVIII (Barcelona: Editorial Alberto Martín, 1946), p. 87.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 92. ¹⁹Ibid., p. 43.

²⁰Ibid., p. 107. ²¹Ibid., p. 106.

ambos sexos en quienes se pervierten las costumbres," the King ordered that mendicants be apprehended and maintained at his cost until such time as they should be taken to the poorhouse in Madrid.²²

To the modern sensibility, the reforms and innovations of the eighteenth century may not seem very dramatic; what was new then is now taken for granted. But reform, in whatever field, did not always come easily to eighteenth-century Spain. The University of Salamanca, for instance, "se agarraba a las piedras seculares y odiaba las innovaciones," and disdained Newton and Descartes in favor of Aristotle, who accorded better with revealed truth.²³ On a more mundane level, the celebrated "Motín de Esquilache" typifies the resistance to change exhibited by the populace of Madrid.

Over a period of almost thirty years, from 1716 to 1745, Philip V had tried to ban the use of the long cape and wide hat in Madrid, because under such a costume could be hidden not only an evildoer, but also stolen objects. In 1766 Charles III prohibited the long cape and wide hat among those in the royal service. One of the King's new ministers, Esquilache, an Italian, thought that a general prohibition and its energetic enforcement would suffice to change the ancient habit of the madrileños. Accordingly, on the 10th of March, 1766, the decree was promulgated in Madrid and the following ensued:

El famoso bando de Esquilache dió motivo al no menos sabido motín que lleva su nombre. Los alguaciles, que, conforme a lo mandado y con harta incorrección según los enemigos del ministro, procedían a meter a los contraventores en un portal, a cortarles las capas y a apuntarles los sombreros con alfileres, se vieron acosados y desbordados por la multitud excitada, y la sangre

²²Ibid., pp. 108, 126.

²³Ibid., p. 86.

corrió en la Plaza Mayor. ... El rey se refugió en el Pardo y tuvo que parlamentar con los rebeldes y exonerar a Esquilache.

Use of the ancient Castilian costume ceased in the important cities only after a more politic approach by the authorities: they dressed the hangman of Madrid in the traditional long cape and wide-brimmed hat and paraded him through the streets of the capital. A horrified public soon abandoned the old habit in favor of a shorter cape and the three-cornered hat.²⁴

The "Motín de Esquilache" is doubly significant for the eighteenth century: it signifies not only the contemporary resistance to change, but also the degree of pressure which the authorities were willing to exert in order to effect a change. That subterfuge succeeded where direct pressure failed is also significant: it is a practical illustration, albeit in reverse, of Luzán's point that a change is best effected if the remedy is presented in an attractive guise,

...al modo que al enfermo niño se suele endulzar el borde del vaso, para que así engañado beba sin hastío ni repugnancia qualquier medicamento por amargo que sea.²⁵

The disappearance of the Castilian cape from the streets of Madrid is a fitting metaphor for the changes that were taking place in the literature of the time, for with the cape went "la cortante hoja toledana de toseco adorno," to be replaced by "el inofensivo espadín de áureo puño." And parallel tastes in life and letters condemned the cape-and-sword atmosphere of the seventeenth century:

Ya no había ni mantos, ni tapadas, ni músicas nocturnas, ni cuchilladas tras cada esquina, ni rejas, ni jardines, ni tercerías de lacayos y criadas, ni dueñas que duermen, ni rodrigones

²⁴Ibid., pp. 189-191. ²⁵Luzán, op. cit., I, p. 76.

tolerantes, ni aquellos padres tan severos, ni aquellos hermanos tan bobos y tan espadachines. El punto de honra dejó de ser tan quisquilloso; el recuerdo de los antiguos sucesos nacionales, adversos y gloriosos, se hizo menos vivo; la misma fe, algo amortiguada, no inflamaba ya los espíritus. ...²⁶

From the point of view of a traditionalist and an orthodox Catholic, Forner was right in at least one respect: the eighteenth century was a "siglo de impiedad," a century that saw the prohibition of autos sacramentales (1765) and the expulsion of the Jesuits (1767) from the worldwide dominions of Charles III. And it was a century, as Forner says, of "ensayos ... diccionarios ... diarios." But ensayos, interpreted one way, can mean such fundamental works as the Teatro crítico of Feijóo or the Poética of Luzán, the Informe sobre la ley agraria of Jovellanos, even Forner's own Exequias de la lengua castellana; interpreted another way, it can mean the attempts made in this century to modernize the universities and to bring them out of the doldrums of scholasticism. Diccionarios one can interpret as the Diccionario de autoridades of the Academia Española--and by extension its Ortografía and Gramática--, or as the general spirit of investigation and classification in literature, philology, and history. Forner himself wrote an important treatise on historical methodology, Reflexiones sobre el modo de escribir la Historia de España (Madrid, 1816), and is in this respect a considerable ensayista in his own right. As for diarios, the eighteenth century saw major advances in journalism; there was a proliferation of both diarios and revistas, among the most famous being Diario de los literatos en España, El Pensador,

²⁶ Cotarelo y Mori, op. cit., p. 36.

El Censor, and the Memorial literario y curioso de la Corte de Madrid.²⁷

If the journals of the time were often put to base uses, such as for frivolous polemic or for personal attacks on other authors, Forner himself must share the responsibility. In view of the fact that Forner's own writings exemplify much of the worst and the best of his time, it is unfortunate that his judgment of the eighteenth century should be so often quoted and so seldom questioned.

²⁷Juan Hurtado y Ángel González-Palencia, Historia de la literatura española, sexta edición, corregida y aumentada (Madrid: SAETP, 1949), pp. 698-699.

CHAPTER II

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POETRY BEFORE FRAY DIEGO GONZÁLEZ

Eighteenth-century poetry has yet to be defined by its own standards; the current tendency, as described by Professor Sebold, is to go to the eighteenth century only in search of nineteenth-century traits:

Desgraciadamente, al hablar de obras neoclásicas españolas, todavía se acostumbra empezar por saltarse a la torera su armazón neoclásico, como si se tratara de un espantoso muro coronado de púas que había que salvar con garrocha; y luego se estudia metí- culosamente algún pequeño arrabal prerromántico o realista de la obra.¹

Clearly it is a non-historical approach to attempt to define an epoch in the terms of a succeeding age. According to this method, the objective accomplishments of any given century will be successively praised and maligned as the subjective criteria of taste alternately wax and wane. Of eighteenth-century poetry, specifically of the collection made by Cueto for the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Luis Monguió says, "Objectively, it is there for all to read"-- "eighteen hundred pages of closely printed verse." The task of the twentieth century is to read this verse objectively and to locate it--without apologies--in the development of Spanish poetry; as put by Professor Monguió,

¹Sebold, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

I have no quarrel with the reader who, reading for pleasure, subjectively picks and chooses what he likes in the poetry of the ages. But the student of literature, especially the professional student of literature, the scholar, it seems to me, should be able to add newly discovered or re-discovered riches to his fund of knowledge without jettisoning other parts of his cultural capital. The student of literature can and must strive for an understanding of each work, each poet, each period, in their own terms, and evaluate the success or failure of a work, a poet, or a period, with regard to what they wanted to and could do and say within their temporal and cultural framework.²

From a literary point of view, the neo-Classical period begins with the publication of Luzán's Poética in 1737 and continues into the nineteenth century through Quintana, Nicasio Gallego, and the early Duque de Rivas. The poetic production of the first third of the eighteenth century is commonly labeled gongoristic and is therefore considered to be an extension of the seventeenth century. But it is an injustice to Góngora, who died in 1627, to say that he is responsible for the excesses that crept into the poetry of the early eighteenth century. Even Luzán, who has already been quoted on the "afectación de Góngora," recognizes Góngora's genius:

Este Poeta, que fué dotado de grande ingenio, de fantasía muy viva, y de numen poético, pretendió señalarse por este camino raro y extraordinario, usando sin medida un estilo sumamente pomposo y hueco, lleno de metáforas extravagantes, de equívocos, de antítesis, de retruécacos, y de unas transposiciones del todo nuevas y extrañas en nuestro idioma; aunque en las Letrillas, Romances, y Poesías satíricas y burlescas en versos cortos, apartándose de aquella sublimidad afectada, y acercándose mas á la naturalidad, escribió mejor con particular gracia y viveza.³

Luzán condemns only the unnatural in Góngora's verse, that which is foreign to the inclination of the Spanish language in syntax,

²Luis Monguió, "Fray Diego Tadeo González and Spanish Taste in Poetry in the Eighteenth Century," Romanic Review, 52 (Dec., 1961), p. 242.

³Luzán, op. cit., I, p. 31.

vocabulary, and style.

A modern critic, Real de la Riva, minimizes the influence of Góngora in the early eighteenth century; he cites, for example, ten re-impressions of the works of Quevedo as against none of the complete works of Góngora. And of the relationship between Góngora and the poetasters and sonneteers who came after him, Real de la Riva asks:

Y, en efecto, no obstante todo lo que equivocadamente se haya afirmado en contra, ¿qué tiene que ver su genial obra, insaciable de perfecciones, con las insulseces y chabacanerías de ese copioso grupo de copleros del siglo XVIII dedicados a cantar quisicosas y fruslerías de la vida familiar y casera, en el que figuran nombres como Montoro, Salazar y Hontiveros, Benegasi, Tufalla y aun los mismos Gerardo Lobo y Torres Villarroel? Faltos de toda emoción personal o estética y aun de la más indispensable capacidad de pensar, entendían la poesía como un don espontáneo de la naturaleza, que consistía en improvisar versos rimados sobre el primer tema que se presentase ...⁴

Another poetic tendency of the time was that of the poets of the manera culterana; their stock-in-trade was "Palabras rimbombantes, metáforas descomunales, violentas antítesis e hipérboles monstruosas ... sonetos retrógrados y con eco, de rima encadenada y esdrújula, acrósticos y pentacrósticos, laberintos y ensaladas."⁵ Luzán condemns these versifiers who, attempting to imitate Góngora, "consiguieron aventajarse en los defectos, sin llegar jamas á igualar sus aciertos."⁶ In effect, there is little relationship between Góngora and those who, a century after his death, pretended to write under his inspiration.

If the poets of the first half of the eighteenth century were

⁴César Real de la Riva, "La escuela poética salamantina del siglo XVIII," Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo, 24 (1948), pp. 324-325.

⁵Ibid., pp. 325-326.

⁶Luzán, op. cit., I, p. 32.

to be grouped provisionally according to taste, the first promoción would include these better-known mannerist poets: Gabriel Álvarez de Toledo (1622-1714), Eugenio Gerardo Lobo (1679-1750), Diego de Torres Villarroel (1693-1770), Alfonso Verdugo y Castilla, Conde de Torrepalma (1706-1767), and José Antonio Porcel (1720-?), the last three of whom were members of the Academia del Buen Gusto. Of contrary inspiration are the more disciplined poets and critics of the neo-Classic school, some of whom--Luzán, Montiano, Nasarre--were also members of the Academia del Buen Gusto, and for whom the rules of poetry should be, in Luzán's words, "conformes y ajustadas á la razon natural, á la prudencia, al buen gusto, y al paladar de los mejores críticos."⁷ The reforms proposed by this group were based, ultimately, on common sense:

A hacer recobrar a éste su imperio, contribuyen hombres tan beneméritos como Feijoo, Martínez, Sarmiento, el P. Isla, las instituciones literarias fundadas al modo francés, y, sobre todo, Luzán con su Poética [sic] y los redactores del Diario de los Literatos.⁸

This was a time, says Cueto, of "doctrina sana, pero estrecha, que nos daba en sensatez y en atildado gusto cuanto nos quitaba en riqueza, en hechizo y en libertad"; the poetry of the time was doctrinaire, "desmayada y glacial." And although Montiano, Don Juan de Iriarte, and Luzán wrote with correction, "no hacian sentir en sus versos

⁷ Ibid., I, p. 43.

⁸ Real de la Riva, op. cit., p. 326. Martínez: Martín Martínez, author of Medicina escéptica (1748); Sarmiento: Fray Martín Sarmiento (1695-1771), author of Demostación crítico-apologética del Theatro crítico universal (1757) and Memorias para la historia de la poesía y poetas españoles (posthumous, 1775).

una sola vibración del alma."⁹

Common sense, good taste, prudence, reason--these were not enough to create poetry of a high order; not even adherence to Classical precept sufficed. Luzán and his followers eschewed the devices of the mannerist poets, but themselves lapsed into dryness. Comparing the two poetic tendencies--the manera culterana and the neo-Classic--, Real de la Riva continues:

Pero aquellas exageraciones y despropósitos llevaron a la poesía española al extremo contrario, a los versos yertos y fríos de Luzán, y, sobre todo, de sus discípulos [Agustín de] Montiano [1697-1764], [Blas Antonio] Nasarre [1689-1751], Nicolas Fernández de Moratín, carentes de emoción y de vida, con resabios de disertación filosófica y de gusto indudablemente francés, que representa la reacción contra lo anterior y la manifestación inmediata a la ya auténtica poesía de la escuela salemantina.¹⁰

Nicolás Fernández de Moratín, as a disciple of Luzán, is a link between the Academia del Buen Gusto of the time of Ferdinand VI (1746-1759) and the Tertulia de la Fonda de San Sebastián during the reign of Charles III (1759-1788). Some of Moratín's contertulianos in Madrid are the dramatists Ignacio López de Ayala and García de la Huerta, the poets Cadalso and Vaca de Guzmán, the fabulists Iriarte and Samaniego, and scholars or academicians such as López de Sedano and Vicente de los Ríos.

The best poetry of the century, however, is not written in Madrid. The capital did prepare the terrain, as it were, during the first half of the century through the Académies, through promulgation of Luzán's Poética (which was not printed in Madrid until 1789; the first edition, of 1737, was published in Zaragoza), through the

⁹Cueto, op. cit., p. CII. ¹⁰Real de la Riva, op. cit., p. 326.

Diario de los literatos, and the Academia del Buen Gusto. But during the second half of the century, better poetry will be written in the provinces or inspired by provincial aggrupations of poets, critics, scholars, and humanists. Azorín, already quoted as having dismissed the eighteenth century entirely, now, curiously enough, elaborates on the importance of the provinces during this time:

Hay siglos que parecen propios de Madrid y los hay que semejan siglos provincianos. No sólo hemos de atender, por esta consideración, a la política, sino con mayor cuidado a las letras y a las disciplinas filosóficas. Si el siglo XVII ha sido todavía un siglo marcadamente centralista, en cuanto a la literatura, el siglo XVIII podríamos decir que inicia ya una tendencia curiosa; esa centuria, más que de Madrid, es de provincias. Y podríamos razonar esta tesis pensando en las corrientes literarias que se inician, con cierta independencia de Madrid, en Barcelona, en Sevilla, en Valencia. Un hombre, Mayáns y Siscar, llena casi todo nuestro siglo XVIII, y ese hombre es un valenciano; trabajaba, no ya en la capital del reino, sino en un pueblo: Oliva.

¿Y no vemos, al estar en Sevilla Jovellanos, Jovellanos mozo, el ambiente literario que su presencia aviva, fortifica, con el cultivo de la poesía, con el trato íntimo y cordial de los ingenios sevillanos, agrupados en torno de este joven innovador?¹¹

Azorín makes a significant omission: he does not mention the literary movement, that "particular ferment," that began in the university city of Salamanca. Here, too, and with considerable independence from Madrid, a provincial literary current was re-affirmed. In Salamanca, and perhaps to a greater degree than anywhere else in Spain, there occurred during the last three decades of the century that "efervescencia literaria," as Cueto called it, that constitutes the link between the poetry of the Golden Age and Romanticism.

¹¹"Azorín," "El siglo XVIII," Clásicos cernidos, Obras completas, Tomo VI (Madrid: Aguilar, 1948), pp. 1051-1052.

CHAPTER III

THE SALAMANCAN SCHOOL OF POETRY

General Characteristics

Manuel José Quintana best disputes Forner's sweeping condemnation of the eighteenth century. Both Forner (1754-1797) and Quintana (1772-1857) grew up during the reign of Charles III and both studied in Salamanca at the time of renewed literary activity there. Of the Enlightenment in Spain generally, Quintana says:

España en el siglo XVIII ha empezado á pensar, á analizar y á calcular; ha tratado de adquirir artes útiles y productivas, de fomentar las ciencias, sin las cuales estas artes no pueden sostenerse ni progresar, y de ponerse, en cuanto le fuese posible, al nivel de las demás naciones en prosperidad y en riqueza.¹

And of the latter years of the reign of Charles III:

Era la época tal vez mas brillante y estudiosa que hemos tenido desde el siglo XVI. Cuando se echa la vista á aquel decenio que medió desde la publicacion del Batilo [1780] hasta el año de 90, asombra el incremento que habían tomado las luces, y el vigor con que brotaban las buenas semillas esparcidas en los tiempos de Fernando VI y primeros años de Carlos III. En el sinnúmero de escritos que cada año se publicaban, en las disertaciones de las academias, en las memorias de las sociedades, en los establecimientos científicos fundados de nuevo, en los de beneficencia que por todas partes se erigian y dotaban, en las reformas que se iban introduciendo en las universidades, en las providencias gubernativas que salian conformes con los buenos principios de administracion, en el aspecto diferente que tomaba el suelo

¹Manuel José Quintana, "Sobre la poesía castellana del siglo XVIII," Obras completas, B.A.E. 19 (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1946), p. 157.

español con los canales, caminos y edificios públicos que se abrían y levantaban; en todo, finalmente, se veía una fermentación que prometía, continuada, los mayores progresos en la riqueza y civilización española.²

Perhaps, he adds, there were too many "guerillas literarias," in what is probably an oblique reference to Forner and his polemics with Triarte, García de la Huerta, and others. In what could be a reference to the state of agriculture, increasingly a subject of debate and recrimination in Spain during the eighteenth century, Quintana says "tal vez no se seguía en el fomento de los diferentes ramos en que está cifrada la prosperidad social." And with regard to the many public buildings that were constructed during this time, Quintana suggests that perhaps more care was given to their ornamentation than to their foundations.

Pero esto nada quita del honor que se merece una época de tanta vida, de tanto ardor, de tanta aplicacion, y cuyos productos disfrutamos todavía al cabo de treinta años en que hemos estado gastando sin cesar, y puede decirse que sin reponer.³

Whatever the faults of the late eighteenth century, as admitted by Quintana in this passage, he could still look back to it from the perspective of the 1820's with a certain wistfulness.

Of Salamanca in particular, Quintana gives the following picture of intellectual life in the university city in the early 1770's:

Empezaba ya á formarse aquella escuela de literatura, de filosofía y de buen gusto que desarrugó de pronto el ceño desabrido y gótico de los estudios escolásticos, y abrió la puerta á la luz que brillaba á la sazón en toda Europa. La aplicacion á las lenguas sabias, así antiguas como modernas; el adelantamiento en las matemáticas y verdadera física; el conocimiento y

²Quintana, "Noticia histórica y literaria de Meléndez," B.A.E. 19, pp. 113-114.

³Ibid., p. 114.

gusto á las doctrinas políticas y demás buenas bases de una y otra jurisprudencia; el uso de los grandes modelos de la antigüedad, y la observacion de la naturaleza para todas las artes de imaginacion; los buenos libros que salian en todas partes, y que iban á Salamanca como á un centro de aplicacion y de saber; en fin, el ejercicio de una razon fuerte y vigorosa, independiente de los caprichos y tradiciones abusivas de la autoridad, y de las redes caprichosas de la sofistería y charlatanismo: todo esto se debió á aquella escuela, que ha producido desde entonces hasta ahora tan distinguidos jurisconsultos, filósofos y humanistas.⁴

Some of the most famous men of the century associated themselves, directly or indirectly, with the literary life of Salamanca. Cadalso spent a brief and happy exile from Madrid in Salamanca; his death, mourned throughout the country, was nowhere more lamented than in this city. Jovellanos corresponded with the Salamancan poets and came to exercise extraordinary influence upon them, being in turn influenced by them. And from the University itself, Meléndez, Forner, and Cienfuegos went on to occupy important political positions, recommended more by their literary fame than by their political experience.

The atmosphere in Salamanca during the seventies and eighties has been described as both "muy antiguo y muy moderno":

... antiguo, por el gusto y entusiasmo con que se cultivaban las humanidades, por la amorosa afición con que se leían y gustaban los clásicos; moderno, por la noble y encendida curiosidad y por la amplitud de espíritu con que se recibían y acogían las nuevas ideas que venían de fuera.⁵

Among the ancients, Anacreon, Virgil, and Horace were most admired by the Salamancan poets; Garcilaso, Villegas, and Fray Luis de León were the Spanish models for style and subject matter. That contemporary foreign authors were read is obvious from the correspondence of the

⁴Ibid., p. 110.

⁵Emilio Alarcos, "Cienfuegos en Salamanca," Boletín de la Real Academia Española, 18 (1931), p. 728.

Salamanca poets, but foreign influences are not significant. In any case, by the end of the century, curiosity and open-minded reception of foreign books will give way, in the aftermath of the French Revolution, to official prohibition. On such a note will end, in Quintana's phrase, the "quince años de intermedio" that Salamanca enjoyed under Charles III.

The Salamanca poets, and those intimately associated with them, are customarily divided into two groups:

Reign of Charles III (1759-1788)

Fray Diego Tadeo González (<u>Delio</u>)	1732-1794
José Cadalso (<u>Dalmiro</u>)	1741-1782
Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (<u>Jovino</u>)	1744-1810
José Iglesias de la Casa (<u>Arcaño</u>)	1748-1791
P. Juan Fernández de Rojas (<u>Liseno</u>)	1750-1819
P. Andrés del Corral (<u>Andrenio</u>)(<u>Andronio</u>)	died 1818
P. Miguel de Miras (<u>Mireo</u>)	died 1800
Juan Pablo Forner (<u>Aminta</u>)	1754-1797
Juan Meléndez Valdés (<u>Batilo</u>)	1754-1817

Reign of Charles IV (1788-1808) and later

Tomás González Carvajal	1754-1834
Nicasio Álvarez de Cienfuegos	1764-1809
Francisco Sánchez Barbero	1764-1819
José Manuel Quintana	1772-1857
Juan Nicasio Gallego	1777-1853
José Somoza	1781-1852

Our concern is mainly with the poets of the time of Charles III. Not all of these poets resided in Salamanca. Miguel de Miras, for example, formed part of the Sevillian tertulia of Don Pablo de Olavide and was responsible for introducing the poetry of Fray Diego González to the Sevillans; it was he who instigated the correspondence between Fray Diego and Jovellanos. Jovellanos himself became influential among the Salamancans, but from Seville and Madrid. González Carvajal, another Sevillian, is numbered among the Salamanca poets because of his

subject matter and choice of poetic models.

There is disagreement among commentators on the eighteenth century on the subject of whether or not the Salamancan poets constitute a "school" in the doctrinaire sense, as in the time of Luzán. Cueto at one point rejects the notion of a Salamancan school of poetry on the basis of the diversity of the Salamancan poets: "Por fortuna de las letras de Salamanca, sobresalieron en aquella era brillante poetas cuya diversa índole aleja la idea de uniformidad y de senda trillada que despierta la palabra escuela."⁶ Critics today, however, use the term escuela salamantina, as did Quintana and Menéndez y Pelayo. In any case, Cueto attests to the fact that, school or not, there was a definite resurgence of genuine poetry in Salamanca in the late eighteenth century.

Aquella efervescencia literaria era consecuencia natural de los adelantos que, aunque lentamente, iba haciendo España desde el advenimiento de la casa de Borbon, como tambien de los elementos activos que el nuevo estado de Europa traia sin tregua á la civilizacion española. Artes, ciencias, industria, espíritu de investigacion y de examen, crítica, institutos literarios, todo iba cobrando vida, y Cadalso encontró ya los gérmenes de la nueva cultura poética, así en los claustros como en las escuelas de Salamanca. Más adelante creció el impulso, y tanto allí como en otras partes llegaron á formarse centros de luz y actividad poética. Pero á Salamanca, recobrándose aceleradamente de su dilatada postracion, cupo entónces la gloria de adelantarse á las demas ciudades, y formar en su seno un foco de poesía más puro, más extenso y más trascendental.⁷

Not only was Salamanca the first to recover from its prostration; its influence extended to Seville, where, as we shall see, Jovellanos was inspired to write verses during his moments of leisure. Indeed, two French literary historians ascribe the poetic revival in Seville to

⁶Cueto, op. cit., p. CVIII. ⁷Ibid., p. CVII.

"cette Ecole de Salamanque dont le rayonnement fut tel qu'elle suscita à Seville même l'admirable renaissance littéraire de la fin du XVIII^e siècle."⁸ Hurtado and González-Palencia are of the same opinion:

La escuela salmantina, que tan modestos principios tuvo, produjo casi los únicos poetas dignos de tal nombre en aquella generación, ya que a ella se debió también el primer impulso de restauración literaria de Sevilla.⁹

There was no preceptist among the Salamancan poets as there had been among the neo-Classic poets of Luzán's time. In the early seventies, Cadalso exercised a thematic influence through his Academia cadálsica; after 1776, Jovellanos became the mayoral of the Salamancan group. But there was no set of rigid poetic principles to which this group owed allegiance. Cueto asks of the Salamancans, "¿En qué se asemejan el candoroso fray Diego González y el sarcástico Forner, el delicado Meléndez y el epigramático Iglesias?"¹⁰ Yet there are similarities between the various poets. Their themes, particularly under the influence of Cadalso, were "de risa ... gustos y amores." Their models were Sappho, Anacreon, and the pastoral poets of Greece and Rome, as well as the Anacreontic poets of the Spanish sixteenth century, in particular Villegas. Forner, speaking through Villegas, gives in his Exequias de la lengua castellana (long unpublished and therefore not valid except in retrospect) what could be taken as a poetic credo for the Salamancan group:

... juntad vuestras fuerzas, y sobreponiéndooos a las bachillerías

⁸Robert Larrieu and Romain Thomas, Histoire illustrée de la littérature espagnole; précis méthodique (Paris: Didier, 1952), p. 267.

⁹Hurtado and González-Palencia, op. cit., p. 738.

¹⁰Cueto, op. cit., p. CVIII.

de la turba con obras y escritos que llamen a sí la atención del público, manifestad prácticamente la diferencia que hay entre los que saben bien el uso de su lengua y los que corrompen este uso. La imitación, o por mejor decir, el estudio de las obras españolas de los siglos pasados, debe ser vuestro norte para arribar al colmo de esta empresa. Mas no sea servil esta imitación, no sea mecánica ni de pura copia. Estudiad las frases de la lengua, no las de los autores. Buscad en ellos la abundancia y la propiedad, no el giro o semblante que dió cada escritor a su escrito. El vuestro, como el de todos, debe ajustarse a vuestro genio o índole.¹¹

In this passage, Forner allows for individual differences of style, as indeed there were among the Salamancan poets, while advocating adherence to the general principle of good Spanish usage and turn of phrase. Throughout his life, Forner defended the nobility of the Spanish language; his Exequias is an example of a style that is at once elevated, direct, satirical, and piquant. Iglesias, also, in Cueto's judgment, speaks "la lengua pura y genuina del pueblo de Castilla. Dicción, lenguaje, modismos, sabor peculiar, forma del pensamiento, todo es exclusivamente castellano"; only with Fray Diego González can Iglesias share "la gloria de haber sido, en la era de Carlos III, verdadero representante de la tradición fiel del habla castellana."¹²

Salamanca as a university city was peculiarly suited to foster the Castilian tradition in language and poetry among the poets of the late eighteenth century. Real de la Riva points out that a constant poetic tradition had existed in Salamanca for centuries already, going back to the eclogues of Juan del Encina, Lucas Fernández, and Fray Luis

¹¹ Juan Pablo Forner, Exequias de la lengua castellana, Edición y notas de Pedro Sáinz y Rodríguez, "Clásicos castellanos," 66 (Madrid: Ediciones de "La Lectura," 1925), pp. 134-135.

¹² Cueto, op. cit., p. CXVIII.

de León.

De abolengo claramente universitario ofrece esta poesía características hondas y duraderas: un buen gusto para la elección de modelos, una intensa preocupación por la pureza, dignidad y exactitud del lenguaje, un acertado sentido de la proporción y del equilibrio entre el fondo y la forma, el pensamiento y la sensibilidad, una marcada afición por los temas bucólicos y campestres. Proviene estas cualidades, principalmente, del íntimo contacto que a través de la Universidad se mantenía con las literaturas griega y latina y con la buena tradición patria, y también de otras circunstancias más vagas e imprecisas, que pudiéramos referir al medio en que nace esta poesía, a determinadas condiciones de ambiente, no sólo espiritual, sino también físico y natural.¹³

They physical ambiente of Salamanca is evident in the frequent, though imprecise, references by the Salamancan poets to the River Tormes and the Val de Otea; these local names, however, apply more to an imagined Arcadian geography than to the actual Salamancan countryside. More precise references to the ambiente can be found in the correspondence than in the poetry. Fray Diego refers, for example, to La Flecha, a nearby hamlet, and to the granja, a farm close by which was owned by the Augustinians and which had been a favorite retreat of Fray Luis de León.

Fray Diego González, an Augustinian like Fray Luis, and in whom the influence of Fray Luis is most evident, is considered by some historians as the founder of the Salamancan school, although there is no general agreement on this subject either. Quintana, for example, speaks of "aquella escuela, fundada por Cadalso y tan ilustrada por Melendez."¹⁴ Cueto considers that Cadalso resided in Salamanca due only to the mobility of his military life:

¹³ Real de la Riva, op. cit., pp. 327-328.

¹⁴ Quintana, "Sobre la poesía castellana del siglo XVIII" p. 156.

[Cadalso] alentó en gran manera ... con su entusiasmo y con su ejemplo, el cultivo de la poesía en aquella ciudad esclarecida; pero no fué, ni pudo ser, el iniciador exclusivo de la efervescencia intelectual, tan gloriosa como afortunada, que llegó a decorarse con el nombre un tanto pomposo de escuela salamantina.¹⁵

Hurtado and González-Palencia accept the term escuela salamantina and say of it:

Con más o menos propiedad, así viene llamándose el movimiento iniciado en Salamanca, durante el último tercio del siglo XVIII, por el agustino fray Diego González para restaurar la poesía lírica española, tomando como modelo a fray Luis de León ... Jamás se le ocurrió que los ensayos poéticos en que trataba de imitar a fray Luis se leyeran fuera del círculo de sus amigos, ni mucho menos le pasó por las mientes ser jefe o fundador de una escuela literaria, y, no obstante, logró las dos cosas, sin pensarlo y aun sin saberlo...¹⁶

According to Hurtado and González-Palencia, Cadalso "ingresó en la Arcadia con el nombre de Dalmiro"; he is therefore mistakenly considered as founder of the Salamancan school.¹⁷

Finally, Real de la Riva takes exception to the affirmation of earlier historians that Fray Diego was the founder of the Salamancan school of poetry and dismisses such a statement as "gratuita y además totalmente errónea"; in his view, the honor belongs without a doubt to Cadalso:

El carácter erótico y sensual de la poesía bucólica salamantina; el natural apocado e indolente de fray Diego González; la falta de referencias a él en los versos y las cartas de Cadalso, y, en cambio las alusiones de Delio a Dalmiro dándole la primacía poética y señalándole como maestro de Meléndez, por ejemplo en su égloga Llanto de Delio, así como diversas referencias al tema de otros poetas sal/a/mantino/s/, confirma la total equivocación de la atribución indicada.¹⁸

¹⁵Cueto, op. cit., p. CVII.

¹⁶Hurtado and González-Palencia, op. cit., pp. 737-738.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 738.

¹⁸Real de la Riva, op. cit., p. 346 and note 25.

The formation of the Salamancan school, as sketched by Real de la Riva is as follows. Cadalso arrived in Salamanca in 1771; he quickly made friends among the literary men of the University and formed, with Iglesias de la Casa and Meléndez, the Academia cadálsica, as they themselves called it. Forner, also a student at the University, probably joined the group somewhat later. Fray Diego González and Fray Juan Fernández de Rojas had been attending university lectures since the term of 1768 and 1769; when they joined the other poets is uncertain--perhaps during the latter part of Cadalso's stay in Salamanca, perhaps as late as 1774, after Cadalso's departure. In any case, after 1774 the poets met in the Augustinian monastery.

Los poetas salamantinos continúan sus reuniones literarias, y lo único que cambia es el lugar donde se celebran y la persona que las preside, o, mejor dicho, que las anima. En una celda del convento de San Agustín, bajo la amable dirección de fray Diego González, es donde se congregan ahora, a partir sobre todo del mes de junio de 1775 en que éste fue elegido prior.¹⁹

Neither the Academia cadálsica nor the Arcadia salamantina concerned itself with serious or historical subjects; under the influence of Cadalso in the early seventies, the Salamancans sang only of love and pleasure. Even Fray Diego González, who, as an Augustinian and a follower of Fray Luis de León, might have been expected to write exclusively on lofty subjects, wrote amatory verse in the pastoral vein. Fray Diego's pastoral verse, like that of the others, is youthful and coquettish;

... no es como el de Garcilaso o de fray Luis, retiro de soledad y pasión donde más honda y definitivamente suenan en el alma los momentos infinitos, sino delicioso campo de ensueños juveniles intrascendentes que llenan de dulce y voluptuoso placer los ánimos.²⁰

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 345-346, 353.

²⁰Ibid., p. 358.

It is strange that these poets of the late eighteenth century, who reacted against the conceits and convolutions of the gongoristic style should in the end come to bear a certain resemblance, in another way, to Góngora himself. In a discussion of Baroque poetry, specifically of Góngora's treatment of reality, Guillermo Díaz-Plaja writes:

Impele Góngora al uso, y aun al abuso, de la metáfora, la misma voluntad de aristocracia que le movía a seleccionar su léxico; una necesidad de evadirse de lo cotidiano y de crear, con este mismo léxico restringido, un mundo restringido también. Si, como quiere Ortega y Gasset, poesía es "eludir el nombre cotidiano de las cosas," Góngora se aplica primorosamente a sustituir los elementos del mundo real por otros, más afines al poeta, que tienen con ellos un punto de contacto. Góngora no se eleva sobre la realidad como los místicos, sino que mágicamente la disfraza.²¹

On a less elevated plane, much the same can be said of the Salamancan poets. They, too, are impelled by a voluntad de aristocracia to rise above "las bachillerías de la turba" by means of their works and their judicious use of the language. They are impelled also by a voluntad de inocencia, by a desire to return poetically to an Arcadian world of innocent pleasures. This poetic evasion of contemporary life necessitates a parallel evasion of everyday speech, even to the extent of assuming pastoral names. The result is a restricted pastoral world to which the poets escape. Their point of contact with reality is their practice of assigning real geographical names to an imagined land of nymphs and shepherds. This is not to say that the world beyond the Salamancan Arcadia does not intrude into the lives of the poets or into their poetry; though these poets fled the world through their verses, they were nonetheless men of their times. Cadalso died at the battle

²¹Guillermo Díaz-Plaja, Historia de la poesía lírica española, Segunda edición corregida y aumentada (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1948), p. 179.

of Gibraltar in 1782; Jovellanos filled some of the most important political posts in the kingdom and endured exile more than once for his beliefs; Fray Diego attained to high position within his order; Meléndez became a magistrate in Madrid and Forner a fiscal in Seville. Yet at some point in their literary careers, all gave themselves willingly to the fiction of an Arcadian idyl.

Jovellanos was the first to forswear the disguise. In his epistle of 1776, Jovino a sus amigos de Salamanca, he exhorts Delio, Batilo, and Liseno to abjure erotic poetry and to dedicate themselves to worthy subjects. Jovellanos suggests to each of them a fitting topic and in subsequent correspondences even prescribes books that will prepare them for their tasks. How far Jovellanos misjudged the talents of his Salamancan friends may be seen from the letters that passed between Salamanca and Madrid, as both Meléndez and Fray Diego struggled to adapt their talents to alien subjects. Heretofore, the poets of the Parnaso salamantino, as Fray Diego called the group, although confined within the limits of the pastoral mode, were without rigid precept.

And without the imposition of rules or a set system of aesthetics they discussed their own or other compositions, discoursed on general literary subjects, and imparted friendly encouragement and criticism. Perhaps it is to the absence of such restrictive influences as governed the Academia del Buen Gusto, to an atmosphere which favoured individual expansion rather than a strained imitation of models, that some of the best poetry is due. Jovellanos, who, though, mainly resident in Madrid, was regarded by his Salamancan friends as their highest authority, might have exercised a restraining influence upon them had they been foolish enough to accept his cramping guidance blindly. Be it credited to their good sense that, while acknowledging respectfully the amiable advice he bestowed on them from time to time, even while producing odd compositions in accordance with his dictates, they preserved otherwise, unconsciously no

doubt, a firm independence, so that where true poetic talent existed among them it found a free outlet.²²

The outlet for the poetic talents of the Salamancans continued to be, in the main, light amatory verse in the pastoral tradition. Love here was not a fatal, consuming passion--despite the shepherds' conventional remonstrances to the contrary--, but rather a game to be indulged in harmlessly and, in Fray Diego's case, platonically.

Nature, as the Salamancans saw it, was also idealized, portrayed in its fairest forms--risueño, apacible, ameno. Arcadian nymphs and shepherds, rather than the rude sayagués, inhabit the Val de Otea and the banks of the River Tormes. Nature is less an entity in itself than a reflection of the society that views it.

The appeal of bucolic and pastoral poetry to the eighteenth century is the appeal that a return to nature holds for highly civilized and polished societies. It is not, however, the appeal that Nature would have for the Romantics a few years later. The Romantics looked--or thought they looked--at "natural nature," while the men of the eighteenth century looked back upon an imagined primitive nature, a Golden-Age nature. As Jovellanos says, people who know only too well the noise and tedium of court life turn their eyes with pleasure upon the more simple and innocent life that they imagine their ancestors lived, and they sing of pastoral life not as it is in their own times, mean and rude,²³ but as they think it must have been in the ancient past.

Perhaps the changes taking place in Europe and in Spain led eighteenth-century poets to escape to a natural world of their own making. One of the ills that Cueto ascribes to the eighteenth century is its "conmocion general" in the area of politics: "... sin darles un nuevo asiento, sacaba de su asiento antiguo á los estados europeos."²⁴ In such times, the more sophisticated took refuge in poetry. It is not

²²I. L. McClelland, The Origins of the Romantic Movement in Spain (Liverpool: Institute of Hispanic Studies, 1937), pp. 308-309.

²³Monguió, op. cit., p. 254.

²⁴Cueto, op. cit., p. CCXXXVI.

unnatural that the poetry of their liking should be set in an imagined Arcadia, vague both in time and in geographical outline. In the view of Ernest Mérimée, one would not easily find one's way in the landscape of the Parnaso salmantino, nor easily recognize its inhabitants:

... on ne s'avisera pas de chercher dans les poésies de ce groupe et dans celle de Meléndez, son principal représentant, la moindre trait de vérité particulière, locale, la moindre préoccupation de description exacte, d'observation réelle. La nature qu'ils peignaient, les personnages qu'ils y mettaient étaient tout entiers dans une imagination d'emprunt et une mémoire pure-livresque. Pour les voir, il leur fallait, non point ouvrir les yeux, mais les fermer plutôt. Je serais bien étonné que le lecteur de Meléndez, en passant par Salamanque, pût reconnaître les bosquets d'Otea, ou le Zurguen, ou les bords du Tormes, dans les vagues descriptions du poète.²⁵

Cadalso, through his Academia cadálsica the most influential poet in Salamanca before his departure and by all accounts the most cultured and widely-traveled of the Salamancans, light-heartedly disdains the serious poetry which his education might have led him to write and dedicates himself to poetry of love and pleasure. In his "Epístola dedicada á Ortelio" [García de la Huerta], Cadalso warns,

¡Oh, cómo extrañarás, cuando esto veas,
Y solo bagatelas aquí leas,
Que yo, criado en facultades serias,
Me aplique á tan ridículas materias!

Cadalso imagines that Ortelio's reaction would be the following questions:

"¿Por qué no te dedicas, como es justo,
Á materias de más valor que gusto?
.....
De las guerreras artes que aprendiste
Cuando á campaña voluntario fuiste;
.....

²⁵Ernest Mérimée, "Etudes sur la littérature espagnole au XIXe siècle: Meléndez Valdés," Revue Hispanique, I-II (1894-1895), pp. 227-228.

¿Pero coplillas, y de amor? ¡Ay triste!
Perdiste el poco seso que tuviste."²⁶

In 1773 Cadalso publishes his Ocios de mi juventud; by way of preamble, the author explains "los motivos que tuvo para aplicarse á la poesía, y la calidad de los asuntos que tratará en sus versos." Cadalso's themes will occupy both the Academia cadálsica and the Parnaso salamantino:

Todos de risa son, gustos y amores.
 No tocaré materias superiores;
 De los supremos dioses y los reyes
 La oscura voz y las secretas leyes;
 Los arcanos, enigmas y misterios,
 No digo con osados versos serios;
 Antes con más sencillo y bajo tono
 Celebro la cabaña y dejó el trono.
 Ya canto de pastoras y pastores
 Las fiestas, el trabajo y los amores ...
(pp. 248-249)

And, as if in mockery of the astronomical investigations of his day, and of the scientific spirit generally, Cadalso asks,

Y di, lector: ¿acaso nos importa
 (Pues la vida es tan frágil y tan corta)
 Que Febo dé su vuelta concertada,
 Siendo la tierra la que está parada,
 O que, parado el sol, la tierra suelta,
 Al rededor de Febo dé la vuelta ...?
(p. 249)

Angel Valbuena Prat, speaking of the "llamada escuela salamantina," characterizes it as made up of "autores de mediano vuelo, de sobrios acentos, si se exceptúa al verdadero poeta Meléndez Valdés."²⁷ Meléndez was perhaps the most ambitious of the Salamancan poets; the others were

²⁶José Cadalso, "Poesías," Poetas líricos del siglo XVIII, B.A.E. 61 (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1952), p. 258. Further references to B.A.E. 61 will be by page number in parentheses within the text.

²⁷Angel Valbuena Prat, Historia de la literatura española, Tomo II (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1937), p. 596.

modest in their aims. Fray Diego wrote only for his friends and on his deathbed asked that his poetry be burned. Cadalso, in a poem entitled "Fruto que desco sacar de mis poesías," makes clear that he is a poet "de mediano vuelo"; in retrospect, the fact of his early death tinges his lines with melancholy and wistfulness.

Horacio con sus versos aspiraba
De la inmortalidad á la alta cumbre ...
.....
Pero mi musa, ménos altanera,
Sin aspirar á que sus poesías
Sean doctos objetos
Allá en lejanos días,
Cuando vivan los hijos de mis nietos,
Solamente desea
Que en estas hojas mi consuelo vea
En el mar de la suerte en que navego,
Cual pasajero ciego
Y tímido, ignorante
Del rumbo, de las costas y del viento,
Y del mudable y bárbaro elemento,
Temiendo á cada instante
Hallar segura muerte

(pp. 249-250)

As for the "sobrios acentos," they are more likely to come from Jovellanos than from Cadalso.

Even the severe Jovellanos found respite from his duties in writing poetry. His biographer, Ceán Bermúdez, relates that Jovellanos,

Sin faltar á las obligaciones de su empleo ni al despacho de estas comisiones se dedicó en Sevilla á la poesía en los días feriados, que eran muchos en aquella época, y en los ratos que le quedaban libres.²⁸

To Ceán Bermúdez it is an apparent contradiction in Jovellanos' character that he should dedicate his leisure time to poetry, especially to poetry unbecoming to the Alcalde del crimen de la Audiencia de Sevilla.

²⁸Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, Memorias para la vida del Excmo Señor D. Gaspar Melchor de Jove Llanos, y noticias analíticas de sus obras (Madrid: Fuentenebro, 1814), p. 22.

In a further note on holidays in Seville, Ceán Bermúdez says, "... en tales dias, en que no habia audiencia, se ocupaba don Gaspar en hacer versos, ó en estudios, que parecen agenos de su profesion."²⁹ The tertulia of Don Pablo de Olavide fostered the natural inclination toward poetry that had distinguished Jovellanos since his youth. But the main stimulus came from Salamanca, where the Parnaso salamantino was meeting in the cell of Fray Diego González. Ceán Bermúdez gives this account of the first correspondence between Jovellanos and the Salamancans; of Jovellanos, he says:

Pero la causa principal de inflamar su estro, y de querer perfeccionarse en el arte de versificar, fué la de haberle presentado en Sevilla el P. M. fray Miguel Miras, agustino calzado, unos versos de su amigo y hermano de hábito fray Diego Gonzalez, con quien tenia correspondencia. Residia entonces este religioso en Salamanca, donde procuraba resucitar el metro y delicado gusto de fray Luis de Leon entre don Juan Melendez Valdés y otros jóvenes de aquella universidad. Y como hubiesen agradado mucho á don Gaspar los versos y el deseo de fray Diego, cayó en la vehemente tentacion de contestarle enviándole una muestra de los suyos. No se atrevia, pero la persuasion del P. Miras le obligó a decidirse, y por su mano dirigió al P. Gonzalez la Historia de Jovino, que compuso al intento³⁰

Later, Jovellanos had a poetic crisis of conscience, so to speak, and forswore his youthful poetry; he felt that this poetry was unworthy of his profession and he considered himself obliged therefore to withhold it from publication. When his poetry did appear in print, it was prefaced by a letter from Jovellanos to his brother, in which the author said, referring to his erotic compositions:

Pero sobre todo, nada debió obligarme tanto á reservarlos y esconderlos, como la materia sobre que generalmente recaen. En medio de la inclinacion que tengo á la poesia, siempre he mirado la parte lírica de ella como poco digna de un hombre serio, especialmente cuando no tiene mas objeto que el amor ... Y ve aquí la razon que me ha obligado á ocultar cuidadosamente mis

²⁹Ibid., p. 292, n.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 289-290.

versos, conociendo que pues al componerlos habia seguido el impulso de los años y las pasiones, no debia hacer una doble injuria á mi profesion con la flaqueza de publicarlos ...³¹

Jovellanos' misgivings about his youthful poetry ultimately had an effect on the style and subject matter of the Salamancan poets. In the early seventies, Cadalso had set the festive, escapist tone for the poets of the Academia cadálsica with his Anacreontic compositions. After 1776, Jovellanos, of contrary inspiration, became the mayoral of the Parnaso salamantino. As a man charged with grave public responsibilities, Jovellanos wanted to effect moral reform in Spain. One of the instruments of reform in his view was art, specifically poetry. When, at his urging, the Arcadian poets of Salamanca applied their talents to alien themes, the nature of their poetry suffered a change. The real world began to intrude upon the imaginary world which they had created on the banks of the River Tormes.

³¹Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, Obras publicadas é inéditas; coleccion hecha é ilustrada por D. Cándido Nocedal. Tomo Primero. B.A.E. 46 (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1858), pp. 1-2.

CHAPTER IV

FRAY DIEGO TADEO GONZALEZ

The story of Fray Diego's life and that of his poetry are almost as one, says Father Fernández; for this reason, he does not elaborate greatly on the events of Fray Diego's life in his "Noticias del M. Gonzalez."¹ These events can be briefly stated. Fray Diego Tadeo González was born in Ciudad Rodrigo, province of Salamanca, in 1732 or 1733.² His parents were Don Diego Antonio González and Doña Tomasa de Avila García y Varela. The elder González, though not a poet himself, knew and admired the beauties of poetry and provided his son with books to read. Diego Tadeo exhibited early in life an affinity for poetry and, while still very young, read the best of the Spanish poets; poetry was so natural to him that he was writing verses before he reached adolescence. He was of a tender nature and experienced the pains of love at the same time that he discovered the charms of poetry. In his Historia de Delio, Fray Diego recalls the intensity of his youthful love:

¹Juan Fernández de Rojas, "Al que leyere," Poesias del M. Fr. Diego Gonzalez (Madrid, 1812), n. p.

²The facts of Fray Diego's biography are taken from Juan Fernández de Rojas, "Noticias del M. Gonzalez," Poesias del M. Fr. Diego Gonzalez (Madrid, 1812), n. p.; Cucto, op. cit.

Amaba ardientemente,
 Amaba tiernamente,
 Amaba sin medida;
 Amaba, en fin, de modo
 que aún ahora, al recordarlo, tiemblo todo.

Fray Diego's adolescent love poetry has not been preserved, but it can be inferred that his verses were of little merit, for he continues,

De tal fuego agitado,
 Sin que á Apolo debiera
 Nûmen ni inflamacion, canté amoroso ...

Love continued to be an important part of Fray Diego's life:

"Su corazon tierno y delicado habia nacido únicamente para amar, para amarlo todo," says Cueto. "Dios, la mujer, la humanidad, se disputaban su alma." Love of God prevailed; at the age of eighteen, Diego Tadeo donned the habit of Saint Augustine and professed in the monastery of San Felipe el Real in Madrid on the 23rd of October, 1751. In Madrid and Salamanca, Diego Tadeo studied with application and progress, but his classmates noticed in him a particular bent toward poetry and a singular interest in all books dealing with poetry. After Fray Diego completed the prescribed years of study, the Church availed itself of his special talents for administration; Fray Diego carried out, to the satisfaction of his superiors, the duties of secretary of the Visitor General of the province of Andalusia, prior of the monasteries of Salamanca, Pamplona, and Madrid, secretary of the province of Castile, and rector of the Colegio de Doña María de Aragón.

In spite of the nature and demands of his prelacies, Fray Diego continued to write amorous poetry, which he addressed to various women with conventional pastoral names. Of these women in Fray Diego's poetry, I. L. McClelland says:

Fray Diego's apologists are careful to point out that although Mirta and Melisa were real persons the poems are not to be taken as actual love poems. Of the two, Mirta, who figures in the famous "El murciélago alevoso," is the more constantly addressed. The other ladies of Fray Diego's poems, Vicenta, Lisi, Filis, are probably imaginary.³

Still, there is an inescapable incongruity in the fact that Fray Diego, by all accounts an exemplary cleric, should write poetry of an amorous nature. There is even a suggestion that some of his poetry could be scabrous: Cueto gives only the titles of two poems, "Cantilena á Mirta" and "Sátira á una vieja," which he does not include in his collection for the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, "por parecernos ambas composiciones indignas, por varios motivos, de aquel simpático poeta."⁴ In the year 1776, an epistle from Joyellanos, admonishing the Salamancan poets to abjure erotic verse and to write on moral or heroic themes, elicited from Fray Diego a promise that he would henceforth write only on elevated subjects: "Delio, al menos, da una firme palabra de, ó no cantar jamas, ó emplear su canto en alguna de las graves materias que V. S. se sirve poner a su cuidado, haciéndole el honor de creerle capaz del desempeño."⁵

Fray Diego's scruples about his poetry increased as he grew older; when he realized that his death was imminent, he made arrangements with Fray Juan Fernández de Rojas for the destruction of all his papers. Father Fernández gives the following account:

³I. L. McClelland, op. cit., p. 312, n. 2.

⁴Cueto, op. cit., p. 179, n. 2.

⁵Letter dated September 28, 1776; quoted by Cueto, op. cit., p. CXI, n. 4.

Entonces le entró algun escrúpulo por causa de sus poesías, y habiéndolas juntado con várias cartas y papeles inútiles, me encargó que lo quemára todo junto, sin advertirme nada. Yo sospeché el engaño que queria hacerme, del demasiado cuidado que ponía en ocultarlo; y como su suma debilidad no le habia permitido barajar bien los papeles, ántes de aplicar la llama conocí que estaban allí sus poesías. Apartélas con cuidado, y libré de un eterno olvido los felices partos de este ingenio español; pero él quedó muy satisfecho de que con su muerte parecian tambien todos sus versos. Esto fué cuatro dias ántes de morir ...⁶

On September 10, 1794, Fray Diego González died. The first edition of his collected poetry was published in Madrid in 1796. Father Fernández says in his brief biography of Fray Diego that "El maestro Gonzalez tenía sus poesías sin orden alguno. Yo las he dado alguna coordinacion, clasificando las piezas segun su especie." He also says that he is presenting to the public Fray Diego's verses "purificadas y netas,"⁷ which suggests that either Father Fernández did not publish all of Fray Diego's poems or that he censored, that is to say, purified them. In any case, Cueto says, without further clarification, that he is including in his collection for the RAE "algunos versos inéditos del Maestro Gonzalez."⁸ Whatever may have been the feelings of Father Fernández in preserving Fray Diego's works for posterity, he did not perform, in the opinion of at least one critic, so great a service to Spanish letters as he had thought. Referring to Fray Diego's wish, Angel Valbuena Prat writes:

Antes de morir quiso que su amigo el P. Fernández quemase sus manuscritos -- con lo cual, sea dicho en gracia a la verdad, no se hubiera perdido, salvo en contados casos, nada extraordinario, -- pero su voluntad no fue cumplida.⁹

⁶"Noticias del M. Gonzalez," n. p. ⁷Ibid.

⁸Cueto, op. cit., p. 179, n. 2.

⁹Angel Valbuena Prat, op. cit., p. 596, n.

The details of Fray Diego's daily existence, as well as a picture of his relationship with other members of the Parnaso salamantino, can be deduced from the correspondence that passed between Salamanca, Madrid, and Seville. From the comments of Fray Diego's contemporaries, and from Fray Diego's own writings, there emerges an attractive picture of the amiable priest and of the restricted world in which he lived. In a letter to Fray Miguel de Miras (Mireo) in Seville, Fray Diego lists the poets that comprise the Parnaso salamantino:

... se compone de cinco poetas que se tratan con familiaridad y mutuamente se estiman. Los tres, Liseno, Delio, y Andronio son de casa ... Los otros dos poetas son jóvenes seculares, profesores de jurisprudencia, en que van haciendo singulares progresos. Uno y otro han compuesto mucho, cada cual por su término ... ¹⁰

Liseno is Fray Juan Fernández de Rojas; Delio is, of course, Fray Diego; Andronio (or Andrenio) is Fray Andrés del Corral; all three are of the same Augustinian monastery ("de casa"). Cueto surmises that the two lay poets are Meléndez Valdés and Juan Pablo Forner.¹¹ The date of Fray Diego's letter, November 11, 1775, gives the approximate year for dating the formation of the Parnaso; until 1774, the year of Cadalso's departure from Salamanca, the aggrupation of poets had been called the Academia cadálsica. By 1775, the Parnaso was meeting in the monastery.

Both contemporaries and literary historians attest to the affable nature of Fray Diego and to the suitability of his character to the religious life and to the administration of religious communities. Father Fernández, co-religionist and friend of Fray Diego, praises the latter's "bellas cualidades" and his "prendas más singulares para el gobierno":

¹⁰Cueto, op. cit., p. CVIII, n. 1. ¹¹Ibid.

Era de un genio sumamente pacífico y suave; amaba tiernamente á sus semejantes, y con extremo á aquellos á quienes se unia con los vínculos de la amistad. El conocimiento de la fragilidad humana, y el ejercicio de una caridad verdadera, le hacian mirar las faltas de sus hermanos con tanta compasion, que jamas hubo delito que no encontrase para con el ó disimulo ó misericordia. Exactísimo en el cumplimiento de sus obligaciones, reprendia con el ejemplo más que con las palabras; siempre humano para con los frágiles, cariñoso con los observadores de la ley, y prudente, afable y justo con todos.¹²

To Cueto, Fray Diego is one of the poets of whom Salamanca can most justifiably be proud:

... uno de los caracteres más simpáticos y más puros que han dado lustre al claustro y á las letras. ... No se prestaba á ambiciosos vuelos. Vivía su espíritu en una esfera mística, tan apacible y tan serena, que no podian entrar en ella estímulos mundanos, y mucho menos aquellos que reciben su fuerza en la vanidad. Ni aún la vanagloria literaria, en su expresion más inocente y más inofensiva, podia caber en un alma enteramente subyugada por la mansedumbre y la modestia.¹³

It is clear that Fray Diego was a conscientious administrator as well as an exemplary priest. In a letter to Jovellanos, Meléndez Valdés writes that Fray Diego is "sumamente ocupado en cosas del oficio."¹⁴ The duties of prior of the monasteries of Salamanca, Pamplona, and Madrid sometimes caused Fray Diego to wish secretly for the freedom of secular life. Such, at any rate, are the sentiments that he confides to Fray Miguel de Miras, who at the time (1776) was living in Madrid and enjoying the company of Jovellanos: "¡Qué vida tan deliciosa habiamos de pasar viviendo juntos y libres!"¹⁵ And to Jovellanos Fray

¹²"Noticias del M. Gonzalez," n. p.

¹³Cueto, op. cit., p. CVIII.

¹⁴Juan Meléndez Valdés, "Cartas inéditas de Melendez Valdes á Jovellanos," Poetas líricos del siglo XVIII. Coleccion formada é ilustrada por Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto. Tomo segundo. (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1871), p. 75.

¹⁵Cueto, op. cit., p. CX.

Diego confides that his duties are physically and mentally exhausting:

Creo que el oficio de prior, despues de haberme robado mi natural dulzura, ha enervado todo el vigor de mi espíritu, y es capaz de privarme del uso de la razon. Enteramente me desconozco, y me admiro de mí mismo. Me hallo tan desmemoriado, que se me olvidan los nombres de las cosas más comunes; cosa que á veces me da risa, y á veces me causa el mayor cuidado.¹⁶

That Fray Diego wanted to go to Madrid to join his friends is evident in another letter from Meléndez to Jovellanos: "Tenemos á nuestro dulce Delio secretario de provincia, que es lo que apetecia, y V.S. lo tendrá en Madrid cuanto antes."¹⁷ This was in 1779, by which time Fray Diego's relatively high office in his order enabled him to travel to Madrid.

The countryside around Salamanca was for Fray Diego an abiding pleasure, in particular a nearby hamlet called La Flecha and a granja owned by the Augustinians. There are repeated references in the letters of Meléndez to the absence of Fray Diego from Salamanca: for example, "Nuestro Delio está fuera, en una granja ó lugarcillo de su comunidad, y no vendrá hasta despues de Reyes. ¡Qué Pascuas habrá tenido, con las aguas y el mal tiempo que ha hecho!"¹⁸ Fray Diego himself describes the pleasure that he derives from the countryside and from the memories that Nature awakens in him; in a letter to Fray Miguel de Miras, he writes:

Mañana salgo á pasar tres ó cuatro dias en mi Flecha, que está de aquí, rio arriba, legua y media. Tenemos allí unas hacañas, un hermoso soto y prado, y lo que es más que todo, aquella huerta que en el principio de su Diálogo de los Nombres de Cristo describe con tanta belleza nuestro insigne León, y

¹⁶Ibid., p. 178, n. 3 from p. 177.

¹⁷"Cartas inéditas de Melendez Valdes á Jovellanos," p. 85.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 78.

donde aquel Marcelo enseñó á sus compañeros tan divinas doctrinas. Este es el huerto que, en la canción de la vida solitaria "Vida retirada"¹⁷, llama plantado por su mano, del monte en la ladera, y la fontana pura, que

Por ver y acrecentar su hermosura,
Desde la cumbre airosa
Hasta llegar corriendo se apresura, etc.;

que tú lo sabes todo de memoria y á la letra, como tan aficionado á Fray Luis. ... Estas memorias me harán dulcísima la estancia.¹⁹

Perhaps it was during these periods of rest and tranquility at La Flecha that Fray Diego was moved to translate psalms into Spanish, as Fray Luis had done, or to write on the elevated themes that Jovellanos had suggested. Whatever the case, in his maturity Fray Diego returns poetically to the memory of his first love and sets the scene in the Salamancan countryside. For all the influence that La Flecha and the memory of Fray Luis may have had on him, Fray Diego is known less for his moral and religious compositions than for his festive and amorous pastoral verse.

In his verse, Fray Diego recalls his first youthful love for Melisa; he also addresses several poems to Mirta. Both Melisa and Mirta were real persons, known and admired by several of Fray Diego's friends in Seville and Cádiz. But from the testimony of Fray Diego himself, and from that of Father Fernández and others in the Parnaso salamantino, it is clear that Fray Diego's love for Mirta was platonic, carried on by mail from Salamanca and Madrid to Seville, and perhaps no more than literary and conventional. Nevertheless, to George Tyler Northup, Fray Diego was "one of those worldly abates of the century. His work suggests the harpsichord, the bewigged gallants, and patched-

¹⁹Cueto, op. cit., p. CVIII.

and-powdered beauties of the circles he frequented."²⁰ And Professor Monguió reminds us that the eighteenth century was the century of the cortejo, the cicisbeo, the paramour:

In Father González's days the "cortejo" was a recognized institution in Spanish social life. An English traveler who visited Spain in 1786 and 1787 writes that the "cortejo" "must be present every moment in the day, whether in private or public, in health or sickness, and must every where be invited to attend [his lady]." He also notices that "the principal cortejos in the great cities are the canons of the cathedrals; but where the military reside, they take their choice, and leave the refuse to the church." In such an atmosphere it is to the moral credit of González that he was content with being Mirta's platonic "cortejo," at the safe distance²¹ of the many miles which separate Cádiz from Salamanca or Madrid.

Fray Diego's attachment to Mirta continued even after they had ceased to correspond. Mirta, presumably occupied with family matters and with the diversions offered by Cádiz, stopped answering the letters from her distant cortejo. In a letter to Jovellanos, dated at Salamanca, the 8th of August, 1778, Fray Diego says that although Mirta no longer writes to him and has forgotten his affection, he, as Delio, will continue to love her: "Delio la amaré, sin tratarla, del mismo modo y en el mismo grado que cuando la trataba, porque no cabe en él otra cosa; es natural á él no dejar de amar lo que una vez amó."²²

Although Fray Diego continued to write to Mirta at least until mid-1778, by 1776 he had reason to question the propriety of his writing amorous verses. In Jovino á sus amigos de Salamanca (1776)²³, Jovellanos, now the austere magistrate, exhorts Fray Diego (Delio), Meléndez Valdés

²⁰George Tyler Northup, An Introduction to Spanish Literature, Third edition revised and enlarged by Nicholson B. Adams (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 320.

²¹Monguió, op. cit., p. 253. ²²Cueto, op. cit., p. CX, n. 2.

²³Jovellanos, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

(Batilo), and Fray Juan Fernández de Rojas (Liseno) to abandon the practice of writing love poetry and to dedicate themselves to higher ends. Jovellanos fears that the cultivation of only erotic verse will lead the Salamancan poets to oblivion; he asks,

... ¿Siempre, siempre
 Dará el amor materia á nuestros cantos?
 De cuántas dignas obras ¡ay! privamos
 A la futura edad por una dulce
 Pasajera ilusión, por una gloria
 Frágil y deleznable, que nos roba
 De otra gloria inmortal el alto premio.

In his maturity, Jovellanos came to look upon love poetry as both unworthy of his high office and detrimental to the public good; he came to look upon serious poetry, "la didascálica poesia," and upon tragedy as useful instruments for improving public taste and morals. He therefore enjoined his Salamancan friends to assure themselves a worthy place in the future by writing on lofty subjects. To each of them he suggested an appropriate theme:

Ea, facundo Delio, tú, á quien siempre
 Minerva asiste al lado, sus; asocia
 Tu musa á la moral filosofía,
 Y canta las virtudes inocentes
 Que hacen al hombre justo y le conducen
 A eterna bienandanza.

 Despues con grave estilo ensalza al cielo
 La santa religion de allá abajada,
 Y canta su alto origen, sus eternos
 Fundamentos ...

Jovellanos' theme for Meléndez Valdés:

Sean tu objeto los héroes españoles,
 Las guerras, las victorias, y el sangriento
 Furor de Marte. ...

To Fray Juan Fernández de Rojas falls the task of reforming the Spanish stage:

... ya es tiempo
 De proscribir los vicios indecentes,
 Que manchan nuestra escena. ...

 Ensalza la virtud, persigue el vicio,
 Y por medio del susto y de la lástima,
 Purga los corazones ...

In accordance with his promise to Jovellanos to dedicate his pen to "graves materias," Fray Diego began, in the same year of 1776, his didactic poem, Las edades. According to the plan sent to him by Jovellanos, this was to be a long philosophic poem on the ages of man, from infancy to old age. Fray Diego completed only the first part, La niñez; he had neither the time nor the health to carry out Jovellanos' grand design. Indeed, he may have been reluctant to undertake a work so alien to his genius. César Real de la Riva points out to what an extent Jovellanos misunderstood the poetic impetus of the Salamancan poets:

Cualquiera que sea de vista medianamente perspicaz comprenderá fácilmente que las recomendaciones de Jovellanos constituían un grave desacierto, que para nada tenían en cuenta el origen, el carácter ni las condiciones de los poetas de esta Escuela. Ni el epicureísmo fácil y elegante de fray Diego era el adecuado para la poesía filosófica, ni la sensibilidad exquisita de Meléndez para escribir sobre temas guerreros, de los que había abominado cien veces en sus graciosas letrillas, ni el ingenio y la agudeza del padre Rojas para vestir "el coturno trágico" y restaurar de este modo la escena española. El patriotismo de Jovellanos aunado a su espíritu didáctico y a su insensibilidad poética, le impulsaban a esos campos como los más idóneos para levantar el espíritu público y contribuir al progreso de la nación.²⁴

Jovellanos was not totally insensitive to lyric poetry; in his Reglamento para el colegio de Calatrava, Jovellanos specifically recommends several of the major lyric and epic poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Garcilaso, Herrera, Rioja, Ercilla, the

²⁴Real de la Riva, op. cit., p. 360.

brothers Argensola, "y sobre todo, al mismo fray Luis de Leon, el primero y mas recomendable entre todos."²⁵ His mistake was in thinking that, as Ernest Mérimée puts it, "tous sont bons à tout"; he confused poetic inspiration with "le métier, qui peut s'apprendre en effet, puisque lui-même l'avait appris."²⁶

But if Jovellanos erred in trying to change the style and content of Salamancan poetry, it was only because he foresaw changes in Spain that would demand the attention of the best Spanish minds. Pre-occupied as he was with the public good, Jovellanos wanted the Salamancan poets to return from Arcadia to the fast-changing world of the late eighteenth century. Mérimée continues:

Peut-être Jovellanos avait-il encore raison de croire que, dans l'état de l'Europe et de l'Espagne, le temps des Batilo, des Delio et des Amintas [Forner] était passé, et qu'entre les enfantines distractions de ces bergers enrubannés et les préoccupations publiques, il y avait décidément une discordance trop criante. La grande voix qui grondait au loin couvrait trop la frêle chalumneau de ces Arcadiens.²⁷

Even after Fray Diego's death, Jovellanos, still seeking a patriotic ally in poetry, asks Fray Juan Fernández de Rojas, "¿Y qué? El Poema de las Edades, ¿quedará sin continuador? Ya Vm. me entiende. ..."28

By the time of Fray Diego's death, conditions had changed greatly from what they had been during the latter years of Charles III's reign. In an evaluation of that reign, Quintana praised the "quince años de

²⁵Jovellanos, op. cit., p. 196.

²⁶Ernest Mérimée, op. cit., p. 221. ²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Jovellanos, Diarios. Estudio preliminar de Angel del Río. Edición preparada por Julio Somoza. 3 volúmenes (Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1953), Vol. II, p. 248, from p. 246, n. 1.

intermedio" that Salamanca had enjoyed under Charles III; he characterized as astonishing "el incremento que habian tomado las luces" between the years 1780 and 1790. Unfortunately, this atmosphere dissipated by the end of the century. The death of Charles III in 1788 and fear of the French Revolution caused in Spain a return to absolutism and arbitrary rule. Quintana ascribes the abuse of power in Spain to a fear of ideas:

Habia coincidido la muerte de nuestro Cárlos III con las alteraciones de Francia; y cuando era necesario mayor diligencia en gobernar, mayor circunspeccion en conducirse, entonces se dió la señal entre nosotros á todos los caprichos de la arbitrariedad, á todos los desconciertos de la ignorancia y de la insensatez. El escándalo de poner en circunstancias tan difíciles el timon del Estado en manos de un favorito sin educacion política y sin experiencia [Godoy], acrecentaba la murmuracion y el descontento, y estos á su vez producian el encono y la persecucion. Y como los primeros y mas nobles pasos de la revolucion francesa eran debidos sin duda á las luces y adelantamiento del siglo, la autoridad se puso en un estado constante de hostilidad con el saber. Ya se habian suprimido los periódicos que mas crédito tenían por las verdades útiles que propagaban; se habia retirado poco a poco la proteccion y fomento que se ²⁹ daba á los estudios; se oian delaciones, se sembraban desconfianzas.

This Spanish version of the French Terror stifled intellectual activity in Madrid and Salamanca. The University lost its vigor and its noble y encendida curiosidad; its amplitud de espíritu gave way to narrowness of mind. In 1795, the year after Fray Diego's death, Jovellanos passed through Salamanca; his Diarios bear witness to the intellectual decline of the official University and to the interest on the part of the students in stimulating but heretical foreign books:

Toda la juventud salamantina es Port-royalista ... Obstraect, Zuola, y sobre todo Tamburini andan en manos de todos. Mas de 3000 ejemplares habia ya quando vino su prohibicion--uno sólo

²⁹Manuel José Quintana, "Noticia histórica y literaria de Meléndez," p. 116.

se entregó. ... Esto da esperanza de que se mejoren los estudios, quando las Catedras y gobierno de la Universidad estén en la nueva generación. Cuando manden los que obedecen. Cualquiera otra reforma sería vana. Como la de los freiles. Los de Calatrava, en la última corrupción.³⁰

By 1795, Salamanca had ceased to be that "centro de aplicacion y de saber," as Quintana called it, that had welcomed good books from everywhere, including the France of the philosophes. Fray Diego had once praised Voltaire, called him "aquel gran genio" and adding that truth must be honored and merit applauded, even when found "en los hijos de las tinieblas."³¹

When Father Fernández wrote his preface to the 1796 edition of Fray Diego's poetry, he gave as his reasons for publishing the work of his fellow Augustinian the demands of Fray Diego's "apasionados" and the demands of friendship, which could not look with indifference upon the burial of Fray Diego's name. Father Fernández acknowledges, however, that he had refrained from publishing his collection earlier out of fear that the uninformed would criticize it mercilessly:

Conozco, Lector amado, que en un tiempo en que tanto se critica, y en que tan poco se produce de original, es arriesgado presentar al público las obras del dulcísimo Poeta el M. Fr. Diego Gonzalez. Repetidas veces desde el aciago instante en que se desapareció de mis ojos, he estado decidido á darlas á la luz pública, y otras tantas me ha detenido la injusticia que veo usar con nuestros Literatos de mérito. Todo quanto se produce en España les parece

³⁰ Quoted by Edith Helman, "Some consequences of the Publication of the Informe de ley agraria by Jovellanos," Estudios hispánicos; homenaje a Archer M. Huntington (Wellesley, Mass.: Wellesley College, 1952), p. 259, n. 14. Obstraect and Zuola are unknown. Tamburini: Tommaso Tamburini (1591-1675) Italian moral theologian, Jesuit, proponent of Probabilism; sixty-five of his propositions on the intrinsic or extrinsic nature of probability were condemned by the Holy Office in 1679. --Enciclopedia Italiana.

³¹ Cueto, p. CCI, n. 2.

á algunos engañados y poco instruidos Españoles, que es superficial, miserable y digno de desprecio. Por el contrario, es tal su preocupacion que apenas oyen el nombre de un extranjero qualquiera, que sin mas exámen califican de superiores sus obras: como si los talentos no pudieran producirse en España, ó como si los extranjeros poseyeran exclusivamente la Sabiduría.³²

Nevertheless, he publishes his collection out of a sense of patriotism and a sense of duty to posterity, which he feels will be grateful to him for gathering and preserving these works so despised by their own author.

³²Juan Fernández de Rojas, "Al que leyere."

CHAPTER V

THE POETRY

The poetry of Fray Diego Tadeo González, as published in the Madrid edition of 1812, the Valencia edition of 1817, and Volume 61 of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (1869), is as follows: for reasons of convention, the poetry is first listed according to genre; second, by subject matter; third, each poem is examined from the point of view of content, historical or autobiographical application, relationship to other poems, and, briefly, metrics and style. A more detailed examination of Fray Diego's style will follow in the next chapter.

Eglogas:

Llanto de Delio y profecía de Manzanares
Egloga con motivo de la exaltacion al trono y proclamacion de
nuestro augusto soberano Carlos IV (Unfinished)
Delio y Melisa (Changed in BAE to Delio y Mirta)

Odas:

A las nobles artes
¿Por qué tan riguroso ...? (Untitled)
A Liseno
Al pensamiento

Invectiva:

El murciélago alevoso

Canciones:

Visiones de Delio
Al Rio Guadalete

El triunfo de Manzanares
 Cádiz transformado
 A Vecinta desdeñosa
 A Melisa
 A Melisa. Sueños

Poema didáctico:

Las edades

Traducciones:

Traducción del Salmo VIII
 Traducción del Salmo XI
 Traducción del himno Veni, Creator
 Traducción del cántico Magnificat
 Traducción del himno Te Deum
 Traducción del epitafio latino que el Bembo hizo á Rafael

Tercetos:

Delio, en la granja

Quintilla:

A Don Bartolomé Vazquez

Octavas:

A una pintura confusa de la gloria
 Censura de unos sonetos acrósticos

Decimas:

A la noche
 Pintura desecada
 A una señora

Sonetos:

A un orador
 A la paz

Endechas:

A Mirta, ausente

Endechas anacreónticas:¹

¹The classification "Endechas anacreónticas" is taken from Fernando Lázaro, "La poesía lírica en España durante el siglo XVIII:

En los dias de Lisi
 A Lisi, malagueña
 A la quemadura del dedo de Filis

Others:

Historia de Delio
 Satisfaccion del Genil
 El digamos, ó el amor, de Mireo

Examination of the poetry will be according to subject matter,
 divided arbitrarily as follows:

I. Autobiography:

Historia de Delio

II. Invective:

El murciélagos alevoso

III. Civic poetry:²

Llanto de Delio y profecía de Manzanares
 A la paz
 Egloga con motivo de la exaltacion al trono (de Carlos IV)

IV. Love poetry:

Al pensamiento
 Cádiz transformado
 Visiones de Delio
 A Vecinta desdeñosa
 Al Rio Guadalete
 El triunfo de Manzanares
 Egloga. Delio y Mirta
 A Melisa. Cancion
 A Melisa. Sueños
 Tercetos. Delio, en la granja
 Endechas. A Mirta ausente
 A Liseno
 En los dias de Lisi

La lírica salmantina," Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas,
 Vol. IV, Siglos XVIII y XIX, Primera Parte. Publicada bajo la dirección
 de D. Guillermo Díaz-Plaja (Barcelona: Editorial Barna, 1956), p. 75.

²The classification "civic poetry" is suggested by Monguió,
op. cit., p. 256.

A Lisi, malagueña
A la quemadura del dedo de Filis

V. Satiric poetry:

El digamos, ó el amor, de Mireo
A un orador
Censura de unos sonetos acrósticos
A una pintura confusa de la gloria
A una señora

VI. On the Arts:

A las nobles artes
Pintura descada
A la noche
A Don Bartolomé Vazquez
Traducción del epitafio latino que el Bembo hizo á Rafael

VII. Didactic poetry:

Las edades

VIII. Religious poetry:

Satisfacción del Cenil
¿Por qué tan riguroso ...?
Traducción del Salmo VIII
Traducción del Salmo XI
Traducción del himno Te Deum
Traducción del himno Veni, Creator
Traducción del cántico Magnificat

In the BAE edition, this poetry appears on pages 181-203; the location of each poem will be given and quotations will be identified by line.

I. Autobiography.

"Historia de Delio" (pp. 188-189). Fray Diego's verse autobiography owes much to two earlier epistles from Jovellanos: "Historia de Jovino" and "Jovino á sus amigos de Salamanca" (1776). In the first epistle, Jovellanos directs himself to Mireo, Fray Miguel de Miras, a contertuliano at the Sevillian tertulia of Don Pablo de Olavide:

Mireo, pues te place
Que sepa el caro Delio
Mi profesion, mi nombre,

Mi patria y mis sucesos,
 Aplícate un instante
 A ver este diseño,
 De ingenio y arte escaso,
 Si de verdades lleno.
 Cifrada en breves puntos
 Mi historia verá Delio;
 Verála sin asombro,
 Pero tambien sin tedio.³

After narrating his life, in the conventional terms and images of pastoral poetry, Jovellanos extravagantly praises the talents and inspiration of Fray Diego, calling him the equal of Fray Luis de León and crediting him with reviving Spanish poetry:

... Delio, aquel que supo
 Con tan sonoro plectro
 La integridad augusta
 Loar de tus decretos; (tus: de Temis)
 A Delio, que, inflamado
 Con el divino fuego
 Que le inspiró tu númen,
 Extiende por el viento
 El triunfo de los sábios
 Ministros de tu templo;
 A Delio, al hijo ilustre,
 Imágen y heredero
 Del gran Leon, tu alumno,
 Tu gloria y tu recreo.
 ¡Oh genio peregrino!
 Oh honor, oh prez, oh gloria
 De los presentes tiempos!
 Ya las hispanas musas,
 Que en hondo y vil desprecio
 Yacian, por tí vuelven⁴
 A su esplendor primero.⁴

Fray Diego begins his autobiography with praise of Jovellanos' lineage and extravagant praise of the man himself (lines 1-4, 14-16):

Jovino, descendido

³Jovellanos, "Historia de Jovino," Obras publicadas é inéditas; coleccion hecha é ilustrada por D. Cándido Nocedal. Tomo Primero, BAE 46 (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1858), p. 5.

⁴Ibid., p. 7.

De claros y altos reyes,
 Que del bárbaro yugo redimieron
 Al fiel pueblo oprimido

 Jovino, gloria mia;
 Jovino, mi Jovino
 (Nombre en mi boca, cual la miel, sabrosa) ...

He then discloses his own humble origin: his father descended from those who till the soil (lines 27-29):

De los que en la ribera
 Del Duero con fatiga
 Rompen con corvo arado el duro suelo ...

Fray Diego's mother, known in the poem by the pastoral name of Temisa, died while the poet was very young, too young to comprehend the fact of death (lines 46-52):

... la Farca impía
 Con temprana tijera
 Cortó el hilo precioso;
 Y mientras el esposo
 Dió al cadaver la honra postrimera
 Con triste llanto y luto,
 El hijo lo miró con rostro enjuto.

When Fray Juan Fernández de Rojas said "... sintió Gonzalez las heridas de amor casi al mismo tiempo que los encantos de los versos," he may have had in mind the following lines of Fray Diego's autobiography (66-71):

Antes que el nuevo día
 De la razon rayase
 Sobre el ánimo incauto, ya Cupido
 Conquistado tenia
 El pecho, en que reinase
 Con más imperio que su madre en Gnido.

Fray Diego's first love was for "la honesta Melisa," one of the ladies mentioned in his poetry, but whose identity is not known. The poet gives this description of Melisa and of his love for her (lines 79-91):

La de los negros ojos,

La de luengas pestañas,
 Sin par hermosa y a la par discreta;
 Causadora de enojos,
 De asaz duras entrañas,
 Que de amor no domó cruda saeta.
 A tal fiera sujeta
 El ánima y rendida,
 Amaba ardientemente,
 Amaba tiernamente,
 Amaba sin templanza y sin medida;
 Amaba, en fin, de modo,
 Que éun ahora al recordarlo tiemblo todo.

Fray Diego was moved by this love to write poetry ("canté amoroso"), but he confesses that his verses were without inspiration ("Sin ... Númen ni inflamacion").

A spiritual crisis determined Fray Diego's vocation as a priest but did not temper his avocation as an amorous poet. He acknowledged that his passions were "locura" and he thought that mundane love would become "ceniza fria" whenever he should take religious vows. In fact, his religious habit only removed him from the rigors of love; it did not alter the nature of his poetry. The poet himself expresses remorse at his weakness (lines 144-156):

¡Oh! isi no se entibiára
 En el pecho mezquino
 El alto fuego de que fué inflamado!
 Quizá mi voz sonára
 En cántico divino,
 Sobre el Tabor ó el Gólgota sentado.
 Pero aunque á son sagrado
 De la cítara mia
 Las cuerdas arreglaba,
 Y á veces las mudaba,
 Amores solamente respondia;
 Y así, canté de amores,
 Sin sentir de Cupido los rigores.

The poet then recounts that he sang the praises of Julia, "ninfa humilde del Henares," of Gumersina, "Ninfa tan desgraciada como linda," and of "la divina Mirta." And so he would have continued, had he not

received an epistle from Jovellanos, who enjoined him to dedicate his song to higher ends. The following lines describe Fray Diego's impetuous reaction (186-195):

Y así, por todo suelo
Mi cítara mezquina
Eternamente amores resonára,
Si ayer no la arrojára
Con ira de mi pecho
Al Tórres, que iba hinchado,
Turbio y apresurado;
Justamente movido á tanto hecho,
De leer cuidadoso
De Jovino el ensueño prodigioso.

The "ensueño prodigioso" is an allegorical dream in which Jovellanos foretells the oblivion of the Salamancan poets unless they tune their lyres to "cantares eucarísticos." After recounting the horrors of his dream, Jovellanos asks, "... Siempre, siempre Dará el amor materia á nuestros cantos?" He then prescribes for Fray Diego, Meléndez Valdés, and Fray Juan Fernández de Rojas subjects which he considers both worthy and suitable to their various talents. Fray Diego's response in his own Historia is as effusive as was Jovellanos' earlier praise for Delio (lines 196-207):

¡Oh sueño peregrino!
¡Oh asombro lastimoso!
¡Oh verdad disfrazada sabiamente!
¡Oh soñador divino!
¡Oh Josef misterioso!
Tú enseñas, tú reprehendes dulcemente;
Tú poderosamente
El sueño sacudiste,
En que siempre yacieran,
Y sin gloria murieran
Batilo, con Liseno y Delio triste.
Más sabes tú soñando
Que todos tus amigos afanando.

The poem ends with Fray Diego's declaration that the three Salamancan poets will gladly be the "conquista" of Jovino's powerful verse

(lines 233-234):

Pues ¿qué mejor destino
Que ser los tres el triunfo de Jovino?

II. Invective.

"El murciélago alevoso" (pp. 186-187). Léon Verger published in the Revue Hispanique (1917) a copy of "El murciélago alevoso" which he believed to be more faithful to the original than the version published by Father Fernández de Rojas. Of this famous poem and its author, M. Verger wrote:

On peut, sans sévérité, reconnaître qu'il fut loin d'être un grand poète, mais une de ses poésies, El Murciélago alevoso, fut célèbre -- le mot n'est pas exagéré. Le texte que nous en ont transmis les éditions est, croyons-nous, légèrement écourté et altéré.⁵

It will be recalled that Father Fernández had said that he had put Fray Diego's works in order, classifying them "segun su especie"; he also said that he was presenting these works "purificadas y netas."

M. Verger continues:

Cette "purification" avouée n'est pas sans inspirer des regrets, car ce que nous voudrions c'est le texte du poète et non le texte retouché, quelle que puisse être la piété des retouches. Dans un manuscrit de la fin du XVIIIe siècle j'ai trouvé une copie du Murciélago alevoso qui contient une strophe de plus que le texte imprimé et quelques variantes. Je serais porté à croire que cette copie est plus fidèle que l'édition Fernández, en ce sens que, n'ayant pas été purificada, elle nous donne vraisemblablement le texte original, le seul qu'il nous importe de connaître.⁶

The Verger text contains 160 lines in twenty stanzas; the Fernández (BAE) text, 152 lines in nineteen stanzas. Variant readings, including variants from the 1812 and 1817 editions, are as follows;

⁵Léon Verger, "El murciélago alevoso," Revue Hispanique, 39 (1917), p. 294.

⁶Ibid., p. 295.

Lines 1-8, Verger:

Estaba Mirta hermosa
componiendo una noche en su aposento
con su bello talento
una cancion muy tierna y amorosa
que remitir a Delio meditaba
(el que ausente se hallaba),
y en ella dulcemente encarecia
el fuego que en su casto pecho ardia.

The BAE text differs in all but the last line:

Estaba Mirta bella
Cierta noche formando en su aposento,
Con gracioso talento,
Una tierna cancion, y porque en ella
Satisfacer á Delio meditaba,
Que de su fe dudaba,
Con vehemente expresion le encarecia
El fuego que en su casto pecho ardia.

Line 13, Verger: "temió, clamó, dio voces : vino gente"

Line 13, BAE: "Temió, gimió, dió voces, vino gente"

Line 25, Verger: "Yngerto de ave y bruto"

Line 25, BAE: "Oh monstruo de ave y bruto"

Lines 33-40 of the Verger text make up the stanza that is missing in the BAE:

Quando el Aguila pasa
y al sol lleva derecho su viage,
do el rizado plumage
se chamusca talvez si no se abrasa,
y alli contempla atenta resplandores
y en saber sus ardores
logra su diversion y complacencia,
como osas parecer en su presencia?

Line 48, 1812: "No permita un mosquito a tu aliento"

Line 48, 1817, and BAE; line 56, Verger: "a tu alimento"

Line 58, Verger: "tras el tapiz donde tienes tu manida"

Line 50, BAE: "Tras el tapiz do tienes tu manida"; BAE reduces this

verse to eleven syllables in conformity with the basic variation
of seven- and eleven-syllable lines.

Line 71, Verger: "y el espinazo encorbe, y suba al cielo"

Line 63, BAE: "Y el espinazo en arco suba al cielo"

Lines 93-96, Verger:

que a todos les dotó Naturaleza
de entrañas de fiereza,
hasta que ya la edad y la cultura
les dan humanidad y mas cordura.

Lines 85-88, BAE; the idea of "to them" is changed to "to us":

Que á todos nos dotó naturaleza
De entrañas de fiereza,
Hasta que ya la edad ó la cultura
Nos dan humanidad y más cordura.

This version also says that man can become more humane through maturity or culture; the Verger text is more stringent in that it specifies maturity and culture.

Line 116, Verger: "y palos por los cabos aguzados"

Line 108, BAE: "De palos por los cabos afilados"

Both of these lines are particularly harsh in sound; both variants suffer from the repetition of a-o.

Line 122, Verger: "te amartillen"

Line 114, BAE: "te martillen"

Line 128, Verger: "te destrozen, confundan y aturrullen"

Line 120, BAE: "Te deshagan, confundan y aturrullen"

Line 130, Verger: "de las viejas, teniendo por verdades"

Line 122, BAE: "De las viejas creyendo realidades"

Line 133, BAE, repeats a misprint from the 1812 and 1817 editions:

"Y otros, fingiendo veces lastimeras"

Line 141, Verger: "y otros fingiendo voces lastimeras"

Line 148, Verger: "y asi te den debida sepultura"

Line 140, BAE: "Y alli te den debida sepultura"

Line 157, Verger: "No sigas, caminante presuroso"

Line 149, BAE: "No sigas, caminante, presuroso"

The enduring attraction of "El murciélago alevoso" is due to its language and style. In this poem, Fray Diego writes in a purely Spanish vein, without recourse to pastoral language or imagery. It is this Spanishness, this rapid flow of language and ingenious invective that has assured the popularity of "El murciélago alevoso" ever since its first appearance. The subject matter of the poem is in itself trivial: the poet wishes upon a bat a series of grisly tortures and ultimately death at the hands of a band of urchins. Such a theme might not appear to be a fit subject for poetry, but this is not serious poetry, nor is it intended to be.⁷ It is, in Professor Monguió's words,

. . . a sort of mock-heroic piece, in which González combines the expression of his affection for Mirta with a truly comic, ironic realism. Some of it reminds one of Quevedo's burlesque poems, minus the great satirist's scatology. The literate Spanish public, outside the circle of specialists, remembers Father González for this one poem only, and even the specialists agree that it is one of his most successful ones. In it we see González's vocabulary at its most "castizo," his versification at its most lively, his imagery at its most varied and appropriate, his personality at its most affectionate, smiling, and homely. Through reading this poem we can understand how his contemporaries found Father González always as "simpático" as they describe him.⁷

Fray Diego's contemporaries also found him timid and lacking in self-confidence. But behind his unimpressive physical appearance there was a refined sense of humor and an acute sense of the ridiculous. Father Fernández de Rojas points out the contrast between Fray Diego's appearance and his manner of speaking:

Con su semblante triste, meditabundo y macilento, poseía una salática para sazonar sus conversaciones familiares, que ponía

⁷Monguió, op. cit., pp. 255-256.

admiracion. O no habia de tener una cosa ridículo, ó se lo habia de encontrar el maestro Gonzalez; y como poseia el conocimiento de la lengua y todas las gracias de la expresion, hacia amable y divertido su trato, y al mismo tiempo instructivo ... ⁸

Cueto adds that, in spite of Fray Diego's timid nature and scrupulous conscience, he did not fear "interpretaciones aventuradas" when he addressed to Mirta this celebrated invective, which is, in Cueto's opinion, "un risueño testimonio de la galantería mística y delicada que no habia de empañar su carácter sagrado."⁹

In spite of its subject--the supposed suffering of an animal--the tone of "El murciélago alevoso" is basically affable; literary historians who single out this poem as a manifestation of the Spaniard's innate cruelty and indifference to suffering miss the focus of the poem, which is its descriptive language. Most of the scenes described are brilliant in their vividness. To any who would object to the realism of the poem, it need only be pointed out that all the misfortunes described are only what the poet would wish upon the bat, not a description of what actually befell it. In other words, the tortures are only hypothetical. And, rather than prove that all Spaniards are cruel, this poem proves that one particular Spaniard was gifted in the use of descriptive language.

It is worth noting that the one stanza left out of the Fernández edition is the only one that can be called infelicitous. In this one stanza--about an eagle and its flight to the sun and about the eagle's scorched feathers--, Fray Diego departs from the strict realism of the

⁸Fray Juan Fernández de Rojas, "Noticias del M. Fr. Diego Gonzalez," n. p.

⁹Cueto, op. cit., p. CX.

rest of the poem. Furthermore, these lines, as printed in the Verger version, break the continuity of the stanzas that precede and follow them. In the BAE version, these stanzas read as follows (lines 25-40):

Oh monstruo de ave y bruto,
Que cifras lo peor de bruto y ave,
Vision nocturna grave,
Nuevo horror de las sombras, nuevo luto,
De la luz enemigo declarado,
Nuncio desventurado
De la tiniebla y de la noche fria,
¿Qué tienes tú que hacer donde está el día?
Tus obras y figura
Maldigan de comun las otras aves,
Que cánticos suaves
Tributan cada día á la alba pura;
Y porque mi ventura interrumpiste,
Y á su autor afligiste,
Todo el mal y desastre te suceda
Que á un murciélago vil suceder pueda.

Whatever the reason for the exclusion of stanza number five (Verger) from the BAE text, the result is a more unified and cohesive reading.

A particularly comic evocation is that of the bustling housewife and of her terror at the sight of the bat (BAE, lines 49-56):

La dueña melindrosa,
Tras el tapiz do tienes tu manida,
Te juzgue, inadvertida,
Por telaraña sucia y asquerosa,
Y con la escoba al suelo te derribo;
Y al ver que bulle y vive
Tan fiera y tan ridícula figura,
Suelte la escoba y huya con presura.

The subject matter and vocabulary of these lines could hardly be more prosaic; there is nothing here of pastoral convention, which is based on evasion of everyday reality, especially as regards language. The poet who wrote these lines would rarely, if ever, use such words as "escoba," "telaraña," or "muladar más sucio y asqueroso" while writing in the pastoral mode.

Perhaps the stanzas most admired by historians and anthologists are the three that portray the cat, "el jugueteo gatillo bullicioso," and its reactions to the bat, which lies stunned on the floor. Fray Diego expertly pictures the cat, first terrified, then stalking, and finally tossing the bat repeatedly in the air. This mistreatment is as nothing, however, compared to the three dozen forms of verbal and physical abuse which the poet conjures up for the bat at the hands of "la pueril tropa." Recalling previous lines, wherein the bat is maligned as "monstruo," "vision nocturna," "horror de las sombras," and "nuncio ... de la tiniebla," lines 121-128 (BAE) exploit the folklore of bats and their traditional alliance with the forces of evil:

Y las supersticiones
De las viejas creyendo realidades,
Por ver curiosidades,
En tu sangre humedezcan algodones,
Para encenderlos en la noche oscura,
Creando sin cordura
Que verán en el aire culebrinas
Y otras tristes visiones peregrinas.

The poet envisions a mock funeral, complete with procession, "Gori, gori, cantando," hired mourners, burial in a trash heap, a grave marker, and, finally, an epitaph. In the epitaph, Mirta is again equated with the sun and the day (lines 145-152):

Aquí yace el murciélago alevoso
Que al sol horrorizó y ahuyentó el día,
De pueril saña triunfo lastimoso,
Con cruel muerte pagó su alevosía:
No sigas, caminante presuroso,
Hasta decir sobre esta losa fría:
Acontezca tal fin y tal estrella
A aquel que mal hiciere á Mirta bella.

The first and last lines of the poem, which contain the words "Mirta bella," are the framework within which the poet manipulates the language

of invective, for it was Mirta's fright that moved the poet to revile the perfidious bat. In the sense that the poem was inspired by Mirta's discomfiture and directed to her, it might loosely be called a love poem; presumably, Mirta would derive some pleasure from reading of the misfortunes wished by her ingenious poet upon the animal that so frightened her. Yet, "El murciélago alevoso" is not remembered as a love poem; it is remembered only for what it really is--a virtuoso performance in a minor genre.

III. Civic poetry.

"Llanto de Delio y profecía de Manzanares" (pp. 181-184). This eclogue in seven- and eleven-syllable lines bears the subtitle "Egloga escrita con motivo de la temprana muerte del señor infante don Carlos Eusebio, y del felicísimo parto de la serenísima señora Princesa de Asturias." The personages in the poem are Delio, the River Manzanares, and the Poet-narrator. Despite its imposing title, the poem is, in the opinion of Fernando Lázaro, Fray Diego's "ingenuo pretexto para elogiar las dotes literarias de Liseno y Batilo."¹⁰ It is also the occasion to lament the death of Cadalso. Notable events form the historical background for this eclogue of 1783: in June, the male succession to the throne was interrupted by the death of the young prince, Carlos Eusebio, grandson of the reigning monarch Charles III, and son of the future Charles IV; in August, elements of the Spanish navy bombarded the city of Algiers, an event that had widespread psychological, rather than military, importance. In September, a

¹⁰Lázaro, op. cit., p. 75.

peace treaty was signed between Spain and England, a treaty that assured English occupation of Gibraltar. Also in September, Charles III's daughter-in-law, María Luisa de Parma, later to be the queen of Charles IV, gave birth to twins, Carlos and Felipe.¹¹ Within this framework, Fray Diego manipulates historical and classical allusions and incidentally mentions other members of the Salamancan group. As the subtitle indicates, the "Llanto de Delio" mourns the death of the young prince Carlos; the "Profecía de Manzanares" foresees the happiness that awaits Spain as a result of the birth of the royal twins.

The name "Profecía de Manzanares" recalls the title of Fray Luis de León's "Profecía del Tajo," in which the Moorish invasion and occupation of Spain are foreseen as punishment for the seduction of "la hermosa Cava" by the last Gothic king, Rodrigo. Fray Diego refers obliquely to this deed in Delio's apostrophe to the River Manzanares (lines 34-39):

Rehuye, oh Manzanares, presuroso
Del suelo que hasta aquí te fuera amigo,
Y retira del Tajo tu carrera;
Del Tajo ... testigo
Inhumano del caso doloroso,
Que el horror esparció por su ribera ...

Fray Luis, too, had mourned the death of a young prince Carlos, in this case Don Carlos, son of Philip II; Fray Luis wrote this epitaph "Al túmulo del príncipe don Carlos":

Aquí yacen de Carlos los despojos,
La parte principal volvióse al cielo,

¹¹Cotarelo y Mori, op. cit., pp. 277-282.

Con ella fue el valor; quedóle al suelo
Miedo en el corazon, llanto en los ojos.¹²

Lines 99-102 of "Llanto de Delio" are a paraphrase of this epitaph; the coincidence of the names of the dead princes makes Fray Diego's paraphrase all the more applicable; line 100 is a direct quote from Fray Luis:

Volaste al cielo, en fin; dejaste al suelo,
Miedo en el corazon, llanto en los ojos,
De tu ausencia eternal dignos legados.
La tierra fria cubre tus despojos.

Fray Luis also wrote a "Cancion á la muerte del mismo"; addressing the dead child, the poet says that death acted out of fear, that death feared the future deeds and triumphs of the young prince. The last line reads:

Y así el mismo temor le dió osadía.¹³

Fray Diego uses almost exactly the same words in his remonstrances to death (lines 67-69):

... acaso el nombre augusto
Te causó tanto susto,
Que el mismo miedo te infundió osadía ...

Much of the "Llanto de Delio" is concerned with excessive praise of the dead child, of his mother, and of the contributions of the Bourbons to Spain. The dead prince is addressed as "Cárlos divino"; his mother, María Luisa de Parma, is variously called "dulce madre," "la dulce Luisa," "la amable y dulce Luisa," "la más bella pastora," and "la virtuosa madre." The River Manzanares prophesies that the

¹²Fray Luis de León, Escritores del siglo XVI, Tomo segundo, Obras del maestro fray Luis de León. Precédelas su vida, escrita por don Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar. BAE 37 (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1872), p. 17.

¹³Ibid.

royal twins will one day read of their illustrious forebears, beginning with Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV of France, and first of the Bourbon kings of Spain (lines 375-387):

... y cómo trajo
 Filipo el Animoso
 Desde el Sena la sangre esclarecida
 A nuestro amado Tajo,
 Del cielo dón precioso,
 Con que fué nuestra Hesperia enriquecida,
 Y su gente regida
 Por costumbres mejores;
 Cómo pulió su traje,
 Cómo fijó el lenguaje,
 Y el canto acrisoló de los pastores,
 Con otros claros hechos,
 Cuya memoria dura en nuestros pechos.

The Bourbon kings did effect numerous domestic improvements in eighteenth-century Spain, but the pactos de familia which were signed by the Bourbon kings of Europe in 1733, 1743, and 1761 brought little advantage to the country internationally. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori calls this agreement between Bourbons a

contrato leonino en la práctica, por el que vino á confirmarse aquella especie de tutela política y militar que Francia ejercía sobre nosotros desde que el Rey Sol había puesto un príncipe francés en el trono de Carlos V.¹⁴

In keeping with the nature of this eclogue as a celebration of birth, in particular the birth of Bourbon princes, there are within the poem many symbols of fertility and abundance. Water itself symbolizes life and rebirth; it is therefore appropriate that, after the "Llanto de Delio," the River Manzanares should prophesy the return of the Classical Golden Age (lines 388-413):

Entónces nuestro suelo
 Brotará nuevas flores,

¹⁴Cotarelo y Mori, op. cit., p. 33.

Volverá al mundo la ofendida Astrea,
 Y reinará sin duelo
 Entre nuestros pastores.
 Tornará el siglo de Saturno Rhea,
 Y verterá Amaltea
 Del rico dón sagrado
 Los bienes sin medida.
 La grama apetecida
 Seguro pacerá nuestro ganado,
 Y en las ociosas horas
 Cantarán tanta dicha las pastoras.
 Recibirá el arado
 Facilidad, y el fruto
 Excederá la rústica esperanza.
 Mercurio con agrado
 Percibirá el tributo
 De la nave traída con bonanza.
 Y á Minerva alabanza
 Se dará cuando hiciere
 Que en las hesperias partes
 Sus tres amadas artes,
 Y cuanto ya empezado bueno hubiere,
 Por el doble talento
 Llegue á su perfeccion y complemento.

Flowers, grass for the grazing sheep, the plowshare, fruit, the laden ship returning on a favorable wind, the double birth--all these symbolize the new Golden Age that Spain shall enjoy under the Bourbon kings. References to Classical deities reinforce the prophecy of Spain's future happiness. Astrea, the star maiden, distributed blessings among men during the Golden Age, but left the earth when the iron age began. Saturn established a new height of civilization in Italy, the Saturnia regna, or the auræa sæcula; Rhea, associated with fruitfulness, is an archetypal mother. Amaltea is the foster mother of Zeus; represented sometimes as the goat that suckled the infant god, her symbol is the Horn of Plenty. Mercury, the god of commerce, will look with favor upon Spain's galleons; Minerva's "tres amadas artes" are the handicrafts, the professions, and the arts. In all these references, the omens are good for the happiness of Spain and of the royal twins.

The River also prophesies that Charles III, the "mayoral más bueno / Que nuestros valles rige cuidadoso" (lines 311-312), will conclude "La paz más ventajosa y lisonjera" with England (line 419) and exact revenge from the slave traders of Algiers (lines 427-432). Many poets of the day were inspired to celebrate these noteworthy events of 1783; so many, in fact, that Juan Pablo Forner satirized them in a supposed letter entitled "Carta del tonto de la duquesa de Alba á un amigo suyo de América."¹⁵ Forner deplores the "granizo enorme de copleros que nos ha destruido por acá la fertilidad del campo poético," but he does not name any particular poet. Therefore, it can only be conjectured whether or not he had in mind Fray Diego's "Llanto de Delio y profecía de Manzanares." It is more likely that, rather than satirize an older member of the Salamancan group of which he, too, formed a part, Forner had in mind García de la Huerta or any of two dozen other poets who wrote on the same theme.¹⁶ In any case, Forner condemns "la execrable hambre de sacar dinero á costa de los augustos niños y de esta paz"; it is this execrable hunger which, in his view, motivates the "frios versificadores y coplistas insulsos." In characteristically immodest fashion, Forner adds,

Es una mengua ver que al lado de una égloga de Melendez, de una sátira de Forner y de una epopeya de Moratín, hayan de comparecer todavía romancillos entretnejidos de latin bárbaro, con equivoquillos, retruécanos, antítesis y demas sandeces de Gerardo Lobo y los de su secta.¹⁷

¹⁵Juan Pablo Forner, "Carta del tonto de la duquesa de Alba á un amigo suyo de América," Poetas líricos del siglo XVIII, Tomo segundo. BAE 63 (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1871), pp. 345-346.

¹⁶Cotarelo y Mori, op. cit., p. 278, notes 1-5; p. 282, n. 2.

¹⁷Forner, "Carta del tonto," p. 346. Not wishing to be outdone,

In the view of Guillermo Díaz-Plaja, such historical themes as make up the subject matter of Fray Diego's eclogue "se adecuán sin violencia a la zampoña bucólica."¹⁸ To what extent this is not true can be seen from the following example: the River Manzanares has just begun his prophecy, but upon saying "La amable y dulce Luisa," he can proceed no farther. The poet-narrator explains (lines 275-285):

Apénas el agosto nombre oyeron
Ninfas y faunos, con alegre ruido
Tantos vivas al cielo levantaban,
Que al dios interrumpieron.
Y el un coro del otro dividido,
Los faunos dulces himnos entonaban,
Y las ninfas hollaban,
Con gracia y compostura,
Del suelo la verdura.
"Viva, viva", los unos repetían;
Las otras, "Luisa, Luisa", respondían.

The mixing of historical and classical, bucolic elements, even in the guise of a prophecy by a personified river-god, produces, in this instance at least, a ludicrous effect. Such praise for the Princess of Asturias does in fact interrupt, as the narrator says, and is purely gratuitous. Yet, there can be no doubt of Fray Diego's sincerity or of his faith in the happy future of the Bourbon line; he was, after all, a subject of Charles III, the most enlightened Spanish ruler of the eighteenth century.

however, Forner adds at the end of his letter a romance on the subject of the royal births; he introduces his romance in this fashion:

Yo, el menor de los poetas
Que hacen profesion de necios,
Por no dejar de ser tonto,
Os dirijo en fin mis versos.

It is curious that Forner should aim his literary barbs at Gerardo Lobo: the latter died in 1750, four years before Forner was born.

¹⁸Guillermo Díaz-Plaja, op. cit., p. 262.

To his classification of this eclogue as civic poetry, Professor Monguió adds:

González's devotion to Charles III--the best and most careful head shepherd who governs our valleys, as he calls the king in his pastoral language--is particularly touching and I believe representative of that King's high reputation among his enlightened subjects.¹⁹

Unfortunately, history played a cruel trick on Fray Diego and, in the process, ruined this patriotic eclogue for future readers. Fray Diego wrote his "Llanto de Delio y profecía de Manzanares" five years before the death of Charles III and more than ten years before Godoy's rise to power. He could not know that the "amable y dulce Luisa" of his poem would be Charles IV's adulterous queen and Godoy's mistress.

Professor Monguió continues:

On this point Providence was good to Father González. He died in 1794, and he was thus spared from witnessing the degradation of the monarchy, a degradation that would have been unbearable to him as it was to his friend Jovellanos, both of them good citizens and good subjects in the terms of enlightened despotism.²⁰

Furthermore, in October and November of 1784, the royal twins died. Fortunately, the succession was assured by the birth of a fourth son in October of 1784²¹; this son would later reign as Ferdinand VIII.

There is one contemporary reference in the poem that continues to be of more than historical interest (lines 156-163):

La guerra ¡ay, Dios! la flor de nuestra gente
Devoraba inclemente,
Y Marte, ardiendo en ira,
Holló y rompió la lira
De Dalmiro, ¡oh dolor! la digna sólo
De celebrar la gloria
De Carlos, extendiendo su memoria
Del uno al otro polo.

¹⁹Monguió, *op. cit.*, p. 256. ²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹Cotarelo y Mori, *op. cit.*, p. 282, n. 1.

These lines refer to the death of Cadalso at the siege of Gibraltar in 1732; Cadalso's death was lamented throughout Spain but especially in Salamanca by the poets of the Parnaso salamantino, the erstwhile Academia cadálsica.

Pocos sucesos desgraciados han lamentado las musas castellanas con versos más dulces y afectuosos. ... Todos le reconocian por su maestro y por su modelo y amigo, y bajo estos títulos es difícil encontrar otro que, exento de emulaciones y rivalidades pueriles, haya sabido unir más á los grandes ingenios de su tiempo, dirigir sus pasos á la gloria de la nacion y á los progresos de la literatura, y abrir en España un nuevo camino á la poesía.²²

Toward the end of the poem, Fray Diego again mentions Cadalso, this time in connection with other poets of the Salamancan school. The River Manzanares assures Delio of Spain's future happiness; Delio, however, as a mortal, will not live to see the river's prophecies fulfilled. Nevertheless, through its other members, the Parnaso salamantino will continue to flourish (lines 447-465):

... tu canto
 Con verso más ameno
 Proseguirá Liseno,
 A quien oye Compluto con espanto;
 Y tal vez el Henares
 Alzó el pecho atendiendo á sus cantares.
 También con alto estilo
 Ayudará al intento
 El que en el Tórmes canta dulcemente,
 Batilo, el buen Batilo,
 A quien dió su instrumento
 Dalmiro, que con voz desfalleciente
 Le dijo: "Solamente
 A ti, zagal, es dado
 Concertar esa lira,
 Que destrozó con ira
 Marte, y cantar del siglo bienhadado;
 Y será el canto dino
 Si lo aprobáre el juicio de Jovino."

²²Cueto, op. cit., p. 246.

Fray Diego modestly ascribes a more exalted place in the Parnaso to Lisenó, Fray Juan Fernández de Rojas, now in Alcalá de Henares (Compluto). Soon, only Meléndez Valdés will remain in Salamanca, in his capacity as lecturer in Humanities at the University. Meléndez did indeed inherit the dead Cadalso's lyre, but rather than sing in praise of his enlightened century, Meléndez, like Cadalso before him, sang of "gustos y amores." His anacreontic verses did not in fact receive the approbation of Jovellanos; the patriotic poet that Jovellanos looked for in Fray Diego, Father Fernández, and Meléndez Valdés would come later, in the person of Manuel José Quintana.

"A la paz ventajosamente concluida por Carlos III" (p. 198).

The title of this sonnet indicates that the Paris peace treaty of 1783 was advantageous to Spain; Cotarelo y Mori indicates that Spain did derive some advantage from this treaty, but may have derived more had the war continued longer:

La paz de París de 3 de Septiembre de 1783, mucho más favorable para nosotros que lo que hubieran hecho esperar los desgraciados sucesos marítimos, aunque no tanto como la hubiéramos conseguido á continuar la guerra algunos meses más, pues se habría recobrado á Gibraltar, puso término á la lucha europea y americana de cinco años con el reconocimiento de la independencia de los Estados Unidos.²³

The tone of this sonnet to peace is undoubtedly, perhaps unjustifiably, sanguine: as noted earlier by Cotarelo y Mori, so long as the pactos de familia remained in force between the Bourbon monarchs of Europe, Spain could not hope to be more than a satellite nation. If in the view of the Spanish people, then, Charles did indeed negotiate an

²³Cotarelo y Mori, op. cit., p. 277.

advantageous peace treaty, Fray Diego's effusive tone can better be understood:

La guerra por un caso inevitable
 Invadió la española monarquía,
 Juzgando que aceptada, acabaría
 De una vez con la gente miserable;
 Y rehusada, al monarca respetable
 La gloria militar rebajaría.
 El pueblo ofrece á Carlos á porfía
 Donde mil del tesoro inagotable
 De su amor; y por Carlos negociada,
 Viene la paz con palma de victoria.
 La guerra cruel, huyendo apresurada,
 Tantos despojos deja en nuestra tierra,
 Que Carlos de la paz saca la gloria,
 Y el pueblo la abundancia de la guerra.

The "caso inevitable" could be a reference to the pactos de familia which linked the fortunes of Spain with those of France; such an agreement between Bourbons would inevitably involve Spain.

In this poem, Fray Diego again demonstrates his admiration for the monarch and indicates that this feeling was general among the Spanish populace. Whatever international benefits Spain derived from the treaty of 1783, there can be no doubt that, with the war at an end, the country could look forward to continued domestic progress throughout the remainder of Charles' reign.

"Egloga con motivo de la exaltacion al trono y proclamacion de nuestro augusto soberano Carlos IV" (p. 197). Written some five years after "Llanto de Delio y profecía de Manzanares," this unfinished eclogue recalls the setting of the earlier poem and repeats exactly some of its lines. The later eclogue also repeats the River Manzanares' praise of the Bourbon line. The verses in both poems are of seven and eleven syllables, without a fixed stanzaic form. Aside from the length,

the major difference between the two poems is that in the eclogue to Charles IV there are some lines that surpass in lyricism anything in the "Llanto de Delio y profecía de Manzanares."

Batilo, the first to speak, begins the eclogue by recalling the circumstances of the earlier "Llanto de Delio" (lines 1-10):

¿De dónde, Delio amado,
Tan extraña alegría?
Poco há que en este sitio recostado,
Arreglando tu lira á tono triste,
Con fúnebre elegía
A toda la ribera entermeciste,
Moviendo tu lamento
A tomar interes en tus pesares
Al ledo Manzanares,
Que el pecho alzó del arenoso asiento ...

The beloved king Charles III is dead and the royal twins, on whom the poet and the nation had founded their hopes, are also dead. But the ascension of Charles IV and the birth of another male heir seem to be the fulfillment of the River Manzanares' earlier prophecy. Delio answers (lines 24-36):

... ¡Oh amada patria mía!
¡Oh felices edades,
En que la alma virtud es ensalzada
Y en trono real sentada!
Ya se ven humanadas las deidades
En medio de la plebe alborozada;
Ya torna el reino de Saturno y Rhea,
Y derrama Amaltea
Del rico dón sagrado
Los bienes sin medida.
¡Oh dichoso el zagal á quien es dado
El comenzar la vida
En tan feliz momento!

Whereas earlier the poet had said "Tornará el siglo de Saturno Rhea," now he says "Ya torna el reino de Saturno y Rhea"--the Golden Age has begun. Where earlier he had said "verterá Amaltea," now he says "derrama Amaltea." The underlining (not in the original) indicates

the two verses that are taken intact from the "Profecía de Manzanares." The river had also prophesied "Seguro pacerá nuestro ganado"; now, to demonstrate that the prophecy is reality, the poet says (lines 37-38):

Paced, paced, pastores, libremente,
Seguros de invasion de lobo hambriento ...

Then, in an outburst of patriotic fervor, the poet exclaims (lines 39-44):

Cantad alegremente
Nuestras glorias futuras,
Y el nombre carolino juntamente.
¡Oh dichas! ¡Oh favores! ¡Oh venturas!
¡Oh Cárlos deseado! ¡Oh dulce Luisa!
Venid, tiempos, venid á toda prisa.

Mention has already been made of the historical irony of such hopeful praise. Yet, again, attention must be called to Fray Diego's optimism and to his devotion to the Bourbon line.

Batilo's rejoinder to Delio's passionate outburst is almost comical in its contrasting blandness (lines 45-48, 59-61):

Bien hiciste en decirme que no era
Locura consumada tu alegría;
Que por tal la tendria
Quien, como yo, te oyera ...
.....
¿De dónde, pues, tu falta de cordura?
¿Qué frenesí de nuevo te ha tomado,
Siendo pastor de juicio acreditado?

Delio explains the changes that have taken place in him, and justifies his transports of joy, by noting the changes that have taken place in nature. As manifestations of natura trocada, Delio points out that now it is Endymion who sports, "En diversion liviana" (line 65), with the moon goddess Diana; now the roses bloom in midwinter (lines 77-88):

¿No ves subir al cielo, bordeando,
 La calandria parlara,
 En justa proporcion la voz alzando,
 Y luego se descuelga á la pradera
 Precipitadamente?
 ¿No es aquella que arrulla en nuestra estancia
 La tórtola doliente?
 ¿Del monte en la ladera
 No miras el almendro floreciente?
 ¿No sientes la fragancia
 De las rosas que nacen por do quiera,
 Y todo en medio del invierno crudo?

The natural phenomena that Delio describes are appropriate to summer but take place here in the harsh winter cold. What the poet sees is only a vision, occasioned in this case by an excess of enthusiasm. The roses are not roses at all, but something else. All this Batilo explains, bluntly, unpoetically, to the ecstatic Delio (lines 89-92):

¿Tanto tu gozo enajenarte pudo
 Que juzgues cosas tales
 Las hogueras que en muestra de alegría
 Encienden los zagales?

And thus the poem ends on a note of uncompromising reality. Soon after the writing of this eclogue, in 1888 or 1889, the circumstances that inspired it changed so fundamentally that Fray Diego could not have completed it and maintained its optimistic tone.

IV. Love poetry.

"Al pensamiento" (p. 202). Composed of ten four-line stanzas in heptasyllables, "Al pensamiento" is a conceit intended to illustrate the mental conflict of the poet, who is unsure of his lady's constancy. It is also intended to show that Mirta is a model of constancy; if she copies the Sun, the Moon, Spring and the Day, she copies only their beauty and constancy, rather than their mutations. This is the

conclusion that the poet draws after his cavils; it is apparently after a period of reverie and fearful imaginings that the poet begins (lines 1-8):

Cesa ya, pensamiento,
Cesa siquiera un rato
De aumentar mis temores
Con proponer mis daños.
Deja de repetirlo;
Que ya tengo notado
Ser propia la mudanza
De todo bien criado.

The poet then enumerates some of the changes undergone by natural phenomena; he has not mentioned Mirta yet and has given no hint of the parallel that he is drawing.

Ya sé que el sol hermoso
Con círculo diario,
Si brilla en el Oriente,
Se ofusca en el Ocaso.
Ya de la luna bella
He advertido en los cuartos
Crecientes y menguantes,
Alientos y desmayos.
Sé que la primavera
Sigue el seco verano,
Y la noche funesta
Al día alegre y claro.

With such examples of Nature's changing face before him, the poet must needs confess that change is characteristic of every good thing, "De todo bien criado." It follows, therefore (lines 23-24), that Mirta, too, is changeable, for the mutations in the natural world

Son imagen muy viva
Del bien que yo idolatro.

At this point, the poet argues with his own reasoning; or, perhaps more accurately, his hope argues against his reason. For if reason says that Mirta's affections must change even as the seasons change, if reason argues that Mirta copies the seasons' changeability, hope

answers (lines 27-32):

... las copia en lo bello,
no en lo mudable y vário ...
Es sol, mas siempre fijo;
Es luna sin desmayo,
Es primavera eterna,
Es día perpetuado ...

The poet repeats here a favorite simile: Mirta is as the sun in beauty. If in this instance he adds that Mirta is fixed in her resolve and constancy, while the sun moves about the earth, he is merely taking poetic license for the sake of contrast. Having answered himself thus, having stilled his own fears, the poet repeats the first stanza, this time perhaps more confidently. Hope appears to have triumphed over reasonable doubt; the poet ends by saying (lines 33-40):

Pues cesa, pensamiento,
Cesa siquiera un rato
De aumentar mis temores
Con proponer mis daños;
Que siendo de constancia
Mirta prodigio raro,
Ni ella puede mudarse,
Ni yo puedo pensarlo.

With the last two lines, the poet ironically demolishes all his previous arguments in favor of Mirta's constancy. Though Mirta may be a prodigy of constancy, the poet obliquely confesses that she will be inconstant after all. The logic underlying the last two lines can lead to only one conclusion: if the poet is capable, even reluctantly, of conceiving of Mirta's infidelity--and he has thought of it--, then Mirta, too, is capable of wavering in her affections for the poet.

"Al pensamiento" is typical of much of Fray Diego's love poetry. It is not in any sense profound, nor does it betray any spiritual or physical passion. Love is seen here in its fairest forms; its darker side is never revealed. There are occasional fits of pique and gentle

remonstrances between lovers but there is neither despair nor exhilaration. In other words, love does not exceed the bounds of decorous and stylized pastoral convention.

"Cádiz transformado, y dichas soñadas del pastor Delio. Cancion." (pp. 193-194) A series of ten dreams, or "dichas," forms the basis of this poem, which is divided into thirteen-line stanzas of seven- and eleven-syllable lines. The last line of every stanza but one is the refrain "Y era soñar el ciego que veía." There is a major textual difference between the BAE and the 1812 and 1817 editions: the latter editions omit a total of fifty-three lines, from lines 73 to 124, inclusive, of the BAE version. On the basis of content alone, such an omission is inexplicable: it splits two stanzas in half and joins two unrelated stanzas. A minor misprint in the 1817 edition results in an unintended reference to Mirta as a purloiner of sheep (lines 18-19):

Una pastora, que de mi ganado
Los cándidos corderos apartaba ...

The last word should read "apastaba"; Mirta, the shepherdess, was not separating the lambs for herself, but grazing them. Another line worth noting is BAE 146: the poet says that, taking a dream to be reality, he gets out of bed, still asleep, in a hurry,

Y destinando, ruedo la escalera,
Y en el portal despierto ...

Desatinando--losing my footing--would seem to be the word required by the sense, although it would add another syllable to the line.

"Transformado" in the title refers to the transformation of Cádiz into human form, as explained in lines 14-26:

Soñé (como transforma
 El sueño las ideas á su grado)
 Que no era Cádiz lo que se pensaba,
 Sino de humana forma
 Una pastora, que de mi ganado
 Los cándidos corderos apastaba,
 Y Mirta se llamaba,
 Llena de honestidad y de hermosura,
 Centro de discrecion y de fe pura,
 Y yo gozaba en suerte venturosa
 De su vista graciosa
 Las veces que queria;
Y era soñar el ciego que veia.

Such is the first of the "dichas soñadas del pastor Delio." The memory of Cádiz afflicts him during the day but diverts him at night; thus he dreams of the good fortune that reality denies him. He dreams, for example, that he can enjoy the sight of Mirta at any time he wishes; that, when he has to move his flock from the shores of the River Tajo, Mirta swears to him (lines 32-38):

Ciertó puedes estar que si pudiera,
 Con gusto te siguiera,
 Hasta dejar los abundosos mares
 Por la triste escasez del Manzanares;
 Pero el alma, que es libre, irá contigo,
 O quedará conmigo
 La tuya en compañía.

Another dicha soñada is to see himself following Mirta's footprints on the sandy beach; he comes upon this message written in the sand (lines 49-51):

"Quien me sigue será correspondido;
 Delio lo ha conseguido."
 Y Mirta lo escribia ...

The stanzas that are joined together in the earlier editions of "Cádiz transformado" are stanzas six and ten of the BAE edition. Neither stanza has any relationship with the other; joining them ruins the effect of both: not only does this juxtaposition of

unrelated stanzas render both incomprehensible and pedestrian, it also destroys the delicacy of the tenth stanza, which is the best of the entire poem. As printed in the earlier editions, the two independent concepts are joined thus at lines 7 and 8:

Soné que Mirta bella
 Me miraba, y decía con agrado:
 "¿Por qué pasas, pastor, la vida triste?
 Ya cesó mi querella;
 Ya sé que tu caudal has retirado
 Del banco genoves, donde perdiste
 7 En lo que allí impusiste;

 8 ¿Qué trecho habrá desde la tierra al cielo,
 Pastor?" Y yo la dije sin recelo:
 "Medido de tu mano diestramente,
 Un codo solamente";
 Y ella se complacia;
Y era soñar el ciego que veía.

The sixth stanza should continue with these lines, as printed in the

DAE:

8 Y todo por entero lo empleaste
 En nuestro Cádiz fiel, donde lograste
 Tener inmenso lucro y muy seguro;
 Yo, Mirta, te lo juro
 Por toda la fe mía."
Y era soñar el ciego que veía.

A re-reading of the entire stanza establishes its basic unity, built upon a monetary conceit: Delio's caudal represents his affections, which he had deposited, at a loss, in Italy. Having reinvested his capital now in Cádiz, Delio is sure of realizing immense wealth. This wealth is Mirta, of course, and she herself assures him of his success.

The foregoing interpretation of stanza 6 of "Cádiz transformado" is bolstered by some lines from "Al Río Guadalete." In this latter poem, the river is to carry Delio's tears to Mirta in Cádiz; if, however, his tears are not well received, the poet swears to abjure his amorous song (lines 91-96):

Juro que ya en mi vida
 No alzaré en sus altares sacrificio
 A la sacra deidad que en Cipro mora;
 Y mi lira sonora,
 En vez de los primores gaditanos,
 Cantará los blasones carpetanos.

In other words, if the poet's love is disdained in Cádiz, he will henceforth sing in praise of Italy and her glories. Whatever the effect of this threat upon the shepherdess, Delio dreams in "Cádiz transformado" that his amorous investment in Cádiz will be worth the risk and will bring him a much greater yield.

Stanzas 7 and 8 (not printed in the earlier editions) convey a feeling of engaging tenderness, as when, in one of his dreams, the poet sees himself weeping on the shore because he thinks Mirta has drowned (lines 84-90):

Vi en las aguas formar su imagen bella;
 Iba á arrojarme á ella.
 Mirta, que estaba atras, sin yo sabello,
 Los brazos dulcemente me echa al cuello,
 Diciendo: "No te pierdas por hallarme,
 Si quieres agradarme,
 Pues vivo todavia."

Again, the poet sees in a dream that some bees are approaching Mirta's lips, mistaking them for a lovely rose; Delio, in scaring away the bees, accidentally touches Mirta's lips (lines 97-103):

Mirta, sobresaltada, abrió los ojos;
 Yo temí sus enojos;
 Mas vi que me miraba complaciente,
 Y moviendo los labios dulcemente,
 La miel que las abejas no lograron,
 En mí la destilaron
 Con lo que me decia ...

Love in these verses is tender, wistful even; it does not partake of the tragic, nor does it overwhelm its victims. If this love is only a dream, it is a dream, at any rate, that can be recalled in tranquility.

Nowhere is Fray Diego's poetic style seen to better effect, nor the ingenuousness of his erotic poetry better illustrated, than in the tenth stanza of "Cádiz transformado." All the effect of this stanza is lost in the 1812 and 1817 editions, which print only the last six lines. In this stanza, Fray Diego's estilo ameno is most apparent:

Soñé que, el diestro codo
Puesto en el verde prado, Mirta bella
Sobre la blanca mano reclinaba
El rostro, y de este modo
Conmigo conversaba cariñosa.
Vi que la vista al cielo levantaba
Y que me preguntaba:
¿Qué trecho habrá desde la tierra al cielo,
Pastor?" Y yo la dije sin recelo:
"Medido de tu mano diestramente,
Un codo solamente";
Y ella se complacía;
Y era soñar el ciego que veía.

Earlier, the poet had established a placid tone with such lines as "Los brazos dulcemente me echa al cuello" and "No te pierdas por hallarme," lines which indicate love's smooth course. When the poet says, "... me miraba complaciente ... moviendo los labios dulcemente," when he speaks of the miel or sweetness that was denied to the bees, but which is granted to him in words--when he says all this, the poet is describing love at its best, tranquil and generous. The languid tone of the earlier stanzas carries over into the tenth stanza and finds there its best expression. Mirta is seen reclining, conversing amiably with the shepherd, Delio. Her mind wanders; in a vagrant mood, distractedly, she asks, "¿Qué trecho habrá desde la tierra al cielo, Pastor?" Such a question is entirely consistent with the nature of love poetry, as conceived by Fray Diego. Absent from this poetry is

the dark despair, the fits of jealousy, and the pride of possession that mark the erotic poetry of secular poets. Given Fray Diego's clerical state, it is doubtful that his poetry could encompass a wide range of amorous experience. The conventional love debate between lovers is reduced, therefore, to innocent dialogue and to plays on words.

Mirta is "Llena de honestidad" and a "Centro de discrecion"; it is natural, then, that she raise her eyes to heaven, and that in doing so, she wonder about the distance between heaven and earth. In a way, Mirta is asking how she can get to heaven and, appropriately enough, she is asking this of her pastor. It is as though, beneath the visible level of shepherd and shepherdess, there were another level, in which the poet-priest unconsciously asks a more serious question. Both questions, the expressed and the implicit, are possible here only because of the unworldliness of the lovers as Fray Diego portrays them. The shepherd answers "sin recelo," that is to say, with candor and innocence equal to Mirta's. But he also answers as a poet, as a maker of words. He plays upon the meaning of "diestro" and he uses "codo" to mean both elbow and cubit. Thus does the shepherd say that Mirta's face is heaven. The compliment pleases her, as does the language in which the compliment is couched.

In the next stanza, the poet returns brusquely to reality. He dreams that he is called away to Cádiz (lines 137-142):

"Delio, llegó la hora
De que dejes las selvas y el ganado,
Pues no eres para rústico formado;
Vén, que en Cádiz te espera ansiosamente
Con quien eternamente
Gozarás de tu día."

This is the last of the dichas soñadas; the poet, taking this dream

for reality, rises from his bed and, still asleep, rolls down the stairs and awakens, "Bañado el rostro en sangre y maltratado" (line 148), at the door to his house. Although a dream has been the cause of his bloodied face, the poet prefers that dream to reality, for reality offends him even more with the brutal truth that all his dichas were only fictions. Thus, the poet laments (lines 153-156):

... aunque quedé del sueño mal herido,
 Más que del, ofendido
 De la verdad, con ceño
 Miré la vida, y con placer el sueño.

The last stanza of five lines is addressed to the poem itself, according to a formula that Fray Diego follows in other compositions as well (lines 157-161):

Cancion, vé á Mirta, y di de parte mia
 Que si de mi verdad y amor dudaba,
 Sepa que si soñaba
 El ciego que veia,
 Era sólo soñar lo que queria.

"Visiones de Delio. Cancion" (pp. 189-190). The poem that carries this title in the BAE is entitled "A Melisa" in the editions of 1812 and 1817. None of the editions prints a complete text of the poem: Father Fernández omitted two stanzas from his edition; Cueto replaced only one of them in his collection for the BAE:

En el manuscrito enviado á Jovellanos por el maestro Gonzalez, que tenemos á la vista, hay dos estrofas que fueron suprimidas en la edicion que hizo el padre Fernandez. De ellas reproducimos aqui una sola. La otra no lo merece.²⁴

Other textual changes or differences between the editions are as follows:

²⁴Cueto, op. cit., p. 189, n. 1.

Lines 14-26 (BAE) are not in the 1812 or 1817 editions.

Line 54 (BAE): the name Melisa of the earlier editions is changed to read "Cádiz." This change would have been necessary if the poem were originally intended for Melisa and later directed to Mirta, because Melisa lived in Seville, Mirta in Cádiz.

Line 65 (BAE): "Cupido" is changed to read "El amor."

Lines 66-69 (BAE) are not in the 1812 or 1817 editions.

Line 66 contains a reference to Mirta which presumably would not have been in the original if it were first addressed to Melisa.

The stanzaic form of "Visiones de Delio" is one favored by Fray Diego: a thirteen-line stanza composed of seven- and eleven-syllable lines. The ratio of heptasyllabic to endecasyllabic lines varies from poem to poem as does the rhyme scheme; in this case the rhyme scheme is aBCaBCcDDEeff. Fray Diego builds the poem upon the description of a series of natural phenomena and their resemblance to his love; the success of the poem depends on withholding from the reader the key to these resemblances between love and nature until the fifth stanza. At that time, the poet's underlying simile becomes clear.

First, the poet relates that he saw a tiny rivulet or spring:

Yo vi una fuentecilla
De manantial tan lento y tan escaso,
Que toda el agua pura que encerraba
Pudiera reducilla
Al recinto brevísimo de una vaso.
Del pequeño arroyuelo que formaba,
Por ver en qué paraba,
El curso perezoso fui siguiendo,
Y vi que sin cesar iba creciendo
Con el socorro de agua pasajera,
En tal forma y manera,
Que cuando lo he intentado,
Ya no pude pasar del otro lado.

In the second stanza, one of the two not published in the 1812 or 1817 editions, the poet follows the course of the rivulet, which soon becomes a mighty river, dominating bridges and carrying on its back man's frail ships. When the river delivers its abundant waters to the sea, it does so, the poet judges, more as a challenge than as tribute. Thus far in the poem, three elements are noticeable: the element of smallness, tenderness, and vulnerability which is implicit in the Spanish diminutive--"fuentecilla," "arroyuelo"; the element of curiosity or ingenuousness that eventually causes the poet to lament his lack of foresight--in this case, "Por ver en qué paraba." There is also the element of surprise: here, that such a tiny rivulet should become such a mighty river.

The succeeding stanzas repeat these three elements. The third stanza begins (lines 27-30):

Yo vi una centellita
Que por caso á mi puerta habia caido,
Y de su pequeñez no haciendo cuento,
Fuime á dormir sin cuita ...

As was the case with the rivulet, here, too, the poet regrets his lack of caution: the little spark becomes a raging fire that drives him from his room, burns his belongings, and forces him, confused and charred, to seek refuge on the roof. The fourth stanza begins (lines 40-43):

Yo vi un vapor ligero,
Que al impulso del sol se levantaba
De la tierra, do apenas sombra hacia.
No hice caso primero ...

Again, the poet pays for his negligence. The mist to which he had paid so little heed becomes a cloud that fills the sky and hides the sun. It descends, "En gruesos hilos de agua" (line 47), floods the

poet's fields and thrashing floor, and would have drowned him had he not seized a bush at the water's edge. In the fifth stanza, the poet makes clear that the preceding adventures are only metaphors for his love for Mirta (lines 53-65):

En fin, yo vi en mi pecho
 Nacer, Cádiz, tu amor, y fácil fuera
 En el principio haberlo contenido;
 Mas, poco satisfecho
 Con ver su origen, quise ver cuál era
 Su fin, y de mi daño no advertido,
 Hallo un río crecido,
 Que á toda libertad me corta el paso;
 Hallo un voraz incendio, en que me abraso;
 Hallo una tempestad, que me arrebató
 Y de anegarme trata.
 ¡Ay! ¡Con cuánta inclemencia
 El amor castigó mi negligencia!

This stanza unifies the entire poem; it not only provides the key to the preceding stanzas, but also reiterates, in condensed form, what has gone before. Delio's love is as the "fuentecilla," the "arroyuelo," the "centellita," and the "vapor ligero." In its very beginnings, it could have been contained, but now it is too late. In the first stanza, speaking of the "fuentecilla," he says,

Por ver en qué paraba,
 El curso perezoso fui siguiendo ...

In the fifth stanza, speaking of his love, he says,

... poco satisfecho
 Con ver su origen, quise ver cuál era
 Su fin ...

His love, as it turns out, is like the "rio crecido," like the "voraz incendio," and like the "tempestad" that threatens to drown him, and all because of his lack of foresight. When the poet says that thus love punishes him for his negligence, he uses the word "inclemencia" and recalls, consciously or otherwise, the storm of which he had just spoken.

Perhaps it was in order to achieve greater unity that Father Fernández left out what is now the second stanza; this would have left one stanza each for the rivulet, the spark, and the mist. The result would be a more compact and effective poem. The final quatrain is a conventional ending, an addition that Fray Diego makes to other canciones as well:

Cancion, vé y dile á Mirta, de mi parte,
Que se digne siquiera de leerte,
Y si acaso acertáre á interpretarte,
Vuelve á decirme tan dichosa suerte.

"A Vecinta desdeñosa" (pp. 190-191). A note accompanying this poem quotes a letter from Fray Diego to "un íntimo amigo suyo, que se hallaba en Sevilla"; this friend whose name is not given, may have been Fray Miguel de Miras, Fray Diego's friend and co-religionist in Seville. Fray Diego writes:

Te he de deber el favor de que la cancion á Vecinta desdeñosa, por ningun título vaya á Cádiz, no sea que dé en las manos de Mirta, y se desazone ésta, juzgando lo que no hay; pues Delio no tuvo más asunto en componerla que los ruegos de sus amigos matritenses, al ver que cierta señorita vecina sólo miraba con agrado á cierto tumbaollas, y á los demás nos miraba con cierto desden y ceño.²⁵

Cueto does not give the date of the letter nor does he indicate the place of origin, but from the lines quoted and from a reference within the poem itself it can be surmised that Fray Diego was in Madrid rather than Salamanca when he wrote this song to Vecinta.

As in "Visiones de Delio," the form is a thirteen-line stanza of seven- and eleven-syllable verses. The rhythm of "A Vecinta desdeñosa" is more sprightly, however, because of the greater incidence

²⁵Ibid., p. 190, n. 1.

of seven-syllable lines. One of the characteristics of Fray Diego's prosody which is noticeable in this poem is the repetition of lines from other poems. The very first line of "A Vecinta desdeñosa" recalls the first line of the ode to a "político severo": the latter reads "¿Por qué tan riguroso ...?"; the former, "¿Por qué tan desdeñosa ...?" Lines 53 and 54,

A la noche funesta
Sucedé el claro día ...

recall the lines from "Al pensamiento,"

Sigue ...
... la noche funesta
Al día alegre y claro.

Line 58, "En gruesos hilos de agua baja al suelo," repeats lines from "Visiones de Delio":

Y al suelo descendia
En gruesos hilos de agua ...

Line 71, "Delio! vuelve en tu cordura," is an echo of "Torna, oh caro Liseno, en tu cordura ...", from "A Liseno." And lines 76-78,

... has dejado
Las abundosas mares
Por la triste escasez del Manzanares.

repeat the following lines from "Cádiz transformado":

Con gusto te siguiera
Hasta dejar los abundosos mares
Por la triste escasez del Manzanares.

On page 198 of the BAE there appears an untitled fragment of thirteen lines which is, with the exception of two lines, a replica of the fifth stanza of "A Vecinta desdeñosa." Lines 7 and 13 of the fragment read, respectively, "Y se descubre el cielo" and "De mi fortuna airada el ceño esquivo." These same lines in "A Vecinta desdeñosa" read "Y el ceño quita al cielo" and "Vecinta, en tu semblante el ceño

esquivo." Given Fray Diego's propensity to borrow from himself, it may be deduced that he composed this fragment independently of "A Vecinta desdeñosa" and later incorporated it into this poem as the fifth stanza. The nature of this stanza--the lover complaining of unrequited love--would make it appropriate to any one of several poems, whether addressed to Melisa, Mirta, Filis, Lisi, or the disdainful Vecinta.

The fact that Fray Diego addresses this poem to Vecinta rather than to Mirta is the reason for his concern that it not fall into Mirta's hands. The poem is only a trinket, written at the insistence of Fray Diego's friends and containing fragments or reminiscences of five other poems; but because it contains these lines (45, 66-70),

No desprecies, Vecinta, á quien te adora ...

¡Ay, Delio fementido!
Quizá porque clvidaste
De Mirta gaditana la fe pura,
Al cielo has ofendido,
Las diosas enojaste.

it obviously cannot be seen by Mirta. It will be recalled that Fray Diego wrote to Jovellanos that Delio would be faithful in his love for Mirta: "... no cabe en él otra cosa; es natural á él no dejar de amar lo que una vez amó." There is, of course, a certain similarity between "A Vecinta desdeñosa" and the love poems addressed to Mirta: the poet is in the position of the suppliant, the petitioner, the admirer from afar. Of necessity, Fray Diego's love for Melisa or Mirta, or his feigned love for Vecinta, was platonic and conventional, more literary than actual, more pose than passion. His clerical state would not admit of loco amor; perhaps that is why the objects of his amorous verses were in Seville and Cádiz rather than in Salamanca or Madrid. In lines 21-24, the poet sums up the priest's amorous fate:

... el haber siempre amado
 A las Lices esquivas
 O Dafnes fugitivas
 Esta mi estrella, Éste es mi hado.

"Al Río Guadalete. Cancion" (p. 190). Another in a series of poems written to rivers, "Al Río Guadalete" is, strictly speaking, a love poem; the poet addresses this particular river because it flows into the Bay of Cádiz, the city of Mirta's residence. Yet, that part of the poem that expresses the lover's plaint is not the most provocative; rather, it is the geographical aspect of the poem that is most memorable.

The setting is the extreme southern portion of Spain, in the region between Cádiz and Málaga; more precisely, from the headwaters of the Río Guadalete on the northern slope of the Serranía de Ronda downstream past Arcos de la Frontera to El Puerto de Santa María and Cádiz. From the outset, the poet establishes that the river follows a sinuous course as it approaches the sea; the first octava reads:

Guadalete gracioso,
 Que en repetidos tornos dividido,
 El curso has suspendido,
 Que hasta Arcos seguías presuroso,
 Y en la pereza con que de él te alejas,
 Das á entender que dejas
 Con repugnancia su terreno bruto,
 Retardando al Océano el tributo.

In his apostrophe, the poet says that if the river knew how imprudent its winding course was, it would quicken its pace (lines 15-16),

Por lograr mejor aire, mejor suelo,
 Mejor sol, mejor luna, mejor cielo.

Above Arcos, the river had run rapidly; downstream from Arcos, the river seems to be tarrying, turning back upon itself as if it were loath to leave the area. The poet, on the other hand, is anxious that

the river accelerate its pace, because it is to bear a message to Cádiz and to Mirta. He therefore asks the river why it seems unwilling to leave such a harsh land (lines 17-24):

¿Qué tiene este terreno,
Que pueda parecerle delicioso?
Es áspero, fragoso,
Desigual, peñascoso, nada ameno,
Que verle, al corazón cubre de luto;
Y ser terreno bruto
Tu repetido torno lo asegura,
Pues con uno le formas la herradura.

Yet, for all the harshness of the landscape, it is not entirely desolate; in the distance there is a village that is at once attractive, remote, and mysterious (lines 25-32):

Ni detenga tu paso
La vista (aunque parece apetecible)
De un pueblo inaccesible,
De toda sociedad y bien escaso;
Do casa sobre casa fabricada,
Una en otra apoyada,
Vinculan ciertamente su caída,
Por divino presagio prevenida.

One of the difficulties of this poem is the interpretation of the last two lines: Apart from mere age, why should the houses of this inaccessible village be doomed to fall? The pueblo is built in the Moorish fashion--"casa sobre casa ... una en otra apoyada"--; it is remote from the amenities of society; its inhabitants may be largely Arab or Jewish, mozárabes, moriscos, or conversos. In any case, the poet foresees the fall, both physical and spiritual, of the village because of religious division within its walls (lines 33-40):

¡Desventurada gente,
Que en punto de sus dioses dividida,
Será desatendida
Su ofrenda, como culto irreverente!
Pues nada fué aceptable ni propicio
A Dios el sacrificio

Que, en vez de unir las gentes en concordancia,
Es inmortal origen de discordia.

This stanza helps to explain somewhat the last two lines of the preceding stanza, but only in general terms. It does not clarify the reference to religious division, which seems to be more a phenomenon of the Middle Ages than of the eighteenth century. It would not seem that the division was among Christians, for it is not a division over a question of dogma, but of gods. Such heresy offends the poet and he exhorts the river to continue its course toward the lands of the faithful worshippers of God (lines 41-48):

De tanto desacato
Retira, Guadalete, tus cristales,
Antes que tantos males
Mancillen su pureza con el trato;
Y ya de confusion y horror cubierto,
Sigue derecho al puerto,
De do parten alegres los bajeles
Al grande emporio de las gentes fieles.

Before Fray Diego introduces the amorous thread of the poem, he makes one more reference to the people of the mountain village: before long, a tributary of the Guadalete shall add its waters to the river; this new addition of water to the Guadalete will give it aid and greater speed (lines 55-56),

Para que, huyendo de la gente fiera,
Llegues presto á la dicha que te espera.

Up to this point, "Al Rio Guadalete" has been geographically specific, precise, even. In this respect, it departs from the conventional pastoral mode. One of the characteristics already noted of the Salamancan school is the evasion of reality and the vague geography of its poetic Arcadia. Judged on this basis alone, "Al Rio Guadalete" cannot be classified as pastoral poetry. Furthermore, in this poem the subject

of religion and of the Christian god intrudes into the pantheon of conventional pastoral poetry. Fray Diego, the pastoral poet by avocation, was a priest before all else; in matters of religion, his vocation held sway. So it is that, in a poem such as "Al Rio Guadalete," the question of religion injects a jarring note into a conventional and stylized genre.

Only in the eighth stanza does Fray Diego begin what can properly be called the lover's plaint (lines 57-64):

De amargo sentimiento
 Mis lágrimas vertidas por presente
 Agrego á tu corriente
 Para hacer más veloz su movimiento.
 Ni tu caudal, por dulce, con desvío
 Desdeñe el llanto mio;
 Que, aunque tiene en su origen amargura,
 La pierde en mis canales de dulzura.

The following stanza continues in the same vein, although a misprint in the BAE completely reverses the sense of the last line (lines 65-72):

Así que, enriquecido
 Con tal caudal, corriendo presuroso,
 Por puerto delicioso
 Darás al mar tributo encarecido;
 Y allí, con tus cristales confundidas,
 Mis lágrimas sentidas
 Podrán lograr la venturosa suerte
 Que le es dada al triste que las vierte.

The last line should read "Que no le es dada al triste que las vierte"; such is the reading of the 1812 and 1817 editions. And this is the only reading consistent with the intent of the poet-narrator, which is to send the tears of "un ausente del gaditano suelo" to Cádiz by way of the River Guadalete. This intent or understanding is clearly stated in stanza eleven (lines 82-84):

Da, Guadalete, al mar, como es debido,
 El caudal recibido,
 Pues con tal condicion te fué entregado.

The river shall pay his due tribute to the sea, returning to the sea all the water received from inland sources. The poet's tears, on the other hand, shall remain in Cádiz and shall pay a lover's fee (lines 87-88)

... á seno mejor que las reciba;
 Que algo tiene de mar quien las motiva.

Here the poet is playing with words: he uses seno in the sense of lap or bosom and also in the sense of gulf or bay. Cádiz has both a gulf and a bay that bear its name; a bay, it can be said, "algo tiene de mar." So it is with the Bay of Cádiz, and so it is, too, with Mirta, she who is the motive of the poet's tears and who has something of the sea about her. The poet is not clear on the similarity between Mirta and the sea, however; he only hopes that his tears will be well received. If his tears are not well received, the poet is prepared to fore swear love and to cease singing Mirta's praises (lines 89-96):

Y si en caso impropicio
 No hallan en este mar buena acogida,
 Juro que ya en mi vida
 No alzaré en sus altares sacrificio
 A la sacra deidad que en Cipro mora;
 Y mi lira sonora,
 En vez de los primores gaditanos,
 Cantará los blasones carpetanos.

References to Aphrodite, Cyprus, ancient Italy, sacrifices, and the poet's lyre give to the final stanza the Classical tone that is lacking in the rest of the poem. For the most part, "Al Rio Guadalete" is campestre, in the sense that it deals with the Spanish countryside; but it does so in such detail that it cannot properly be called

bucolic or pastoral, in the conventional sense. This is not to say that the descriptions are ineffective; on the contrary, they are well conceived, as in lines 17-30. But for all their effectiveness--indeed, because of it--these descriptions are out of the usual pastoral mode. What results is a poem that is only superficially pastoral and only partially amorous; its most interesting lines have to do with the face of Spain as pictured by a realistic poet.

"El triunfo de Manzanares. Cancion" (pp. 192-193). A letter, dated at Tormes, February 13, 1776, helps only slightly in explaining this poem. Fray Diego writes to Fray Miguel de Miras:

Quisiera estar más desocupado de lo que me hallo, para enviarte una copia de la cancion titulada El Triunfo de Manzanares, que un tal Delio compuso con ocasion del decreto últimamente ganado en el Consejo contra otro que vino del Tíber sobre la Bética monástica, como tú sabes muy bien.²⁶

From this letter, and from references within the poem, it can be inferred that the Spanish religious orders, or perhaps just the Augustinian order, won an important victory over control by Rome. Of the poem's twenty-three octavas, fifteen have this victory as their theme. Four deal in a general way with the Spanish countryside. Only the last four can be said to have anything to do with the theme of love. To the extent that this is so, "El triunfo de Manzanares" can hardly be called a love poem; yet, only because of the last four stanzas about Mirta does the poem have any interest. The particular circumstances surrounding the quarrel between Madrid and Rome are unknown and, at this point in time, unimportant.

²⁶Ibid., p. 192, n. 1.

Throughout much of Fray Diego's poetry, rivers figure importantly. As personifications, some are enjoined to carry messages for the poet; others bear witness to contemporary events or foretell the future. Frequently, also, rivers stand for a city or a region; thus, in this poem, Manzanares stands for Madrid, Tiber for Rome, Tormes for Salamanca, and Bética (an adjective from Betis, the Guadalquivir) for Andalusian. Consequently, Fray Diego has frequent recourse to water imagery; for example, caudal, orillas, arenas, corriente, raudal. Of all Fray Diego's poems, this one has the most rivers in it--nine in all. Besides the "Precioso Manzanares" of the title, there are the following: "el muy extendido Guadiana," "el Ebro deleitoso," "el Bétis abundoso," "el hondo Duero," "el Tajo abastecido," "el apresurado Genil," "el Tíber turbulento," and "el padre Tórmes," [el] "apacible Tórmes argentado." Because of the "Triunfo de Manzanares," all these Spanish rivers are free from the menace of the Tiber (lines 41-43; 57-64):

Del Tíber, avezado
A hacer temer á todas las naciones
Con sus inundaciones ...
.....
¡Ay, cuánta desventura
A la bética gente aconteciera,
Si Jove permitiera
Cumplir del crudo Tíber la ley dura!
¡Cuántos males sufrieran, cuántos daños
Pastores y rebaños!
Todo fuera trastorno y falta de orden,
Extraña confusión, ciego desorden.

It can only be conjectured now whether Fray Diego or anyone else within his circle of readers was struck by the paradox of using pagan imagery to describe the internal workings of the Catholic church. It was just such commingling of disparate, indeed contradictory, elements

that inspired the wrath of Forner, although that wrath was not directed at Fray Diego. "El triunfo de Manzanares" combines the most diverse elements, from "Los negocios más graves" on the banks of the River to Proteus, Mars, Venus, and "El coro femenino de las vestales." In one instance, however, Christian and pagan imagery coincide in meaning, as in the case of "Pastores y rebaños"; here, pastor recalls both the bucolic poetry of Classical antiquity and the Christian representation of the priest as the shepherd of a flock. Such rare coincidences of meaning apart, there is a basic disjointedness to this poem: it is partly an occasional poem, partly a paean to Andalusia, and partly a love poem. In this respect it is similar to "Al Río Guadalete."

Even as the poet had asked the River Guadalete to convey his tears to Cádiz, so here the poet asks the River Genil, which rises in the Sierra Nevada close to Córdoba and empties into the Guadalquivir, to find its way to Cádiz and to tell Mirta of Delio's love (lines 159-168).

... dile de mi amor cuanto tú puedas,
 Con que añadas que siempre corto quedas.
 Dile que en la ribera
 Del apacible Tórmes argentado
 Apasta su ganado
 El triste Delio, cuya suerte fiera
 (Quizá por apagar su llama ardiente)
 Lo tiene de ella ausente;
 Pero ántes será el mundo piezas hecho
 Que falte Mirta bella de su pecho.

This stanza states again Delio's oft-repeated vow of fidelity to Mirta. He vowed to continue loving her even if she ceased to answer his letters, as apparently she did after 1778. In this poem of the year 1776, written before he was assailed by doubts about the propriety of his writing amorous verse, Fray Diego could still indulge poetically the

passion that his clerical state denied him. He continues (lines 169-176):

Dile que noche y día,
Con pastoril zampoña ó dulce avena,
Por divertir la pena,
El nombre de su Mirta al cielo envía,
Y olvidan sus ovejas los pastores
Por oír sus loores,
Y el pecho alzó tal vez del ancho asiento
El padre Tórmes, y atendió á su acento.

Years later, Fray Diego will modify the last couplet and use it in "Llanto de Delio y profecía de Manzanares"; this time the reference will be to Fray Juan Fernández de Rojas in Alcalá de Henares:

Y tal vez el Henares
Alzó el pecho atendiendo á sus cantares.

The repetition or modification of an earlier line is in keeping with Fray Diego's practice of borrowing from himself.

Similarly, the third line of "El triunfo de Manzanares" contains a reference to the river's scarcity of water; the same thought occurs in "A Vecinta desdeñosa" and "Cádiz transformado," in both of which the poet speaks of the "triste escasez del Manzanares." Some of the lines of the last stanza recall one of the dichas soñadas in "Cádiz transformado": Delio dreamed that Mirta had written this message for him in the sand:

"Quien me sigue será correspondido;
Delio lo ha conseguido."

In "Triunfo de Manzanares," it is the poet who now writes in the sand (lines 177-184):

Dile que en la delgada
Arena, nunca hollado de la gente,
Graba continuamente
El dulce nombre de su Mirta amada,
Y crece y sube con el olmo alzado,

Y que siempre empleado
 En formar de sus prendas larga historia,
 Hará eterna de Mirta la memoria.

Not only does Delio write Mirta's name in the sand, he has also carved it into the bark of an elm tree, where it climbs and grows with the tree. These are adolescent manifestations of love; in a word, immature love, the only kind of love that Fray Diego could properly indulge. The name written in the sand vanished quickly; carved on a tree, it survived somewhat longer. How much immortality Delio conferred upon Mirta by enshrining her in his verses cannot yet be said.

"Egloga. Delio y Mirta" (pp. 184-185). In the 1812 and 1817 editions, this eclogue is entitled "Delio y Melisa"; the change of title necessitated other changes in the text: for example, all the speeches of Melisa had to be changed to come under the heading of Mirta. Similarly, all references to Melisa within the text were changed to Mirta. Other changes are as follows:

Line 4 (BAE): Gozar de mis caricias ...

(1812, 1817): Gozar de mis delicias ...

Line 45 (BAE): Y Mirta te ha de amar hasta la muerte.

(1812, 1817): Tuya será Melisa hasta la muerte.

Line 55 (BAE): ¡Ay Mirta de mi vida! ¿quién creyera ...

(1812, 1817): ¡Ay Melisa, Melisa! ¿quién creyera ...

Line 74 (BAE): contigo

(1812, 1817): conmigo

Lines 91-92 (BAE): ... si los dioses inmortales
 De estos nuestros afanes caso hicieran ...

(1812, 1817): ... los dioses inmortales
 Si de estas nuestras cosas caso hicieran ...

Line 97 (BAE): ¿No me respondes, Mirta?

(1812, 1817): ¿No respondes Melisa?

Lines 130 (BAE): ¿Y te puedes quejar que en mis amores ...

(1812, 1817): ¿Y ahora te quejas de que en mis amores ...

Line 140 (BAE): Desde que empecé á amarte, Mirta mia ...

(1812, 1817): Desde que yo te amé, Melisa mia ...

Line 205 (BAE): Que tú, Mirta, no ignoras tengo vena ...

(1812, 1817): Que ya sabes, Melisa, tengo vena ...

Written in tercetos endecasílabos, this eclogue is rhymed in the Italian fashion, in terza rima.

"Delio y Mirta" is among the most polished of Fray Diego's pastoral love poems. Whereas in the poems considered up to this point only an isolated stanza or two could be considered well executed or finely wrought, there is in the greater part of "Delio y Mirta" a more sustained lyricism which shows to good advantage Fray Diego's estilo ameno. The language of the poem is simple and rapid, without excessive word play or antithesis; at times, it is aphoristic, but it does not lose that conversational quality that so befits a debate between two lovers.

Again, the poet is the suppliant; Mirta is the shepherdess who accepts the love offered to her but who will not be bound by it. Mirta's is obviously the superior position: she is discreet and in command of herself; Delio is at the mercy of his love and jealousy. Thus it is that, as the poem begins, Mirta can ask, almost objectively (lines 1-12),

¿Qué tienes, Delio mio? ¿Qué accidente
En tu rostro el color ha demudado?

Ayer te vi gustoso y complaciente
 Gozar de mis caricias; hoy, airado
 El semblante, ojeroso y macilento,
 El cabello sin orden desgredado,
 Muda la voz, turbado el pensamiento,
 Y el lamento á los aires esparcido,
 Publica ser extraño tu tormento.
 ¿Qué nueva pena, di, te ha poseído?
 Cuéntame tu dolor, por ver si alcanza
 Alivio el mal conmigo conferido.

It is as though Mirta were unaware of her power over Delio, as if she did not know the nature of the accident that changed her shepherd from "gustoso y complaciente" to "ojeroso y macilento." Fray Diego's characterization makes Mirta coquettish and solicitous: in her solicitude, Mirta invites the shepherd to unburden himself to her, although she knows that if he does so he will only be all the more dependent on her, all the more captivated by her. The shepherd, made less rational than Mirta by his love and his jealousy, answers at length (thirty tercets), accusing Mirta of fickleness and duplicity.

Delio recalls for Mirta's sake the many times they had left their flocks unattended, retired to the forest, and there sung (lines 36-37)

... á solas sin testigo
 Con gusto y con placer, nuestros amores.

The last line is reminiscent of Cadalso, who, in his Ocios de mi juventud, had said of his own verses,

Todos de risa son, gustos y amores.

 Ya canto de pastoras y pastores
 Las fiestas, el trabajo y los amores.

"Delio y Mirta" occupies itself with just such matters; there is in this eclogue something of the labors of shepherds and shepherdesses:

En tanto que sestean los pastores ... (line 35)

... Corre, Delio, presuroso;
 Que en el sembrado se entran las ovejas ...
 (lines 70-71)

Pues Arsenio, á quien sirvo, ...
 Me ha enviado á decir que sin tardanza
 Amenace hácia el Tórmes el ganado ...
 (lines 175-177)

Clearly, these are the labors of idealized shepherds in an imagined Arcadia; and only infrequently do such labors occupy them: their normal occupation is amorous discourse. In one such discourse, Delio reminds Mirta of other, better times, as when she carved a promise of love upon a tree (lines 38-45):

Testigo es de aquel roble la rudeza,
 Que al tiempo hará inmortales tus favores
 Pasados; pues cediendo su dureza
 De agudo pedernal al golpe fuerte,
 De tu mano escribiste en su corteza
 Un letreiro que dice de esta suerte:
 "Delio, mio has de ser toda la vida,
 Y Mirta te ha de amar hasta la muerte."

Similar lines occur in other poems. For example, in "Triunfo de Manzanares," Delio repeatedly writes Mirta's name in the sand and carves it into the bark of a tree. In "Delio y Mirta," the shepherdess immortalizes her love for Delio in the same way, by perpetuating it on the bark of an oak. And in lines that suggest some of the dreams in "Cádiz transformado," Delio also reminds Mirta of the many times they beguiled the hours in sweet dialogue (lines 46-51):

¡Ay! Cuántas veces, á mi cuello asida,
 Dijiste: "Ven, pastor, hácia esta fuente
 (Ya que el tiempo oportuno nos convida);
 "Templarémos de amor la sed ardiente,
 Más con el trato dulce y amoroso
 Que con el frio raudal de su corriente."

In lines 61-63, Fray Diego departs from the conversational tone that he uses in most of this poem and indulges in the more contrived

style of antithesis in order to complain of his rival for Mirta's love:

El no vive sin tí; tú sin él mueres:
Tú le sigues do quiera que se ausenta;
El sigue por do quiera que tu fueres.

Delio's rival in this poem is Antimio, who not only commands Mirta's affections, but also writes verses of poor quality; thus, Delio upbraids Mirta as much for her taste in poetry as for her preference for Antimio (lines 82-90)

¿Y qué dijeron [los dioses] cuando en la espesura
De esa selva te vieron otro día,
Recostado en su pecho, sin cordura,
Atendiendo á unos versos que leía
(Obra suya, que alaba á todas horas);
Versos que en toda métrica porfía,
Aunque los cante en voces muy sonoras,
Los escuchan con tedio los zagales
Y los oyen con burla las pastoras?

It is tempting to seek in these lines a correlation with Fray Diego's own life; one could ask "Who was Antimio in real life?" and "Was he really a poet in Fray Diego's circle of friends and did Mirta really prefer him to Delio?" These questions can probably not be answered now in any case, even if they were of any importance. What matters now is not who Antimio was (if anyone), but rather the fact that in this poem he is boastful of his own verses. This Fray Diego never was and, understandably, he would censure such lack of modesty in others. Furthermore, this rustic poet, Antimio, persists in attempting all meters. This, too, Fray Diego avoided. Although he used various stanzaic forms, such as the sonnet, décimas, octavas, and quintillas, Fray Diego most often used a combination of seven- and eleven-syllable lines. And his best poetry, by its very nature, did not lend itself

to recitation "en voces muy sonoras": it does not encompass epic or historical themes, nor is it bombastic or grandiloquent. It is more suited to reading within a small circle of friends of like tastes and esthetic creeds; in other words, among the poets of Salamanca. Neither is there any indication that Fray Diego's verses were read anywhere "con tedio" or "con burla"; quite the contrary, Fray Diego enjoyed a wide celebrity and in his own time was accorded a position in Spanish letters equal to that of Fray Luis de León. The years have since modified that judgment; it is now clear that Fray Diego cannot be compared to Fray Luis. Still, it can be said that he was free of the vices that he ascribes to his poet-rival, or rival poet, Antimio.

The first lines of Mirta's answer to Delio are, in effect, an aphorism (lines 103-105):

¡Ay Delio, Delio! ¡Cuánto ve en su daño
Un hombre de los celos afligido,
Lince al dolor y topo al desengaño!

In these few lines, Mirta summarizes Delio's troubled state: his jealousy makes him quick to note affronts that only increase his pain; it also blinds him to the truth that could ease his suffering. The truth is, as Mirta tells him, that his jealousy is of his own making; Mirta even repeats the shepherd's own words, just as he had repeated hers in his complaint (lines 109-120):

¿No te dije bien claro que ya amaba
A Antimio cuando tú me descubriste
El incendio que el pecho te abrasaba?
En este caso, ¿tú no pretendiste
Tener en mi cariño alguna parte,
Sin perjuicio de Antimio? ¿No dijiste:
"Vivir me es imposible sin amarte;
Bien sé que Antimio á tí te amó primero,
Tú de su amor no puedes apartarte.

"Amanos á los dos, porque yo quiero
 Ser amado de tí con fe sencilla,
 Aunque tenga en tu amor lugar postrero.

As she recalls the shepherd's words for him, Mirta introduces one of the themes of this eclogue, that of two shepherds who loved the same shepherdess (lines 121-126):

"Entre los dos no habrá jamas rencilla,
 Contento con su parte cada uno;
 Serán de amor la nueva maravilla
 "Dos pastores, que amaron de consuno
 A la misma pastora con desvelo,
 Sin que entre ellos hubiese duelo alguno" ...

Delio's jealousy is unfounded: he himself proposed to love Mirta, even though he knew full well that she loved another. When Delio protests that it is now impossible for him to carry out his proposal, "sin ... duelo alguno"; when he protests that he has forsaken all other loves for Mirta's sake; when he assures Mirta that he could not love two people as she claims to do, Mirta answers simply with the parable that is the second theme of the eclogue (lines 157-171):

Mira, Delio: yo tengo un corderillo
 Blanco, de rojas manchas salpicado,
 Cuya madre, al dejarle en un tomillo,
 Murió de un accidente no esperado;
 Aplíquele á otra oveja, que criaba
 Otro de blanco y negro variado.
 Al principio la oveja le extrañaba;
 Despues ya le criaba y le lamia;
 Era, en fin, tanto ya lo que le amaba,
 Que si por algun caso le perdía,
 Ansiosa le buscaba con balido;
 De manera que nadie conocia,
 Ni tú, Delio, lo hubieras conocido,
 Con tu mucho saber y tu experiencia,
 Cuál era de los dos el más querido.

In the view of one literary historian, the language of this eclogue is so prosaic that it excludes the reflection of any passion

and, furthermore, "mejor estuviera en lisa y llana prosa."²⁷ Fray Diego does not have many commentators among modern critics and historians--apart from "El murciélago alevoso," few of his poems have been commented upon; yet, historians and anthologists agree that perhaps Fray Diego's chief characteristic is his prosaic verse. It is probably more accurate to say that Fray Diego's vocabulary and syntax are so simple, so generally free of stylized convolution, that many of his lines scan as easily as prose. In Forner's phrase, Fray Diego was one of those who "saben bien el uso de su lengua"; and according to Cueto, Fray Diego was "verdadero representante de la tradicion fiel del habla castellana."* Despite the fact that Fray Diego writes in an exotic mode, the pastoral, he does so within the limits of the best Spanish diction. The result is that, though his poetry may be dismissed as prosaic, his language must be remembered for what it was: direct, rapid, conversational, and squarely in the purest native tradition. The appeal, then, of Mirta's parable lies in the simplicity of its story and the directness of its language.

In her next speech after the parable of the white lamb, Mirta vows unending love for Delio; that is, she will see natura trocada before she falters in her love (lines 181-189):

Antes producirá el Diciembre flores
En los prados, y el Julio las corrientes
Suspenderá con hielo, y los olores
Del tomillo y romero florecientes
Huirá la docta abeja, y harán lecho
En las hojas del fresno las serpientes,
Y no florecerá el ingrato helecho

²⁷Guillermo Díaz-Plaja, op. cit., p. 263.

*See notes 11 and 12, Chapter III.

En esta nuestra selva umbrosa y fría,
Que falten tus amores de mi pecho.

Mirta's speech is properly bucolic: the terms of her comparison are what one would expect in an eclogue--"flores en los prados," "los olores del tomillo y romero florecientes," "la docta abeja," "las hojas del fresno," "nuestra selva umbrosa." Mirta expresses herself as would any Arcadian shepherdess whose world is bounded by the natural vegetation of meadow and forest. On the other hand, the shepherd Delio expresses himself differently, in what would conventionally be described as a more masculine manner that reflects both manly pursuits and a wider knowledge of the world. He, too, enumerates the changes that shall occur in nature before he falters in his love; his last line is a variation of Mirta's (lines 190-198):

Y ántes la liebre tímida á porfía
Siguiendo en pos del galgo irá con saña,
Y el Tíber, que por Roma el paso guía,
La corte bañará de nuestra España;
Y olvidando sus huertos y verdores,
El Ebro correrá por la Bretaña;
Y la cierva sedienta en los calores
Olvidará la cristalina fuente,
Que falten de mi pecho tus amores.

Between two comparisons drawn from the animal world, comparisons in keeping with Delio's rustic vocation, occur two others which not only reflect Delio's wider knowledge of the world, but also reflect Fray Diego's continuing preoccupation with rivers. Only "la cristalina fuente" is in harmony with Mirta's speech; the reference to the hunt introduces into these lines a violent tone, and references to the Tiber and Ebro Rivers take the poet far afield from the Tormes and the Val de Otea.

Delio then returns to the subject of poetry; he promises that

he will send his verses to Mirta in the hope that they will win compassion for him (lines 202-209):

Yo viviré muy triste y afligido
Sin tu dulce presencia; mas la pena
Con mis versos templar he discurrido;
Que tú, Mirta, no ignoras tengo vena,
Y no hay uno entre todos los zagales
Que me exceda en cantar con dulce avena.
Yo te los enviaré, porque mis males
Logren alguna vez enternecerte ...

Poetry will be the means by which Delio shall temper his sorrow; his poetry will distinguish him from the rest of the shepherds, whom Delio surpasses in the sweetness of his rustic song. Delio praises here his own verses, apparently forgetting that he had criticized Antimio for the same lack of modesty. Again, it is tempting to try to link these lines with Fray Diego's life, to suggest that they in some way reflect Fray Diego's feelings about his place in the Parnaso salamantino. The testimony of Fray Diego's contemporaries indicates that he had no such feelings about his poetry or about its merits relative to the poetry of the other zagales in the Parnaso. It is true that he sent his compositions to Mirta, as he indicated that he would, but this is neither unusual for a poet nor is it grounds to assume that this eclogue is autobiographical. Furthermore, it must be remembered that "Delio y Mirta" was originally written for Melisa: any personal references within the poem would therefore be valid for only that period of time during which the poet dedicated his song to Melisa.

In the last tercets of the poem, Delio indicates that he is writing in his youth and he again expresses the wish that he might love Mirta, even though she loves Antimio. Together, the three shall be the wonder of love; thus, the last lines of the poem reiterate the

theme expressed earlier in lines 118-126 and serve to unite the entire work (lines 213-229):

¡Ay! quiera el cielo que en dichosa suerte
 En estas nuestras selvas deleitosas
 Los tres vivamos siempre en lazo amante,
 Gozando edades largas venturosas;
 Que aunque á los dos yo en años adelanto
 La cana en mi cabello aún no es nacida,
 Ni surca la honda ruga mi semblante.
 Y si tú nos excedes en la vida,
 Honra con un sepulcro nuestra muerte,
 Bajo una losa, do será esculpida,
 De acerado cincel á golpe fuerte
 (Si es que tienes valor para escribilla),
 Una letra que diga de esta suerte:
 "Aquí yace de amor la maravilla:
 Dos pastores que amaron de consuno
 A una misma pastora con desvelo,
 Sin que entre ellos hubiese duelo alguno."

"A Melisa. Cancion" (p. 194). Perhaps because of his calling as a priest and sacred orator, Fray Diego avails himself in various poems of dreams and visions to convey his meaning. In "A Melisa. Cancion," Fray Diego uses visions and allegory to warn Melisa of the dangers attendant upon her attachment to a rival. There is no indication who his rival might be, but it can be inferred from Fray Diego's language that the rival is not the Antimio of "A Melisa. Sueños" and "Egloga. Delio y Mirta." In the latter poem, Delio accepts the fact that, if he is to love at all, he must love "de consuno" with Antimio; the two of them shall be the wonder of love, two shepherds who loved

A una misma pastora con desvelo,
 Sin que entre ellos hubiese duelo alguno.

The picture is one of idyllic love, both shepherds loving generously and without envy. There is no such magnanimity in "A Melisa. Cancion": here, the poet clearly warns Melisa of "astucias, engaños y traiciones,"

for the rival in this poem is not a shepherd--"Es dragon, lobo y cazador astuto."

"A Melisa. Cancion" is divided into seven stanzas of thirteen lines, seven or eleven syllables to the line. Two stanzas describe each vision: in the first of each pair of stanzas, the poet tells how he rescues a helpless creature from danger; in the second, he tells how, despite his love and care, the creature returns to its captor. The last stanza of the poem is the poet's explanation of the allegory. The poem begins thus (lines 1-13):

Andando yo cazando,
Vi una blanca paloma, que batia
Las alas con extraño movimiento,
Y luego fuí notando
Que por línea derecha descendia
Hacia la boca de un dragon hambriento,
El cual con torpe aliento
Habia su vigor entorpecido,
Y hacia sí la traia sin sentido,
Con tal dulzura y suavidad tan rara,
Que si yo no llegara
Tan oportunamente,
Fuera despojo de su crudo diente.

The dove here is Melisa, whose innocence is symbolized by the dove's whiteness; the dragon is the poet's rival, described in the worst terms--"hambriento," "con torpe aliento," deceitfully hiding behind a façade of "dulzura y suavidad." Delio continues (lines 14-26):

Compadecido de ella
Disparé mi arcabuz, y dividida
La columna de aliento que mediaba,
Cayó á mis piés la bella
Paloma, si no muerta, atontecida.
Yo la puse en mi pecho y fomentaba,
Por ver si en sí tornaba;
Mas ella, apenas se hubo recobrado,
Despues de haberme el corazon robado,
Hacia la fiera boca alzó su vuelo,
Y con tanto desvelo

Por ella se ha metido
 Como pudiera por su amado nido.

In allegorical terms, the poet narrates the succession of events: his rescue of the dove, his solicitude for its recovery, his falling in love, and the return of the dove to the dragon.

The same pattern is repeated in the succeeding pairs of stanzas. Melisa is seen by the poet as a "cordera amada" whom he rescues from a "lobo sagaz"; again the poet nurses the injured animal back to health, only to have it flee from him and return to its tormentor. In stanzas five and six, Delio ransoms "una tórtola tan bella" from a hunter who has entangled it in his nets; as before, the turtle dove repays his kindness by flying back to the nets that had entrapped it earlier. The last stanza explicitly draws the parallels between Melisa and the predators' victims (lines 79-91):

Melisa, si entendieras
 Lo que quieren decir estas visiones,
 No fuera quien las vió tan desdichado;
 Entonces conocieras
 Las astucias, engaños y traiciones
 De que Delio prudente te ha librado,
 Y hubieras estimado
 Su mucha diligencia y mucho celo;
 Pero al fin la verdad quitará el velo
 Al engaño, y verás que aquel amante,
 A quien pagas constante
 De tu amor el tributo,
 Es dragon, lobo y cazador astuto.

Such explicitness on the part of Fray Diego is rare; his disapproval, though couched at first in the milder language of allegory, in the last stanza is straightforward and unstinting.

"A Melisa. Sueños" (pp. 187-188). Inevitably, a comparison must be made between the dream sequences of "A Melisa. Sueños" and those of

"Cádiz transformado y dichas soñadas del pastor Delio"; also, since the eclogue "Delio y Mirta" was originally written for Melisa, it, too has some relationship with this poem. "A Melisa. Sueños" and "Cádiz transformado" have the same stanzaic form: thirteen lines of seven and eleven syllables; both have a refrain that unifies the poem and expresses a certain ruefulness at the bitterness of reality. "A Melisa. Sueños" repeats exactly several lines from "Cádiz transformado"; it also includes a reference to Antimio, Delio's rival in love and poetry, who was seen in "Delio y Mirta." The result of all this repetition and cross-referencing is that, in effect, "A Melisa. Sueños" and "Cádiz transformado" are the same poem. Both are a relation of dichas soñadas, of the disappointments of wakefulness, and of the preferability of dreams.

Delio's account of his dreams in "Cádiz transformado" begins

Soñé (como transforma
El sueño las ideas á su grado) ...

"A Melisa. Sueños" begins in much the same fashion, with the same verb and with a parenthetical aside (lines 1-13):

Soñaba yo, Melisa
(Ya que quieres saber lo que soñaba);
Soñaba yo que en un ameno prado
Andabas tú con prisa
Tejiendo de las flores que brotaba [n]
Una guirnalda; y luego con agrado
(¡Oh favor no esperado!)
Con ella frente y sienes me ceñías,
Y con rostro halagüeño me decías:
"A tí solo, entre todos los pastores,
Se deben los honores.
Yo, Delio, por tí muero,
Y en el amor á todos te prefiero."

As in "Cádiz transformado," Delio dreams that good fortune has befallen him; in this case, he dreams that Melisa has crowned him with flowers

to signify that all honors are due to him: not only does Melisa grant to Delio the boon of her love, she also declares him poet laureate.

In "Cádiz transformado," Delio recounts ten dreams before he tells of his painful awakening and disenchantment. In "A Melisa. Sueños," the poet only recounts three dreams and he tells of his disappointment after each dream. The second stanza (lines 14-26) is the real-life counterpart of the first dream:

Con el extraño gozo,
El corazon del centro se salia,
Y al fin me despertó con su latido,
Bañado en alborozo.
Mas luego me acordé que en cierto día
Este favor á Antimio has concedido,
Y á mí le has preferido;
Pues le diste de Apolo los honores,
Por más que murmuraron los pastores.
Y apenas hube aquesto recordado,
Me volví de otro lado,
Y con cólera y ceño
Maldije la vigilia, alabé el sueño.

In "Delio y Mirta," the poet had praised his own rustic song and maligned Antimio for doing the same thing; he had also said

... no hay uno entre todos los zagales
Que me exceda en cantar con dulce avena.

He is piqued, therefore, that, though he may be crowned with flowers in his dream, it is Antimio who in real life receives the poet's crown of laurel--and against the better judgment of the other shepherds at that. Delio's pride as a poet is hurt because he knows that Antimio's verses are mediocre; in "Delio y Mirta," he says of these same verses that

Los escuchan con tedio los zagales
Y los oyen con burla las pastoras ...

Small wonder, then, that Delio should prefer a dream to reality, for

in his dream at least he is the preferred lover and is acknowledged to be the superior poet.

In the third stanza (lines 27-39), Delio recounts his second dream:

Volví á quedar dormido,
Y sentado me hallé junto á una fuente,
Mirando su murmullo muy atento;
Y estando divertido,
Allí llegaste apresuradamente,
Pidiendo de beber, y yo al momento
Un vaso te presento;
Y dices tú con risa y burla mía:
"No es ésa, Delio, el agua que pedia;
La sed que yo padezco es amorosa;
Y siempre codiciosa
De tus eternos lazos,
Sólo pueden templarla tus abrazos."

The most striking line in this stanza is the third: "Mirando su murmullo muy atento." This is not synesthesia in the twentieth-century sense, as when color is attributed to sounds; and there is no reason to suppose, on the basis of this one example, that Fray Diego thought of the transposition of sense impressions as a literary device to be exploited for effect. Yet, the fact remains that, whatever may have been Fray Diego's intention, the third line of this stanza is both striking and provocative. More characteristic of Fray Diego is his practice of borrowing from himself: lines 35-39 repeat the idea expressed in "Delio y Mirta" that the thirst of love cannot be quenched with water:

... Vén, pastor, hácia esta fuente
(Ya que el tiempo oportuno nos convida);
Templaremos de amor la sed ardiente,
Más con el trato dulce y amoroso
Que con el frío raudal de su corriente.

The tenor of Mirta's words in "Delio y Mirta" and in "Cádiz

transformado" is similar to that of Melisa's in "A Melisa. Sueños"; Delio dreams that Melisa tells him those things that he most wants to hear. The dream sequence is interrupted, however, by the intrusion of reality. The fourth stanza (lines 40-52) narrates Delio's disenchantment with his second dream:

Yo, viendo mi ventura,
 Fuí á lograrla, los brazos extendidos,
 Y cayó de mi mano el frágil vaso
 Sobre una peña dura,
 Y el golpe me reduce á los sentidos;
 Y vuelto bien en mí por este acaso,
 En mi memoria paso
 Las veces que esta dicha repetias
 A tu Antimio, y á mí te resistias,
 De nueva faz de religion armada;
 Y viéndote entregada
 En brazos de otro dueño,
 Maldije la vigilia, alabé el sueño.

Delio's ventura soñada in this poem corresponds to the dichas soñadas in "Cádiz transformado"; in fact, the word dicha occurs later in the stanza, making the relationship between the two poems all the more evident. And there is an ironic undertone in Delio's use of the words "me reduce á los sentidos"; while basically this phrase means that Delio returned to his senses, that is, that he woke up, there is also implicit here the other meaning of reducir, to reduce or diminish. In effect, there is a diminution in Delio's act of returning to his senses: the happiness that he had dreamed is reduced to bitter reality. In his dreams, Delio is preferred to Antimio; awake, and addressing Melisa, Delio is forced to say "tu Antimio." He then chides Melisa for inventing arguments and stratagems to resist him; that is, he chides her for arming herself with the "faz de religion." Thus convinced that Melisa prefers Antimio, Delio again denounces reality and again returns to dream.

The fifth stanza (lines 53-65) recounts Delio's final dream:

Volví la vez tercera
A dormir, y soñé que con gran prisa
Tocabas con la aldaba á mi postigo,
Diciendo desde afuera:
"Abre, no temas nada; soy Melisa,
Que me vengo á vivir siempre contigo
En lazo eterno amigo;
Tendremos ya los dos comun el techo,
El ajuar, el vivir, la mesa, el lecho.
En uno juntaremos los ganados,
Que con bienes doblados,
Y con paz juntamente,
Pasaremos la vida dulcemente."

In the last dream of "Cádiz transformado," Delio is told that the time has come for him to leave his flocks,

... que en Cádiz te espera ansiosamente
Con quien eternamente
Gozarás de tu día.

Delio's reaction to this news is the same as his reaction to Melisa's announcement that she has come to live with him forever. In fact, Fray Diego uses the same lines, with only minor variations, in both poems; the sixth stanza (lines 66-78) reads:

Yo, de mi dicha cierto,
Dejo el lecho, dormido, apresurado;
Y destinando, ruedo la esculera,
Y en el zaguan despierto,
Bañado el rostro en sangre y maltratado,
Y vi que esta ventura (¡oh suerte fiera!)
Imposible me era,
Pues el lazo que á mí me prometias,
Tratado con Antimio lo tenias;
Y aunque quedé del sueño mal herido,
Más que de él, ofendido
De la verdad, con ceño
Maldije la vigilia, alabé el sueño.

The underlining (not in the original) indicates the lines that are common to both poems at the point where Delio realizes that all his good fortune has only been a dream. With the exception of a few words

(zaguan for portal, ah for oh, dél for de él), fully ten lines of this stanza occur in another poem; this is an indication of the extent to which Fray Diego borrowed from himself. Such extensive borrowing may be due to a lack of imagination on Fray Diego's part; it may also be due to the narrow limits of his poetry. Within these limits, a given amorous situation may occur more than once; when it does, Fray Diego alters, and sometimes repeats exactly, lines already used in other poems. The effect of all this borrowing on Fray Diego's poetry generally is that it seems confined and repetitive. In the case of individual poems, such as "A Melisa. Sueños" and "Cádiz transformado," the effect is of one poem, rather than two.

The last stanza of "A Melisa. Sueños" further reinforces the impression of cross-references between poems, especially if it is remembered that the subtitle of "Cádiz transformado" is "Dichas soñadas del pastor Delio."

Estas dichas soñaba
En una misma noche, interrumpida
Tres veces; y aunque el bien fingido era,
Ansioso deseaba
Que, ya que sólo el sueño fué mi vida,
Mi vida un continuado sueño fuera.
¡Oh si siempre durmiera!
Sólo el sueño me hiciera venturoso;
Mas, pues vivir velando me es forzoso,
Sufrir será preciso tus rigores;
Y al ver que en tus amores
Vanamente me empeño,
Maldigo la vigilia, alabo el sueño.

The dichas of "Cádiz transformado" were dreamed "En una noche fria"; those of "A Melisa. Sueños" were dreamed "En una misma noche." In "Cádiz transformado," the poet says, "... con ceño Miré la vida, y con placer el sueño." In "A Melisa. Sueños," the poet wishes that

his life were a dream, "ya que sólo el sueño fué mi vida." Of the two poems, "A Melisa. Sueños" is the more coherent and unified, although "Cádiz transformado" has individual stanzas of greater lyricism. In both poems, the speeches of the shepherdesses contain the best lines; as in all of Fray Diego's love poetry, the female characters are more interesting: they exhibit a wider range of feelings and possibilities. Delio, as the plaintiff, has the less interesting role of suitor and petitioner.

"Tercetos. Delio, en la granja ..." (pp. 191-192). By the words "en la granja," Fray Diego recalls one of his links with Fray Luis de León: their mutual delight in the countryside about Salamanca. In his correspondence Fray Diego writes of a hamlet named La Flecha, which he calls "mi Flecha"; near this hamlet is the granja to which Fray Diego frequently retired and which Fray Luis described in Book One of De los nombres de Cristo:

Era por el mes de junio ... cuando Marcelo ... se retiró, como á puerto sabroso, á la soledad de una granja que ... tiene mi monasterio en la ribera del Tórmes ...

Es la huerta grande, y estaba entonces bien poblada de árboles, aunque puestos sin orden; mas eso mismo hacia deleite en la vista, y sobre todo, la hora y la sazón. ... Y mas adelante, y no muy léjos, se veia el rio Tórmes, que aun en aquel tiempo, hinchiendo bien sus riberas, iba torciendo el paso por aquella vega. El día era sosegado y purísimo y la hora muy fresca.²⁸

The first tercet of "Delio, en la granja,"

En la amorosa estancia donde vivo,
De todo humano trato retirado,
Planté no há mucho tiempo un tierno olivo ...

²⁸Fray Luis de León, De los nombres de Cristo, Escritores del Siglo XVI, Tomo Segundo, Obras del Maestro Fray Luis de León, BAE 37 (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1872), p. 69.

is strongly reminiscent of Fray Luis de León's prose description of Marcelo's granja and also of these lines from "Vida retirada":

¡Qué descansada vida
La del que huye el mundanal ruido ...
.....
Del monte en la ladera
Por mi mano plantado tengo un huerto ...²⁹

Both poets extol the retired life; both affirm their bond with nature through the act of planting. Beyond this point, however, the themes of the two poets diverge. Fray Luis continues on an elevated philosophical plane and recommends

... la escondida
Senda por donde han ido
Los pocos sábios que en el mundo han sido!³⁰

Fray Diego, on the other hand, quickly abandons the tone that linked him with Fray Luis and begins, as indicated in the subtitle, an allegorical narrative. "Delio, en la granja" is a series of twelve tercets intended to convince Mirta that she is loved by the shepherd Delio, that she is preferred to Peria; the subtitle indicates the nature of the metaphor: "Delio, en la granja, da á entender á Mirta la preferencia que de ella hace respecto de Peria, bajo la metáfora de dos olivos."

With the second tercet, Delio begins his allegory about the "tierno olivo" that he planted (lines 4-13):

Puse en él afición y mi cuidado;
Dos veces le regaba cada día,
Y alguna vez estando recostado
A su pié, de mis ojos le añadía
El riego de un extraño sentimiento.

²⁹Fray Luis de León, "Obras Poéticas," BAE 37, p. 3.

³⁰Ibid.

Mi cuidado y cultivo agradecia,
 Y lo mostraba el prodigioso aumento,
 Y como en tierra fértil y amorosa
 Echó raíz profunda, esparció al viento.
 La hermosísima rama en pompa airosa ...

The most noticeable stylistic contrivance in the poem so far is Fray Diego's device of continuing his thought from one tercet to another, as in lines 6-7, 12-13, and, as will be seen later, in lines 15-16 and 24-25. Conventionally, the thought is completed within the tercet or is made to coincide with the punctuation, as in the first three lines of this poem. The effect of these run-on lines between tercets is that the whole poem acquires both fluidity and a variety of rhythm that would not be possible if the pattern established in the first three lines were maintained throughout the poem. Indeed, this poetic device, and others that Fray Diego uses in the course of the poem, make these tercets more interesting as form than as content, especially since the allegory, or the metaphor of the two olive trees, as Fray Diego calls it, is sometimes ambiguous.

As indicated in the subtitle, the two olive trees represent Mirta and Peria. Delio loves Mirta and, presumably because she loves him in return, Delio's love blossoms in the same way as the olive tree that he has planted and nourished so carefully. Peria also loves Delio, but Delio does not love her in return; she is loved, rather, by Maro. Peria, the other olive tree, seeing the abundance and fruitfulness of Delio's preference for Mirta, slowly withers and ultimately dies of envy. This interpretation of the poem's allegory does not account for all the terms of the allegory on a one-to-one basis with reality; what, for instance, does the poet mean by "estancia"? Does

he mean his monastery cell, the granja, or simply his clerical state? And what do the hojas represent? Are they perhaps the letters that passed between Delio and Mirta? These and other questions could be asked about the poem, but in all probability they could not be satisfactorily answered without more evidence than the poem provides internally.

More apparent than the relationship of allegory to reality are such stylistic devices as repetition and variation of numerous words and a persistent interior rhyme. The remainder of the poem reads as follows (lines 14-36):

Y yo, para que más prevaleciera,
 Con mano diligente y cuidadosa
 Del contorno arranqué cuanto pudiera
 Impedir el aumento prodigioso;
 Y con esto ha arraigado de manera,
 Que aunque es árbol crecido y muy pomposo,
 No ha podido arrancarle de mi estancia
 El vendabal más terco y más furioso.
 Del fruto que me dan con abundancia,
 Con sus hojas y flores aprensado,
 Un bálsamo saqué de tal fragancia
 Y virtud, que á mis llagas aplicado
 (Aunque yo mortalmente estaba herido),
 De todas las heridas he sanado.
 Y otro olivo que, estando yo dormido,
 Maro cerca de allí plantado habia,
 Por más que su crianza ha promovido,
 Y le regó abundante cada día,
 Jamas se vió crecido ni frondoso;
 Y al ver que el otro más prevalecia,
 Y á mí de que medrase cuidadoso,
 Se ha ido marchitando lentamente,
 Hasta que se ha secado, de envidioso.

A line-by-line analysis shows that many words are repeated several times in the poem and that, in addition to the regular rhyme scheme, there is a recurrent interior rhyme. Line two is the most noticeable example of this latter phenomenon: in the last three words, "humano

trato retirado," the assonance in a-o is very pronounced. The pattern of interior and end rhymes is as follows:

Internal rhyme	End rhyme
Line 2 humano <u>trato</u>	<u>retirado</u>
Line 3 <u>tiempo</u> , <u>tierno</u>	
Line 4	<u>cuidado</u>
Line 5 <u>regaba</u> <u>cada</u>	
Line 6 <u>estando</u>	<u>recostado</u>
Line 8 <u>extraño</u>	
Line 9 <u>cuidado</u>	
Line 13 <u>pompa</u>	<u>airosa</u>
Line 16 <u>cuanto</u>	
Line 18 <u>arraigado</u>	
Line 19 <u>árbol</u>	
Line 25 <u>llagas</u>	
Line 26 <u>estaba</u>	
Line 27	<u>sanado</u>
Line 28 <u>estando</u>	
Line 29 <u>Maro</u> , <u>plantado</u>	
Line 35 <u>marchitando</u>	
Line 36 <u>secado</u>	

The combination of interior and end rhymes ties the poem together through recurring sound patterns. There is also a lexical and semantic unity established through the repetition of the following words:

Line 1: estancia; line 20: estancia

Line 1: amorosa; line 11: amorosa

Line 3: planté; line 29: plantado

- Line 4: aficion, cuidado; line 9: cuidado, cultivo
 Line 5: regaba; line 8: riego; line 31: regó
 Line 10: prodigioso aumento; line 17: aumento prodigioso
 Line 12: raíz; line 18: arraigado
 Line 12: viento; line 22: vendabal
 Line 13: pompa; line 19: pomposo
 Line 14: prevaleciera; line 33: prevalecia; line 34: medrase
 Line 15: cuidadoso, diligente; line 34: cuidadoso
 Line 19: crecido, pomposo; line 32: crecido, frondoso
 Line 22: abundancia; line 31: abundante
 Line 25: llagas; line 26: herido; line 27: heridas
 Line 35: marchitando; line 36: secado

Furthermore, and in connection with the poem's horticultural metaphor, the following terms form a semantic nucleus within the poem: "planté," "olivo," "riego," "cultivo," "aumento," "tierra fértil," "raíz," "rama," "árbol," "fruto," "abundancia," "hojas," "flores," "fragancia," "frondoso."

Withal, "Delio, en la granja" is a good illustration of Fray Deigo's habit of making cross-references, not only within individual poems, but also between poems. While the effect of this practice within a single poem may be unity and compactness, the overall effect on Fray Diego's canon is ultimately restrictive. It is as though the poet's resources and powers of imagination were limited to a reduced number of conventional ideas and metaphors.

"Endechas. A Mirta, ausente" (p. 198). This poem, not having been printed in the earlier editions, appeared for the first time in

Cueto's collection for the BAE; it was copied from the manuscript poems which Fray Diego sent to Jovellanos.³¹ The poem consists of ten quatrains, each of which contains three seven-syllable lines and one eleven-syllable line. In its first lines, Delio recalls a promise from the eclogue "Delio y Mirta," in which he says,

... la pena
 Con mis versos templar he discurrido ...

 Yo te los enviaré, porque mis males
 Logren alguna vez enternecerte.

The first two lines of this poem are:

Por aliviar mis penas
 Te escribo, Mirta hermosa ...

Accordingly, these endechas can be said to have as their purpose to touch Mirta's heart and to alleviate the poet's sorrow at Mirta's absence.

Fray Diego builds these endechas upon the contrast between his present sorrow at Mirta's absence and the joy that Mirta's return would bring. The first five quatrains (lines 1-20) read as follows:

Por aliviar mis penas
 Te escribo, Mirta hermosa;
 Mas dudo del alivio;
 Que la pena es mayor con la memoria.
 ¿Cuándo, mi dulce Mirta,
 Cuándo será la hora
 Que tu presencia amada
 Alegre fin á mi amargura ponga?
 ¿Cuándo ahuyentarás, cuándo,
 Tinieblas horrorosas,
 Que á un inocente pecho
 Entristecen, oprimen y sofocan?
 Corre el tiempo á mis daños
 Con planta voladora,
 Y á mis placeres anda
 Con planta lenta, torpe y perezosa.

³¹Cueto, op. cit., p. 198, n. 1.

¡Cuántas veces (¡qué dicha!)
 A tu puerta amorosa
 Llamo y digo: "Abre, Mirta,
 Y ahuyenta con tu risa mis congojas!"

In the first quatrain, the poet contrasts penas-pena-dudo and aliviar-alivio-memoria; in the second, the contrast is between presencia amada and amargura. The second quatrain also presents the first half of a balanced two-part question--"¿Cuándo, mi dulce Mirta ..."--, to be followed in the next stanza by the second half--"¿Cuándo ahuyentarás, cuándo ..." Line 12, "Entristecen, oprimen y sofocan," introduces a rhythmic figure of three strong beats that is repeated in line 16, "Con planta lenta, torpe y perezosa." Line 16 also represents the second half of another two-part contrast, this time within a single stanza; the contrast is between corre-daños-planta voladora and placeres-anda-planta lenta.

The last five quatrains read as follows (lines 21-40):

¡Y cuántas idolor fiero!
 Mirando tan remota
 La esperanza de verte,
 Lágrimas tristes de mis ojos brotan!
 Ya fatigo los montes
 Con voces lastimosas,
 Pidiéndoles á Mirta,
 Y tan sólo ecos tristes me retornan.
 Ya de la cruel Diana
 Me quejo; ya á la hermosa
 Vénus suplico humilde
 Que á mis amantes quejas corresponda.
 Vén, pues, querida Mirta,
 Y el mal que me devora
 Truécalo en alegría
 Con tu presencia dulce y ambrosa.
 Dios te guarde más años
 Que hilos tienen las tocas
 Del refulgente Apolo.
 Tórmes, á dos de Enero.--Quien te adora.

Lines 17 and 21 are contrasted and balanced against each other:

"¡Cuántas veces (¡qué dicha)" contrasts with "¡Y cuántas idolor fiero!"; the poet balances the lines by constructing them of similar syntactical elements. The seventh quatrain exhibits a balance of a different nature; it is not a balance of characteristics or of grammatical elements, as in other stanzas, but rather a balance, or correspondence, taken from nature. The mountains return the poet's lament to him; his "voces lastimosas" come back to him as "ecos tristes"; the poetic effect of the plaintive voice and the returning echo within this stanza is that the quatrain is closed, rounded, as it were, and completed.

In the first six quatrains, Fray Diego achieves a sense of balance and contrast by means of syntactical and lexical elements. In the later stanzas, he achieves the same effect by more subtle means. The eighth stanza contains, it is true, an obvious parallelism in "Ya de la cruel Diana me quejo" and "ya á la hermosa Vénus suplico." Less obvious is the function of the word "Truécalo" in the ninth stanza; it is the key to the sense of balance and contrast that has been so carefully maintained to this point in the poem. Up to this point, the poet laments Mirta's absence; in the ninth stanza, he makes a direct appeal--"Vén, pues, querida Mirta." The poet wishes to exchange his sadness for happiness; the terms of the barter are "el mal que me devora," or Mirta's absence, and "alegría," or Mirta's sweet and loving presence. The poet's happiness and unhappiness hang in the balance, as it were; in the trade, the poet would exchange one for the other.

The conversational tone and easy scansion of these endechas belie the complexity of their structure. It could be said that these

quatrains have texture as well as structure: it is made up of the threads of contrast and balance that the poet weaves into his poem.

"A Lisenio" (p. 195). It can be surmised that, at the time that this poem was written, Father Fernández de Rojas (Lisenio) had left Salamanca and was in Alcalá de Henares. From Alcalá, Father Fernández must have written to Fray Diego, perhaps complaining about being separated from his friends on the banks of the River Tormes. In any event, Fray Diego says in this poem that Lisenio should rather rejoice in the fact that, in Alcalá, he can enjoy the good fortune of looking upon the beautiful Lisi. Accordingly, Fray Diego begins this poem with a line from his "Llanto de Delio y profecía de Manzanares" in which the river-god chides Delio for dwelling on the lugubrious side of contemporary events; the River Manzanares begins thus (lines 236-241):

¿Por qué te das tormento,
Pastor desacordado,
Y llenas de clamores mis riberas?
Cese ya tu lamento,
Y á són más elevado
Templa la dulce lira placentera ...

Another poem, "Satisfaccion del Genil triunfante," begins with the same first line and continues in the same vein:

¿Por qué te das tormento,
Darro ...
.....
¡Oh! deja la querella y el lamento,
Y torna á dar contento y alegría
A tu angostura umbría ...

This, in sum, is what Fray Diego is telling Father Fernández in "A Lisenio," for he begins (lines 1-5):

¿Por qué te das tormento,

Liseno, si te da el cielo santo
 El mirar el portento
 Que al Tajo pone espanto
 Y á sus labios renueva el sabio canto?

Whatever may have been the nature of Liseno's complaint, it would be better, says the poet, that Liseno dwell on his good fortune, for heaven has granted him the boon of contemplating Lisi's beauty and listening to her conversation. It is she who is the "portento Que al Tajo pone espanto." This line should have particular significance for Father Fernández, for he himself is described in similar terms in another passage of Fray Diego's "Profecía de Manzanares" (lines 449-452):

... Liseno,
 A quien oye Compluto con espanto,
 Y tal vez el Henares
 Alzó el pecho atendiendo á sus cantares.

Now it is Lisi of whom it can be said "al Tajo pone espanto"; furthermore, it is she who inspires the river-god to sing her praise. In this connection, it is worth noting that in the 1812 and 1817 editions of this poem, line 5 reads "Y á sus Lasos renueva el sabio canto," meaning that Lisi inspired the pastoral poets (the Garci Lasos) of Alcalá de Henares to sing once more in the bucolic tradition of the Greek and Roman poets.

Characteristic of Fray Diego's praise of women are the second and third stanzas, in which Lisi is praised more for her spiritual gifts than for her beauty (lines 6-15):

Dichoso y bienhadado
 Quien logra ver de Lisi la luz pura,
 Do con modo no usado
 La gran madre natura
 Cifró el númen, la gracia y la hermosura.
 Ver el rostro halagüeño
 Donde mora el agrado de contino,
 Y nunca el negro ceño

Ni otro vapor malino
 Alteró lo sereno y cristalino ...

While the poet does extol Lisi's grace and beauty, he admires her more for her "luz pura," for her affability, and for her serene and tranquil nature. Then, in an ingenious simile, the poet manages to combine both praise for Lisi's conversation and the water imagery of which he is so fond (lines 16-20):

Y aquel hablar sabroso,
 Entre carmin y perlas fabricado,
 Correr cual el precioso
 Raudal recién formado,
 Sobre las puras guijas deslizado.

Lisi's delightful speech is formed between--and by the interaction of--her crimson lips and her pearl-like teeth; her conversation flows smoothly, like a fresh torrent or spring, over clean and polished pebbles. The pebbles of the last line are another reference to Lisi's teeth; this reference unifies the stanza and, incidentally, the poet's comparison, for the pebbles and the pearls are both water phenomena.

It will be remembered that the River Manzanares had called the grieving Delio "Pastor desacordado" and had enjoined him to tune his lyre "á son más elevado." In "A Liseno," the poet again emphasizes the irrationality, the ingratitude even, of Liseno's lament. Thus, in the fifth stanza (lines 21-25), the poet admonishes Liseno:

¡Oh! no ya ingrato al cielo,
 Torna, oh caro Liseno, en tu cordura;
 Recobra tu consuelo,
 Y deja la tristura
 Al malhadado Delio y sin ventura.

The words "Torna ... en tu cordura" recall the "Pastor desacordado" of the "Profecía de Manzanares"; the words "no ya ingrato al cielo" recall the second line of this poem, "te da el cielo santo." The poet

also contrasts his own state with that of Lisenó: if in being able to see and hear Lisi Lisenó is "Dichoso y bienhadado," Delio, on the other hand, is "malhadado ... y sin ventura." This stanza, then, has reminiscences of earlier lines of the same poem, even as it has reminiscences of other poems; to what extent the latter is true will be seen even more clearly in the remaining stanzas. For the moment, it should be noted that, to this point, "A Lisenó" is representative of Fray Diego's canon in its internal and external cross-references.

Beginning with line 26, the poem shifts its emphasis from Lisenó to Delio. Line 25 introduced Delio as "malhadado ... y sin ventura"; beyond this point, the poem is about him rather than about Lisenó. Perhaps because Fray Diego is now writing about Delio, there will be echoes of Garcilaso de la Vega in the last four stanzas and the poem will end with lines taken directly from Fray Luis de León. The remainder of the poem (lines 26-45) reads:

¡Ay! si entre tantos males,
 Me fuese, como á tí te es, concedido
 El ver los divinales
 Ojos donde Cupido
 Reina, más fuerte que su madre en Gnido;
 Dejando mi ganado
 Del Tórmes argentado en la ribera,
 De el dulce bien llevado,
 Por do quiera que fuera,
 Como la sombra al cuerpo, la siguiera.
 O ya por la espesura
 Al ciervo con saeta fatigára,
 O ya en la márgen pura
 Del Tajo se sentára,
 Y sus voz en las aguas resonára,
 Del canto suspendido,
 Viviera de mis daños olvidado,
Puesto el atento oído
Al són de dulce acordado
Del plectro sabiamente meneado.

The next-to-last line (44), as printed in the BAE edition, does not

follow the editions of 1812 and 1817, which omit the word de, nor does it follow exactly the line as Fray Luis wrote it. In his "Vida retirada," Fray Luis wrote "Al son dulce, acordado." Aside from this variant reading, the last three lines of "A Lisenio" are also the last lines of Luis de León's "Vida retirada."

On the subject of sixteenth-century influences upon Fray Diego, Professor Monguió provides this commentary:

No doubt one also hears in the above-quoted stanzas echoes of a number of other lines of Father Luis's, even to his mannerism of tri-membered lines: "Cifró el numen, la gracia y la hermosura," writes González as León had written: "de odio, de esperanzas, de recelo," "¡oh monte! ¡oh fuente! ¡oh río!" or "lo que es, lo que será, lo que ha pasado"; tripartite lines are frequent of course in all sixteenth-century verse-writing; witness for instance the "decidle que adolezco, peno y muero" of Saint John of the Cross. As a matter of fact in González's "A Lisenio" there is also a faint echo of one of St. John's favorite images: "al ciervo con saeta fatigara," writes González, a reflection, I believe, of "el ciervo vulnerado" or "como ciervo huiste, / habiéndome herido," of the Carmelite poet. And since we are on the subject of sixteenth-century echoes, we might notice in the lines of "A Lisenio": "O ya en la margen pura / Del Tajo se sentara, / Y su voz en las aguas resonara," a reminiscence of the "agua clara con sonido" or "al rumor que sonaba / del agua que pasaba" of Garcilaso's first eclogue.³²

There are other recollections of Garcilaso in "A Lisenio": Fray Diego's reference to Cupid and Venus in Naples (Gnido) recalls the "Canción Quinta" of Garcilaso, which is also known as "canción a la flor de Gnido." Furthermore, the stanzaic form of "A Lisenio" is a variation of Garcilaso's lira form: Garcilaso's stanza is composed of five seven- and eleven-syllable lines, rhymed aBabB; Fray Diego uses the same rhyme scheme, but the relationship of seven- to eleven-syllable lines is different, ababB. Finally, it will be remembered that line 5 in

³²Monguió, op. cit., p. 250.

the 1812 and 1817 editions reads "Y á sus Lasos renueva el sabio canto." Withal, it can be seen that Garcilaso, Fray Luis de León, and San Juan de la Cruz were all, to one degree or another, in Fray Diego's awareness as he wrote this poem to his friend Lisenio.

"En los días de Lisi" (p. 202). Some of the sentiments expressed in "A Lisenio" are also in "En los días de Lisi," since both poems have to do, ultimately, with Delio's love for Lisi and with his sorrow at being separated from her. There are apparently two Lisis in Fray Diego's poetry: one is called "Lisi, malagueña," presumably to distinguish her from the Lisi in Alcalá de Henares. There is nothing to indicate that the two Lisis are the same person or that Lisi, malagueña, was ever in Alcalá; what is certain, however, is that the Lisi of "A Lisenio" ~~and the Lisi of this poem are the same person.~~ As in "A Lisenio," Delio notes with sadness his separation from Lisi and compares his own state with the fortunate state of he who shall spend his life looking upon Lisi's beauty. But, given the occasion that inspired this poem to Lisi--her birthday--, Delio mentions his sadness only in passing; the rest of the poem he dedicates to Lisi's praise and to wishes for her happiness and long life.

The poem consists of eighty-two seven-syllable lines, divided into stanzas of both four and six lines. Throughout, the even lines are rhymed in e-a; the quatrains read smoothly and rapidly, and are a good example of Fray Diego's festive style. The first four quatrains (lines 1-16) read thus:

No sale tan gallarda
Por las doradas puertas,

Del Oriente la aurora
 En las mañanas frescas,
 Como hoy en las orillas
 Del Tajo te presentas,
 Oh bella Lisi mia,
 A celebrar tu fiesta.
 Al paso que los giros
 De la celeste rueda
 Tus bellos años forman,
 Tus claros días cuentan,
 Con pasos florecientes
 Tu verde primavera
 Va caminando al grado
 De juventud perfecta.

These lines portray Lisi as being in the very Spring of life and beauty; there is no hint whatever that life passes or that beauty fades. On the contrary, "gallarda," "doradas puertas," "el Oriente," "la aurora," "las mañanas frescas," "bellos años," "claros días," "pasos florecientes," "verde primavera," and "juventud perfecta" all express unbounded promise.

But even poets, lovers, and fair maidens must admit that youth and beauty are not eternal; and, should such a thought have crossed Lisi's mind on her birthday, the poet is quick to assure her that she at least will be spared the ravages of passing time (lines 17-32):

El tiempo, que grosero
 Castiga otras bellezas
 Con canas que envilecen
 O con rugas que afean,
 Va pintando en tu rostro,
 Con mano sábia y diestra,
 Mil gracias peregrinas,
 Mil perfecciones nuevas.
 Brilla en tu frente hermosa
 La luz muy más serena;
 Ni más resplandeciente
 Su rostro al cielo muestra
 La luna plateada,
 Que el tuyo tú á la tierra
 Do imprimen hoy tus plantas
 La delicada huella.

On such a day of "gozo" and "tanta fiesta," it would be inappropriate for the poet to remind Lisi that she, too, will fall victim to "canas que envilecen" and "rugas que afean"; accordingly, he regales her with the fiction that, while time may ravish the beauty of others, hers will gain in "Mil gracias peregrinas, Mil perfecciones nuevas."

The recollection of Lisi's beauty moves the poet to lament his absence from her; he does so only briefly, then wistfully imagines to himself the good fortune of whomever Lisi should love (lines 49-68):

¡Ay tristes, ay dichosos
 Los ojos que te vean!
 Dichosos si te agradan,
 Tristes si los desprecias.
 Aun en la ausencia dura
 Mi alma los contempla,
 Y su luz la embriaga,
 Sus llamas la penetran.
 Mil veces bienhadado
 El joven que merezca
 El gozar para siempre
 De tu amable presencia.
 Logrado habrá en tí sola
 (¡Oh venturosa estrella!)
 Un cielo, un sol, un fénix,
 Y un diamante en fineza.
 Nunca tan claro cielo
 Las nubes oscurezcan,
 Y sol tan refulgente
 Jamas ocaso tenga.

In these lines Delio gives vent to his emotions much as he did in "A Liseno"; these lines, however, have the added wistfulness of the older man's regret and tacit envy--"... bienhadado el joven ... que merezca gozar ... de tu amable presencia." Again as in "A Liseno," the poet contrasts "dichosos ... ojos," "bienhadado ... joven," and "venturosa estrella" with the implied unhappiness of his absence.

Some of these lines are striking in their balanced proportions: "Dichosos si te agradan, Tristes se los desprecias"; "Un cielo, un sol,

un fénix, Y un diamante en fineza," in which the sounds of "fineza" reverse some of the sounds of "fénix." Similarly, the last-quoted stanza is finely balanced both in form and in thought. The terms of the contrast are: claro-oscuridad, cielo-nubes, sol refulgente-ocaso; the contrasting qualities themselves are framed within the parallel nunca-jamás. Unfortunately, the last two quatrains of "En los dias de Lisi" are pedestrian in comparison: first because of an infelicitous metaphor, second because of a clumsy circumlocution (lines 69-76):

Tu vida á los diamantes
En duracion exceda,
Y la ficcion de Arabia
En tí verdad se vea,
Y tus amables padres,
Con tus hermanas, sean
Testigos oculares
De edad tan duradera.

Not even poetic license will admit the notion of such age as that suggested by the poet, especially if one considers that, with Lisi at such an age, her "amables padres" would of course be even older. A comparison of these two stanzas with the foregoing quatrains illustrates the thin line that separates poetry from comicality. As for "Testigos oculares," it seems unnecessarily erudite, more literal than poetic, more a circumlocution than a poetic utterance.

Notwithstanding the weaknesses of a few stanzas, "En los dias de Lisi," contains some of Fray Diego's better lines, due to the brevity of these lines and to the ease with which they scan. The balance and fluidity of most of the stanzas make up for the defects of a few others.

"A Lisi, malagueña" (p. 203).. As was the previous poem, this

poem, too, is rhymed throughout in e-a; in all but one stanza, the assonant rhyme is in the even lines. There are twenty stanzas of four lines each and two stanzas of six lines; the length of all the lines is seven syllables. Fray Diego begins this poem to Lisi, malagueña, in the same way that he began the poem to the Lisi in Alcalá de Henares, by a negative comparison. In that poem he began "No sale tan gallarda ... la aurora / en las mañanas frescas ..."; in this poem he begins "Ni la rubia Calipso / mostró mayor terneza ...". Both poems are paeans to the beauty and superior qualities of the two Lisis; and though they differ in tone, both are also expressions of regret at the poet's absence from his lady. "En los días de Lisi" was called forth by a festive occasion, Lisi's birthday; "A Lisi, malagueña" narrates the events of the morning of Delio's departure from Málaga. Delio compares his departure with that of Ulysses from Calypso and of Aeneas from Dido (lines 1-14) and, later, he compares Lisi's leavetaking with that of Thetis from her son Achilles.

Ni la rubia Calipso
Mostró mayor terneza
Cuando de la isla Ogigia
Ulises se le ausenta;
Ni la famosa Dido
Hizo mayor fineza
Subiendo al alto techo
A ver partir su Enéas;
Como ha debido á Lisi,
Divina malagueña,
El malhadado Delio,
A quien la suerte fiera
Dió la dicha de amarla
Al tiempo de perderla.

Owing to his vocation in life, and to his own nature, which prevented him from compromising his clerical vows, Fray Diego's love poetry must needs have been concerned with separation and absence. Thus, his poems

to Mirta and Melisa have generally the same theme: the dreams of a romantic sensibility confronted with the harshness of reality, or the petition of an absent or a neglected lover. Here, too, in "A Lisi, malagueña," Delio complains of his separation from Lisi and of a malignant fate that tempts him with love, then deprives him of it.

The circumstances surrounding Delio's departure are narrated in the poem as follows: the sound of hoofbeats in the street below indicates to Lisi that Delio "para siempre se ausenta"; Lisi, "De mil cuidados llena," has not been able to sleep and, upon hearing Delio depart, arises from her bed to bid him farewell. Scornful of the morning chill, Lisi seeks no wrap to warm herself—"Que otro fuego le quema." The poet continues (lines 31-50):

Salta del casto lecho,
Sin buscar más decencia
Que la que al acostarse
Previene una doncella.
El cabello sin orden
Claramente demuestra
Cuánto aventaja al arte
La fiel naturaleza.
El cambray delicado,
Avaro y cruel, intenta
Cubrir el blanco pecho,
Tesoro de belleza,
Y en parte lo consigue,
Pero á la vista deja
Dos breves hemisferios
De nieve, que le afrentan.
De la breve cintura
Airosamente cuelgan
Los lienzos que á los ojos
Roban mejor Elena.

As regards the description of women in his poems, these are Fray Diego's most explicit lines. According to Cueto, Fray Diego "anteponia siempre las prendas del alma á las perfecciones corporales"; as evidence, Cueto cites the following excerpt from Fray Diego's

correspondence:

Siento (escribe á Jovellanos en 1778) que Vm no viese en Cádiz á la fiel Mirta. Ciertamente no hubiera Vm. visto una Vénus, sin embargo de que nada tiene de despreciable su figura; pero al ménos hallaría un alma digna de ser amada, encerrada en un cuerpo lleno de modestia y compostura; prendas que le granjearon todo el amor de Delio, quien aborrece toda mujer que no se recomienda á sus ojos por medio de tales prendas.³³

Delio speaks of Lisi, malagueña, as being possessed of "singular fineza"; she is, therefore, worthy of his love. But, as the above lines indicate, Delio was not insensible of Lisi's "perfecciones corporales." Indeed, Father Fernández de Rojas records that Delio was of a loving nature and that he acknowledged feminine beauty where he saw it. Father Fernández prefaces his remarks about Delio with a general statement on the irresistible force of beauty and virtue:

Toda la filosofía de Epicteto, todos los esfuerzos de la tristeza y ~~el rigor se desvanecen~~ y quedan inertes en presencia de un colorido virginal y de unos ojos brillantes, significativos y modestos.

El maestro Gonzalez no era de aquellos espíritus melancólicos y sombríos que desconocen lo amable de la virtud y lo maravilloso de las obras del Criador, porque se halle empleado en el sexo femenino. Amó cuanto conoció que era amable, porque era bueno, y procuró celebrar con sus versos los dones celestiales que admiró en alguna que otra belleza, pero en unos versos tan puros y castos como su alma.³⁴

Delio, then, was susceptible to the charms of feminine beauty and he praised it in his poems, but usually at a distance. His love poems are addressed to Mirta in Cádiz, to Melisa in Seville, to one Lisi in Alcalá, and to another in Málaga. It may have been Fray Diego's own choice to absent himself personally from the women of his poems, at

³³Cueto, op. cit., p. CIX, n. 3.

³⁴Fray Juan Fernández de Rojas, "Noticias del M. Gonzalez," Poesias del M. Fr. Diego Gonzalez (Madrid, 1812), n.p.

the same time that he lamented his absence from them and celebrated their beauty and virtue in writing. At any rate, his poems are as innocent as Liseno says they are, or at least as innocent as Liseno transmitted them to future readers.

In the thirteenth stanza of this poem to Lisi, malagueña, Delio makes the same comparison that he made in the opening stanza of his birthday song to Lisi in Alcalá: the sun has never risen more beautifully nor gracefully than did Lisi when she rose from her bed to wave farewell to Delio (lines 51-54):

Nunca la fresca aurora
Se levantó tan bella
A desterrar las sombras
De la noche funesta ...

In these lines, the poet establishes a link between both poems through the use of the same metaphor and even some of the same words; having done this, consciously or unconsciously, the poet then re-introduces the Classical theme which opened the poem (lines 55-62):

Jamás la blanca Tétis
Cumplió su anual promesa
Al sepulcro de Aquiles
Con tanta gentileza;
Como por dar á Delio
La vista postrimera
Salió del lecho Lisi.
¡Oh Musa, si la vieras!

Again, as in his poem to the other Lisi, the poet balances his negative comparison by the use of the synonyms jamás and nunca. Unfortunately, the poet continues, Lisi does not see Delio; she returns to bed and Delio leaves Málaga, ignorant of Lisi's appearance at her window (lines 71-74):

Lisi se vuelve al lecho;
Delio triste se aleja,

Entónces ignorante
De tamaña fineza.

If Delio was unaware of Lisi's farewell gesture, the reader must ask, on what is Delio's earlier description of Lisi based? Such a niggling question, though not important to the ultimate success or failure of the poem, must also have occurred to the poet, for he goes on to explain (lines 75-80):

Mas luégo noticioso,
Siente al doble la ausencia,
Se queja de su suerte,
Blasfema de su estrella,
Y al aire vago esparce
Tristísimas endechas.

The last three quatrains are appended to this poem according to a formula established by Fray Diego in several other songs (lines 81-92):

Vé á Málaga volando,
Mi dulce cantilena,
Y goza la ventura
Que á tu amor se le niega.
Y si logras la dicha
De llegar á las bellas
Manos de Lisi hermosa,
Mil veces se las besa;
Y vuelve luégo, luégo.
A traerme las nuevas,
Alegres, si te acoge,
Tristes, si te deshecha.

In the 1812 and 1817 editions, line 82 reads "cantinela" rather than "cantilena"; the change, by whatever hand, may have been made to avoid the unfavorable connotation of "cantinela," that is, the tiresome carping on one subject. Given the basic sameness of Fray Diego's love poetry, and the fact that several of his love lyrics are subtitled "Canción," the variant "cantilena" is clearly the preferred reading: it means song or ballad and it shuns the suggestion of monotony

implicit in "cantinela."

Another interesting change occurs earlier in the poem, in line 15: the BAE reading is "Yacia en blanco lecho"; the 1812 and 1817 editions read "blando lecho." This change is significant because it involves the relationship of Fray Diego to the women mentioned in his poems. In the earlier editions, both lines 15 and 19 read "blando lecho"; line 15 was consequently changed for the BAE edition to read "blanco," presumably to introduce the element of pureness that is traditionally associated with the color white. "Blando" is patently undesirable since it conveys the connotation of sensual comfort and voluptuousness. Once this suggestion of sensuality was dispelled in line 15, line 19, "En blando lechô estaba," could remain as originally written. Should any doubt remain, however, the impression of pureness is reinforced by line 31, "Salta del casto lecho," and by the term "doncella" in line 34.

"A la quemadura del dedo de Filis" (p. 203). It has already been noted that, in keeping with his vocation, Fray Diego had frequent recourse to dreams, visions, and parables in his poetry in order to make a point; for example, in the eclogue "Delio y Mirta," the poet recounts the story of the lost lamb. It was also noted that the appeal of Fray Diego's parable lay in the simplicity of its story and the directness of its language. In "A la quemadura del dedo de Filis," Fray Diego again resorts to the device of an illustrative story within the larger framework of a poem. In the case of this poem to Filis, the framework is contrived and self-consciously precious, while the narrative itself is rapid and almost conversational in its naturalness.

There are twenty-one quatrains composed of seven-syllable lines; the rhyme scheme throughout is in e-a. The first six and one half stanzas and the last two form the envelope for the story within the poem; the first three quatrains are typical of the préciosité of the envelope:

El caso que ha pasado
 Contigo, Filis bella,
 Por más que tú lo afirmes,
 No es fácil que lo crea.
 ¿Cómo podrá creerse
 Tan extraña quimera
 Cual es el que á la nieve
 El fuego abrasa y quema?
 Pues tanta repugnancia
 El caso representa
 De que á uno de tus dedos
 La llama se le atreva ...

The poet insists upon referring to the incident of Filis' burned finger as a caso; this he does five time, then once more as "tal cosa." This repetition is monotonous, and the insistence upon one word, followed by the obvious play on caso-cosa, gives the framework of the poem a forced cleverness. By contrast, Fray Diego's narrative skill is evident in his story about Cupid's finger (lines 27-76):

Escucha, Filis mia,
 El caso que se cuenta
 Del hijo de la diosa
 Que en Pafo y Gnido reina.
 Dejando á un lado el arco,
 La aljaba y las saetas,
 Cogiendo andaba flores
 Cupido en una selva.
 Vido una fresca rosa
 Que la prision estrecha
 Del capullo rompía,
 Esparciendo bellezas.
 Cortóla, y en su centro
 Vió una officiosa abeja,
 Que dulce miel libaba
 Y la dorada cera.

Tomóla por las alas
 El niño incauto, y ella
 El aguijon esgrima
 Con tanta violencia,
 Que en uno de sus dedos
 Clavado se lo deja.
 Con el dolor insano
 El tierno dios se queja,
 Turbando con sus llores
 Los cielos y la tierra.
 Volando por los aires
 Con voces lastimeras
 Fué en busca de su madre;
 Y puesto en su presencia,
 Con tiernos puchericos
 Le cuenta su tragedia.
 Mas la prudente diosa,
 Entre tierna y risueña,
 Le dice: "Aprende, hijo,
 A usar de más clemencia
 Con los flacos mortales,
 Que imperioso atormentas.
 "Pues si la leve punta
 De una mosca pequeña
 Te causa tanto daño,
 Que el dolor te enajena,
 "¿Qué sentirán los hombres
 Cuando de tus saetas,
 Del duro arco enviadas,
 Penetrados se vean?"
 Desde entónces Cupido
 En su daño escarmienta,
 Y hiere ménos veces
 O con ménos fiereza.

Fray Diego's purpose in recounting this story to Filis is to point out that she, too, should be more merciful: if Cupid's pricked finger taught him to be more indulgent toward the victims of his own arrows, Filis' burned finger should teach her to be more indulgent toward those whom she burns and torments with her eyes. This is the moral of the story, as the poet points out in the last two stanzas (lines 77-84):

Así tú, ó más piadosa
 Ya desde hoy te nos muestra [3]
 Con los que de tus ojos
 Abrasan y tormentan;

O el caso que ha pasado
 Contigo, Filis bella,
 Por más que tú lo afirmes,
 No es fácil que lo crea.

Perhaps due to a misprint, the last word of line 78 appears as "muestra" in the BAE edition. And lines 79 and 80 should read "Con los que tus dos ojos / Abrasan y tormentan"; the preposition "de" does not fit in with the sense of the two lines which, in any case, should repeat lines 21 and 22, as they do in the 1812 and 1817 editions.

This brief story about Cupid's finger is provocative and full of interest for a number of reasons. As befits a story dealing with a child, even a god-child, there is present here an element of tenderness and vulnerability that appeals to the protective instinct of the adult. This element is provided by the ingenuousness of the child who, ~~ignorant~~ of the danger, picks up a bee in its bare hands; by the use of such phrases as "el niño incauto," "el dolor insano," "el tierno dios," "sus lloros," "voces lastimeras," "en busca de su madre," "tiernos puchericos," and "su tragedia." To all this, the poet adds the characterization of the child's mother more as a benevolent parent than as an awesome deity--"Entre tierna y risueña." Furthermore, Venus is shown as indulgent and merciful toward mortals; this view does not accord with the traditional view of Venus as a jealous and vengeful goddess. Indeed, so benevolent and smiling is the goddess of love in this parable that a parallel could be drawn between the role of Venus as an intercessor for mankind and the Catholic view of the Virgin Mary. Such a parallel could even be extended to the wounded son and to the blood that he shed. This is not to say that Fray Diego's intention was to draw such a parallel, but rather that, to the Christian, and

particularly to the Catholic sensibility, such a parallel might easily suggest itself. The poet's explanation of how Cupid came to be more merciful toward his mortal victims seems also to have a folkloric element; that is, it ingeniously explains a mysterious phenomenon in the same way that folk tales explain in simple terms the natural and supernatural worlds. The Classical myth and the poet's reworking of that myth both have the same purpose: to give an understandable and human basis to one of literature's most abiding concerns--the role of love in men's lives.

V. Satiric poetry.

"El digamos, ó el amor, de Mireo" (p. 202). In a note accompanying this poem, Cueto comments upon the nature of these lines from Fray Diego to his friend and co-religionist, Fray Miguel de Miras in Seville:

Esta es una de esas composiciones de poesía íntima y familiar que pierden el interes y una parte de su donaire, pasada la oportunidad. Está dirigida al padre Miras, á quien Fray Diego Gonzalez escribia casi siempre en tono chancero. La publicamos ahora, siguiendo, en parte, el manuscrito que envió el mismo Fray Diego á Jovellanos.³⁵

The occasion for the poem is Fray Miguel de Miras' falling in love with a Sevillian lady who is known in the poem by the pastoral name of Trudina. Father Miras had apparently scoffed at love as being unworthy of a reasonable man and had laughed at Meléndez Valdés and Fray Diego for their infatuation with Ciparis and Mirta, respectively. It should be remembered that Father Miras was a contertuliano of the magistrate Jovellanos at the tertulia of Don Pablo de Olavide in Seville and presumably was aware of Jovellanos' misgivings about the absolute value

³⁵Cueto, op. cit., p. 202, n. 1.

of amorous poetry; Father Miras may even have agreed with Jovellanos and communicated his feelings to the Parnaso in Salamanca. At any rate, in "El digamos," Fray Diego satirizes Father Miras for having been so rash as to scorn love. As noted by Cueto, this is light verse, with no apparent pretensions at profundity; yet, these festive lines can still be enjoyed, for the most part, because of the poet's delight at the discomfiture of the pedant.

Father Miras' pastoral name, Mireo, sets the pattern for the rhyme scheme of all twenty-four quatrains, in which the even lines rhyme in e-o. The length of the lines is seven syllables. As was the case with "A la quemadura del dedo de Filis," the first and last parts of this poem are of lesser interest than the middle part, which contains the anecdote of Cupid's revenge upon Mireo. Cueto's editing may account for the numerous variations between the BAE and the 1812 and 1817 editions. In the latter, the poem is entitled "El digamos de Mireo"; there are no italics as in the BAE, where the word digamos is italicized every time that it occurs in the poem. The title derives from the fact that "digamos" occurs fifteen times in the text, eight times as the beginning of a line; for example, the first two quatrains read:

Digamos, blanda Musa,
Digamos de Mireo,
Digamos el fracaso,
Digamos el suceso.
 De Mireo y Cupido
Digamos y cantemos,
 Del uno la venganza,
 Del otro el escarmiento.

In the next two quatrains, the poet invites the Muse to join him in celebrating the triumph of Cupid over Mireo,

Filósofo severo,
 Que amar juzgó delito
 Ajeno de hombre cuerdo;
 ... aquel que motejaba
 Con risa el embeleso
 De Batilo en Cipáris,
 Y en Mirta el de su Delio.

Line 15 reads "De Batilo en Filena" in the 1812 and 1817 editions; of the two pastoral names, Filena and Ciparis, the latter is the name more often associated with Meléndez, both in the correspondence between the Salamancan poets and in Meléndez' own poems.

From line 18 on, the numbering differs between editions, since lines 18, 19, and 20 (BAE) do not appear in the 1812 and 1817 editions. Lines 17 through 21 (BAE) read:

Digamos cómo un día
 El dios alado y tierno
 Tomó justa venganza
 Del estoico Mireo,
 Que en la orilla del Bétis ...

In the 1812 and 1817 editions, lines 17-19 read:

Digamos cómo un día
 Pensativo y severo
 Por la orilla del Bétis ...

The poet recounts that Mireo, while reflecting philosophically upon nature's secrets, meets Trudina on the shores of the Guadalquivir. Trudina is for the philosopher's contemplation "materia más noble" in the 1812 and 1817 editions; in the BAE, she is "materia hermosa" (line 27). An apparent misprint in the next line is corrected as the BAE prints "su empezado intento" for "tu empezado intento," which would make "tu" refer to "blanda Musa" and distort the sense of the passage. The reference is to Mireo's intention of discovering nature's hidden causes and effects. As analogous to Mireo's fate, the poet cites the

case of another sage, "Observador protervo," who scaled Mount Vesuvius in order to understand its mysteries and find the cause of its flaming eruptions (lines 38-40):

Y averiguar queriendo
Del incendio la causa,
Pereció en el incendio ...

In a like manner, Mireo, contemplating the perfections of the peerless Trudina (lines 47-48),

Paróse a ver la causa
Del bello fenómeno.

This, for Mireo, is a mortal error, for here Cupid exacts his revenge from the stoic philosopher (lines 53-68):

Le disparó una flecha,
Y atravesado el pecho,
Sobre la verde grama
Cayó el triste Mireo.
Y el dios, no bien vengado,
Tomó un solo cabello
De la madeja hermosa
De la pastora, y presto
Le ató de piés y manos,
Y con burla y desprecio
Se lo entregó á Trudina
Como manso cordero.
Y dando carcajadas,
Volvióse el niño al cielo
A consolar la pena
Del corazon materno.

There is a minor disagreement between editions in the printing of the last line: the 1812 and 1817 editions read "Del cuidado materno." A more significant difference exists in lines 75 and 76 of the BAE: seeing the hapless Mireo in the bonds of love, the shepherds and shepherdesses come out of the forest to celebrate in dance and song this new triumph of Cupid (lines 73-76):

Ellas forman mil corros,
De las manos asiendo,

Y airosamente danzan,
Hollando el prado ameno.

The last two lines in the 1812 and 1817 editions read:

Y ayrosamente mueven
Los bien tallados cuerpos.

This change between editions shifts the emphasis from the "bien tallados cuerpos" of the shepherdesses to the "prado ameno"; the former reading would seem to be too direct a reference to the body. The shepherds, for their part, sing "Muchos discretos versos," which convey the moral of the story about Cupid and Mireo (lines 81-82, BAE):

Nadie el amor rehuya,
Ni burle de su imperio ...

The 1812 and 1817 editions warn

Nadie de amor se burle,
Ni rehuya su imperio ...

Without reference to all editions of Fray Diego's poetry and to the manuscripts, it cannot be said to whom all these changes are due. In his accompanying note, Cueto advises that he is following the poet's manuscript only in part. Father Fernández de Rojas may have made some changes in order that he might present Fray Diego's works "purificadas y netas," as he says. Whatever the case, and apart from the argument of the poem, "El digamos" presents a particular problem insofar as establishing a text is concerned. All the changes between editions, by whatever hand, make this poem interesting both as a textual problem and as an example of Fray Diego's satirical style.

"A un orador contrahecho, zazoso y satírico" (p. 196). Before considering Fray Diego's scathing satire on an anonymous preacher, it would be well to ask whether Fray Diego was qualified to censure so

severely another's oratorical style. The question might also be asked whether Fray Diego looked upon the object of his satire as a rival in the field of religious oratory; though this question cannot now be answered with any certainty, it can be assumed on the basis of contemporary testimony that Fray Diego was free of pettiness and was incapable of envious slander. As to his qualifications, we have the testimony of Meléndez Valdés that Delio was an eloquent and inspiring orator. In a letter to Jovellanos, dated at Segovia, July 11, 1778, Meléndez writes:

Nuestro dulce Delio predicó en dias pasados un sermon al Sacramento, cosa de su ingenio, muy delicada y muy devota; pero no ha habido forma de podérselo sacar para la prensa, ni los ruegos de sus amigos, ni las súplicas de los mayordomos han podido nada con él: yo le compruse con este motivo esa cancion, que sólo tiene bueno el afecto que la dictó.³⁶

Following are excerpts from the ode that Meléndez composed in Fray Diego's honor, "por su excelente y devotísimo sermon del Sacramento":

... tu hablar peregrino,
 Delio, con fervoroso y santo intento
 Nos llevó hasta el divino
 Amor, que el Sacramento
 Humilla á jamas visto abatimiento!
 El velo descorriste
 Que nuestra flaca vista detenia,
 Y al ojo nos pusiste
 Lo que la fe sentia,
 Mas que el dañado corazon no via.
 Y ora tu fervorosa
 Voz nuestro tibio pecho lastimára;
 Ora, más amorosa,
 Su flaqueza alentára,
 Y en pos de sí á la gloria nos guiára;

 ¡Oh! de contino suene
 Tu acento en mis orejas, Delio amado,
 Que á par que me enajene

³⁶Meléndez Valdés, "Cartas inéditas de Meléndez Valdés á Jovellanos," BAE 63, pp. 81-82.

Rompa el yugo pesado
 Do aún gime este mi pecho, mal su grado.
 Taparé á las livianas
 Palabras de los hombres el oído,
 Y á sus promesas vanas,
 Por poder desprendido
 Seguir tus huellas, de tu ardor movido.³⁷

Father Fernández de Rojas, in his biography of Fray Diego, mentions both Delio's sermon on the Sacrament and Meléndez' ode in honor of that sermon:

Tanto en la cátedra como en el púlpito era oído con gusto, y muchas veces con admiración. En Salamanca predicó un sermón del Santísimo Sacramento con tal unción y elocuencia, que, arrebatado el inmortal Batilo, uno de los oyentes, de su entusiasmo, escribió aquella oda que comienza: Tal de la boca de oro, etc.; una de las mejores de este grande ingenio, que á un mismo tiempo hace honor al orador y al poeta.³⁸

And Cueto cites a letter from Fray Diego to Jovellanos as evidence of Fray Diego's care in composing his sermon and his modesty with regard to its success:

De este elocuente sermón, que llenó de fervoroso entusiasmo á sus oyentes y causó gran sensación en Salamanca, dió noticia Fray Diego Gonzalez á Jovellanos en estos llanos y modestos términos, que ponen de manifiesto el conflicto de un alma humilde y timorata ante arduos deberes y graves empeños:

"Me he hallado en el mayor apuro para disponer un sermón, que es aquí de mucho empeño, y lo ha sido mucho más para mí, por haber pasado algunos años sin predicar, y haber, de consiguiente, perdido el númen de hacer sermones, que en otros tiempos eran toda mi delicia ... Ayer, día 19, le eché de mí, á aún no me he satisfecho de respirar de la opresión en que me puso la dificultad que hallé en su composición ... "³⁹

It is clear, then, that Fray Diego looked upon preaching as a grave responsibility and that he took pains in the composition of his sermons.

³⁷Meléndez Valdés, Poesías, BAE 63, pp. 248-249.

³⁸Juan Fernández de Rojas, "Noticias del M. Gonzalez," n. p.

³⁹Cueto, op. cit., p. 177, n. 3.

Because Meléndez indicates in his ode that Fray Diego was an inspiring speaker, both as regards doctrine and oratorical style, Delio's satire on the lisping and deformed preacher can best be appreciated if it is compared to Meléndez' praise and if it is also considered on the basis of what we already know about Fray Diego.

Botijo con bonete clerical,
 Que viertes la doctrina á borbollon,
 Falto de voz, de afectos, de emocion;
 Lleno de furia, ardor y ódio fatal;
 La cólera y despique por igual
 Dividen en dos partes tu sermon,
 Que, por tosco, punzante y sin sazón,
 Debieras predicárselo á un zarzal.
 ¿Qué prendas de orador en tí se ven?
 Zazoso acento, gesto pastoril,
 El metal de la voz cual de sarten,
 Tono uniforme cual de tamboril.
 Para orador te faltan más de cien;
 Para arador te sobran más de mil.

Delio's orator is deformed, possibly humpbacked, lisping, and satirical or sarcastic; he looks like an earthen jug capped by a priest's bonnet. Fray Diego, by contrast, was lean--emaciated, even; his portrait makes him look ascetic. Delio's preacher gushes doctrine; according to Father Fernández de Rojas, Fray Diego taught by example rather than by recrimination. Meléndez indicates that Fray Diego varied the tone of his voice to fit the tenor of his words; his voice is "ora ... fervorosa ... ora, más amorosa." On the other hand, Delio's preacher has a poor voice, a metallic monotone, and a lisp (as in "Zazoso ácento"). These do not constitute the preacher's worst faults, however; worse than his voice and manner is the spiteful rancor of his words. While Delio may amuse himself by satirizing the anonymous preacher's shape and voice, he is not amused by the preacher's lack of charity. He suggests that the preacher is inspired as much by personal pique

as by divine revelation. In this connection, it should be noted that where the BAE prints "Falto de voz, de afectos, de emocion," the 1812 and 1817 editions print "Falto ... de mocion," which could mean lacking in movement and gestures in the pulpit or lacking in divine inspiration.

Like the preacher's sermon, Fray Diego's sonnet is divided in two parts: that part dealing merely with the unfortunate preacher's physical appearance and that part dealing with the preacher's total lack of vocation. Thus, while this sonnet may amuse by its ingenious invective, it is at bottom a serious condemnation of charlatans in the pulpit. In this respect, it has a thematic connection with another eighteenth-century work, also by a cleric, Fray Gerundio de Campazas, by Isla.

"Censura de unos sonetos acrósticos" (p. 196). Among the poetasters of Fray Diego's time, there were those whose stock-in-trade was, as seen earlier, "sonetos retrógrados y con eco, de rima encadenada y esdrújula, acrósticos y pentacrósticos, laberintos y ensaladas." Luzán, in his Poética, had railed against versifiers who thus distorted the aims of poetry. Fray Diego, too, condemns those sonneteers who rely on visual novelty and exotic rhyme schemes in order to achieve their effect; to ridicule them he uses, not another sonnet, but an octava real, that is, a stanza of eight eleven-syllable lines rhyming ABABABCC.

Esos versos que ves tan adornados
No son efecto, Mirta, de gran ciencia;
Por pintor, no poeta, son formados,
Más que obra de talento, de paciencia;
Y aunque, hácia várias partes ordenados,
Siempre tienen su cierta inteligencia,
Y forman con sus letras mil juguetes,
No son sonetos, sino sonsonetes.

While he concedes that these acrostic sonnets have "cierta inteligencia," Fray Diego dismisses them as lacking in content. These sonnets are, in a word, "adornados," more the effect of patience than of talent. As in his satire on the lisping preacher, Fray Diego concludes with a play on words: it is as though, in his last line, he were borrowing a page from those whom he wishes to satirize. In the previous poem, he played on the words orador-arador; in this poem, he plays on the words sonetos-sonsonetes. Fray Diego's poem is itself a juguete, but the criticism he makes of acrostic sonnets is nonetheless valid.

"A una pintura confusa de la gloria" (p. 196). Although there is no indication that Fray Diego himself painted, painting was one of his major interests, as will be seen from various poetic statements by Fray Diego on the fine arts. In the case of this octava real, the poet criticizes the lack of order and focus in a painting of angels amid the splendors of heaven. The poet makes no criticism of the painting on religious grounds, but rather on purely esthetic grounds, since the general confusion of the painting offends his eye and does not in any way inspire religious contemplation.

Una rara vision, que representa
 Un conjunto de várias confusiones,
 En color de azafran y de pimienta,
 Donde, á costa de muchas atenciones,
 Sólo nota la vista más atenta
 Manos, patas, cabezas, piés y alones,
 ¿Por qué motivo se ha de llamar gloria?
 ¿No era mejor llamarla pepitoria?

The poem begins in a straightforward manner: "Una rara vision ..."; such a beginning would not be amiss in a serious poem on a serious

painting. But the painting, by its confusion, fails as a serious work; accordingly, the poet moves from apparent seriousness to ridicule. He mocks the painting for its contradiction, "Un conjunto de ... confusiones," and not just one confusion, but several. The dominant colors are black and a garish saffron. And rather than angels, the attentive viewer sees only hands, feet, heads, and naked wings. The terms patas and alones (the plucked wings of fowls), preclude any sober interpretation of the painting as a study of angels and provide the poet with the basis for his final taunt: that the painting should be called a pepitoria, meaning both a medley of diverse objects and a chicken fricassee.

"A una señora que se quejaba de que hubiesen tratado á otra ~~antes que á ella~~" (p. 201). These décimas are an apparent attempt to mollify a lady who is suffering from a fit of pique because she has been spurned in favor of another; they are also the poet's ingenious attempt to extricate himself from the possible consequences of the lady's jealous wrath.

Si un caminante penára
De sed, y junto al camino,
Por acaso peregrino,
Una fuentecilla hallára,
Y no siendo la más clara
El agua, bebiera aquí,
Aunque no léjos de allí
Otra mejor agua hubiera,
¿Extrañáras que bebiera?
Pues esto me pasa á mí.
Si un infeliz naufragára,
Y á una tabla que encontrase,
Gustoso la mano echase,
Y así la vida salvára,
¿Hubiera quien lo extrañára,
Ni juzgára frenesí
Porque tal vez por allí

Pasar un barco pudiera,
Que al puerto le condujera?
Pues esto me pasa á mí.

The poet suggests to the lady that if she was spurned in favor of a lesser rival, it was only because the thirsty traveler, the unhappy shipwreck, as it were, availed himself of whatever relief was immediately at hand, not knowing that by so doing he forfeited a greater prize. Such rationalization is meant to appease and flatter: the lady is, of course, "Otra mejor agua" and the ship that could have conducted the shipwrecked sailor to a safe haven. For her part, the lady may derive some comfort from the knowledge that the sailor, though saved, is conscious now of his lost opportunity. Thus consoled, and her pride soothed, the lady may now break her silence and match the poet's ingenuity, if she can. The poet concludes,

Ya os he dicho lo bastante
En comparaciones dos:
Hablad, Señora, por Dios;
Que ese silencio me abrasa.
Eso es lo que á mí me pasa;
Decid lo que os pasa á vos.

VI. On the arts.

"A las nobles artes" (pp. 185-186). Structurally, this ode is composed of ten stanzas: the first three are directed to virtue, used here to mean inspiration and love of beauty, rather than virtue in the moral sense; then follow two stanzas each to the noble arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture; in the final stanza, the poet addresses his own poetic impulse. Nine stanzas consist of thirteen seven- and eleven-syllable lines; the rhyme scheme, divided here for purposes of illustration, is abC abCc deeD ff. The fifth stanza is imperfect in

that one line is apparently missing; in this stanza, the rhyme scheme is abC abCc de-D fF.

The tone of "A las nobles artes" is appreciably different from that of the preceding amorous and satirical compositions; in tone it is more like Fray Diego's civic poetry and shares with it a patriotic concern for national progress. In the first stanza, the poet assures virtue that past folly and indolence are now forgotten (lines 1-13):

Levanta ya del suelo
El rostro lagrimoso,
Virtud, hija del cielo, dón divino;
Y recobra el consuelo,
Que ciego y alevoso
Te robó el ya pasado desatino;
Que el áspero camino
Por do sigue á la gloria,
Y á tu morada guía,
Emprenden á porfía
Mil jóvenes, borrando la memoria
Del vil ocio indolente
En que yaciera la española gente.

References within the poem are vague at best: to what time in the past, for example, does "el ya pasado desatino" refer, to the eighteenth century or to the preceding century? And to what indolence is the poet referring to in the phrase "vil ocio indolente"? The same general tone of condemnation with respect to a former time continues in the second stanza; here, however, the moralistic tone plus the convoluted syntax render the sense of the stanza inaccessible on first reading. Lines 14-26, paraphrased, read as follows:

El ánimo, aguijado más de tu rara belleza (tú = virtud) que del prometido rico tesoro, sacude la pereza y condena el siglo corrompido, que el honor de tus artes ha manchado con gusto depravado, y redarguye los pasados errores con mil bellos primores, que el usurpado honor las restituye (las = les, a las artes), y ofrece a los umbrales de tu templo mil obras inmortales.

Basically, the poet contrasts here the "pasado desatino" and the

promise implicit in the works of the "mil jóvenes" in the first stanza; the terms of the contrast are "pereza" (corresponding to the "vil ocio indolente" of the first stanza), "el siglo corrompido," "manchado," "gusto depravado," "pasados errores," and "usurpado honor" versus "rara belleza," "rico tesoro," "el honor de tus artes," "mil bellos primores," and "mil obras inmortales." The works of these young artists, continues the poet, are like the small grain that scarcely fills the beak of a small bird, yet grows to a great height and ultimately gives shelter to many birds. In a like manner (lines 34-39),

... las diseñadas
Obras menudamente
Por la asociada gente
En breve carta tienen encerradas
Grandezas, cuya suma
No la alcanza la lengua ni la pluma.

The question suggested by this passage involves the identity of "la asociada gente"; perhaps the reference is to groups of young artists associated by a like esthetic creed, the younger members of the Salamanca group, for example, or to other groups modeled on the Academia del Buen Gusto of earlier in the century.

Whatever the case, the poet shifts emphasis abruptly from "las diseñadas obras" to a general consideration of the noble arts. Fray Diego's stanzas on painting betray a view of art that is based, as will be seen later, on false logical premises and on physical impossibilities. The crux of the dilemma is in Fray Diego's view of art as a faithful and exact imitation of nature. Lines 40-52 read:

De la madre natura
Los seres desmayados
A más sublime estado los levantas,
¡Oh divina Pintura!
Y al lienzo trasladados,

Instruyes la razon, la vista encantas
 Y así el aire suplantas
 De la verdad que imitas,
 Que con los coloridos
 Por su mano ofrecidos,
 Tambien el sér parece que la quitas, [la = le]
 Tanto, que si advirtiera
 La usurpacion, colores no te diera.

Basic to the poet's idea of painting is that natural objects, wan and lustreless, are elevated to a more sublime state, that nature is supplanted or surpassed, by painting. The painting, rather than nature itself, instructs reason. The final lines of this stanza express one of Fray Diego's favorite notions: that art can be so exact a copy of nature that nature itself will react to it as if it were real. Such a notion is patently false--a picture of an object is not the object and nature cannot react in any personified manner to even the best imitations--; but Fray Diego will state it in other poems as well. In the fifth stanza, the poet elaborates upon the superiority of art over nature (lines 53-64):

En superficie lisa,
 Sin que causen aumento
 Colocar valles, montes, selvas, rios,
 A distancia precisa,
 Accion sin movimiento; [1812, 1817: movimientos]
 Fondos, lejos, alturas y vacíos;
 La mar de sus navíos
 Separar, y la tierra
 Del globo refulgente,
 Y sombra que la luz nunca destierra,
 Jamas logró natura;
 ¡Sólo es dón tuyo, celestial Pintura!

An observation such as "sombra que la luz nunca destierra" would seem to be purely gratuitous: it is obvious that the natural light of day does not and cannot exile the darkness of night within a painting. Yet this very idea will be the basis of another poem by Fray Diego.

And references to precise distances, backgrounds, and perspectives indicate that the poet's eye is focused more on technique than on the idea of the painting. More incisive is the line "Accion sin movimiento": here, the poet acknowledges the suspension of movement in art; that, though the painting lacks movement, it is not static.

Sculpture, too, has the power to suspend and eternize movement and to infuse mute stone with life (lines 72-86):

... ¡oh Escultura!
 Por tí son conservados
 Los héroes celebrados
 De la virtud, cuando la muerte dura
 Los reduce á ceniza,
 Y tu diestro cincel los eterniza.
 La ninfa desdeñosa,
 En leño convertida,
 Huyendo del amor de Apolo ardiente,
 Con accion prodigiosa
 Recobra nueva vida
 Por la escultura, y mano diligente,
 Que poderosamente
 Tambien anima el bruto
 Mármol con igual arte ...

Mankind's heroes of virtue (used now in the moral sense) are preserved, as it were, and immortalized in stone; such preservation, however, is not static, but rather "accion prodigiosa" that gives new life to the subject and to the stone in which it is carved. Sculpture, then, shares with painting the attribute of being able forever to suspend and perpetuate action. Perhaps man's best expression of this phenomenon of suspended action is John Keats' "Ode on a Grecian Urn"; the following lines can be applied to Fray Diego's Daphne and Apollo:

Bold Lover, never, never canst thou kiss,
 Though winning near the goal--yet do not grieve;
 She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss,
 Forever wilt thou love, and she be fair!

Architecture, the last of the noble arts addressed in this ode,

has more a social and religious function than a purely artistic one; it comes to the aid of man, who might otherwise still be living in primitive shelters, establishes cities, and stabilizes societies (lines 91-103):

Bajo el olmo frondoso,
 O en la caverna oscura,
 O en choza humilde, el hombre habitaria,
 Sin tu auxilio piadoso,
 ¡Oh sabia Arquitectura!
 Tú le elevas al cielo, y la vacía
 Region, que no podia,
 Huella con firme planta.
 Tú, fundando ciudades,
 Fijas las sociedades,
 Por tí el régio palacio se levanta
 A dar cuidado al cielo
 Y eterno peso al carpetano suelo.

One line is not in harmony with this straightforward appraisal of architecture; that line is "A dar cuidado al cielo," which injects into this stanza a jarring note of exaggeration and personification. In a syllogistic process that will be seen again and again, the poet suggests that the heavens themselves will react in fear to the grand accomplishments of art or artifice, in this case architecture. More successful is the stanza dedicated to the religious function of architecture, which is to unite finite man and an infinite God in a defined setting (lines 104-116):

Al Dios que tierra y cielo
 Ni espacio imaginable
 Pueden ceñir, en todo ilimitado,
 Tú con devoto celo
 Y mano infatigable
 Eriges templo augusto, do adorado
 Del pueblo, ante él postrado,
 Recibe sacrificio;
 ¡Ah! el que en verdad le implora,
 Le encuentra á toda hora
 En él, tan amoroso, tan propicio,
 Liberal y clemente,
 Como si allí habitára solamente.

Fray Diego's religious devotion imbues this stanza; indeed, the last five lines are oratorical in style and suggest the poetic fervor of a sermon, a sermon based on love of a benevolent God, rather than one based on "furia, ardor y ódio fatal ... cólera y despique," as was the sermon by Delio's lisping and deformed preacher.

"A las nobles artes" ends with a modest disclaimer which is partly conventional and partly an indication of the poet's diffidence as regards his own poetic powers (lines 117-129):

Incauta lira mia,
Sólo á humildes cantares
En la márgen del Tórmes avezada,
¿Quién te infundió osadía
Para que en Manzanares
Cantes cosa tan nueva y elevada?
¡Ay! deja la empezada
Locura; que no es dado
A tus débiles puntos
Tratar estos asuntos,
Y más, cuando hasta el cielo los ha alzado,
Con verso más divino,
De otras liras el canto peregrino.

From his reference to the River Manzanares, it can be inferred that Fray Diego was in Madrid at the time that this poem was written. It can also be inferred that this poem was written after Fray Diego felt the stirrings of conscience about his earlier amorous verse. Thus, "cosa tan nueva y elevada" and, from his own modest point of view, "la empezada locura" would reflect Fray Diego's attempt to dedicate his song to the lofty subjects recommended to him by Jovellanos. The latter had recommended "moral filosofía" and "grave estilo" as fit for Delio's lyre. Fray Diego's disavowal of "humildes cantares" ultimately worked to his detriment: his "débiles puntos" were indeed more suited to festive and amorous themes than to grave subjects.

"Pintura deseada" (p. 201). This décima did not appear in the 1812 or 1817 editions of Fray Diego's poetry. It is written in praise of Mirta's beauty and could therefore be included among Delio's amorous compositions, but the emphasis of the poem is less on Mirta's beauty itself than on the conditions that must be met in order to paint her portrait. Delio's compliment to Mirta lies in the fact that he exaggerates these conditions beyond all reason. Because of this, "Pintura deseada" tells us more about Fray Diego's ideas on art than about Mirta herself.

Si la efigie verdadera
De Mirta se ha de formar,
Debe el cielo aparejar
Todo el lienzo de su esfera.
Es preciso que el sol diera
Sus rayos para pinceles,
Color sus virtudes fieles,
Su grande prudencia el tiento,
Digna idea su talento,
La mano el supremo Apéles.

In these lines, Fray Diego does not touch on the essence of art in general or of painting in particular; rather, he concerns himself more with the apparatus of painting, which is seen here as a craft in which the painter's maulstick figures as prominently as does color. The terms "efigie verdadera," "virtudes fieles," "grande prudencia," and "el supremo Apéles" favor the academician rather than the genius, the artisan rather than the intuitive artist. Apeles was a Greek painter (4th century, B. C.) who lived at court and is known now only for his portrait of Alexander the Great. It is significant that Fray Diego should grant supremacy in painting to Apeles, yet make no mention anywhere of Goya, who was his contemporary.

"A la noche, pintada por J. Vernet" (p. 201). Joseph Vernet (1714-1789), born at Avignon, was a French painter of seascapes, much admired for his technique of composition and for his lighting effects. His painting of the night suggests a logical dilemma to Fray Diego, which the poet propounds in the following lines:

¿A qué luz examinaste,
Gran Vernet, la noche oscura,
Que en tu famosa pintura
Tan al vivo la copiaste?
Si de noche la pintaste,
¿Qué luz tu pincel guió?
Si de día, no sé yo
Cómo tanta oscuridad,
Juzgándola realidad,
Su luz no la disipó.

José María Cossío, in a brief chapter on Fray Diego, examines this décima, which he calls "muy notable y conocida"; Cossío's commentary is brief enough to quote almost in its entirety.

Esta ingeniosa composición, está a la vista, no es poesía. Es tan sólo un razonamiento lógico a que un tratadista escolástico, el mismo P. M. [Fray Diego González], daría el nombre de dilema.

En efecto: tenemos una proposición universal disyuntiva. O pintó su cuadro Vernet de noche o le pintó de día. Optar por cualquiera de los dos miembros conduce a un mismo resultado de dificultad. Si le pintó de noche no es verosímil que pudiera guiar su pincel sin luz. Si le pintó de día, su luz, juzgando realidad las tinieblas del cuadro, debió disiparlas y anular la labor. Creo que exactamente es así el esquema dialéctico.

Pues bien; ya que fray Diego nos ha traído a un terreno puramente racionalista, sigamos discurrendo en él. Optando por el primer miembro de la disyuntiva la conclusión es valedera. De noche y sin luz no debió estar bueno el pintor. Mas el segundo término no es sino un efugio literario ingenioso, sin valor lógico. La luz del día no había peligro de que disipara las tinieblas del cuadro. Se trataba de un imposible físico. En conclusión, debemos decidir que el cuadro se pintó de día.

Nada habría que oponer a esta conclusión, ni ella disminuye el valor del cuadro. Mas usa el P. M. una palabra en su décima, de tan inevitables y evidentes adherencias naturalistas, que no se puede dejar de reparar en ella. La palabra copiar. Claro que ella evidencia una contradicción entre los propósitos estéticos y la realidad. A la conclusión de que el cuadro se pintó de día

ha de ir unida la de que no se copió, sino que se logró un mejor o peor resultado apelando a sugerencias de la memoria.⁴⁰

As noted by Cossío, Fray Diego's first premise is sound: if Vernet painted his picture at night, he could not have had the light of day to guide his brush. Fray Diego should then have continued thus: if Vernet painted his picture of night by day, he could not have had before his eyes the necessary model from nature; therefore, Vernet must have painted his picture from memory. But the poet does not take this second logical step. Instead, once having postulated his first premise, he resorts to literary subterfuge, as Cossío calls it, in order to indulge a favorite notion: that a work of art can be so exact a copy of nature, that it can be taken for reality; further, that nature, deceived by the realism of the work of art, will in some way react to it. This notion, already expressed in "A las nobles artes," is more ingenious than logical; as for the poem, it propounds a dilemma, but does not solve it.

"A don Bartolomé Vazquez, habiendo grabado la lámina de San Agustín" (p. 201). It should be said of this quintilla what José María Cossío said of "A la noche": it is ingenious, but it is not poetry. The subject of the poem is an engraving by an unknown artist; the theme of the poem is by now a familiar one.

Grabaste, ¡oh Vazquez divino!
Esta vez con tal primor,
Que en tu buril peregrino,
Con ser tan grande Agustino,
Parece mucho mayor.

⁴⁰José María de Cossío, "Naturalismo, convencionalismo: Fray Diego González," Poesía española; notas de asedio (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1952), pp. 115-116.

These lines, like those dedicated to Vernet, are ingenious in the sense that they combine agudeza and ingenio; that is, they are technically wrought to achieve an effect through brevity and wit. It should be admitted, however, that their success, if any, is only that and nothing more. Again, the underlying idea of the poem is that art can improve upon nature; specifically, in this case, that the artist's engraving of Saint Augustine aggrandizes the original. The key word in this composition is "primor," just as in "A la noche" it was "copiar," and "imitar" in "A las nobles artes."

"Traduccion del epitafio latino que el Bembo hizo á Rafael" (p. 197). Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) was an Italian cardinal, Latinist, humanist, and secretary to Pope Leo X; he was also a contemporary of Raffaello Santi (1483-1520), whom he eulogizes in the following epitaph:

Ille hic est Raphael, timuit, quo sospite, vinci,
Rerum magna parens, et moriente mori.

Fray Diego's translation as it appears in the BAE:

Aquí yace Rafael,
De quien natura, admirada,
Receló por su pincel,
Viviendo él, ser superada,
Y morir muriendo él.

The 1812 and 1817 editions of Fray Diego's poems contain a second translation of Bembo's epitaph:

Bajo esta losa dura
Yace aquel Rafaél en cuya vida
La gran madre natura
Temió ser excedida,
Y quedar con su muerte destruida.

The BAE translation is more elaborate, more ingenious in a purely

superficial way, but the idea is the same as in the second translation. It is clear why Fray Diego should be moved to translate this epitaph on Raphael: it expresses his own views about the relationship between nature and art. It should be noted that, at bottom, this epitaph does not really praise Raphael directly; rather, it personifies nature and supposes on nature's part a fear that it will be surpassed by Raphael's art. Nature fears that so long as Raphael should live, his art will be supreme; should this supreme interpreter, imitator, and copier of nature die, nature itself would die with him. The logical absurdity of such cavils is unimportant; note has already been made of Fray Diego's fallacious thinking with regard to art as imitation of nature. What is important for the poet here is the coincidence of his own views with those of Bembo.

VII. Didactic Poetry.

"Las edades" (pp. 198-201). The correspondence that passed between various members of the Parnaso tells a great deal about the genesis and progress of "Las edades," Fray Diego's most ambitious work. Fray Miguel de Miras in Seville provided the impetus for the initial correspondence between Jovellanos and Fray Diego; this took the form of a verse epistle from Jovellanos, entitled Historia de Jovino, and of which Ceán Bermúdez writes:

Esta historia, que gustó mucho á los Salamanticenses, fue causa de una nueva correspondencia poética e interesante; y entre los versos que despues se enviaron por una y otra parte se distinguió sobremanera la Carta de Jovino á sus amigos Salamantinos ...⁴¹

⁴¹Ceán Bermúdez, op. cit., p. 290.

In this epistle of 1776, Jovellanos charted the course that he thought poetry should henceforth take, as written by the poets who had placed themselves under his tutelage:

... guiados por la suerte
A más nobles objetos, recorramos
En el afán poético materias
Dignas de una memoria perdurable.
Y pues que no me es dado que presuma
Alcanzar por mis versos alto nombre,
Dejadme al menos en tan noble intento
La gloria de guiar por la árdua senda
Que va á la eterna fama, vuestros pasos.⁴²

To Fray Diego, Jovellanos recommended "la moral filosofía," to be written in "grave estilo"; to Meléndez Valdés, works that should glorify "el furor de Marte" and the heroes of Spain's past; to Father Fernández de Rojas, works to reform the dramatic stage.

Subsequently, Jovellanos sent more specific plans to Fray Diego, to which the latter replied:

El correo pasado recibí de mano de Batilo el plan del poema de Las Edades No sólo me gusta y enamora, como todo cuanto sale de la pluma de V.S., sino que también me incita poderosamente á poner desde luego en ejecución el designio Aunque presumo que V.S. será de parecer de que el verso que se haya de usar en el poema debe ser libre y exento de toda rima, espero su expreso parecer en el asunto.⁴³

The plan for writing "Las edades" occupied the minds of Jovellanos, Fray Diego, and Meléndez Valdés and all approached the project with enthusiasm: Jovellanos because he thought poetry should redound to the public good, Fray Diego and Meléndez because they wished to make amends for having devoted so much of their poetic energies to amorous verse. Ceán Bermúdez continues:

⁴²Jovellanos, Obras, BAE 46, p. 38.

⁴³Letter dated November 3, 1776 at Salamanca, quoted in Cueto, op. cit., p. CXI, n.5.

Fueron muchas las cartas que se escribieron en aquella época sobre perfeccionar la poesía: me acuerdo de una muy larga que don Gaspar dirigió entonces á Meléndez, demostrándole que la variedad local de la cesura en medio de cada verso, los hacía más sonoros y más armoniosos; y también de otra que escribió al P. Gonzalez en 23 de noviembre de 1776, recomendándole el verso endecasílabo para el poema de las Edades, que componía aquel imitador de fray Luis de Leon, y haciéndole observaciones delicadas sobre el buen gusto, y artificio del metro. Con estas y otras cartas contribuyó Jove Llanos desde Sevilla á los progresos que hizo entonces la poesía castellana en Salamanca.⁴⁴

Evident in the correspondence between Seville and Salamanca is the conviction on the part of all involved that poetry can serve a moral purpose; it was also thought, therefore, that a thorough reading of ancient and modern moralists would prepare the author better to develop his theme. A letter from Meléndez to Jovellanos shows clearly that, at least on the part of Meléndez, "Las edades" was conceived as a compilation of maxims, to be adorned by Fray Diego's muse.

Nuestro Delio leyó con gusto el plan de la primera edad; y aunque al principio se me resistió alguna cosa, cuasi acabé de persuadirle á que emprendiese esta obra, digna por cierto, de su estado, su profesion, sus años, su literatura y delicadísimo gusto.

Tratamos depues de los libros que pueden conducir al plan de V.S., y, en la poca noticia que tengo de estas cosas, le apunté de los míos:

Los Caractéres, de Theofrasto.

Los Caractéres de nuestro siglo; de Labruyère

Los Pensamientos, de Pascal ...

Noches, de Young. Sus máximas son dignas de que tengan lugar en el poema de Las Edades.

Malebranche y Locke

Seneca. No debe dejarse de la mano. Con todos estos, y con la asidua meditacion del hombre mismo, de sus vicios, de sus virtudes y sus inclinaciones, se puede recoger un caudal suficiente de máximas, que, vestidas y ataviadas por la musa de Delio, merezcan la aprobacion y el aplauso de los entendidos. Las verdades morales á mí me parece que se estudian mejor por la meditacion del hombre y la frecuente observacion de todos los estados, que por los libros. Nuestro Delio es del mismo sentir,

⁴⁴Ceán Bermúdez, op. cit., pp. 291-292.

y creo que, si lo toma con el empeño que la obra merece, haga alguna cosa de provecho.⁴⁵

There is a contradiction in Meléndez's contention that moral truths are better studied through meditation and observation than through books and his list of books from which moral truths are to be gleaned. No mention is made of spontaneity or of Feijóo's elusive yo no sé qué; rather, the work undertaken is to be openly didactic, "alguna cosa de provecho," and worthy of the applause of the learned.

While Fray Diego received enthusiastically both the suggestion and the plan for "Las edades" from Jovellanos, in fact he progressed slowly and with much vacillation as to his own capabilities. Professor Monguió comments on the preparations made by Fray Diego:

... in a letter dated June 20, 1778, he confessed to Jovellanos that owing to the worries of his office as prior of the Augustinians of Salamanca he had not yet begun to write the poem of "Las cuatro edades," a difficult work requiring more calm than he could expect to have. He may not have begun writing it until he left Salamanca when in 1799 [sic: a misprint, presumably for 1779, since the poet died in 1794] he became Secretary to the Augustinian Province of Castile, an office he had wanted probably because it transferred him to Madrid where Jovellanos had also been transferred from Seville in 1778. He must have been preparing for this composition very carefully, however, and for a long time... This sounds almost like a plan of operations from the planning section of a general staff, and so in many ways it is. "Las edades" was in González's mind a didactic poem; he specifically subtitles it "Poema didáctico." To instruct was his aim, and no instruction is effective without planning and preparation. What is impressive in the preparation is the range of reading it suggests in Greek, Latin, French, and English authors, proof once more of the eighteenth-century Spanish attempt to open national culture to all the winds of the spirit after the inbred atmosphere in which it lived during the latter part of the seventeenth century.⁴⁶

⁴⁵Letter dated November, 1776, quoted in Cueto, op. cit., p. CXII, from p. CXI, n. 5.

⁴⁶Monguió, op. cit., pp. 257-258.

In the letter indicated, Fray Diego also confessed to Jovellanos that if he had known the latter's intention--that the writing of the poem was to begin at once--, "me hubiera excusado con el mejor modo, y en ninguna manera me encargára de lo que no podía yo desempeñar."

In the end, "Las edades" was left unfinished; from references in the correspondence, it is to be assumed that Fray Diego had projected four books covering also, presumably, adolescence, maturity, and old age; he completed only "La niñez." By "niñez," however, Fray Diego did not mean the infant years of one individual mortal, but rather the infancy of the human race after the creation of the world. To the extent that this is so, there is a discrepancy between the poet's phylogenetic view and the poem's epigraph, which is ontogenetic in its view. The epigraph is from Horace's Epistola ad Pisones, commonly known as his Poetics, and reads thus in the translation by Martínez de la Rosa:

La índole y gustos
de cada edad observa, y da a los años
y a su vario carácter lo que es propio.

El niño que articula ya palabras,
y con planta segura el suelo huella,
juega con sus iguales; sin motivo
se enfada y desenoja; y cada instante
muda de parecer.⁴⁷

It is clear from the epigraph that Horace had in mind the infancy of an individual child as representative of all children; Fray Diego's vision is more grandiose.

Preceding the poem is the "Argumento del primer libro," in

⁴⁷Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, "Epistola a los Pisones," Obras, Tomo III, BAE 150 (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1962), pp. 14-15.

which the poet enumerates the eleven sections of the first book and outlines their contents. Martínez de la Rosa is the only Spanish critic to have concerned himself with "Las edades" to any length; his comments on the poem appear in his "Apéndice sobre la poesía didáctica española."⁴⁸ The first section of "Las edades" is entitled "Proposición" and sets forth the poet's purpose (lines 1-5)

Decir en verso grave, numeroso,
Del hombre vegetable, y las sazones
Por donde sin sentirlo es conducido,
En cada edad notando las pasiones
Que son propias ...

In his conventional invocation to the muse, the poet asks that the poetry which he wrote in his ignorance be consigned to oblivion and that he be inspired to teach and delight through his verse (lines 6-11):

... al olvido
Entrega el verso blando que á mi lira
Dictaste en vida umbrátil. (¡Ay, locura,
Con eternas lágrimas llorada!)
El verso didascálico me inspira,
Mezcla la utilidad con la dulzura ...

Here, the poet pays tribute to Jovellanos, who, in his epistle to the Salamancans, chose

... el compás lento y numeroso que ama
Tanto la didascálica poesía.

Fray Diego continues that it would not be fitting for him to treat of lesser subjects than those which he has proposed for himself in this poem; his years dictate that he sing now only of serious matters (lines 18-19):

⁴⁸ Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, "Apéndice sobre la poesía didáctica española," Obras, Tomo III, BAE 150 (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1962), pp. 67-69. All quotations from Martínez de la Rosa are taken from this study.

Que la cana en mi pelo ya ha nacido,
Y ya á surcar la ruga mi semblante.

Although Martínez de la Rosa judges that Fray Diego is "poeta fácil y ameno, feliz imitador de Fr. Luis de León, con quien llegó alguna vez a confundirse," the exposition of the poem's argument is to him "lánguida y prosaica." He concedes, however, that in the second section, "Dedicacion," Fray Diego "muestra más nobleza en el estilo y más calor en la expresión." The dedication is to Jovellanos, who is enjoined to suspend for a time the labors of his office and assist the poet in the arduous task of writing (lines 36-42):

... determina
En el nuevo camino que has mostrado,
Mis pasos áun dudosos; lo torcido
Endereza, levanta lo abatido,
Tilda con negra tinta el verso errado;
Infúndeme valor, si desaliento
En la ardua via por do va la gloria. [1817: va a la gloria]

The last line is a direct reference to Jovellanos' wish that he be allowed to guide the Salamancans in their new poetic endeavours:

Dejadme al menos en tan noble intento
La gloria de guiar por la árdua senda
Que va á la eterna fama, vuestros pasos.⁴⁹

When Martínez de la Rosa ascribed "más nobleza en el estilo" to the dedication, perhaps he had in mind the last three lines of that section (lines 46-48):

Tuya es la idea, mio el verso solo;
Tus doctos pensamientos vé dictando;
Yo al dulce verso los iré acordando.

These lines reveal perhaps the major difficulty in the composition of "Las edades": the idea for the poem was not original with the poet

⁴⁹Jovellanos, Obras, BAE 46, p. 38.

and Jovino's good intentions and "doctos pensamientos" were not sufficient to ensure a nappy result. In view of the fact that Fray Diego waited so long before attempting the poem; in view of the fact also that he completed only one book, and that with great difficulty, there is almost a hint of wistfulness, perhaps even irony, in his statement that he will attune Jovino's ideas to his own "dulce verso." As noted by Martínez de la Rosa, Fray Diego was a facile poet; his talent lay in writing festive verse, in which he alternated lines of seven and eleven syllables. Therefore, while the "verso grave" and the "verso didascálico" might have been appropriate for Jovino's ideas, they did not easily accord with Fray Diego's native style.

In the third section, "Recomendacion de la materia," Fray Diego justifies the inward turn taken by his poetry; he refers obliquely to his earlier verses, and perhaps to those of the other Salamancans, when he says ruefully (lines 56-58):

Erramos, ¡ay! erramos torpemente,
En objetos extraños consumiendo
De nuestro entendimiento el dón divino ...

Martínez de la Rosa notes the coincidence of sentiments between these lines of Fray Diego and Alexander Pope's famous dictum that "The proper study of Mankind is Man" (An Essay on Man, Epistle II). Indicative of the poem's didactic orientation, the last lines of this section emphasize the practical over the esthetic (lines 69-74):

... consumimos
La vida, sin saber cómo vivimos.
Como entre flores necia mariposa,
De objetos en objetos discurrimos,
Sin tomar, cual abeja diligente,
A nuestro propio bien lo conveniente.

By his choice of models, the "abeja diligente" in favor of the "necia

mariposa," as well as by his use of "nuestro propio bien" and "lo conveniente," Fray Diego leaves no doubt that "Las edades" is meant to teach diligence, practicality, and the study of proper subjects.

The fourth section of the poem is entitled "Admírase la providencia de Dios en la creacion del mundo y los entes que le ocupan, y sus designios en órden al hombre." With reference to Fray Diego's treatment of his theme, Martínez de la Rosa writes: "... ya se descubre entonces el excelente lírico, nutrido con la lectura de sus libros sagrados"; those lines dealing with Moses on Mount Sinai, he continues, reveal "elevación y grandeza." While some lines may indeed be grand and elevated in tone, others elude comprehension or paraphrase; for example, lines 89-96:

... confundido
El sacrílego error, que al necio ateo
Dictó en secreto el corazon aleve,
Y el sistema orgulloso, que el oído
Cierra, cual áspid sordo, el sabio encanto
Del gitano pastor, del pueblo hebreo
Padre y legislador, que poseído
Del fuego celestial y sacrosanto,
Que arder, sin consumir la zarza, vido ...

Being set off by punctuation, these lines form a grammatical unit, but the thought they enclose is inaccessible even after repeated readings; to the extent that this is so, they fail as poetry. Perhaps the lines admired by Martínez de la Rosa are the following (lines 100-107):

... el mundo en eterno horror yacia,
Y en la nada yaciera eternamente,
Si el soberano Autor no le extrajera
Del no sér, cual si allí ya sér tuviera.
Y sonando la voz omnipotente,
La universal materia salió fuera,
Aunque inerme, vacía, informe, impura,
La faz ceñida de tiniebla oscura.

Fray Diego's description of the various phases of the world's creation exhibits a curious mixture of scientific naïveté and sophistication; on the one hand, for example, he describes the sun as if it revolved around the earth (lines 142-143):

El sol, padre del dia, rodeando
La tierra en desvelado movimiento ...

On the other hand, he acknowledges the evolutionary link between fish and birds (lines 154-157):

Los silenciosos peces por la fria
Cristalina region luego giraron;
Y las canoras aves con ruido
Desde el agua tan raudo el vuelo alzaron ...

Characteristic of Fray Diego's didactic style is the circumlocution, the poet's attempt to achieve a poetic effect by shunning direct reference to commonplace phenomena; thus, water is "el líquido elemento" (line 118) and "la fria / Cristalina region." In all, this fourth section of "Las edades" contains few lines that do justice to the theme--the creation of the world and its animal creatures--or to Fray Diego's abilities. Furthermore, man does not yet appear in the poem, in spite of the title of this section, which refers to God's "designios en órden al hombre."

"Complacencia del soberano Criador en sus obras" is the title of the fifth section, in which God's handiwork is described in terms borrowed from painting. It has already been noted that one of Fray Diego's major interests was painting; also noted was his view of painting as technique and artifice rather than as intuition. Thus, lines 168 through 192 are a simile for the pleasure which God derived from the contemplation of his works.

Como un sabio pintor, que concluido
 El lienzo, largo tiempo meditado
 Y con profundo estudio diseñado,
 Atento lo contempla, y complacido
 Nota lo definido en las figuras,
 El cauto desperfil de los contornos,
 Lo sinuoso y plegado en los dintornos,
 El ameno follaje en las verduras,
 De la luz á la sombra la insensible
 Degradacion, la huella imperceptible
 Con que el dulce pincel varió las tintas,
 Que dan la suavidad y la belleza,
 Y á veces contrapuestas y distintas,
 Dando el claro y oscuro fortaleza,
 Aumentan el relieve, y juntamente
 Extienden las distancias luengamente,
 Que al contrario suprimen á porfía
 Los escorzos, con diestra economía;
 Y mirando mil veces sus labores,
 Observa cada vez nuevos primores;
 Mira el todo, y se pasma; admira el arte
 Llevado á perfeccion en cada parte;
 Y tanta maravilla contemplando,
 El semblante le baña el grande gozo,
 Y en el pecho le bulle el alborozo ...

Basic to Fray Diego's view of painting is that art is superior to nature; art imposes order and coherence upon an unordered world. Therefore, instead of describing the world as God sees it, Fray Diego describes the sensations of a painter who examines a completed canvas. It is not the natural world, then, that inspires wonder, but rather a painted representation of that world; concomitantly, it is not the subject of the painting that awes the poet, but the correctness of the technique. There is, of course, a metaphorical relationship between God and the painter, but it is significant that Fray Diego should choose the painter's reactions as a model. The relationship between the creator of nature and the imitator of nature is explicit in the following lines (193-199):

Así el divino Artífice, mirando
 De sus divinas obras la hermosura,

Orden y proporcion, se complacia,
 Y en ver todo lo hecho tuvo holgura.
 Cada cosa por sí le parecía
 Buena, y mirado todo juntamente,
 Le pareció acabado y excelente ...

God is the divine artificer and, like the artist, he is pleased by beauty, order, and proportion.

Fray Diego passes next to the creation of man, "Creacion del hombre, compuesto de cuerpo y alma, y caos inmenso entre la materia y el espíritu." For the first time in the poem, Fray Diego's conception rises above the merely pedantic as he describes the moment of man's creation (lines 214-236); it was for man that God created the world and now God is ready to fashion man in the divine image:

"Hagamos (dijo) al hombre." Cesó el canto,
 Sobrevino á los coros el espanto;
 Y vieron admirados que inclinada
 La inmensa majestad al bajo lodo,
 Tomaba una porcion, y separada
 Del resto, en forma airosa la pulia,
 Cubriendo con rosada piel el todo,
 Que innumerables partes contenia,
 Cada cual destinada al propio oficio.
 ¡Qué connexion, qué órden, qué artificio
 En huesos, nervios, venas se guardaba!
 ¡Qué belleza, qué talle y simetría
 En todo el exterior manifestaba!
 Mirado el bello rostro, parecia [1817: mirando]
 Que en apacible sueño reposaba.
 Mas ¡ay! que eternamente careciera
 De toda sensacion y movimiento,
 Y como estatua inánime yaciera,
 Si el Criador, con su divino aliento
 Soplándole en el rostro blandamente,
 Espíritu inmortal no le infundiera;
 Espíritu inmortal, alma viviente,
 Del mismo que la hacia imagen clara ...

The creator's work amazes through its "conexion, ... órden, ... artificio ... y simetría en todo el exterior"; the creator here is like "el divino Artífice" of the preceding section, deriving pleasure from "hermosura, órden y proporcion."

When Fray Diego turns from material to spiritual man, his execution, in the opinion of Martínez de la Rosa, suffers from the difficulties of the subject: "Al hablar de la misteriosa unión de alma y cuerpo, resiéntese el poeta de la dificultad del asunto"; in this speculative area, the poet is encumbered by "las trabas de la metafísica." In lines 244-251, Fray Diego attempts to explain man's being as it was received from God:

... constituido
De materia y espíritu; porciones
De tan raras y opuestas condiciones,
Que de la una á la otra no se viene
Por graduacion, ni entre ellas se conviene,
Ni hay orden, proporcion ni analogía;
Que un infinito caos interviene
Entre una y otra ...

The poet's inspiration falters as he attempts to explain by purely rational means that which is rationally unexplainable, the mysterious union of body and soul. In contrast to earlier lines of this section, lines inspired by the poet's conception of God's handiwork, the last lines (251-256) are forced and self-consciously moralistic as the poet metaphorically describes the gulf that separates man's body and soul:

... más intransitable
Que el grande espacio que imposible hacia,
Desde el pobre feliz al miserable
Sediento rico, que en la llama ardia,
El corto refrigerio que pedia
Para templar la sed intolerable.

The poet errs in using as an example the simplistic contrast between the "pobre feliz" and the "miserable ... rico"; furthermore, an example drawn from an already-developed society does not accord well with the other half of the comparison--the gulf between man's soul and body at the time of his creation.

Section VII is entitled "Admirable providencia con que el Criador proporcionó estas dos compartes [La materia y el espíritu], para que compusiesen un todo." The essence of this part of the poem is expressed in lines 262-267: God so joined man's body and soul that

... á cualquiera impresion que recibiese
La materia, en el alma á competencia
Idea semejante se formase;
Y al contrario, si el alma precibiese
Tristeza ó alegría, resultase
Dolor ó gusto al cuerpo.

There follows a simile intended to illustrate the poet's idea; the simile is taken from the field of music and is based on the harmonic variations of stringed instruments.

The union of matter and spirit continues to occupy the poet in the eighth section, "Prerogativas y felicidad del hombre en el estado inocente." Matter and spirit are joined as in marriage; the soul is the nobler of the two and serves to contain the baser component, matter,

... con doradas riendas sujetaba
La inferior turba de apetitos varios ...

The first line of this pair promises a flight of fancy; the "doradas riendas" conjure up the powerful yet sweet restraints of reason, what Bécquer will later call "brillante rienda de oro" and "hilo de luz" (Rima III). Unfortunately, the second line does not fulfill the promise of the first; with the exception of the phrase "la concertada liga," which succinctly describes the harmonious union of matter and spirit, the remainder of the eighth section is ponderous and uninspired.

The ninth section, "Degradacion de la naturaleza por la desobediencia del primer hombre," is notable only because of the reference

it contains to John Milton dictating Paradise Lost to his daughters. Jovellanos had translated the First Book of Paradise Lost and sent a copy of his translation to Salamanca, where it was received with the reverence and enthusiasm accorded to all the magistrates' works.

Fray Diego's reference to Milton in a work largely dictated by Jovellanos is a tribute to the magistrate's pre-eminence among the Salamancan poets. Whether or not Fray Diego was familiar with Milton's life and works in English, or just with Jovellanos' translation, it is worthy of note that the Augustinian poet should not scruple to portray, fancifully perhaps, the English Puritan's reaction to man's fall from grace. Thus, in lines 321-332, Fray Diego shifts his emphasis from his own sorrow over man's original sin to Milton's grief over Satan's unjust triumph over man:

El triunfo injusto, que con grave canto,
Interrumpido á veces con el llanto,
Y laud triste sábiamente herido,
Lamentaba con verso numeroso
En la orilla del Támesis nubloso
El religioso Milton; y al sonido,
Sus rubias ninfas la cabeza alzaban,
Y á la historia tristísima atendían,
Y con profundos ayes renovaban
La memoria del dulce bien perdido,
Mirando al Padre, cuya urna henchían
Con el copioso llanto que vertían.

The last lines contain what in the view of Martínez de la Rosa is an "imagen magnífica"; unfortunately, he adds, the following section is far from having equal merit.

One of the weaknesses of "Las edades" is Fray Diego's penchant for illustrating an obvious point by superfluous examples; in numerous instances throughout the poem the argument is suspended in favor of a simile that, likely as not, takes the poet far afield from his subject.

The most notable example up to this point in the poem was a digression of twenty-five lines that compared God, "el divino Artífice," and "un sabio pintor." In a like fashion, Fray Diego opens the tenth section, entitled "Males y miserias en que incurrió el hombre por su desobediencia," with a gratuitous simile that only detracts from the focus of his theme. How much better this section would be--and with it the entire poem--if Fray Diego had dispensed with clumsy comparisons and gotten directly to the point, in this case the ills to which man is heir because of his original sin (lines 352-355; 369-381; 385-391):

¡Oh amarga culpa! ¡Cuánto mal trajiste
 Al hombre en breve! Tú le derrocaste
 Del no entendido honor en que vivia,
 Y al jumento insipiente le igualaste;

 Por tí en el mundo entró la muerte fria,
 Por tí la enfermedad y la dolencia,
 La vergonzosa desnudez, la impia
 Siempre traidora infiel concupiscencia,
 La ignorancia, el orgullo, la insaciable
 Codicia, la hambre y sed, y la indigencia,
 Y de otros monstruos turba innumerable,
 Que de tropel salieron del profundo
 Para dañar al hombre miserable,
 Y establecer su imperio en todo el mundo.
 Por tí sola fué el hombre desterrado
 Del delicioso Eden, y condenado
 A no volver ...

 ... Por tí la tierra, que primero
 De su grado los frutos produjera,
 En posesion maldita fué trocada,
 Que sólo diera al dueño la grosera
 Espina y cruel abrojo, si no fuera
 Con duro y corvo arado fatigada,
 Y con sudor y lágrimas regada.

Here, the poet and the priest become one as they consider the result of Adam's sin; significantly, it is the priest's religious fervor that infuses the poet and elevates his verse. The few times that Fray Diego's hendecasyllables rise above the merely pedestrian, they do so

because the priest supplants the pedant. Fray Diego's conception begins to soar only when he is moved by a religious theme and only when he develops that theme directly, without recourse to superfluous examples and illustrations. Martínez de la Rosa says that Fray Diego's lines on the origin of evil are more elevated because the poet, as a priest, could not be indifferent to a theme of such magnitude:

... al concluir de enumerar los males que se originaron del pecado del primer hombre, se nota cierto calor que prueba no menos el buen gusto que la sensibilidad del poeta, el cual no podía hablar con tono indiferente de un suceso de que pendió la suerte del linaje humano y la suya propia ...

In the last lines of this section, Fray Diego refers to the earth as "posesion maldita"; such terms reflect the view of a man who has renounced earthly possessions in order better to serve God; they are also the remembrance of a man born of people who tilled the soil. The poet says that since man's fall from grace, the earth will yield her fruits only if she is

Con duro y corvo arado fatigada,
Y con sudor y lágrimas regada.

Fray Diego's verse autobiography, "Historia de Delio," reveals that his forebears inherited in full measure the curse placed upon Adam's seed:

De los que en la ribera
Del Duero con fatiga
Rompen con corvo arado el duro suelo
(Ocupacion severa,
Que la culpa enemiga
Al hombre diera, con el llanto y duelo),
De tales plugo al cielo .
Que fuese provenido
Mi padre bienhadado ...

The eleventh and final section of the poem bears the long title "Bienes naturales que quedaron en el hombre despues de su degradacion;

sus excelencias, señorío, industria y talento para procurarse su felicidad por medio de la agricultura, comercio y descubrimiento de las artes y ciencias." Opening this section are a few lines that seem to fulfill the promise of such a grandiose title (lines 392-398):

¡Oh amarga culpa! ¡Tanto mal hiciste
Al mísero mortal! Mas no lograste
Acabarlo del todo; tú mudaste
Su estado y condición; mas no pudiste
Mudar el noble sér, ni le quitaste
El dominio supremo, el poderío
Que ejerce sobre todo lo terreno ...

But the elevated tone is not maintained; the poet goes on to explain the nature of man's dominion over the creatures of the earth and his achievements in agriculture. On the one hand, the poet's illustrations range from "el carnicero buitro" to "la astringente bellota"; on the other, the poet avoids using a common noun in order to use a contrived circumlocution--"móvil puente" for "barco" or "embarcacion."

Toward the end of the poem (lines 422-435), Fray Diego summarizes his views on art, the same views which he puts forth in "A las nobles artes":

... Y las divinas
Artes advirtió en sí, con que levanta
A un nuevo y alto sér el sér primero;
Y trasladando á un lienzo la natura,
Instruye la razon, la vista encanta,
Y fija á un ser la fugitiva historia;
Y cediendo al cincel la piedra dura,
O en moldes los metales desatados,
De sus héroes conserva la memoria;
Y del suelo se aleja, y la vacía
Region huella seguro, y en dorados
Techos habita, y junta en sociedades
Los hombres, que con sábias leyes guía
A su felicidad ...

While this summary of the nature of art is beside the point and inferior to other parts of the poem, it does indicate Fray Diego's abiding

interest in art, especially as regards art's social and didactic functions. One thought does stand out in this statement, however: that though man fell from divine grace, "las divinas / Artes advirtió en sí." Man's creative impulse in part redeemed him; art represents that trace of divinity that was left to man after his fall. But Fray Diego does not pursue this thought further; that is, he does not suggest that this residual divinity might manifest itself in an impetuous spark of genius; rather, he values art for what it can contribute to man's social well-being. Shortly after these lines on art, the poem ends as inauspiciously as it began.

On May 19, 1796, Jovellanos records in his diary that he has received from Father Fernández de Hojas a copy of the first edition of Fray Diego's poetry.⁵⁰ Two days later, in a letter to Father Fernández, Jovellanos writes:

¿Y qué? El Poema de las Edades, ¿quedará sin continuador? Ya Vm. me entiende. A decirle francamente la verdad, requiere más fuego y menos encogimiento de los que tenía Delio cuando le acometió. Yo quería un poema descriptivo, y le convirtió en un poema moral. Habían pasado ya los días de lozanía y robustez; Vm. está en ellos todavía: no los deje pasar vacíos. La moral, debe sazonar la obra, y no más. Las gracias de la niñez, los juegos de la puericia, las pasiones de la adolescencia, las grandes virtudes y vicios de la edad viril y la decadencia de unos y otros en la vejez: he aquí lo que debe ocupar principalmente el pincel. No tenga Vm. en ocio el suyo, y sepa, que si algo valgo, es para consejero.⁵¹

Jovellanos notes in his diary that there were "bellas cosas" in Fray Diego's poetry and in his letter to Father Fernández he calls the latter's edition "un sencillo y gracioso monumento, erigido por la

⁵⁰Jovellanos, Diarios, Vol. II, p. 246.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 248, from p. 246, n. 1.

amistad." Yet, there is a hint of petulance in Jovino's insistence that "Las edades" should be completed and in his complaint that the poem was not written as he had originally intended. Jovellanos erred in suggesting that Fray Diego write "Las edades"; in urging Father Fernández to complete the poem he attempted to compound his original error. To what extent Jovellanos misconstrued his own good intentions can be seen from his assertion that, if he is good for anything, it is as a counselor. On the point of Jovellanos' good intentions and bad counsel to Fray Diego, Cueto offers the following judgment:

Jovellanos, con laudable intencion, quiere ayudarle en sus propósitos, y no sólo le encarece la excelencia de un asunto de moral filosófica, fundado en el estudio del hombre, sino que forma por sí mismo el plan del poema didáctico Las Edades, cuya primera parte, La Niñez, llegó a escribir el candoroso agustino. La musa de Fray Diego, llevada como con andadores por Jovellanos, en vez de caminar más firme y más segura, vacila y decae. El instinto popular repara y corrige el error cometido por el espíritu doctrinal exagerado y apremiante, y mientras poquísimos leen las elevadas meditaciones del maestro Gonzalez sobre la primera edad del hombre, se hacen innumerables ediciones de El Murciélago alevoso, que Quintana excluye del Tesoro del Parnaso español, y el público aprende de memoria la donosa invectiva.⁵²

Perhaps, as Cueto says, Fray Diego's popular instinct tempers the doctrinaire tone of the poem, but it is Fray Diego's religious instinct that saves the poem from complete failure.

Modern assessments of "Las edades" agree with Cueto's judgment that it is an inferior work, at the same time that they stress Fray Diego's facility in other areas. I. L. McClelland writes:

Thanks to his sound literary taste his style has a purity characteristic of the first Salamancan school. But he was not successful in serious or philosophic verses, as indeed were very few writers of the period, and his unfinished didactic poem, Las

⁵² Cueto, op. cit., pp. CXI-CXII.

edades, written at the instigation of the well-meaning Jovellanos, reveals the eighteenth-century pedant nearly at his worst. Fray Diego was happiest in the love lyrics that so troubled Jovellanos' soul, especially the "Sueños" and "Visiones" of Delio, and "El murciélago alevoso," the latter being the only poem by which he is now generally known.⁵³

William Atkinson agrees that Fray Diego's development as a poet was cut short by the intervention of Jovellanos:

How far a growing mastery of vehicle and manner would have carried González we cannot tell, for Jovellanos intervened. Jovellanos, with the authority of a magistrate, lacked the perspicacity to know its limitations. He could encourage a poetaster by bidding him study no fewer than ten poéticas, and in a memorable Epístola de Jovino a sus amigos de Salamanca (1776) he seeks, with the highest of intentions, to deflect them from immediate to ultimate issues:

¡Ay Batilo! ¡ay Lisenio! ¡ay caro Delio!
 ¡Ay, ay, que os han las magas salamantinas
 Con sus gorginerías adormido!

Ay, ay, that they should have been so amenable! González undertook to sing no more save on themes of moral philosophy. Jovellanos went so far as to propose the subject--Las Edades--and the books to read; González set to work on "el hombre vegetable" and ceases to interest us.⁵⁴

While it is probably extreme to say that with the writing of "Las edades" Fray Diego "ceases to interest us," it is true that he is more to be commended for his intention than for his finished, or unfinished, result.

VIII. Religious poetry.

"Satisfaccion del Genil triunfante al Darro quejoso" (p. 197).

Cueto notes that he copied this poem from the manuscript which Fray Diego sent to Jovellanos;⁵⁵ there are several differences in the text

⁵³McClelland, op. cit., pp. 311-312.

⁵⁴Atkinson, op. cit., p. 366. ⁵⁵Cueto, op. cit., p. 197.

as it appears in the BAE and as it was printed in the editions of 1812 and 1817. In the latter editions, for instance, the title is "El Genil Triunfante al Darro Quejoso. Cancion comenzada." Other variant readings occur in lines 2, 4, 12, 13-16, 19, and 20.

This poem must be read in connection with "El triunfo de Manzanares," in which, as was seen earlier, fifteen of the poem's twenty-three octavas are devoted to an apparent victory of the Spanish religious orders over control by Rome. Nine rivers figure in the poem as representative of a city or a region: the Tiber for Rome, the Manzanares for Madrid, the Tormes for Salamanca, and the Betis, or Guadalquivir, for Andalusia. Also named is the Genil, probably as representative of Granada, since the river rises in the Sierra Nevada just south of that city. The River Darro is not mentioned in "El triunfo de Manzanares"; hence the satisfaction that the River Genil must give to the complaining Darro. As in the earlier poem, the poet disguises his references to the inner conflicts of the Catholic church; the language is cryptic and meant to be understood only by those within the religious orders. Only on the basis of this tenuous link with religion can "Satisfaccion del Genil" be called a religious poem, for certainly it does not touch on matters of faith or doctrine.

The poet begins with the same line that he uses to open "A Liseno" and the "Profecía de Manzanares":

¿Por qué te das tormento,
Darro, de que en el triunfo conseguido
Tu nombre no has oído?
¡Oh! deja la querella y el lamento,
Y torna á dar contento y alegría
A tu angostura umbría;
Que si yo llevo el nombre en la victoria,
Del triunfo llevas tú toda la gloria.

Line 2, in the 1812 and 1817 editions, reads "Darro, porque en triunfo conseguido"; lines 4, "Ay! deja ya la queja y el lamento." The second octava explains geographically why the Darro can enjoy all the glory of the Genil's triumph:

Aunque del seno frio
 Los dos nacemos de esa madre cana,
 Plugo á la soberana
 Mano de hacer los dos un solo rio.
 Para este fin el nombre tú perdiste,
 Y gran caudal me diste;
 Y yo el nombre te dí para el intento,
 Corto caudal, y tardo movimiento.

Lines 11-12 should read, as in the 1812 and 1817 editions,

Plugo á la soberana
 Mano hacer de los dos un solo rio.

In these earlier editions, lines 13-16 read:

Para esto diste tú ricos caudales
 En tus raudos cristales:
 Yo solo el nombre dí para el intento,
 Pobre caudal y tardo movimiento.

"Seno frio" and "madre cana" refer to the Sierra Nevada where both rivers have their origin. The Darro empties into the Genil, which in turn empties into the Guadalquivir some seventy-five kilometers upstream from Seville. Modern maps do not name all the tributaries of the Genil; for that reason, it is still apt that the Genil should say "el nombre te dí." In this poem, the Genil speaks of its "Corto caudal y tardo movimiento"; in "El triunfo de Manzanares," it is the "apresurado Genil."

In the third and final stanza, the poet returns to the subject of the religious orders:

No tú, como el Segura,
 Que el triunfo celebró de la insolencia,
 Y puso la inocencia
 En cadena insoluble y cárcel dura.

Por eso condenaron sus raudales
 Los dioses inmortales
 A ser de cara madre distraídos,
 Y en las movidas tierras consumidos.

Lines 19 and 20 in the 1812 and 1817 editions read:

Y puso á la inocencia
 En prision insoluble y cárcel dura.

The River Segura, symbolizing here the antagonist in the religious quarrels, rises in the Sierra de Segura in the province of Murcia and, according to modern maps, empties into the Mediterranean downstream from the city of Murcia. Apparently, in Fray Diego's time the river disappeared in the marshes named Pantano de la Fuensanta and Pantano del Cenajo, for these would be the "movidas tierras" of the poem. What reason the gods would have for thus punishing the River Segura--and by metaphorical extension, Murcia--, we do not know; it was the poet's intention that lay readers not know. In any case, so many years after the historical occasion for this poem--the victory of the Spanish orders over Rome--, the modern reader is left with only a very minor poem, superficially a poem about religion but in reality a geographical curiosity.

"¿Por qué tan riguroso ...?" (p. 191). Though not religious in the same sense as Fray Diego's translations of psalms and hymns, this ode is classified here as religious because it is a defense of religious education. Fray Diego's defense is prompted by an attack upon religious education by a "político severo." Structurally, the poem consists of a resumé (three stanzas) of the politician's notions about education within the walls of a convent and Fray Diego's rebuttal of those ideas (five stanzas). In this ode the poet uses one of his favorite stanzaic

forms, the thirteen-line stanza of seven- and eleven-syllable lines rhymed abCabCcdeeDfF.

Fray Diego calls the politician "severo," but his own language is unusually severe in the opening lines of the first stanza:

¿Por qué tan riguroso,
Político severo,
Tuerces con ceño el rostro, y ofendido,
Repites desdeñoso
Con ademan grosero
El coax de la rana desabrido,
Porque Celia, cumplido
Un lustro solamente,
Para ser educada,
Del seno es separada
Maternal, y cual víctima inocente,
Llevada á la clausura,
Que tú juzgas eterna sepultura?

Only once before has Fray Diego used such language seriously: in "A Melisa. Cancion," when he warns Melisa of a rival who is "dragon hambriento," "lobo sagaz," and "cazador astuto." Even in his satiric pieces, ridicule is tempered by humor. In this poem, however, Fray Diego the priest is himself "riguroso" and "severo" in his scolding, as can be seen from his use of such terms as "tuerces," "ceño," "ofendido," "desdeñoso," "ademan grosero," "coax," and "desabrido." The poet ridicules the politician's posturing and distorted judgments, equating them with the raucous croakings of a frog.

The occasion for the politician's outburst is the fact that a five year-old child is about to enter a convent for religious education. In the politician's mind, the cloister is for a child

Eterna sepultura,
Donde en perpetuo olvido
Sus gracias yacerán ...
(lines 14-16)

It is a place where the child will learn to waste its time in "nimias

devociones" instead of learning "la sábia economía," or domestic arts. The politician fears also that the years of discipline in the cloister will lead to dissolute behavior whenever the child should leave the convent:

O bien se desenfrena,
Y sigue sin medida
Los mundanales gustos
Y placeres injustos,
A que por tanto tiempo fué impedida;
Cual rio represado,
Que el obstáculo puesto ha derrotado.
(lines 33-39)

With line 40, the poet begins his rebuttal of the politician's misconceptions:

¡Oh! cuán enormemente
De la razon te alejas,
Político, juzgando desdichada
A Celia, la inocente,
Que sin duelo ni quejas,
Del corrompido mundo separada,
Viene á ser cultivada;
Como oliva preciosa
Entre abrojos nacida,
Que de ellos dividida,
Y trasplantada á tierra deliciosa,
Paga despues tributo
Dando á su tiempo el sazonado fruto.

Fray Diego introduces here one of the basic ideas of the poem: that the cloister is "tierra deliciosa" as compared to the "abrojos" "del corrompido mundo"; it is a "santo asilo,"

Donde el primer cuidado
Es enseñar la pura
Religion, que es la regla que compone
El corazon y pone
Al apetito freno ...
(lines 56-60)

The cloister is a refuge from "un siglo de desórden lleno" (line 63), "siglo" being used in both its meanings of material world and century.

Within the walls of the convent, Celia will have "maestras ilustradas" who will teach her "acciones sagradas" at the same time that they condemn superstition and false devotion. It is significant that Fray Diego should call the teachers "ilustradas"; this reflects the University city's break with scholasticism during the reign of Charles III. In keeping with Salamanca's role as synthesizer of ideas from all parts of Europe, the University city reconciled religion and the enlightenment. In other parts of Europe, religion and the enlightened state were regarded as being irreconcilable; in Salamanca, during the 1780's, it was thought that one could work to the advantage of the other. Fray Diego expresses this idea when he says that a child who stays in the convent long enough to be educated

Será ejemplo constante
De que la piedad sólida y sincera
Siempre se ha conciliado
Con el bien verdadero del Estado.
(lines 74-78)

This is a second theme of the poem: the compatibility of Church and State. Fray Diego also defends the convent as a democratic institution, where the nobility is received "A costa de un dispendio moderado" (line 94), but where

... la humilde pobreza,
Con amor recibida,
Es tambien educada con agrado.
(lines 95-97)

All who come to the convent will be educated, not only for personal benefit but also for the good of the State, for from the convent many will go on to teach others (lines 98-104):

Aquí logra el Estado
Seminario profundo
De maestras formadas,

Que despues separadas
 Esparcirán la fama por el mundo,
 De un establecimiento,
 Gloria de nuestro siglo y ornamento.

Consistent with the poem's two-part structure--the politician's views versus the priest's rebuttal--, there is throughout the poem a basic contrast between what the convent is vulgarly held to be and what, in the priest's opinion, it actually is. A catalog of the language used by the priest indicates clearly that he is unequivocally in favor of religious education for children, and that within the convent. Note has already been made of the priest's unusually severe language in the opening lines of the poem; as the poem continues, the language becomes manifestly polarized. For example:

víctima inocente	vs.	sin duelo ni quejas
eterna sepultura	vs.	tierra deliciosa
perpetuo olvido	vs.	santo asilo
nimias devociones	vs.	la pura religion
falsas devociones	vs.	acciones sagradas
supersticiones	vs.	la piedad sólida y sincera
pasión impura	vs.	el esmero de una sábia ense-
el interés grosero		ñanza, virtuosa, gratuita
el capricho variable		y sin mudanza
libertad instable		

Few of Fray Diego's poems are marked by ardor; only when he is moved by religious sentiment does his conception rise above the ordinary, as in some sections of "Las edades." In this ode, it is not so much ardor we see as ire, inspired by an attack on what Fray Diego, by vocation and temperment, held most dear--religious instruction within the church.

"Traducción del Salmo VIII" (p. 195). For his translation, Fray Diego uses the lira form, the same form that Fray Luis de León used in his translation of some of the Psalms. There are nine stanzas in Fray Diego's translation, corresponding generally to the nine verses of the Biblical text; the poet adds a tenth stanza as a doxology. In the González translation, as in the Biblical text, the first and ninth stanzas are the same; they form a framework within which the Psalmist sings of God's handiwork. A modern translation is included here as a basis for comparing a standard published version of the Eighth Psalm and Fray Diego's verse translation.

1 ¡Jehová, Señor nuestro,
cuán admirable es tu
nombre en toda la tierra,
que has puesto tu gloria
sobre los cielos!

In the González text, this verse becomes two stanzas:

¡Cuán grande y admirable,
Oh Señor, en quien nuestro bien se encierra,
Es tu nombre adorable
En todo cuanto cierra
La redondez inmensa de la tierra!
Pues la magnificencia
Que en tus excelsas obras se ha mostrado,
En poderío y ciencia
Así ha sobrepujado,
Que más que el alto cielo se ha elevado.

If we assume that the modern version is a creditable translation of the original, we can also say that Fray Diego's first stanza is worthy of its model; it expresses the same idea in simple, yet elevated language. Perhaps the first hendecasyllable repeats too often the sounds -en and -ie, but at first reading the content is more prominent than the sound of the line. The second stanza is too erudite and conceptual; it lacks the directness of both the first stanza and the

corresponding lines of the original.

2 De la boca de los pequeñitos,
y de los que maman,
has ordenado la alabanza, a
causa de tus adversarios,
para hacer callar al enemigo,
y al hombre vengativo.

The verse translation:

Sacaste tu alabanza
De infantil boca, que aún enjuga el pecho;
La enemiga alianza
Confundida, y deshecho
El odio vengador y su despecho.

Neither of these versions has the concision or poetic reach of the same verse in the King James Bible:

Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou
ordained strength
Because of thine enemies,
That thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.

The difference may be due to the phrases "los pequeñitos" and "infantil boca"; neither phrase is grand enough to fit the conception. Furthermore, the cadence of Fray Diego's line is hampered by his placement of the adjectives in "infantil boca" and "enemiga alianza": such placement gives equal semantic and phonetic value to both the noun and the adjective, with the result that the intonation of the line suffers.

The Biblical text continues:

3 Cuando contemplo tus cielos,
obra de tus dedos,
la luna y las estrellas que
tu estableciste,
4 ¿qué viene a ser el mísero
hombre, para que tengas
de él memoria,
y el hijo del hombre, para que
le visites?

Fray Luis de León begins his ode, "Noche serena," with the lines

Cuando contemplo el cielo
de innumerables luces adornado ...

Fray Diego, whom contemporary and modern critics characterize as an imitator of Fray Luis, in this case chooses not to borrow from Fray Luis, but rather to say:

Que si los cielos miro,
Esmero de tu mano omnipotente,
Y el desvelado giro
De la luna luciente,
Y de estrellas el coro refulgente,
Luego digo, admirado:
¿Qué es el hombre, que tanto le encarece [BAE, 1812:
Tu amor, ó el engendrado encareces]
Del hombre, que mil veces
Con tu visitacion le favoreces?

One difference between Fray Diego's translation and the original is the level of language, whereby "obra" becomes "esmero" and, the requirements of rhyme apart, "el hijo del hombre" becomes "el engendrado del hombre." The change from "dedos" to "mano" is relatively minor, but in the change there is a loss of vividness; "mano" is general, generic; "dedos" is specific, graphic, and more evocative--it individualizes the work of the hands. Another difference is that the Biblical text does not indicate any personification of nature, whereas in Fray Diego's text personification is implicit in "desvelado giro" and "coro refulgente." The 1817 reading must be introduced in line 22, since "encareces" is clearly not consistent with the sense of the line if the subject is "tu amor."

In some instances, the Biblical text and the González version are quite similar:

5 Sin embargo, le hiciste un
poco menor que los ángeles;
le coronas también de gloria
y honra,

6 le haces señorear de las obras
de tus manos ...

Poco ménos le hiciste
Que el ángel, y de honor le coronaste
Y gloria, y le pusiste,
Luégo que le formaste,
Sobre todas las cosas que criaste.

There is little difference between the two versions of these lines if one excepts the difference between "un poco menor," which is qualitative, and "un poco menos," which is quantitative. A third version, the translation by Cipriano de Valera, also gives "menor"; the same line in the King James Bible reads "For thou has made him a little lower than the angels ..."

The sixth verse of the psalm continues:

... todas las cosas has puesto
debajo de sus pies:
7 ovejas y bueyes, todo ello;
y asimismo las bestias del
campo,
8 las aves del cielo, y los
peces del mar,
cuanto pasa por las sendas
de los mares.

Fran Diego's translation includes what is probably the worst line that he ever wrote:

Y todo sometido
Lo dejaste á sus piés y á su mandado;
El rebaño vestido
De lana, el buey pausado,
Y cuanto pace yerba en monte ó prado;
Y las ligeras aves,
Que alzan el vuelo á la region vacía,
Y los pescados graves,
Que cruzan á porfía
Las sendas de la mar salada y fria.

Some circumlocutions have already been noted in the poetry of Fray Diego, but none so clumsy and forced as "El rebaño vestido / De lana."

The image conjured up by this phrase reduces the high seriousness of the subject to absurdity. Also, and again leaving aside the demands of rhyme, one could question such phrases as "el buey pausado" and "los pescados graves" as needless personifications in a poem that should personify only God. "La region vacía" makes the sky an alien medium for the birds; "las aves del cielo" takes for granted the relationship between birds and sky. Finally, "Las sendas de la mar salada y fria" evokes unpleasant sensations with regard to the sea; how much more pleasantly suggestive to the imagination is the phrase "por las sendas de los mares." This last phrase calls to mind the world's several seas and the numberless, uncharted paths that cross them; there is also in this phrase that same suggestion of boundless immensity and variety which we saw in the first verse of the Psalm and which Fray Diego repeats in his ninth stanza:

¡Cuán grande y admirable,
Oh Señor, en quien nuestro bien se encierra,
Es tu nombre adorable
En todo cuanto cierra
La redondez inmensa de la tierra!

The poet closes his translation with a stanza in praise of the Trinity.

"Traduccion del Salmo XI" (p. 195). The BAE and the editions of 1812 and 1817 entitle this poem "Traduccion del Salmo X"; it is in fact Fray Diego's translation of the Eleventh Psalm. The Tenth Psalm is considerably longer than the Eleventh and begins:

¿Por qué te mantienes tan lejos,
oh Jehová?
¿por qué te escondes en los tiempos
de angustia?

Further compounding the confusion is the fact that Fray Luis de León's

translation of the Twelfth Psalm is listed in BAE 37 as "Salmo XI--
Salvum me fac, Domine."⁵⁶

The Eleventh Psalm is not a song of praise as is the Eighth; it has more in common with the Tenth and Twelfth Psalms, which bewail the triumphs of the wicked over the poor and righteous. In Fray Diego's translation, the Eleventh Psalm consists of twenty-nine lines of irregularly-rhymed heptasyllables and hendecasyllables, a combination of verses which Fray Luis de León also used in some of his translations. The Biblical text of the Eleventh Psalm begins:

- 1 En Jehová he confiado: ¿cómo
pues decís a mi alma,
que escape, cual avecilla, a
vuestro monte?
- 2 Porque, he aquí, los malignos han
entesado el arco,
tienen apercebidas sus flechas
sobre la cuerda,
para asaetear en oculto a los
rectos de corazón.
- 3 Pues que los fundamentos del
orden se desmoronan;
el justo ¿qué ha efectuado?

In Fray Diego's translation, these lines read:

¿Para qué me decis (si en Dios confío):
"Sús, corre, aguija, vuela, y como el ave
Traspasa el monte y la encumbrada sierra?
¿No ves los muchos que con pecho impío
Aparejan el arco duro y grave
Aljaba, que saetas mil encierra,
Para herir en oculto al inocente?
¿No ves que han derrocado
Al suelo prestamente
Cuanto tú en luengo tiempo has fabricado?"
Mas ¿qué hice yo, cuitado?

⁵⁶The discrepancy in the numbering of Fray Luis de León's translations begins with "Salmo XI"--it is in fact the 12th; similarly, on pp. 47 and ff., Luis de León's 12th is the Biblical 13th, his 17th the Biblical 18th, and so on.

More than just a translation, Fray Diego's version is an expansion of the original text. For example, "escape" becomes the more dramatic "Sús, corre, aguija, vuela"; it is more dramatic because it suggests different means of escape, including impossible flight. When the poet introduces the simile "como el ave," his verb is not volar but traspasar. The "monte" of the original becomes "monte y la encumbrada sierra"; "arco" becomes "arco duro" and "flechas" becomes "grave / Aljaba, que saetas mil encierra." But the expansion of the original does not necessarily mean an improvement or an increase of poetic drama; it means mainly an erudite elaboration of the original text, which is almost spare in comparison. The last four lines of the translation stray somewhat from the original rather than expand upon it.

The Biblical text continues:

4 Jehová está en su santo Templo;
 Jehová tiene en el cielo su trono;
 sus ojos ven, sus párpados prueban
 a los hijos de los hombres.

The González translation:

Ni ¿de quién temeré, si desde el cielo
 El Señor, que en su santo templo mora,
 Sentado como juez, mira piadoso
 La causa de los pobres y su duelo,
 Y de los hombres la conciencia explora
 Con juicio riguroso,
 Y pregunta imparcial á cada uno,
 Al justo y al impío de consuno?

The Biblical poet uses a device in this Psalm that he used also in the Eighth Psalm; then, he had said:

Cuando contemplo tus cielos,
 obra de tus dedos ...

On that occasion Fray Diego translated "dedos" to "mano," with the

result that the line lost in vividness and individualization. In this Psalm, the poet says, speaking of Jehovah, "sus ojos ven, sus párpados prueban ..."; it is striking that the psalmist should say "párpados" in addition to "ojos," because the word calls attention not only to God's eyes, but to a part of his eyes. Man's eyelids do not possess the power of vision; that the psalmist should attribute this power to God's eyelids vastly augments God's majesty. This play of imagination apparently escapes Fray Diego, who reduces the concept and the metaphor to "mira piadoso ... la conciencia explora."

The last three verses of the Psalm read:

- 5 Jehová prueba al justo;
pero en cuanto al maligno y al que
ama la rapiña, su alma le aborrece.
- 6 Sobre los malos lloverá lazos, fuego
y azufre, y horrible tempestad:
tal será la porción de su copa.
- 7 Porque justo es Jehová, y ama la justicia;
el hombre recto mirará su rostro.

The corresponding lines in Fray Diego's translation:

Que el que ama la maldad, aborrecida
Tiene á su misma alma; y Dios, airado,
Lloverá los peligros por do quiera
Sobre los pecadores; su bebida,
A los malos, y suerte postrimera
Serán fuego y azufre, y al airado
Viento tempestuoso corrompido;
Porque es justo el Señor, y siempre amante
De la justicia ha sido,
Y á la equidad miró de buen semblante.

The Cipriano de Valera translation prints the last line of the Psalm as "al recto mirará su rostro"; similarly, the King James Bible reads "His countenance doth behold the upright." Fray Diego's translation agrees with the latter readings; his interpretation is that God looked benignly upon the just man, rather than that the just man shall look

upon God. The difference between the two interpretations is not fundamental, but it should be noted that on this one point, Fray Diego's reading seems to be more accurate.

"Traducccion del himno Te Deum" (p. 196). The Te Deum laudamus and one of the commonly used English translations read:

Te Deum laudamus: te Dominum confitemur.
Te aeternum Patrem, omnis terra veneratur.

We praise thee, O God: we acknowledge thee to be
the Lord.
All the earth doth worship thee; the Father everlasting.

For his translation of the Latin "omnis terra," Fray Diego makes use of a phrase seen also in his translation of the Eighth Psalm; in that work, the translation is:

¡Cuán grande y admirable,
Oh Señor; ...
Es tu nombre adorable
En todo cuanto cierra
La redondez inmensa de la tierra!

In his Te Deum, Fray Diego says:

A vos, Señor, por Dios os alabamos,
Y vuestro señorío
Sobre todas las cosas confesamos,
Padre eterno de inmenso poderío
Os venera la tierra
Y cuanto el orbe encierra.

Fray Diego chooses to express universal praise of God by saying, not just "all the earth," but "the earth and all that it holds," implying here what he says in the Psalm: that man, the birds, the creatures of the field, the fishes that roam the seas--all sing God's praise. In the Te Deum, the heavenly host adds its voice:

Tibi omnes Angeli: tibi Coeli et Potestates;
Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim incessabili voce proclamant:
Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus: Deus Sabaoth!

Pleni sunt coeli et terra majestatis gloriae tuae.
 Te gloriosus chorus Apostolorum,
 Te Prophetarum laudabilis numerus,
 Te Martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus.
 Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur Ecclesia,
 Patrem immensae majestatis;
 Venerandum tuum verum et unicum Filium,
 Sanctum quoque Paracletum Spiritum.

Fray Diego follows closely the original text and does not expand upon it to the extent that he expanded upon the Psalms.

Por angélicos coros sin reposo,
 Los cielos y las altas potestades,
 El querubin y serafin gozosos,
 Con incesante canto
 Os entonan el Santo, Santo, Santo;
 Señor de los ejércitos terrible.
 Cielo y tierra rebosan vuestra gloria
 Y majestad; el coro glorioso
 De apóstoles, el número plausible
 De profetas y ejército invencible
 De mártires triunfantes
 Os alaban constantes.
 La iglesia, por el mundo difundida,
 Os confiesa por Padre omnipotente,
 Y á vuestro venerado
 Unigénito Hijo coeterno,
 Y al Espíritu Santo juntamente.

A comparison of the texts shows that there is such a close relationship between the original and Fray Diego's version that the latter is just what the poet says it is, a translation and nothing more. Fray Diego's Te Deum is not a work of the imagination and it is unlikely that it was intended to be. There is no fixed stanzaic form and the alternation of seven- and eleven-syllable lines is irregular, as is the rhyme scheme throughout the fifty-eight lines that comprise the poem. Fray Diego's best lines (24-36) are the following:

¡Oh ungido del Señor! ¡Oh Cristo amado!
 Tú eres Rey de la gloria,
 Hijo eternal del Padre sempiterno.
 Tú, habiendo de tomar el sér humano
 Para librar al hombre, que criaste,

Con ser inmenso, no te desdignaste
 De la estrecha clausura
 De las entrañas de una vírgen pura.
 Tú, vencida la muerte, nos abriste
 Con poderosa mano
 Las puertas eternas,
 Que la culpa fatal habia cerrado
 A todos los mortales.

Although Fray Diego is only translating, he is still able to inject into these verses the ardor of his own devotion, because the sentiments of the Te Deum coincide with his own. These verses recall the best lines of "Las edades," in which the poet speaks eloquently of the ills that befell man as a result of "la culpa fatal." As noted earlier by Martínez de la Rosa, Fray Diego, as priest and poet, could not remain indifferent to a matter of such importance.

"Traduccion del himno Veni, Creator" and "Traduccion del cántico Magnificat" (pp. 195-196). There is no doubt that piety inspired the translation of these works, but the results are nonetheless undistinguished. These hymns do not have the freshness of the Psalms; quite the contrary, they are ponderous in their language and overburdened with doctrine. The imagery is not that of a Psalmist, but that of a devotional missal. For example, the second cuarteto of Veni, Creator reads:

Tú, que abogado fiel eres llamado,
 Del Altísimo dón, perenne fuente
 De vida eterna, caridad ferviente,
 Espiritual unción, fuego sagrado ...

In spite of the words "ferviente" and "fuego," there is neither passion nor fervency in these lines. Fray Diego's own original verses, for example those depicting the creation of man or those that lament the exile from paradise, are more fervent and impassioned because they

arise out of the poet's personal devotion.

The major difference between the two hymns is the verse form: the Veni, Creator is written in cuartetos, the Magnificat in the lira form. The latter is airier and scans more rapidly because of the seven-syllable lines, but again the conception does not rise above the merely doctrinaire. One stanza will illustrate this point (lines 31-35):

Colmó al necesitado
De bienes soberanos con largueza,
Y al rico, confiado
En su falaz riqueza,
Dejó vacío en mísera pobreza.

No doubt the moral lesson enclosed in these lines justified to Fray Diego their translation into Spanish verse. But the result is not equal to the intention.

CHAPTER VI

STYLISTIC DEVICES IN THE POETRY OF FRAY DIEGO GONZALEZ

In the preceding chapter, the poems of Fray Diego were examined from the point of view of content, historical or autobiographical application, if any, relationship to other poems, and metrics; note was made then of some of Fray Diego's stylistic devices, but they did not generally receive detailed attention. At this point, therefore, it would be well to consider the various devices that Fray Diego used to achieve his poetic effect, as well as some which he may not have intended. For the sake of convenience and order, these stylistic devices and effects will be examined under the following headings:

Anaphora	Interior rhyme
Archaisms	Parentheses and asides
Balance	The poet addresses the poem
Cacophony	Run-on repetition
Circumlocution	Series
The <u>estribillo</u>	
Hyperbaton	

Anaphora, or the repetition of a word or phrase at the beginning of successive lines. Fray Diego's autobiography, Historia de Delio, is of greater historical than poetic interest, although more facts about the poet's life can be learned elsewhere. Poetically, the most notable lines are the following (79-90), in which the poet writes with more warmth than anywhere else in the poem, and in which the device of

anaphora helps build the emotion. The poet confesses here his first youthful love for Melisa,

La de los negros ojos,
 La de luengas pestañas,
 Sin par hermosa y á la par discreta;
 Causadora de enojos,
 De asaz duras entrañas,
 Que de amor no domó cruda saeta.
 A tal fiera sujeta
 El ánima y rendida,
 Amaba ardientemente,
 Amaba tiernamente,
 Amaba sin templanza y sin medida;
 Amaba, en fin, de modo,
 Que áun ahora al recordarlo tiemblo todo.

The poetic intensity reaches its peak at "sin templanza y sin medida"; it begins to decline with the parenthesis "en fin" and spends itself in the last hendecasyllable. Another example of anaphora occurs later in the same poem; this time, however, the result is less felicitous. Both Meléndez Valdés and Fray Diego reacted effusively to everything that came from the pen of Jovellanos; they unwisely accorded pre-eminence to the magistrate in the areas of poetry and good taste. When Jovellanos sent his epistle, Jovino á sus amigos de Salamanca, then, Fray Diego responded to Jovino's allegorical dream in this fashion (lines 196-206):

¡Oh sueño peregrino!
 ¡Oh asombro lastimoso!
 ¡Oh verdad disfrazada sabiamente!
 ¡Oh soñador divino!
 ¡Oh Josef misterioso!
 Tú enseñas, tú reprehendes dulcemente;
 Tú poderosamente
 El sueño sacudiste,
 En que siempre yacieran,
 Y sin gloria murieran
 Batilo, con Liseno y Delio triste.

Such praise, while apparently sincere, is almost distasteful in its exaggeration and effusiveness.

In "El murciélago alevoso," Fray Diego uses every means at his disposal to achieve a humorous effect, none to greater advantage than the repetition of one or two words in successive lines of verse. In lines 113-120, there is a breathless accumulation of tortures that the poet wishes upon the perfidious bat:

Te puncen y te sajen,
Te tundan, te golpeen, te martillen,
Te piquen, te acribillen,
Te dividan, te corten y te rajen,
Te desmiembren, te partan, te degüellen,
Te hiendan, te desuellen,
Te estrujen, te aporreen, te magullen,
Te deshagan, confundan y aturrullen.

Balanced against the constant repetition of "te" is the wide variety of verbs; what results is a sense of both variation and sameness. In the last line, the poet retards the momentum by changing the structure of the line.

Other examples of anaphora occur in "Al pensamiento," lines 29-32; in "Visiones de Delio," lines 59-62; in "Triunfo de Manzanares," lines 106-112; and in "El digamos," lines 1-6 and 89-96.

Archaisms. By his use of archaisms, Fray Diego adds to the ingenuousness of his poetry. His vocabulary and syntax are thoroughly Spanish, that is, free of foreign words and constructions. Fray Diego reaffirms both the Spanishness of his poetry and his place in the native tradition by his studied but not excessive use of archaic terms. In "A Melisa. Sueños," the poet writes (line 23): "Y apenas hube aquesto acordado"; "A Melisa. Cancion" (line 71): "Luégo que ya me vido confiado"; "A la quemadura del dedo de Filis" (line 35): "Vido una fresca rosa"; "A Lisi, malagueña" (line 68): "Si en una sazon

mesma"; "A Vecinta desdeñosa" (line 81): "... tras la luenga noche vino el dia"; "El triunfo de Manzanares" (line 119): "Extendiendo los brazos luengamente"; "A las nobles artes" (line 92): "O en la caverna escura"; "Visiones de Delio" (line 30): "Fuíme á dormir sin cuita." Fray Diego also reverts occasionally to an older practice of changing the infinitive ending -r to -l before an enclitic pronoun. Thus, he writes contenello for contenerlo in "El triunfo de Manzanares" (line 86); reducilla for reducirla in "Visiones de Delio" (line 4); sabello for saberlo in "Cádiz transformado" (line 86).

Pastoral poetry attempted to escape from the everyday world through the use of assumed names and the creation of an imagined Arcadia; it was, historically speaking, a step back in time and therefore out of tune with the fast-changing Eighteenth Century. The models for pastoral poetry were the bucolic poets of antiquity and those of the Spanish sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; Fray Diego's archaisms are an attempt to recapture linguistically an older and presumably simpler period in man's history.

Balance. Professor Monguió has pointed out that one of the reminiscences of the sixteenth century in Fray Diego's poetry is the trimembered line, particularly as seen in Garcilaso. One example that Professor Monguió cites is Fray Diego's line from "A Liseno," "Cifró el númen, la gracia y la hermosura" (line 10). Other examples are "Virtuosa, gratuita y sin mudanza," line 91 of "¿Por qué tan riguroso"; "Entristecen, oprimen y sofocan" and "Con planta lenta, torpe y perezosa," lines 12 and 16 from "Endechas á Mirta ausente." The balance in these lines is largely rhythmical, but there are other kinds of

balanced lines in Fray Diego's poetry, lines that balance and contrast. Not all are original with Fray Diego. Fray Luis de León wrote, in his "Epitafio al túmulo del Príncipe Don Carlos,"

Aquí yacen de Carlos los despojos,
La parte principal volvióse al cielo,
Con ella fué el valor: quedóle al suelo
Miedo en el corazon, llanto en los ojos.

Fray Diego, in his "Llanto de Delio," also balances cielo against suelo, then borrows intact Fray Luis de León's perfectly-balanced line for his own dirge on the death of the Infante Don Carlos Eusebio (lines 99-100):

Volaste al cielo, en fin; dejaste al suelo,
Miedo en el corazon, llanto en los ojos ...

Sometimes Fray Diego balances syntactical elements at the same time that he contrasts lexical elements; for example, in lines 223-226 of "Las edades":

¡Qué conexión, qué órden, qué artificio
En huesos, nervios, venas se guardaba!
¡Qué belleza, qué talle y simetría
En todo el exterior manifestaba!

Three of these lines are tri-membered; that is, they form a symmetrical trio. Further, the members of the lines, conexión-belleza, órden-talle, artificio-simetría, are balanced against each other as nouns. Finally, the interior part--huesos, nervios, venas--is contrasted to "el exterior"; it is therefore appropriate that the poet also contrast "guardaba" and "manifestaba."

Sometimes the balanced elements are close to each other, as in "A Vecinta desdeñosa" (lines 27-33):

Dando al cielo alegría
Alzas los bellos ojos
A Jualindo, que el alto techo mora

(¿Quién vió más claro día?),
 Y luego con enojos
 Los diriges á Delio sin demora
 (¿Quién vió más triste hora?).

At other times, they may be separated by as many as forty lines, as in "Las edades": line 352: "¡Oh amarga culpa! ¡Cuánto mal trajiste!"; line 392: "¡Oh amarga culpa! ¡Tanto mal hiciste!"

Other examples of balanced and often contrasting lines are:

"Delio y Mirta" (lines 61-63):

El no vive sin tí, tú sin él mueres:
 Tú le sigues do quiera que se ausenta;
 El sigue por do quiera que tú fueres.

"A Lisi, malagueña" (lines 13-14, 91-92):

... la dicha de amarla
 Al tiempo de perderla.

Alegres, si te acoge,
 Tristes si te deshecha.

"Al pensamiento" (lines 3-4, 11-12, 15-16):

De aumentar mis temores
 Con proponer mis daños ...

Si brilla en el Oriente,
 Se ofusca en el Ocaso.

Crecientes y menguantes,
 Alientos y desmayos.

Cacophony. For all its technical brilliance, "El murciélago alevoso" contains at least one cacophonous line; in the BAE it is printed as line 108: "De palos por los cabos afilados." In the Verger text, line 116, the variant reading is "y palos por los cabos aguzados." Although there is little to choose from between the two readings, perhaps the BAE version grates less on the ear. The eclogue "Delio y Mirta" includes these lines (91-92):

¡Ay Mirta! si los dioses inmortales
De estos nuestros afares caso hicieran ...

The 1812 and 1817 variant reading is: "si de estas nuestras cosas caso hicieran." Again, the BAE reading, although far from mellifluous, is the less jarring. Twice more in the same poem Fray Diego uses the combination esto-nuestro, with equally dissonant results: line 188: "En esta nuestra selva umbrosa y fria"; line 214: "En estas nuestras selvas deleitosas." The fault with "esta(s) nuestra(s) selva(s)," in addition to the repetition of the same vowels and consonants, lies with the galloping rhythm that is established by three consecutive words that are accented alike.

Circumlocution. During the consideration of Fray Diego's "Traduccion del Salmo VIII," it was said that "El rebaño vestido de lana" was probably the poet's worst line ever; not because of the sound or rhythm of the line, but because of the mental picture that it evokes. The Biblical poet (or translator) did not disdain the common noun ovejas, but Fray Diego did. In his amorous poetry, Fray Diego did not scruple to use ovejas, but he apparently felt that a translation of the Eighth Psalm called for a grander term; hence the circumlocution. It is not the only one that Fray Diego used: in the same translation the poet writes "la region vacia" for "air" (line 37) and in "Las edades," "la fria / Cristalina region" for "water" (lines 154-155). Fortunately, however, such circumlocutions are not frequent in Fray Diego's poetry.

The estribillo. In two poems having to do with dreams, "A Melisa. Sueños" and "Cádiz transformado," Fray Diego repeats an

estribillo which has the effect of summarizing the content of the poem and unifying it. The estribillo in "A Melisa. Sueños" is "Maldije la vigilia, alabé el sueño," indicating that the poet's dreams were only chimeras, but preferable in any case to reality. The theme of the poem is explicitly stated in the last stanza:

Ansioso deseaba
Que, ya que sólo el sueño fué mi vida,
Mi vida un continuado sueño fuera.

Thus, when the poet ends his lament, he puts the estribillo in the present tense to indicate that he still prefers dreams to reality: "Maldigo la vigilia, alabo el sueño." In "Cádiz transformado," the poet relates a series of dreams which seem impossible of attainment; the estribillo therefore is "Y era soñar el ciego que veía." Twelve stanzas have this refrain as their last line; again, the theme of the poem is disillusionment:

... ofendido
De la verdad, con ceño
Miré la vida, y con placer el sueño.

And, as in the previous poem, the last lines of the entire poem are a paraphrase of the estribillo:

... si soñaba
El ciego que veía,
Era sólo soñar lo que quería.

Fray Diego uses the estribillo to good effect because, as the poem progresses, as the poet relates successive disillusionments, the estribillo takes on increasing poignancy, which the poet tempers at the end of the poem by a re-phrasing of the theme.

Hyperbaton. The inversion of normal word order is one of the most effective resources of poetry: the poet calls attention to the

words by his deliberate misplacement of them. Góngora, for example, begins his "Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea" with the lines,

Éstas que me dictó, rimas sonoras,
cultas sí, aunque bucólica Talía ...

And Sor Juana begins her most famous sonnet with "Este, que ves, engaño colorido ..." While Fray Diego, too, manipulates word order, frequently to fit the demands of rhyme, extreme hyperbaton is not characteristic of his poetry. There are a few instances of hyperbaton, however, that are noticeable because of their unesthetic effect. For example, in "¿Por qué tan riguroso," lines 7-11 read:

... Celia, cumplido
Un lustro solamente,
Para ser educada,
Del seno es separada
Maternal ...

Lines 18-20 of "Delio y Mirta" read:

Antimio me ha sacado del engaño,
Luego que á pacer vino esta ribera
Con su ganado, ayer.

The subject of "vino" is the shepherd Antimio, although this is not immediately apparent. In "El triunfo de Manzanares," lines 76-79 read:

... cuán vanamente fatigára
El coro femenil de las vestales,
Con himnos virginales,
De la dormida diosa las orejas ...

One wishes that the poet, once resolved to fit the goddess with "orejas," had hidden the word inside the line by keeping the normal word order; this would have destroyed the rhyme, of course--the next line ends with "quejas"--, but all poetic effect is destroyed in any case. Indeed, the effect is comical and one must needs pity the sleeping goddess, who, one imagines, will wake as did Bottom in Midsummer Night's Dream, to find herself encumbered with a pair of outsize orejas.

Interior rhyme. In "Delio, en la granja," Fray Diego establishes the basic assonance of the poem with the words "humano trato retirado," which occur in the second line; thereafter, and throughout the poem, the assonance in a-o is repeated several times. Other rhymes occur also: tiempo-tierno in one line, riego-sentimiento and pompairosa in others. It was said in the preceding chapter that the recurring sound patterns of this poem gave it unity and compactness, although other factors also contribute, such as the repetition of many words. But from the outset, there is a uniformity of sounds in "Delio, en la granja," traceable directly to the interior rhyme.

The opening line of "A Melisa. Cancion" repeats not only vowels but consonants as well: "Andando yo cazando ..."; within the first six lines occur the words "extraño," "notando," and "dragon," plus "paloma" and "boca." In one line of "Delio y Mirta" (line 15), the repetition is exact: "De tu mudanza nace mi mudanza." Later in the same poem (lines 18-20):

Antimio me ha sacado del engaño,
 Luégo que á pacer vino esta ribera
 Con su ganado, ayer. ¡Oh suerte impia!

In addition to the interior rhyme of sacado-engaño-ganado, there is the rhyme of pacer-ayer in the middle of the line. As a matter of fact, due to the syntax of these lines, the interior rhyme is more obvious than the meaning.

Related to the phenomenon of interior rhyme, yet different from it, is the repetition of a single sound, in this case a vowel, as in line 8 of "A Liseno": "Do con modo no usado ...". Strictly speaking, this is not interior rhyme because only one vowel of the end rhyme is

repeated; nor is it alliteration because the repeated sounds (usually consonants) are not initial. Nevertheless, the sound of the line is immediately apparent.

Parentheses and asides. Some of Fray Diego's many parentheses fit naturally into the context of the poem and add to the conversational quality of the poetry. For example, "A Melisa. Sueños" begins with these lines:

Soñaba yo, Melisa
(Ya que quieres saber lo que soñaba);
Soñaba yo que en un ameno prado ...

At other times, the parenthesis is meant to express emotion, as in lines 7 and 71 of the same poem: "(¡Oh favor no esperado!)"; "(¡Oh suerte fiera!)," or line 62 of "En los días de Lisi": "(¡Oh venturosa estrella!)."

Ofentimes, the parenthesis is written into the poem solely to satisfy the demands of rhyme. Thus, lines 32-33 of "A las nobles artes":

... do anida de aves gran cuadrilla
(¡Oh rara maravilla) ...

On occasion, parallel parentheses are contrasted and balanced against each other: "A Vecinta desdeñosa," lines 30 and 33:

(¿Quién vió más claro día?)
.....
(¿Quién vió más triste hora?)

While such balanced parentheses are effective within the poem, isolated exclamations scattered throughout the poetry break the continuity of the line or distract from the meaning. The mere insertion of an exclamation into a line does not make that line emotionally charged. Line 37 of "A Vecinta desdeñosa" reads "Se miran (¡qué

prodigio!) en un instante ..."; but the line is not dramatic, in or out of context. Tension and drama build within a poem by means other than parenthetical exclamations. Fray Diego proved this himself by relying on other, more effective rhetorical devices.

The poet addresses the poem. One of the characteristics of Fray Diego's love lyrics is that the poet frequently steps outside the poem, as it were, in order to address it. The reason behind this procedure is that the love lyrics were written to be sent to Cádiz, Málaga, and Seville; the poet, therefore, dispatched his poem by adding a final verse, ostensibly addressed only to the poem itself. "A Vecinta desdeñosa" ends with these lines:

... pero deja,
Cancion, y corta el hilo ya á la queja;
Que tras la lengua noche vino el día.
¿No viste cómo el alba se reía,
Y que Vecinta hermosa
Comienza ya á mirarte cariñosa?

The last stanza of "Cádiz transformado" is

Cancion, vé á Mirta, y di de parte mía
Que si de mi verdad y amor dudaba,
Sepa que si soñaba
El ciego que veía,
Era sólo soñar lo que quería.

"Visiones de Delio" ends in this fashion:

Cancion, vé y dile á Mirta, de mi parte,
Que se digne siquiera de leerte,
Y si acaso acertare á interpretarte,
Vuelve á decirme tan dichosa suerte.

Here, the poet is in effect asking for a reply, which as the years went by, Mirta was less and less disposed to give.

Fray Diego's most successful apostrophe to a poem comes at the end of "A Lisi, malagueña."

Vé á Málaga volando,
 Mi dulce cantilena,
 Y goza la ventura
 Que á tu amor se le niega,
 Y si logras la dicha
 De llegar á las bellas
 Manos de Lisi hermosa,
 Mil veces se las besa;
 Y vuelve luégo, luégo,
 A traerme las nuevas,
 Alegres, si te acoge,
 Tristes, si te deshecha.

Run-on repetition. A stylistic device to which Fray Diego occasionally has recourse is the repetition of a word or short phrase that has just occurred in a preceding line. This device is seen, for example, in "Llanto de Delio" at a point (lines 36-38) where Delio is addressing the River Manzanares:

... retira del Tajo tu carrera;
 Del Tajo, que despues de ser testigo
 Inhumano del caso doloroso ...

And in "Las edades," lines 289-290, 319-321:

Y siempre á la razon obedeciesen;
 A la razon, que á todo presidia ...

 Del soberbio Satan el triunfo injusto,
 Con astucia traidora conseguido;
 El triunfo injusto, que con grave canto ...

This is an oratorical figure that Fray Diego probably transposed from his sermons; it lends itself well to the stately march of serious poetry, especially to the hendecasyllabic line, because it reiterates and emphasizes a point at the same time that it provides a dramatic pause--a step backward, as it were, for more reflection. But this run-on repetition also joins heptasyllables and hendecasyllables, as in "¿Por qué tan riguroso," lines 13-14, 52-53:

... cual víctima inocente,
 Llevada á la clausura,

Que tú juzgas eterna sepultura?
Eterna sepultura,
Donde en perpetuo olvido ...

Paga despues tributo
Dando á su tiempo el sazonado fruto.
El fruto sazonado ...

All the examples so far are from serious poetry; there are others in Fray Diego's festive and amorous verses as well. We have already seen, in another connection, these lines from "A Melisa. Sueños":

Soñaba yo, Melisa
(Ya que quieres saber lo que soñaba);
Soñaba yo que en un ameno prado ...

Lines 49-52 from "En los dias de Lisi":

¡Ay tristes, ay dichosos
Los ojos que te vean!
Dichosos si te agradan,
Tristes se los desprecias.

More has gone into the above stanza than just the device of run-on repetition--there is also anaphora, balance, contrast, change of view-point, interior rhyme--, but the success of these lines is due as much to this one simple device as to any of the others.

Series. "El murciélago alevoso" is an example of how Fray Diego accumulates nouns and verbs in a series in order to quicken the pace of a poem. He begins rather slowly, combining verbs with other parts of speech; he is not ready yet, in the eighth stanza, to heap verb upon verb as he will do later in the poem. Beginning with line 60, the poet wishes upon the treacherous bat the following indignities, to be inflicted by "el jugueton gatillo bullicioso":

Al verte, se retire y se contenga,
Y bufe y se espeluce horrorizado,
Y alce el rabo esponjado,
Y el espinazo en arco suba al cielo,

Y con los piés apénas toque el suelo.
 Mas luégo recobrado,
 Y del primer horror convalecido,
 El pecho al suelo unido,
 Traiga el rabo del uno al otro lado,
 Y cosido en la tierra, observe atento;
 Y cada movimiento
 Que en tí llegue á notar su perspicacia,
 Le provoque al asalto y le dé audacia.
 En fin, sobre tí venga,
 Te acometa y ultraje sin recelo,
 Te arrastre por el suelo,
 Y á costa de tu daño se entretenga;
 Y por caso las uñas afiladas
 En tus alas clavadas,
 Por echarte de sí con sobresalto,
 Te arroje muchas veces á lo alto.

The poet is deliberate in his description because the cat is still cautious and uncertain; no such uncertainty or caution will the boys display as they work their vengeance upon the unfortunate bat. The tempo of the poem increases as the poet arms the young boys

De piedras, de navajas, de aguijones,
 De clavos, de punzones,
 De palos por los cabos afilados ...

The poem reaches its climax as the poet, in a breathless rush of words, enumerates the final tortures that the band of urchins shall rain upon the bat:

Te puncen y te sajen,
 Te tundan, te golpeen, te martillen,
 Te piquen, te acribillen,
 Te dividan, te corten y te rajen,
 Te desmiembren, te partan, te degüellen,
 Te hiendan, te desuellen,
 Te estrujen, te aporreen, te magullen,
 Te deshagan, confundan y aturrullen.

Here there are no intervening adjectives or adverbs: only action words, one after another, as the poet vents his spite upon the animal that so frightened Mirta.

Words in series provide comic effect in a poem such as "El

murciélago alevoso," although the scene itself is hardly amusing; the rush of language, the accumulation of words, is more important than the meaning of the words. The same device can work toward serious ends, as in "Las edades": in lines 106-107, Fray Diego describes the primordial chaos:

... inerme, vacía, informe, impura,
La faz ceñida de tiniebla oscura.

Later in the same poem, Fray Diego lists the evils that came into the world because of man's first disobedience in the Garden of Eden (lines 369-375):

Por tí en el mundo entró la muerte fria,
Por tí la enfermedad y la dolencia,
La vergonzosa desnudez, la impia
Siempre traidora iníel concupiscencia,
La ignorancia, el orgullo, la insaciable
Codicia, la hambre y sed, y la indigencia,
Y de otros monstruos turba innumerable ...

Again, the poet begins gradually: the first line has only "la muerte fria"; the second has "la enfermedad y la dolencia." Then the pitch rises as the poet describes (without punctuation) "concupiscencia"; it descends slightly at "La ignorancia," rises again at "la hambre y sed," then tapers off in the last line.

The same procedure, in varying degrees, can be seen in other poems. In "A Melisa. Sueños" (lines 60-61):

Tendremos ya los dos comun el techo,
El ajuar, el vivir, la mesa, el lecho.

"A las nobles artes" (lines 55-58):

... valles, montes, selvas, ríos,
A distancia precisa,
Accion sin movimiento;
Fondos, léjos, alturas y vacíos ...

"Al Rio Guadalete" (lines 13-20):

Bien cierto que si tú las contempláras,
 El paso aceleráras,
 Por lograr mejor aire, mejor suelo,
 Mejor sol, mejor luna, mejor cielo.
 ¿Qué tiene este terreno,
 Que pueda parecerte delicioso?
 Es áspero, fragoso,
 Desigual, peñascoso, nada ameno ...

The first series may be a reminiscence of Garcilaso's Egloga primera,
 in which Nemeroso addresses the dead Elisa:

... y en la tercera rueda
 contigo mano a mano
 busquemos otro llano,
 busquemos otros montes y otros ríos,
 otros valles floridos y sombríos ...

These, in sum, are the major stylistic devices that Fray Diego used for various reasons and with varying results. Obviously, cacophony was not one of the devices that Fray Diego intended to use in his poetry; it resulted, rather, from apparent carelessness with regard to the sound of certain lines. But the use of the other stylistic devices was intentional: the poet consciously chose archaisms, for example, instead of contemporary terms, because he had an effect in mind. And he used the estribillo knowing full well its dramatic possibilities. The use of other devices, such as interior rhyme, may have been less deliberate on the poet's part. But whatever the case, those devices that Fray Diego used most successfully he used in his best poetry. His best would have to include some parts of "Las edades," although that poem as a whole is not successful, and his festive pieces: the love lyrics, the invective, the anacreontic songs and endechas.

CONCLUSION

Study of the Eighteenth Century has only begun. It shall be the obligation of critics and scholars to approach this century with open minds and to regard it as a legitimate part of Spanish literary history, rather than a cultural hiatus between the Golden Age and Romanticism. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for all their brilliance, belong to another world; the modern world began to take shape in the eighteenth century, in Spain as well as in France, England, and the North American colonies. Obviously the nineteenth century cannot be considered except in the light of the century that preceded it. To exclude the Spanish eighteenth century from literary studies, then, is to imply that Romanticism was born in a vacuum, with no native influences working upon it. Yet, Spanish studies commonly slight a period of a hundred fifty years as if those years had left no trace whatever upon Hispanic letters or sensibility. A fruitful area of study would be the influence of the Spanish eighteenth century upon Latin American writers, such as Fernández de Lizardi. It can no more be assumed that Latin America was immune to eighteenth-century influences than that Romanticism was. It is time, therefore, to divest ourselves of the old prejudices and platitudes about the eighteenth century and to study its accomplishments as well as its shortcomings.

Azorín has suggested that the eighteenth century was a time of

decentralization, a time when literary currents emanated from the provinces. Seville as a center of poetic revival could be studied along with its links with Salamanca late in the century. Much of the correspondence that passed between the writers of the day is still in private hands; included in this correspondence no doubt are numerous inéditos. The libraries and archives of religious orders should also yield valuable information to the investigator. Definitive texts and bibliographies have yet to be compiled for many of the eighteenth-century writers.

In the case of Fray Diego González, it is certain that the Madrid editions of 1796 and 1812, the Valencia edition of 1817, and the BAE do not contain all of his poems, or at least do not print complete, accurate texts of all his poems. Both Fray Juan Fernández de Rojas and Cueto admit to "purification" of the González canon. This study, therefore, cannot claim to have exhausted all research possibilities with regard to Fray Diego's writings; this research will necessarily continue, although it is doubtful that more information about Fray Diego would substantially change critical opinion about him or accord him a higher position in Spanish letters than the modest one he now holds.

The tenor of critical opinion regarding Fray Diego was set as long ago as 1787 by Leandro Fernández de Moratín. In a letter dated at Paris, he wrote:

¡Qué quiere usted que le diga del padre Gonzalez y de sus poesías? De él, que es un excelente religioso, lleno de sólida virtud, de amabilidad, de candor, de modestia: de sus poesías, que no se levantan cuatro dedos del suelo; imita en ellas á Fr. Luis de Leon; pero esto no basta ... El padre Gonzalez se ha propuesto imitar á Fr. Luis de Leon, y el lector echa de ver, en primer lugar, que la imitacion es muy débil, y en

segundo, que aunque hubiese logrado igualar á su modelo, todavía no bastaba,¹ por que el término de la perfeccion está mucho más adelante.

From his own day to the present, Fray Diego has been known as an imitator of Fray Luis. This was to be expected: both were Augustinians, both lived in Salamanca, in the same monastery, both delighted in the countryside about Salamanca and especially in their granja, La Flecha. And both were poets, although no one will claim now that there is any comparison between them; Fray Luis was immeasurably the better poet. In a sense, the poets collaborated: Fray Diego translated some of the Psalms that Fray Luis did not and he continued the latter's exposition of the Book of Job. Doubtless these efforts were very satisfying to Fray Diego, but they are now all but forgotten. Whatever Fray Diego came to think of amorous and festive poetry in his later years, it is clear that his talent lay in that direction rather than in the direction of didactic or religious poetry. In spite of all that he may have wished, "Las edades" must have been a disappointment, in addition to being a years-long trial. What Fray Diego might have written, without interference from the well-meaning Jovellanos, can only be conjectured, but it is not likely that he would have written too much more or very differently. His health and the obligations of his office took increasingly more time.

Fray Diego could not have known a wide range of amorous experience; his love poetry, then, is of necessity ingenuous and adolescent, full of cross-references, borrowed lines and repetitions. But

¹Leandro Fernández de Moratín, letter to D. Eugenio de Llaguno y Amírola, dated at Paris, May 25, 1787, in Obras póstumas, Tomo segundo (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1867), p. 99.

it is also generous and full of the poet's good nature. If it lacks passion and profundity, it also lacks pettiness and spite: the fits of pique and jealousy are more literary pose than real attitudes. Finally, while the poet himself is often vague in outline as the personage Delio, his female characters are more lifelike and provocative; Mirta especially, in the eclogue "Delio y Mirta."

A poet, like any other artist, has the right to be remembered for his best work, even if that work does not equal the superior productions of broader imaginations and finer sensibilities. Fray Diego has the right to be remembered for his best love lyrics. While "El murciélago alevoso" does him credit, it has also overshadowed other compositions that share its good qualities.

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APPENDIX I

ECLOGUE ON THE DEATH OF FRAY DIEGO GONZALEZ BY FRAY JUAN

FERNANDEZ DE ROJAS

Included in the 1812 edition of Fray Diego's poetry is the following eclogue on the death of Fray Diego, one of the few extant works by Fray Juan Fernández de Rojas. As might be expected, Father Fernández extols Fray Diego's poetry, "Que á las fieras, y plantas conmovia" and which earned the poet "el Laurel de Apolo Soberano"; more importantly, this eclogue is Father Fernández's tribute to Fray Diego the person and priest in whom his friends found "su gozo, y su consuelo, / Su placer, su quietud, y su acogida."

En la muerte del R. P. M. Fr. Diego Gonzalez, del orden de San Agustin.

Egloga. Liseno. Roselio. Poeta.

Liseno

Este es del grande y celebrado Delio
El túmulo fatal; aquí reposa
Yerto y sin alma aquel Pastor, Roselio.
Aquí cubierto con la fria losa
Yace á pequeño espacio reducido
El que al Cielo elevó su voz graciosa.
El que cantó con pecho enardecido.
De Marte y del amor; y los arcanos
Del inmortal Autor esclarecido,
Resuenen juntamente en estos llanos
Los tuyos, y mis lúgubres acentos
Que ablanden á los Dioses soberanos:

Resuenen nuestro llanto, y sentimientos
 Por la muerte de Delio, eternamente
 Reusando placeres, y contentos.

Roselio

¡Ay Liseno! ¡qué! ¿hado? qué accidente
 Fué bastante á extinguir con saña impura
 Los rayos de esa luz resplandeciente?

¡O misero destino! ó desventura
 De esta Aldea infelíz, que en un momento
 Perdió toda su gloria, y hermosura!

Perdió todo su lustre, y ornamento!
 Perdió á Delio, ó dolor! y su alegría
 Despareció, y tornóse en sentimiento.

El Sol ya no aparece qual solía,
 Ni el Zéfiro resuena entre las flores,
 Ni se oye de las Ninfas la armonía.

Ya no cantan los tiernos Ruiseñores
 Infundiendo placer, ni al Dios de Gnido
 Tributan holocausto los Pastores.

Dichoso tú, Liseno, que has podido
 Disfrutar largo tiempo sus cantares,
 Y á los suyos tus ecos has unido.

Dichoso tú, que en unos mismos Lares
 Has vivido con él, mientras gozaba
 De su armonía al claro Manzanares.

Una misma Cabaña os resguardaba,
 Igual era el descanso, y alimento
 Que la Santa Amistad os preparaba.

Mas yo ¡mezquino! apenas de su acento
 Percibí la dulzura y melodía
 Quando la Parca ¡ay Dios! cortó su aliento.

Liseno

Dichoso fuí ¡ó Roselio! quando oía
 El dulce son de su Rabél gracioso,
 Que á las fieras, y plantas conmovía.

Y aun porque entonces fuí tan venturoso,
 Es mayor al presente el desconsuelo
 Por carecer de amigo tan precioso.

Bien así como causa amargo duelo
 Al que por suyo tiene un Pajarillo
 La libertad que cobra en raudo vuelo;

Mientras que vé sereno, y sin sentillo
 Cruzar mil vecés por la vaga esfera
 Al Ruiseñor, Canario, ó Xilguerillo.

¡O quién ahora demostrar pudiera
 De Delio la virtud, la ciencia, y gloria
 Con claridad, y narracion sincéra!

¡O Pastor digno de inmortal memoria!
 Tú al Agueda Serrano cascajoso
 Le adquirirás mil timbres en la Historia.
 Dirá, quando le vea, el presuroso
 Pasajero: "bebamos de este Río,
 Que es Padre del ingenio prodigioso."
 No se hallará en el Bosque mas sombrío
 Arbol, en cuyo tronco no se lean
 Las letras de tu nombre, Delio mio.
 Las Ninfas bellas, que templar desean
 El sentimiento de tu infausta muerte
 Repitiendo tus versos se recrean.
 Los Zagales tambien en mal tan fuerte
 Los repiten, y cantan; pero en vano
 Procuran alegrarse de esta suerte.
 Todos lamentan tristes el insano
 Rigor del crudo brazo, que en tu vida
 Descargó el golpe fiero, é inhumano.
 Mas ¿qué mucho que lloren tu partida
 Si en tí hallaban su gozo, y su consuelo,
 Su placer, su quietud, y su acogida?
 Tú templabas al triste el desconsuelo,
 Tú al perdido la senda demostrabas
 Por donde caminase sin recelo.
 Tú al Joven con donayres recreabas,
 Y con sentencias nobles al Anciano,
 Y á las Ninfas tambien quando cantabas.
 Ay! qué de veces fuiste en este llano
 Coronado de yedra vividora
 Y del Laurel de Apolo Soberano!
 Y cuántas la rosada, y fresca Aurora
 Dexó á Titon del sueño poseido
 Por escuchar tu voz encantadora!
 A tus Canciones Eco conmovido
 Plácido respondia, y dilatava
 Por todas las Campañas el sonido.
 El Coro de las Driadas dexaba
 La habitacion sombría, y deliciosa,
 Y suspenso y absorto te escuchaba.
 Mas ¡ay! suerte enemiga y rigurosa!
 Con qué inhumanidad privaste al suelo,
 De la gloria y ventura mas preciosa!

Roselio

Crezca el fiero dolor, y desconsuelo,
 Y cubra de tiniebla, y sombra obscura
 Su refulgente albor el claro Cielo.
 Suene en llanto confuso la espesura;
 Prados, cubrid de luto vuestras flores
 Y vuestras linfas, Fuentes, de tristura.

Decid, bellas Zagalas y Pastores,
(De funesto Cipres la sien ceñida,
Y elevando hasta el Cielo los clamores)

"Delio, ornamento de la humana vida,
"Tú volverás primero al ser humano
"Que olvidemos nosotros tu partida."

Acuérdaseme ahora ¡ay! cuán en vano
Me ocurre á la memoria esta fineza
Que entónces me dexó de gozo ufano!

Acuérdome que un dia en la aspereza
Del Bosque, le hallé solo, y deseoso
Quise oír de su canto la destreza.

Y él al punto con ayre magestuoso
Cantó por agradarme una Elegia
Al son de su Rabél tierno y donoso.

Y luego sonriendo me decía:
Zagal, toma á Liseno por modelo,
Y en breve imitarás la Musa mia.

Liseno

O Delio! ó dulce Amigo! ó mi consuelo!
Quién me privó de tí con mano airada,
Que á mí no me cubrió con mortal velo!

¡Ay Parca rigurosa y despiadada!
Paréceme que aun veo en su semblante
Tu fiera imagen con furor pintada.

Y que con voz marchita y palpitante
Me dice al espirar: Liseno mio,
Yo muero, yo te pierdo en este instante.

Roselio

Suspende, Amigo, el llanto, que tu brio
Vá cediendo al dolor; y no es cordura
Que raye el sentimiento en desvario.

Y de Delio en la triste sepultura
Tributemos los últimos honores
A la Amistad sagrada, honesta y pura.

Poeta

Cesaron de llorar los dos Pastores,
Mas no de suspirar; mientras cubrian
El túmulo de Delio, con las flores

Que al viento mil aromas esparcian;
Y quando activos con mayor cuidado
Tales oficios á su Amigo hacian;

He aquí que se aparece un Genio alado
Cubierto de esplendor, el qual risueño
Les dixo en clara voz con dulce agrado:

Pastores, convertid en alhagüño
Placer, vuestro dolor; templad el llanto,
Delio descansa en paz y en dulce sueño
Libre ya de inquietud, de error, y espanto.

APPENDIX II

"LOS HUEVOS MOLES," A PARODY OF "EL MURCIELAGO ALEVOSO"

Indicative of the immediate success and popularity of Fray Diego's burlesque poem is the following parody by Félix María Samaniego (1745-1801), author of the famous Fábulas morales. Samaniego follows closely the structure of "El murciélago alevoso," even to the cataloguing of tortures to be inflicted upon the treacherous animal, in this case a rat. Of Samaniego's effort, Cueto says

Samaniego en esta parodia no iguala la riqueza de dicción del original, y se conoce que ni lo pretendió tampoco; pero agrada por su ligereza picaresca.¹

"Los huevos moles"

Compuso Juana un día
De huevos moles razonable fuente,
Sin saberlo su tía,
Que la hubiese reñido impertinente;
Con ella se promete
Obsequiar á Perico, un mozalbete
Que con la niña tuvo un cierto acaso;
Mas esto no es del cuento. Al cuento paso.
Hecha la fuente ya, guardarla piensa
En lugar reservado:
En efecto, metióla en la despensa;
Y dejando cerrado,
A la labor se vuelve muy serena;
Mas el diablo sutil, que el mal ordena,
Desbarató de Juana el fino intento,
Elegiendo un raton por instrumento.

¹Cueto, BAE 61, p. 396, n. 4.

Esta vil criatura
 Por todo el aposento discurria
 Con tanta travesura,
 Que agente de negocios parecia;
 Buscando diligente
 Manjar en que pudiera hincar el diente;
 Y encontrando la fuente cara á cara,
 Para el feliz asalto se prepara.

Jamas el griego acometió al troyano,
 El Campeador á Muza,
 A Bayaceto el Tamorlan tirano,
 Ni en cruda escaramuza
 Con tanta fuerza el godo poderoso,
 Testigo de ello el cielo luminoso,
 Acometió á los vándalos y suevos,
 Como el raton arremetió á los huevos..

Allí, sin temer daño,
 Trabado de palabra con la fuente,
 La tripa de mal año
 Saca, como se dice vulgarmente,
 Sin que advirtiese que le estaba viendo
 Un enorme gatazo reverendo,
 Capon de hocico, si uetras castrado,
 Y de manchas el lomo remendado.

El animal, que mira
 De su ~~ama~~ el descuido bien notable,
 Salta al vasar intrépido, y se tira
 Al raton miserable,
 Cual húsar bravo ó capitan prusiano
 Se tiran á un francés republicano;
 Siendo el final del temerario duelo,
 Fuente, gato y raton venir al suelo.

Al golpazo, medrosa
 Acude prestamente la sobrina,
 Y entrando presurosa,
 La causa del estrépito examina;
 Y viendo ya perdidos
 Los huevos de Perico apetecidos,
 El llanto empaña sus hermosos soles,
 Justas exequias de los huevos moles.

Mas volviendo á Perico, que ignorante
 Del catástrophe estaba,
 Y de Juanita la expresion amante
 Solícito esperaba,
 Cuando fué noticioso del suceso
 Estuvo á pique de perder el seso,
 En tanto grado, que con rabia fiera
 Reconviene al raton de esta manera:

"¿Por qué, monstruo malvado,
 El infernal hocico allí metiste?
 Ni ¿cómo impunemente
 Pensabas asaltar la vírgen fuente,

Dejándonos, en pena tan tirana,
 A mí sin plato, sin consuelo á Juana?
 "El cielo vengador, bestia disforme,
 Ejecute contigo,
 En pena de delito tan enorme,
 Un horrendo castigo;
 Persígante muchachos y criadas,
 Caigas en ratoneras bien armadas,
 Y los vivientes de la tierra todos
 Te mortifiquen de distintos modos.

"Píquente, pues, saltones
 Pulgas y garrapatas y ladillas,
 Y chinches y moscones,
 Moscas, mosquitos, tábanos, polillas,
 Alguaciles arañas
 Con toda la caterva de alimañas
 Y el brevísimo cínife ligero,
 De tu delito incauto trompetero.

"Emboscadas de gatos te aprisionen,
 Te arañen y exterminen,
 Te persigan, te acosen, te arrüinen
 Y nunca te perdonen;
 En lazos corredizos, trampas, redes,
 Huevicida sacrílego, te enredes,
 Y sin poder parar en todo el mundo,
 Raton Cañ errante y vagabundo,
 "Te muerdan, te maltraten,
 Te ahoguen, despedacen, mortifiquen,
 Te revienten, te maten,
 Te descoyuntan y te sacrifiquen;
 Te ahorquen, te estropeen,
 Te despeñen, te arrastren, te aporreen,
 Te hieran, te desuellen, te mutilen;
 Chilles, rabies, te mueras, te aniquilen.

"Con pena tan debida tu insolencia
 Quedará castigada;
 Yo contento, y en fin, por consecuencia,
 Mi Juanilla vengada;
 Mas porque á todos sirva de escarmiento
 El fin de tu goloso atrevimiento,
 Este epitafio, en tu sepulcro escrito,
 Conserve el ejemplar de tu delito

Epitafio.

"Aquel cuya voraz hambre rabiosa
 No perdonó jalea, ni peradas
 En el vasar más alto reservadas,
 Ni queso, ni manteca, ni otra cosa;
 "El que burló mil veces la famosa
 Vigilancia gatuna, y sus celadas,

Trampas y ratoneras celebradas,
Hoy, raton caminante, aquí reposa.
"Suspende, pues, el paso y considera
Cuán cara le costó su golosina
Y el hacer que Juanita se afligiera.
"Así enmendar tu vida determina;
Advirtiéndote que pena tan severa
Es el amor el juez que la fulmina."