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THE INFLUENCE OF PAUL VERLAINE AND OTHER FRENCH POETS
OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
ON MANUEL MACHADO

by

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ABSTRACT

The extent to which the poetry of Manuel Machado was influenced by that of Verlaine has been noted by many critics since the publication of Alma in 1901, and it is generally agreed that the two years Machado spent in Paris prior to the publication of that collection were responsible for French elements in his work. Nevertheless, no close textual examination of Machado's poetry for direct Verlainian influence had been made until now, possibly because his contemporary Darío is frequently considered to have been the first to introduce Verlaine's themes and techniques into Spanish verse. Recent studies of Verlaine's influence on the work of Antonio Machado, however, have shown that it is possible to demonstrate such influence without otiose reference to Darío, since it is clear that both the Machado brothers were closely acquainted with the poetry of Verlaine at first hand.

This study consists of a textual analysis of Manuel Machado's best poetry, that published between 1901 and 1919, indicating French influence in themes, images and technique. Where there appears to be an earlier Spanish borrowing from the French this is indicated, but closeness to the original French is accepted as showing direct influence. In the course of the investigation so much evidence was found of influences from other French poets of the latter half of the nineteenth century that the scope of the dissertation was widened to include discussion of these. They indicate the depth of Machado's knowledge of French poetry, and are additional proof that he was able to draw directly from French sources. The examination of Verlaine's influence was facilitated by computer concordances. Machado's translations of Verlaine's poetry together with the Plenitud edition of his own work (Madrid, 1967) were used to make computerised alphabetical word-count dictionaries. These were compared for similarities of image and theme, and the words thus selected were printed out

in concordances to the work of both poets. A parallel examination of the latter enabled the study to explore in much greater detail than has been possible to previous critics the affinities between Verlaine and Machado in terms of theme and mood. The first chapter gives an account of Machado's life in Paris at the turn of the century and of the literary scene he encountered there, and the final chapter examines his use of French, and particularly Verlainian, techniques of metre and rhyme.

The overwhelming evidence found of direct influence from Verlaine and other French poets, especially Samain and Baudelaire, proves conclusively that Machado did not need the help of intermediaries such as Darío in adapting French themes and techniques to Spanish verse, although it is undeniable that Darío preceded him in the use of some of them. The study also indicates that much of Machado's most original work owed its genesis to the literary and artistic ambiance he found in Paris between 1899 and 1909. The two genres of poetry at which he excelled, the Parnassian sonnet and the bitter, prosaic verse of the mal poema cycle, were Spanish versions of styles originating in France which Machado was the first to introduce into Spain. It is hoped that this study will contribute in some measure towards redressing the balance of critical opinion, which has tended to regard Machado as primarily a writer of popular Andalusian verse. His real achievement, as this dissertation has sought to prove, is to be found, not in the cantares, but in the collections published between 1901 and 1909 when he was in close contact with French poetry and art.

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A NOTE ON EDITIONS AND CONCORDANCES

The editions used for constant reference in the thesis are: Obras completas de Manuel y Antonio Machado (5th ed. Madrid, 1967); Verlaine, Oeuvres poétiques complètes, ed. Y.G. LeDantec (Paris, 1968); Albert Samain, Oeuvres (Paris, 1949-50); Baudelaire, Les Fleurs du Mal, ed. A. Adam (Paris, 1959); and José María de Hérédia, Les Trophées (Cambridge, 1942). Poems by Manuel Machado not included in Obras completas are contained in Appendix 1.

This study of the influence of Paul Verlaine and other French poets on Manuel Machado has been facilitated by selective computer concordances to the poetry of Verlaine and that of Machado. These were drawn up after an alphabetical word-frequency dictionary for each poet had been manually compared for dominant images and themes. The edition of Verlaine's poetry used for this purpose was Machado's translation, Fiestas galantes. Poemas saturnianos. La buena canción. Romanzas sin palabras. Sabiduría. Amor. Parábolas y otras poesías (Madrid, 1908).

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Abbreviations used.

Titles of periodicals are given in full on the first reference and thereafter abbreviated as below.

CHA Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos

RFil Revista de Filología

BHS Bulletin of Hispanic Studies

RF Romanische Forschungen

INTRODUCTION

The importance of Verlaine to the Modernist movement in poetry has been widely commented on. Guillermo Díaz-Plaja points to Verlaine as "mentor que atrae y señala el camino" for all Modernists.¹ Luis Granjel suggests that, through Darío, the influence of Verlaine determined the course of modern Spanish poetry.² A full account of how Verlaine's work came to be known in Spain between 1893 and 1905 has been given by Rafael Ferreres,³ and Geoffrey Ribbons has examined its influence on Antonio Machado.⁴

Of Manuel Machado's work, Darío said in 1905 "Nutrido de la más flamante savia francesa, sus versos parecen escritos en francés, y desde luego puedo asegurar que son pensados en francés. Es en muchas de sus poesías. . . un verleniano de la más legítima procedencia. Con los elementos fonéticos del castellano ha llegado a hacer lo que en francés no han logrado muchos seguidores del prodigioso Fauno."⁵ Juan Ramón Jiménez stresses repeatedly the great influence that French Symbolist poetry had on him and the Machado brothers,⁶ and like Darío emphasises the extent to which Verlaine influenced

1. Modernismo frente a 98 (Madrid, 1951), p.178.
2. Panorama de la generación del 98 (Madrid, 1959), p.178
3. "Introducción de Paul Verlaine en España", Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos 260 (Feb. 1972), pp.244-57.
4. "La influencia de Verlaine en Antonio Machado", CHA, 91-2 (1957,) pp.180-201, and "Nuevas precisiones sobre la influencia de Verlaine en Antonio Machado", Revista de Filología (1968-9) pp.295-303.
5. "Nuevos poetas de España", Opiniones (1906); published in Obras completas I (Madrid, 1950), p.414.
6. El modernismo. Notas de un curso (1953) (Mexico, 1962), pp.157-8, 227; La corriente infinita (Madrid, 1961), pp.70 and 94; R. Gullón, Conversaciones con Juan Ramón (Madrid, 1958), p.56; Direcciones del modernismo (Madrid, 1971), p.227.

Manuel. "Manuel Machado es el poeta español que tiene más influencia de Verlaine, a quien tradujo. Alma está llena de combinaciones a lo Verlaine."⁷ Later critics have confirmed these judgements, and indeed the influence of Verlaine on Machado has become a commonplace of literary criticism. Díaz-Plaja speaks of him as being "transido de la influencia verlainiana",⁸ and Ribbans gives a concise account of those qualities in Machado's work that critics agree to be Verlainian.⁹ And of course even the most cursory reading of Machado's poetry reveals a large number of direct references to Verlaine. Poems such as "La mujer de Verlaine", "Cordura", "Prólogo-epílogo", and "Invierno" mention the poet by name, "La lluvia" is prefaced by a quotation from Verlaine, and "La buena canción", "Otoño", 'Romanzas sin palabras' and "Oraciones a ella" are direct translations of titles from Verlaine's poetry.

There is then widespread agreement among critics on the predominance of Verlaine's influence on the poetry of Manuel Machado. But at the same time it is often stated that Darío was solely responsible for introducing the themes and techniques of French Parnassian and Symbolist poetry into Spanish. Dr. Gordon Brotherston gives an account of this contradiction.¹⁰ He shows that the direct influence of Hérédia and Leconte de Lisle on Machado in Alma can be proven, but concludes that in the case of Verlaine it is difficult to decide whether before 1903 Machado learned about him through Darío's poetry or not.

7. El Modernismo, p.158.

8. Modernismo, p.182.

9. "La influencia," CHA 91-2 (1957) pp.181-2.

10. In Manuel Machado. A Revaluation (Cambridge, 1968), pp.94-106.

However, since Manuel Machado lived in Paris before meeting Darío, there is little reason to suppose that he first encountered Verlaine's work through the poetry of Darío. It is certain that he must have heard of the latter before going to Paris, but it cannot be established that he had then read much of Darío's work, most of which was at that time available only in the Latin-American editions passed around among other writers.¹¹ Darío arrived in Madrid in January 1899.¹² Manuel Machado left for Paris in March of that year, and Antonio in June.¹³ Despite Darío's assertion in his autobiography that he met the Machado brothers in Madrid in 1899,¹⁴ it seems reasonable to accept the testimony of both the Machados that the meetings took place in Paris. Early in 1900 Darío left Madrid for Paris,¹⁵ where Manuel Machado, who had already lived there for ten months, met him for the first time.¹⁶

11. It is worth noting that Jiménez, when he met Darío in Madrid in 1900, had read only those three or four of his poems that had been published in Spanish magazines. See La corriente infinita, pp.47 and 63.
12. La vida de Rubén Darío escrita por él mismo, in Obras completas XV (Madrid, 1920), pp.168-9.
13. Miguel Pérez Ferrero, Vida de Antonio Machado y Manuel (2nd ed. Buenos Aires, 1953), p.54.
14. La vida de Rubén Darío, p.170.
15. La vida de Rubén Darío, p.177.
16. Pérez Ferrero, La vida de Antonio Machado, p.177. Julio César Chaves, in his Itinerario de don Antonio Machado (Madrid, 1968), p.105, suggests that it is odd that the Machados, despite their close friendship with Villaespesa, had not met Darío in Madrid. But there is some confusion in Sr. Chaves's dating. He states, apparently on the evidence of Pérez Ferrero's Vida, his only reference for the period, that Manuel Machado returned to Madrid in December 1899 (pp. xviii and 72). Pérez Ferrero, however, makes it clear that Manuel remained in Paris for over a year after Antonio left (p.59), although he too confuses matters by stating that both brothers met Darío in Paris in 1899. (p.56). In fact, Antonio did not meet Darío until his second visit to Paris in 1902 (see his autobiography in Gerardo Diego's Poesía española. Antología 1915-1931 (Madrid, 1932), p.76.) Also, Manuel did not meet Villaespesa until 1901, although he had corresponded with him from Paris (see Fco. Villaespesa, Obras completas I (Madrid, 1954), pp. lxxiv-lxxv). Also, as Dr. Brotherston points out, there is evidence from Darío and Amado Nervo that Manuel Machado shared a flat with them in Paris in 1900 (see Manuel Machado, p.17).

It is possible, therefore, that Manuel Machado knew the poetry of Verlaine even before he became closely acquainted with that of Darío, since his own edition of Verlaine's complete works is that of 1899.¹⁷ But as his intimate association with Darío in Paris and in Madrid antedated the publication of the poems of Alma, the only conclusion that can be drawn from the available data is that between 1899 and 1902 Machado learned a great deal from both Verlaine and Darío. However, there is no reason to suppose, as does Granjel,¹⁸ that Machado learned about Verlaine from Darío.

To the best of my knowledge, no close textual examination of Machado's work for direct Verlainian influence has yet been made, although a number of critics have pointed to specific examples.¹⁹ It was the original purpose of this thesis to make such a textual analysis. In the course of the study, however, so much evidence was found of direct influence from Baudelaire, Leconte de Lisle, Samain and the minor French Symbolist poets, and indeed painters, that the scope of the dissertation was widened to include a discussion of these other influences. Such an amplification seemed justified on the grounds that it indicated Machado's thorough knowledge of French poetry, and thus served to strengthen the original contention that he was able to draw directly on French sources without the help of Darío or other intermediaries.

This is not to deny the role of Darío as prime mover in the renovation of Spanish poetry through French techniques. Furthermore, Machado undoubtedly became acquainted through Darío with the work of other Latin-American poets inspired by French sources, and it is also clear that he learned from

17. In the Biblioteca Machado, Burgos.

18. See above, p. 1 n.2.

19. See Dámaso Alonso, "Ligereza y gravedad en la poesía de Manuel Machado", in Poetas españoles contemporáneos (Madrid, 1952), pp.54-5 and 58-9; Gerhard Lepiorz, Themen und Ausdrucksformen des Spanischen Symbolismus (Dusseldorf, 1938), pp.21-3 and 49-50; Dr. Brotherston, pp.97-8; and Alfredo Carballo Picazo, Alma. Apolo (Madrid, 1967), pp.76-80.

the example of Francisco Villaespesa, a Spanish Modernist who drew on Latin-American, and occasionally French Symbolist, poetry for his themes and images.²⁰ Since all these influences were brought to bear on Machado before the publication of Alma, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether Machado was the first to be inspired by any one French poet or poem.

What this thesis attempts to demonstrate, therefore, is simply the extent to which Manuel Machado was directly influenced by French poetry of the second half of the nineteenth century, and in particular by that of Verlaine, in terms of themes, images, mood and technique. Where there appears to be an earlier Spanish borrowing from the French this is indicated, but closeness to the original French is accepted as showing direct influence.

The study will consist of an examination, in chronological order, of the books of verse published by Machado between 1901 and 1918. The juvenilia are not included, as they show no French influence. My decision to exclude poetry published after 1919 was caused by two considerations. The first was that Machado's poetry after that date shows relatively little clear French influence. The second was that I do not feel that Machado's later verse merits a detailed study. (The only edition of his poems that is still reprinted, contains little that was written after 1921.) I agree with his brother Antonio that "Manuel Machado es un inmenso poeta; pero, para mí, el verdadero, el insuperable . . . es . . . el de Alma, Caprichos, El mal poema."²¹ The poems considered here fall under those three headings and represent his best work. The verse written in the Andalusian popular style is also omitted, since it springs from a source other than that of the poetry

20. See Dr. Brotherston pp.99-104.

21. Quoted by José Machado in Últimas soledades del poeta Antonio Machado (Chile, 1957), p.41.

discussed here. As Dr. Brotherston points out (pp.125-138), Machado's reputation as an original poet has suffered from the fact that he is better known as "el poeta de los cantares" than as "el de todo lo demás", in Antonio's words. When the circumstances of Machado's life changed after his marriage, and he had exhausted the poetic possibilities of adapting French themes and styles to Spanish, he turned again to another source of inspiration, that of popular verse. Much of his poetry in the style of the latter is original and of great worth, but it has no uniquely personal poetic voice as does his afrancesado poetry.

It is undeniable that Manuel Machado never succeeded, as did his brother and Jiménez, in creating for himself an enduring style. The nearest he came to finding one was in his city poetry, but the style was as evanescent as the life that inspired it. Like Verlaine, Machado became a "poeta de antología", memorable for a number of remarkable poems but not for the integrity of his work as a whole. It is one of the purposes of this study to redress the balance somewhat by showing that a great part of the work for which Machado deserves to be remembered was produced by a combination of two factors, his immersion in French culture at the turn of the century and his life as an impecunious writer in Madrid.

A study of the poetry of Machado together with that of Verlaine indicates that the greater part of the latter's work which influenced Machado most profoundly is included in his translations from Verlaine in the book Fiestas galantes. Poemas saturnianos. La buena canción. Romanzas sin palabras.

Sabiduría. Parábolas y otras poesías (Madrid, 1908), as will be explained in chapter IV.²² For this reason, a computerised alphabetical word-count

22. Although this work was probably begun during Machado's first or second stay in Paris, that is, between 1899 and 1901 or in 1902, there is no proof of the fact. Discussion of the book is therefore deferred until the chapter dealing with works published in 1908.

dictionary of the translations of Verlaine's poetry was made, and the same process applied to the Plenitud edition of Machado's work (Madrid, 1967). These lists were compared for similarities of image and theme and the words selected printed out in concordances to the work of both poets. A parallel examination of these concordances has enabled me to explore in much greater detail than has been possible to previous critics the affinities between Verlaine and Machado in terms of theme and mood. Machado's choice of Spanish words to translate Verlaine's original French can be compared with his own poetic vocabulary in Spanish, and clear parallels of usage occur. Indeed, as will be shown in the course of this study, there are cases where Machado's original poetry incorporates whole phrases from his translations of Verlaine. Examples of cases where computer evidence has been particularly useful will be indicated throughout the thesis.²³ Nevertheless, this study has not been limited exclusively to those poems of Verlaine translated in Fiestas galantes but has taken into account all of Verlaine's work that may have been known to Machado, as well as that of other French poets.

Chapter I will treat of Machado's life in Paris between 1899 and 1900, and will seek to establish the influences that were brought to bear on him in those years. Chapter II will examine the collection Alma in terms of French influence on its themes and images. Chapters III and IV will make similar analyses of Caprichos (1905) and Alma.Museo. Los cantares (1907), together with an assessment of the importance of Fiestas galantes (1908), Machado's translations of Verlaine. Chapter V will study the themes and images of El mal poema (1909) and chapter VI those of Machado's poetry until

23. Nevertheless, it should be emphasised that the computer concordances are highly selective, being composed of words that previous knowledge of the poetry had shown to be of possible significance. That is to say, mechanical aids of this sort are as competent or as fallible as the literary judgement of the person using them, and can be regarded only as tools, not as oracles.

1918. In these chapters, the poems will be discussed in the order in which they appear in the first editions of the books cited. The seventh and last chapter will be devoted to an analysis of Machado's technical debt to Verlaine and other French poets in terms of versification, metre, rhyme and assonance.

The thesis will conclude with an assessment of the extent of Machado's debt to Verlaine and to French poetry in general, and of the importance of that debt to the enduring worth of his poetry.

CHAPTER I

MACHADO AND PARIS

It is clear from his poetry that Machado's two years in Paris at the turn of the century changed him greatly as a writer. The verse of Tristes y alegres (1894) and Etcétera (1895), and the sonnets "Ella" (1898) and "Lo que dicen las cosas" (1899)¹ are, as he put it, "rimas becquerianas, romances clásicos, . . . octavas reales. . . y odas elocuentes."² The poems eventually published in Alma are quite different and show decided French influence. It is therefore necessary to examine what happened to Machado in those years. This chapter will try to indicate Machado's knowledge of French poetry before 1899, the characteristics of the literary scene he encountered in Paris, and its effect on him.

In 1897 or 1898 Machado had met in Madrid Alejandro Sawa, the novelist and journalist, who had been resident in Paris for many years and was an intimate of Verlaine.³ He possessed a manuscript of Verlaine's poem "Féroce"⁴ and was known for reciting his poetry, as was Albert Cornuty, an expatriate Frenchman living in Madrid, who had been at the poet's deathbed.⁵ It is almost certain, therefore, that Machado had heard of Verlaine's poetry before he left for Paris.⁶ It is also probable that Machado knew something of the work of the Parnassians and Baudelaire. Manuel Reina knew the poetry

1. Mentioned by Dr. Brotherston p.14.
2. Unos versos, un alma y una época. Discursos leídos en la Real Academia Española con motivo de la recepción de Manuel Machado (Madrid, 1940), p.37.
3. Manuel Machado, La guerra literaria. 1898-1914 [sic] Crítica y ensayos (Madrid, 1913), pp.27-8.
4. Verlaine, Oeuvres, ed. LeDantec, p.1348.
5. See Ricardo Baroja, Gente del 98 (Madrid, 1953), p.30; LeDantec, p.xliii: and F.A. Cazals and Gustave LeRouge, Les derniers jours de Paul Verlaine (Paris, 1923), pp.6-13.
6. Such is also the opinion of Ferreres, "Introducción de Verlaine" p.255, and of Juan Chabás, Vuelo y estilo:I (Madrid, 1934), p.64.

of Baudelaire and in his magazine La Diana (1882-3) had published translations of him and of Gautier.⁷ "Clarín" had written in 1887 a series of much-admired essays on Baudelaire,⁸ Valera in his prologue to Azul (1888) had demonstrated close acquaintance with the work of Baudelaire and the Parnassians, and "Azorín"'s Bohemia (1897) is full of enthusiasm for Verlaine. "Azorín" also records in Charivari in 1897 that "la bohemia de café discute la poesía parnasiana: se habla de Mallarmé",⁹ so it is not surprising that echoes of Symbolism and Parnassianism had reached the ears of the Machado brothers and made them eager to go to Paris.¹⁰

Manuel's description of the Paris he discovered in 1899 begins "El París . . . del simbolismo en pleno triunfo".¹¹ The term Symbolism is also used by Jiménez to describe what he and the Machados discovered in France,¹² and under that heading he cites Verlaine, Mallarmé, Laforgue, Samain, Moréas and Baudelaire. It is not the purpose of this chapter to trace in detail the history of the French Symbolist movement, but a summary of it will be necessary in order to establish what kind of poetry Machado and his contemporaries found in France at the turn of the century.

Jiménez's definition is the following: "El simbolismo toma del parnasianismo la forma bella y breve, la forma precisa, pero no expresa una precisión objetiva, sino una imprecisión subjetiva".¹³ For Juan Ramón, then,

7. See Fco. Aguilar Piñal, La obra poética de Manuel Reina (Madrid, 1968), p.26.

8. In La Ilustración Ibérica (Barcelona). Republished as a chapter of Mezclilla (Madrid, 1889). See also W.F. Aggeler, Baudelaire judged by Spanish critics 1857-1957 (Athens, U.S.A.), pp.9-15.

9. See Guillermo de Torre, Del 98 al barroco (Madrid, 1969), p.28.

10. Miguel Pérez Ferrero, Vida de Antonio Machado y Manuel (Buenos Aires, 1953), p.53.

11. Unos versos, p.52.

12. La corriente infinita p.94.

13. El modernismo, p.228.

Symbolism was a kind of poetry and not a school of poets, a return to subjective, intimate verse in reaction against Parnassian objectivity. In fact, Symbolism did not follow Parnassianism: both sorts of poetry overlapped chronologically. Baudelaire, the greatest precursor of Symbolism, died in 1867, while Hérédia's Les Trophées, the last word in Parnassianism, was not published until 1894. Verlaine's best work appeared between 1869 and 1880, Laforgue first published in 1885 and died in 1887, and Samain's first book of verse did not appear until 1893. Moreás "invented" Symbolism in 1885 and repudiated it in 1890. What then does Machado mean by the Symbolism of 1899?

French critics agree in assigning Symbolism to the decade 1885 to 1895. As a conscious movement it grew out of Decadentism, a school which Verlaine at first hailed with delight,¹⁴ and which derived, among other sources, from his sonnet "Langueur", published in Le Chat Noir on May 26, 1883, which begins "Je suis l'Empire à la fin de la décadence". Baudelaire's Les Fleurs du Mal, the prose poems of Lautréamont, the stories of Villiers de L'Isle Adam, the influences of Poe, de Quincey and the Marquis de Sade, and the legend of Rimbaud inspired Huysmans' A Rebours (1884), the manual of Decadentism which also reestablished the reputations of Baudelaire and Verlaine. The latter's book Les Poètes maudits, published in the same year and treating of Corbière, Rimbaud and Mallarmé, was also influential in reviving an interest in neglected poets.

The first book of verse to be hailed as "décadent" was Jean Moreás' Les Syrtes, also published in 1884. Moreás, a Greek whose real name was Papadiamantopoulos, had come to Paris in 1879, and was already a friend of

14. See his panegyric on the word décadent, quoted by Ernest Raynaud, La Mêlée Symboliste (1870-1910). Portraits et souvenirs (Paris, 1971), pp.64-5.

Verlaine's in 1883.¹⁵ His admiration for Verlaine, Baudelaire and Mallarmé is demonstrated in Les Syrtes by elaborate imitation amounting to pastiche.

By 1885 Decadence was sufficiently fashionable amongst the young to have provoked a good deal of adverse criticism, mostly directed at its morbid images and elaborate and obscure vocabulary. It was in answer to these criticisms that Moreás published his famous "Manifeste du Symbolisme" in Le Figaro on September 18, 1886. Except for the fact that tidy-minded French critics have assigned it an historic importance as the inauguration of a literary "era", it is uninteresting. Written in a convoluted style, it really expresses nothing more than Moreas' own idiosyncratic opinions about poetry, and it is doubtful whether many of his contemporaries subscribed to his enthusiasm for the medieval poets or to such refinements as "les pléonasmes significatifs" or "l'anacoluthie en suspens". But it gave a name to a very real movement of new poetry and raised a banner for the young men to fight under.

From 1886 on, Moreás' own poetry diverged from the main current of Symbolism. Les Cantilènes (1886) is a collection of poems on medieval themes based on the old fabliaux, chansons, and lais. He reverted to classicism with Le Pèlerin Passionné (1891). In his preface to this book he proclaims a new school of poetry, L'Ecole Romane, based on the French classicism of Ronsard and the Pléiade. Symbolism, he declared, was dead.

But although Moreás had adroitly proclaimed himself leader of the new school in 1885, his authority was not unquestioned. Gustave Kahn, the vers libre poet and editor of La Vogue, was outraged by the manifesto and asked Mallarmé's permission to proclaim him "maître absolu" of the movement. (LaForgue might well have been another candidate for this title, but he was in Berlin at the time.) And then, whilst the feuding went on and the cliques

15. LeDantec, p.309.

wrangled among themselves, "un poeta prematuramente envejecido volvía, nadie sabe de dónde, trayendo divinos poemas de amor de Dios. Los jóvenes que le oyeron escogieronle como único maestro. Era el maestro Verlaine."¹⁶

In fact, Verlaine's best poetry had already been written, and in the last ten years of his life after 1886, his work had become a monotonous alternation between the gross sensuality of Parallèlement and Chansons pour Elle and the sentimental piety of Bonheur and Amour. But the young men were reading the newly published second editions of Fêtes Galantes and Romances sans Paroles, and Sagesse, first printed in 1881. Raynaud, Dubus, Samain, Barbusse, Fleury, and Gregh were some of the young poets who were profoundly influenced by Verlaine (Gregh even wrote a poem, "Minuet", which Gaston Deschamps, literary critic of Le Temps, published under the impression that it was by Verlaine).¹⁷

So a Verlainian intimacy of tone became one of the recognisable Symbolist traits, although Verlaine himself was averse to the idea of literary schools and labels, and was quite rude about them: "Le Symbolisme? Comprends pas. Ce doit être un mot allemand, hein? Qu'est-ce que ça peut bien vouloir dire? Moi, d'ailleurs, je m'en fiche. Quand je souffre, quand je jouis ou quand je pleure, je sais bien que ce n'est pas du symbole."¹⁸

From 1885, the progress of decadentism, Symbolism, and free verse continued unabated, and literary magazines proliferated. Some of importance, which were still extant when Machado arrived in Paris and which were the main organs of the new poetry, were La Plume (1889-1905), Le Mercure de France (1889-1965), L'Ermitage (1890-1906), La Revue Blanche (1891-1903) and La Vogue (1899-1900).

16. E. Gómez Carrillo, El Modernismo (Madrid, 1906), pp.181-182.

17. Carrillo, El Modernismo, p.176.

18. In an interview with Jules Huret, quoted by A. Billy, L'époque 1900 (Paris, 1951), p.76.

The poetry that they published is described by Ernest Raynaud, himself a poet of Verlainian descent, as follows: "S'il évoque un paysage mélancholique d'automne, et, dans le bassin, où le ciel se reflète, un jet d'eau soupirant vers l'azur, c'est pour traduire un état particulier de tristesse, un état de l'Être en instance de l'Au-delà, un appel de l'Âme."¹⁹ This is indeed the most identifiable element of Symbolist poetry, the describing of a state of mind or heart indirectly through a symbol from contingent reality. It differs from the pathetic fallacy of the Romantics in that the latter saw only a parallel or a reflection of themselves in nature, where the Symbolists saw a deeper relationship, a hidden reality or correspondance. The theory of correspondances, suggested by Baudelaire's famous poem, was bandied about a good deal at the time, and if not always taken seriously as a philosophic concept, it resulted in an enriching of poetic imagery.

Mallarmé's well-known strictures on the art of suggestion in poetry, the technique of not naming the other half of the implied metaphor so as to unveil the mystery slowly, were very influential. But much of the poetry which was written in loyal admiration of Mallarmé was open to parody of its vocabulary and obscurity. Raynaud cites the invention of the apocryphal poet Mitrophane Crapoussin, "dont le chant de cygne perspicace, affamé du non-être, sur l'étang des Luxures, lamentait le lotus aboli."²⁰ Swans and lilies representing a search for the ideal, legendary and medieval backgrounds, princesses and knights, deserted gardens, moonlight and a tone of dream-like melancholy were typical of much Symbolist poetry, together with an insistence on the musical qualities of verse. Dr. Anna Balakian in The Symbolist Movement defines the three main characteristics of the movement as ambiguity, or indirect communication, an affiliation with music, and a decadent spirit.²¹

19. La Mêlée, p.108.

20. La Mêlée, pp.93-94.

21. (New York, 1967), p.101.

The emphasis on music, characteristic of both Mallarmé and Verlaine, led to experimentation with both metre and rhyme and culminated in the vers libre of Kahn and Laforgue, which Verlaine disliked so much. The latter's "Un Mot sur la Rime", published in Le Décadent on March 1, 1888, was a condemnation of the new blank verse on the grounds that French, being weakly accented, needs rhyme of some sort. "Rimez faiblement, assonez si vous voulez, mais rimez, ou assonez, pas de vers français sans cela."²² Following Verlaine's "Art Poétique", the new poets reacted against the rime riche, which had been abused by Banville and the Parnassians, and returned to simple rhyme, assonance, and to a verse of uneven numbers of syllables, l'impair. But most important of all, they chose to ignore the mute 'e' and consequently to write verse scanned for the ear and not for the eye, that is, the 'e', even before a consonant, could be elided in verse as it normally is in speech. As a consequence of this, the singular could rhyme with the plural, and hiatus was frequently accepted where it was euphonious. The position of the caesura was also freed. Much of this innovation had originated with Verlaine, but he did not take it as far as did his disciples.

Raynaud makes the interesting observation that it was because so many of the Symbolists were foreigners that they lacked respect for traditional French metrics, and it is true that many of them were not French by birth. Laforgue, although French, was born in Montevideo, Stuart Merrill and François Vielé-Griffin were American, Moréas was Greek, Verhaeren, Rodenbach and Maeterlinck were Belgians and Marie Kryszynska, who claimed to have written the very first vers libre poems, was Polish. The question of cosmopolitanism as a Symbolist characteristic will be touched on later in this chapter.

Other characteristic traits of the epoch were a bond between literature and painting, a cult of the pantomime and its traditional figures, especially Pierrot, and an enthusiasm for the music of Wagner.

22. Raynaud, La Mêlée, p.121.

The interest of writers in contemporary painting may be said to have begun with Baudelaire's essays on the Salons of 1845 and 1846. The two main trends in art that flourished in France from 1860 on are generally termed Impressionism and Symbolism, although Gauguin belonged in a sense to both schools, just as Verlaine was both Parnassian and Symbolist.

Impressionism, which had its great decade in the 1870s, emphasised style rather than idea, and was more concerned with the way the eye perceives the light radiated by an object than with the object itself: Manet declared that they wished to be freed from the tyranny of subject matter.²³ In a sense, Impressionism derived from Naturalism. And just as Symbolist poetry was opposed to the Naturalistic novel and to Parnassianism, so the Symbolist artists rejected Impressionism as superficial.

Symbolism as a school of painting took its inspiration from literature: indeed, it could be said that Symbolist writers created the school by singling out their favourite ~~artists~~ for praise, as Huysmans did for Gustave Moreau and Odilon Redon. E. Lucie-Smith remarks that "Symbolist syntheticism made it both possible and acceptable for one art to borrow ideas and concepts from another, for all arts aspired to be one."²⁴ But Impressionism too had its literary following. Mallarmé numbered both Impressionist and Symbolist painters among his friends, who included Redon, Whistler, Gauguin, Munch and Manet. Verlaine too knew Manet, and critics have frequently remarked on the Impressionist technique of his Romances sans Paroles, written during the same years, 1870 to 1874, that the Impressionist painters were beginning to be known. There seems little doubt that Verlaine was consciously influenced by the new techniques in art which produced on canvas the same effects of delicacy and suggestiveness that he was seeking to achieve in words.²⁵

23. Edward Lucie-Smith, Symbolist Art (London, 1972), p.56.

24. Symbolist Art, p.61.

25. LeDantec, pp.183-4.

However, Symbolism was the dominant school of painting from 1890 to 1910, and unlike Impressionism was accepted in the salons and academies. Among the most important influences on it were those of Botticelli, the English pre-Raphaelites especially Edward Burne-Jones, and of course Symbolist poetry. It was an intellectual art movement of poetic painting, and as such attracted considerable critical attention. In 1891 La Plume published articles on "Le Symbolisme des Teints" and "Les Impressionistes Symbolistes", while in the same year Albert Aurier's influential article on Gauguin, "Le Symbolisme en Peinture", appeared in the Mercure de France II. This literary preoccupation with the visual arts will be shown in due course to have had considerable influence on Machado's poetry.

The cult of the pantomime will be discussed in later chapters on Machado's use of pantomime figures, but it should be noted here that it constituted a continuous theme for French poetry, plays and art throughout the second half of the century. Popularised by Charles Nodier, Gautier, Nerval, Maurice and George Sand in the 1840s and 1850s, the pantomime became less boisterous and more sentimental.²⁶ A brilliant Pierrot, Paul Legrand, changed the character from a cowardly and hypocritical paillasse into something new: "complicó el alma de Pierrot, preparándola para que los poetas encarnaran en ella toda la sensibilidad moderna".²⁷ After Banville's Odes Funambulesques and the Goncourts' popularisation of Watteau's commedia dell'arte paintings which inspired Verlaine, there developed a new, melancholy Pierrot, used by Laforgue, Richepin and Catulle Mendès. The painter Adolphe Willette dressed up as Pierrot at a Montmartre festival in 1896 to incarnate the spirit of the

26. T. Rémy, Jean-Gaspard Debureau (Paris, 1954).

27. Gómez Carrillo, El teatro de Pierrot (Paris, 1909), p.121.

Butte, "artista funambulesco, hijo de Watteau, Pierrot prestigioso y bohemio".²⁸ His paintings, like so many of the era, are full of pale Pierrots all forlorn.

When Moreás declared, in Le Figaro on September 14, 1891, that Symbolism was dead, he was, as usual, ahead of the crowd in anticipating the changes of fashion. By 1895, according to Billy, there was "une réaction systématique et délibérée contre le Symbolisme... les jeunes commencèrent à s'insurger contre le Symbolisme triomphant et bêtifiant." (p.207) In 1896 Paul Fort published his first anti-Symbolist ballades and in the same year LeBlond published an essay "Sur le Naturisme", attacking the artificiality and pessimism of Symbolism. By 1897 the inevitable manifesto was published in Le Figaro proclaiming the new school of Naturism. Verlaine had died in 1896 and Mallarmé followed him in 1898. Their respective funerals, attended by the literary world of Paris, are commonly described by French critics as marking the end of an epoch, which conveniently closes with Tolstoy's famous attack on Symbolism, "What is Art?", and Zola's defence of Dreyfus. The latter event and the ensuing furore diverted the attention of many intellectuals from the literary to the political stage, and the heroic age of Symbolism was over.

What, then, does Machado mean by describing Symbolism as triumphant on his arrival in Paris in 1899? It is necessary at this point to return to the difference between what Symbolism meant to the French and what it meant to foreigners. Dr. Balakian makes a useful distinction between Symbolism with a capital 's', which was a French phenomenon of cénâcles, manifestoes and periodicals lasting from 1885 to 1895, and symbolism, of which cosmopolitanism was the main attribute. "The major significance of

28. Gómez Carrillo, El alma encantadora de París (Barcelona, 1902) pp.102-8.

the Symbolist school in relation to the study of symbolism in its vaster [sic] context is that it created a particular climate in which those poets and critics of England, Germany, Italy, Spain and the U.S. who first shared the experiences and memories of the cénacle convened with French writers and then took back with them their own evolved versions of the attitudes and conventions developed in Paris". (p.9) Dr. Balakian quotes Darío and the Machados among other writers who came to Paris after 1890 and who eventually turned symbolism into an international movement.

It is often forgotten by literary historians that a school of writing may have become vieux jeu for its originators whilst still inspiring newcomers in an entirely valid way, for just as an emotion is new to one who experiences it for the first time, so a kind of poetry may be a revelation to a reader who is unaware that it is out of fashion in the literary world. And literary fashions change more slowly than is sometimes supposed. It is interesting that in 1897, two years after Symbolism's official demise, the Paris-Parisien almanack of bon ton declared that it was indispensable for the man or woman of fashion to know a few Symbolist poets. The same poets were still writing and publishing and new members joined their ranks every year. And there were still those among the old guard of critics who had not even yet accepted the new metric flexibility, or indeed any of the innovations of this school.²⁹

29. H.E. Berthon, in his Specimens of Modern French Verse (Oxford, 1899), ignores the Symbolists completely, save for a contemptuous reference in passing: "Paul Verlaine . . . is claimed by the group of the Symbolistes as their chief; nor can it be denied that he too often exhibits the morbid sentimentality and the curious obscurity of style which are the characteristics of that school." In the second edition (1903), Berthon says he feels that he can no longer ignore the Symbolists' "efforts at Reform and Renovation", and he appends four poems by Henri de Régnier, together with notes expressing only qualified approval of the new metric freedoms and a stern warning against the dangers of hermeticism. Even in 1903 the fight was not yet won.

Thus the Paris that Manuel Machado came to know from 1899 till the end of 1900 was still full of poetic activity, of successful magazines publishing the work of Symbolist poets, and above all, of the influence and the legend of Paul Verlaine, even more potent after his death. In many of the poets publishing for the first time after 1890, Dubus, Samain, Barbusse, Gregh, Fleury, the Verlainian tone is the most noticeable characteristic. Baroja noted that in 1899 autographs of Verlaine were being sold in shops and restaurants. The aristocracy of Paris was trying to recreate the atmosphere of the eighteenth century as it is evoked in Fêtes Galantes, and Count Robert de Montesquiou gave a banquet at Versailles in honour of Verlaine attended by le tout-Paris.³⁰ A cult was being born.

So by 1899 Symbolism had become Verlainianism.³¹ Scores of minor poets continued to imitate "le pauvre Lélian",³² and many of the people with whom Machado was to be most closely associated had been intimates of Verlaine.

In later life Manuel Machado was wont to claim that he had gone to Paris to study, and that he had had private means.³³ But it is plain from the accounts given by two of the younger Machado brothers³⁴ and corroborated by Pérez Ferrero, that the Machado family was desperately poor at the time and that in March 1899 Manuel left Madrid for Paris to find work for himself

30. See Phillipe Jullian, Un prince 1900 (Paris, 1965).

31. Andrés González Blanco, in Los grandes maestros: Salvador Rueda y Rubén Darío (Madrid, 1908), p.152, uses the terms interchangeably.

32. Dr. Balakian points out that Verlaine was the major influence on the poetry of many countries of western Europe at the turn of the century. (pp.61 and 183).

33. See Rafael Narbona, "El gran poeta Manuel Machado", La Voz (1933), and Machado's brief autobiography in Gerardo Diego, Poesía española. Antología 1912-1931 (Madrid, 1934), p.135.

34. Joaquín Machado, Relámpagos del recuerdo (Chile, 1951); and José Machado, Últimas soledades del poeta Antonio Machado (Chile, 1957), p.25.

and for Antonio as translators with Garnier publishers. It is probable that he had heard of available posts there from Sawa, who had worked as a translator. It was the obvious job for impecunious foreigners, as Darío makes clear in his reference to Gómez Carrillo's having worked for the "inevitable casa Garnier"³⁵ on his arrival in Paris.

The documentary evidence for this period of Machado's life is very slim, and one has to rely mainly on Pérez Ferrero's Vida, which is frequently inaccurate or vague. It was written from interviews with the Machado brothers between 1934 and 1947, and it seems that Manuel at least cannot have had a very reliable memory, since in other published memoirs and interviews he often contradicts himself on dates. Despite his assertion in Diego's anthology that he was in Paris from 1898 to 1901, it seems probable from Antonio's account and his own version in his Academy speech that Pérez Ferrero's dating is right on this occasion.

Manuel found jobs for himself and Antonio, who joined him in June, and they stayed in the hotel Médicis on the Boulevard St. Michel.³⁶ They met Pío Baroja, who came to Paris in the early summer of 1899 and who recounts some anecdotes of their life in his autobiography.³⁷ Nothing in his account sheds any light on the poetic activity of either of the brothers. (It is interesting that during this first of many visits to Paris, Baroja discovered the poetry of Verlaine, for which he conceived an admiration expressed throughout his work, although he detested Mallarmé and the Decadents, and

35. Carrillo, 30 años de mi vida (Madrid, 1918), p.240, quoting an article by Darío in an unnamed Parisian magazine of that year.

36. Pérez Ferrero, p.54.

37. Desde la última vuelta del camino III (Madrid, 1949). Obras Completas VII pp.714 and 720-21.

was a devout francophobe in other ways.³⁸⁾ Antonio left for Spain after only three months. In a letter to Unamuno a few years later he says that Paris is bad for art and only good for drinking and conversation, and it is clear that he shared with Unamuno and Baroja a distaste for the frivolity of the Paris of la belle époque.³⁹ Manuel remained for over a year longer until December 1900, and although he completed a long translation for Garnier brothers,⁴⁰ his real life and interests lay among the literary cafés and the conversations of other writers, and it is clear from the few accounts we possess that he considered his time in Paris one of the most important periods of his life.

In order to attempt a reconstruction of Machado's Paris it will be necessary to draw from other sources to supplement Pérez Ferrero's biography and the meagre first hand evidence left by Machado himself. This evidence consists mainly of the reminiscences in his speech to the Academy and in La guerra literaria (1914), a few references in his diary for 1918 and a number of newspaper interviews, most of which, save the one by Narbona, date from the Civil War or the post-war period. The short stories and essays in his book El amor y la muerte, published in 1913 but written at various times from 1903 onwards, give few facts about his life in Paris but, what is perhaps more important, they demonstrate his feelings about the city and evoke the atmosphere he lived in. I propose to set down his own reminiscences in more or less chronological order as they were written or recorded, and then to discuss them at greater length together with material on his contemporaries and friends in order to establish what was the ambiance he moved in. Later

38. See José Corrales Egea, Baroja y Francia (Madrid, 1969), pp.204 and 210-11.

39. Quoted by Ribbans, "Unamuno and Antonio Machado", Bulletin of Hispanic Studies XXXIV (1957), 10-28.

40. Dr. Brotherston, p.19.

chapters on the poetry itself will examine how this Parisian experience was transmuted into poetic form in terms of both content and technique.

Probably the first of Machado's adventures in Paris to be described in prose was his meeting with Oscar Wilde, which took place in 1899,⁴¹ which he describes in "La última balada de Oscar Wilde"⁴². It is a sympathetic account of Wilde's last lonely year in Paris, neglected by those who had adulated him a few years previously when Salomé was all the rage. For the purposes of this study the interesting thing about the story is Machado's description of the bar Calisaya where he met Wilde. He portrays his own circle. "Nosotros los parisienses apuramos los lentos ajenos--que duran toda la tarde . . . Nosotros los parisienses--Jean Moréas el griego, el inglés de Irlanda Oscar Wilde, y yo, nacido en la Macarena. Porque en París no hay extranjeros, o, si se quiere, lo que no hay en París son parisienses." Further on he describes the reunion at the Napolitain: "Hallé chistosísimo a Courteline, sutil y terrible a LaJeunesse, magnífico a Mendès."

In Día por día de mi calendario, published in Madrid in 1918, Machado records his feelings on seeing Vázquez Díaz's portraits of Darío, Amado Nervo and Gómez Carrillo, painted when they were all young together in Paris.

"[Los cuadros] me han hablado de unos divinos días de juventud, de alegría y de amor...de los mejores años de nuestra vida en París...cuando las obras completas de los tres maestros cabían en un tomo de bolsillo; cuando, habiendo oído que yo era poeta, Moréas me preguntaba dónde estaban mis poemas, y yo le respondía muy tranquilo que...que ya los escribiría más tarde; cuando lo mejor del alma estaba aún allí, antes de volar en rítmicas prosas o versos atrevidos...Me han hablado de las tardes del Luxemburgo y las fuliginosas noches de Montmartre y de aquel ambiente de gracia y de encanto que dulcificó nuestro agrio espíritu de exaltados meridionales". (p.160).

In the interview with Rafael Narbona, Machado gives a more detailed account of his life in Paris.

41. See Antonio's autobiography in Diego's Poesía, and Pérez Ferrero, p.57.

42. El amor y la muerte pp.71-84.

"Me relacioné con grandes escritores, como Jean Moréas, George [sic] Courteline, Laurent Tailhade etc. Representé en el Grand Guignol de París, con Lola Noir, una pieza en un acto de Courteline que yo mismo traduje y que dirigió el propio Courteline. En medio de aquella existencia de estudiante, llegué a adentrarme de tal manera en la vida parisien, que más que un ciudadano de París fui un ciudadano de Montmartre. . . En aquel tiempo pasé los mejores años de mi juventud: tuve aventuras galantes, algunas de ellas aludidas en mi libro El amor y la muerte. Vivimos una temporada juntos en una casa del Faubourg Montmartre--en el numero 29--abierta al amor y a la bohemia, Gómez Carrillo, Rubén Darío y yo. En ella tuvimos como huésped una temporada a Amado Nervo." ("El gran poeta Manuel Machado. Lo que eran los autores a los veinte anos," La Voz (Madrid), October 9 1933.

He tells humorously of the girl friends that he and Gómez Carrillo would frequently lose to richer men, and of how proud they both were that their love-lives cost them nothing. And he finishes the interview by saying that Alma, written in Paris and published in Madrid, "contenía en embrión toda mi obra poética. ¡Todo lo escrito después en poesía no ha hecho sino aumentar las páginas de aquel libro de mis veinte años! ¡Como lo vivido!"

In 1934, in his autobiographical sketch for Diego's anthology, he confirms that almost all the poems in Alma were written in Paris, (although here he gives the date of publication as 1900⁴³) and names the same three French writers, Moréas, Courteline and Tailhade, as his friends.⁴⁴ In the same year Pérez Ferrero began interviewing the Machado brothers for his biography of them, and he published the chapter on their life in Paris in Sur of Buenos Aires in March 1938.⁴⁵

Pérez Ferrero describes their friendship with Gómez Carrillo and their acquaintance with Oscar Wilde, and states that the two brothers met Darío

43. See Dr. Brotherston (p.139) on the difficulty of dating Alma. Late 1901 seems the most likely date.

44. Poesía española. Antología 1915-1931 (Madrid, 1932), p.76.

45. This article, unchanged, is the one published in Insula in March 1947 under the title of "El París de Manuel Machado" and later incorporated in the biography published in 1952.

in Paris in 1899 and recited their poems to him (p.57). But Antonio states in Diego's anthology that he met Darío in Paris in 1902 (on a later visit) and it seems more probable from the evidence of Darío and Nervo that it was in 1900 when Manuel Machado went to stay in Carrillo's flat that he first met Darío.⁴⁶ Machado in an interview with Juan Sampelayo published in Arriba in 1941 confirms this date.

Pérez Ferrero also states that both the Machado brothers were enthusiastic connoisseurs of the night-club songs of Bruant and Privas, and a French radio interview with Manuel in 1939 says that he was friendly with both men.⁴⁷ The chapter ends with Manuel's return to Madrid in December 1900, a date there seems no reason to dispute.

In February 1938, in the midst of the Civil War, Manuel Machado became a member of the Academy, and the speech he made on that occasion was printed as Unos versos, un alma y una época in 1940. He refers to his life in Paris as "una bohemia sentimental y pintoresca, rica de ilusiones" and almost in the same breath as "una pésima vida de Arlequín", getting drunk and falling in love like all the other young students and artists from all over the world. But he excuses this life by saying that he also frequented the literary milieux, which were no less Bohemian but dignified by art and by the fact that there were great writers among them. He mentions that Tailhade some years later translated part of La fiesta nacional, his poem about the bullfight. "Recuerdos muy vagos de André Gide y muy vivos, en cambio, del malogrado Ernest Lajeunesse... Pero mi gran amigo era Moreás." His room in the hotel Vaugirard overlooked the Luxembourg gardens, "una celda tranquila y clara". One afternoon he gave up the daily apéritif in the café

46. See Dr. Brotherston, footnote p.17, and intro. p.3.

47. "Personnalités espagnoles". Les débuts de Manuel Machado". Undated newspaper clipping in the Biblioteca Machado, Burgos.

Cyrano and went to his room feeling as though someone were waiting for him. There, after a long period of spiritual aridity, he began to write.

"Sentado a la mesa, ante la ventana que encuadraba la fronda del Luxemburgo, a una luz crepuscular. . . me puse a escribir, a escribir, como si realizara una cosa sencilla, fatal y suave. No exenta, empero, de dolor. Y aquello, por la primera vez, no se asemejaba a nada de cuanto yo había hecho antes. . . Lo que escribo ahora . . . soy yo, mi propia alma. Y me digo todo, tal como era entonces, en unos versos que se titulan "Adelfos".⁴⁸

It is worth noting here that he declines to speculate on whether or not his work in Paris was influenced by Symbolism or Parnassianism, and he insists that none of his Parisian life went into his poetry.

This ambivalent attitude towards his life in Paris and the possibility of French influence in his work is repeated in an interview with José María Zugazaga published in Solidaridad Nacional in December 1943, although he says of his years in Paris "guardo de ellos un sabor agri dulce pero persistente." The reasons Machado had during and after the Civil War for insisting on the purely Spanish basis of his inspiration are obvious.⁴⁹ It was remarkable under those circumstances that he still chose to speak at all of his time in Paris, and may be taken as demonstrating in a negative way his conviction of its unique importance to him as a poet.

In examining these statements by Machado and attempting to supplement them with data from other sources, it will be necessary to rely on some hypotheses in order to suggest what influences were brought to bear on the poet in those years. In the literary histories of the period Machado himself is nowhere mentioned, but the names of his friends appear frequently and thus it is possible to surmise what his life was like.

48. Unos versos, pp.58-9.

49. As a supporter of the Nationalists, who were intolerant of foreign influence in culture as in politics, Machado had become the Nationalist poet.

The first of these friends mentioned by Machado is Moréas, whom he describes as Paris's most distinguished poet and his best friend.⁵⁰ Machado's admiration for this accomplished plagiarist, who flirted with every conceivable poetic style before finding one of his own, is something of a mystery. Tailhade and Laforgue disliked his work (the latter called it "pure rhétorique"), and Kahn, René Ghil and Mendès denied his right to set himself up as a chef d'école. Edouard Dujardin said that his appalling pronunciation of French was the reason why this "imitateur de tous nos styles" was still a stranger in their midst.⁵¹ His posturing and his arrogance were a byword,⁵² and much of his poetry is derivative and affected. It is apparent that Moréas, who liked an audience, found it mainly among newcomers to the Parisian scene, especially foreigners. R.A. Jouanny records that in 1896 he was to be seen surrounded by "une foule d'anonymes. . . Parmi lesquels de nombreux étrangers, auprès desquels il brille d'un extraordinaire prestige. Il faudrait citer à ce propos les témoignages de R. Darío, E. Gómez Carrillo et Amado Nervo".⁵³ It may be surmised that as a foreigner who had succeeded in carving out for himself a place in the French world of letters, Moréas was for Machado and his friends at once more approachable and more imitable than any French writer. Also his dedication to poetry and his deep involvement with and knowledge of the schools of the day, and his kindness to Machado, may go far to explain the latter's devotion to him.⁵⁴

50. Unos versos, pp.52-4.

51. Billy, L'Époque 1900, p.204.

52. See numerous anecdotes in L. Thomas, Souvenirs sur Jean Moréas (Paris, 1941).

53. In Jean Moréas, écrivain français (Paris, 1969), p.157.

54. Machado's first translation from French poetry was his version of Moréas's "Le Ruffian", published in Electra on April 13, 1901.

Machado had probably been introduced to Moréas by the journalist Enrique Gómez Carrillo, one of the few foreigners who had succeeded in making any kind of an impression on the tightly knit and self-absorbed literary cliques of the time. It was almost certainly through him that Machado was enabled to penetrate as far as he did into the life of Paris, and his importance as an intermediary between France and Spain before the first world war was considerable.⁵⁵ Born in Guatemala of a French mother, Carrillo had come to Paris in 1891 on the advice of Darío. Moréas recounts how Carrillo came to see him in his room, an unheard-of liberty, to speak of his admiration for Le Pèlerin passionné. Moréas found him charming, "très moderne, boulevardier et cosmopolite".⁵⁶ He was a close friend of Verlaine. Ernest Raynaud remembers him, albeit confusedly, as an habitué of the reunions of La Plume at the Soleil d'Or, calling him "le Portuguais Enrique Carillo [sic]".⁵⁷ Verlaine's friend Cazals speaks of him as an habitué of the café François Ier; "Henrique Gómez Carillo [sic] parlait assez haut... de son prochain livre ou de son dernier duel".⁵⁸ He wrote chronicles of Paris for La Vida Literaria and La Vida Nueva of Madrid, some of which Machado may have read before he went to Paris, as he too was a contributor to La Vida Literaria. He may also have heard of Carrillo through Sawa. Both men had worked as translators for Garnier, and they used to live together in the

55. See J.W. Kronik, "Enrique Gómez Carrillo, Francophile propagandist" Symposium XXI (1967), pp.50-60.

56. Moréas, Variations sur la vie et les livres (Paris, 1923), p.216.

57. La Mêlée I. p.140. It is possible that Raynaud confused him with Eugénio de Castro, the Portuguese Symbolist poet who had come to Paris and met Verlaine in 1889, and for whom a banquet was given in Paris in 1896 to celebrate his support of the Symbolist cause in his magazine Arte. The misspelling of Carrillo's name is common to all the French critics except Jouanny.

58. Les derniers jours, p.137.

Hotel de Médicis, where they were often visited by Verlaine.⁵⁹ (It seems likely that Machado heard of the hotel through Carrillo.)

Carrillo records his first meeting with Machado in his book Sensaciones de París y de Madrid (1900), which went to press in September 1899 but consists of reprinted material written from 1898 onwards. It is impossible, therefore, to assign a specific date to the meeting, except that it must have taken place between March and September 1899. There is no record of precisely when in 1900 Machado went to stay in Carrillo's flat in Montmartre where he met Darío and Nervo. He made great friends with Darío, but in none of the references to that period does he mention Darío's poetry or his own.

Although Machado does not say so, it seems likely that Carrillo introduced him and Antonio to Wilde in 1899. Carrillo had met Wilde in 1891 during the latter's first visit to Paris.⁶⁰ And since Carrillo was an intimate of La Jeunesse, Courteline, Mendès and Moréas, it is also probable that it was he who introduced Machado into those circles. It is curious that Machado, although mentioning Carrillo in the context of the shared apartment and as a boon companion with whom to pursue flirtations, does not give him any credit for being his sponsor. This may have been due to an understandable wish to appear to have succeeded on his own in becoming intimate with the great names of the day, and is consistent with his assertions in later life that his purpose in going to Paris was to study, not to work. But when Pérez Ferrero says of the Machado brothers "en París se saben ciudadanos de la reputada 'capital del espíritu'. No se les oculta que ellos cuentan en ese mundo" (p.57), this cannot be taken very literally. There is no mention of Manuel

59. See I. López Lapuya, La bohemia española en París a fines del siglo pasado (Paris, 1927), pp.53-4; and Carrillo, Almas y cerebros. Historias sentimentales, intimidades parisienses, etc. (Paris, 1898), p.185.

60. 30 años, p.40. See also Baroja, Desde la última vuelta III, p.714.

Machado in the memoirs of any of the French writers he cites as friends, and it seems unlikely that without the help of Carrillo, who was widely known, he would have succeeded in penetrating that brilliant and self-satisfied world.

However, Machado is quite justified in saying that a foreigner could call himself a Parisian. Jouanny remarks that "le cosmopolitisme est même l'un des traits caractéristiques de la vie littéraire française à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle."⁶¹ The ritual consumption of absinthe at dusk was one of the shibboleths of Parisian literary life. More than just places for social reunions, the cafés were also for some writers, like Courteline and Lajeunesse, the source of their inspiration and their place of work too. The reference to the group at the Napolitain, Courteline, Lajeunesse and Mendès, should be amplified.

Catulle Mendès, the Parnassian poet, was also a dramatist and, like almost all the other writers in Paris, a journalist. He had met Verlaine in 1864, and the poet had dedicated one of the Poèmes Saturniens and years later one of the poems from Jadis et Naguère to him.⁶² At Verlaine's funeral he had been one of the pall-bearers and had made a moving funeral oration.

Georges Courteline, his protégé and close friend, had also known Verlaine,⁶³ who dedicated to him in 1883 the famous sonnet "Langueur". He was a humorous journalist and writer of farces. Ernest Lajeunesse was also a satirist, with a mordant wit that impressed Machado deeply. He held court nightly in the Napolitain. Gómez Carrillo used to meet him regularly in the Vetzel, whence they would go on to Wilde's Calisaya and finally to the Napolitain, where

61. Jean Moréas, écrivain français, p.751.

62. LeDantec, p.xvii.

63. Billy, L'époque 1900 p.379.

the company usually included Mendès and Courteline, and from time to time Moréas.⁶⁴

Laurent Tailhade was, together with Moréas, one of that small group of Verlaine's friends who, according to Cazals, were responsible for rescuing the poet and his work from obscurity (pp.209-10). Verlaine had dedicated to him two poems, "Le clown" and "Laurent Tailhade". The second poem is interesting for its Spanish references. Tailhade is described in terms of a Spanish medieval knight, "tel jadis Bivar, Sanche et Gomez." The question of a general interest in things Spanish at the time will be touched on later in this chapter, but it may be noted that in the 1880s Tailhade used to wear a sombrero and was often "enveloppé d'une cape espagnole, doublée d'écarlate", and that he was interested in the bull-fight.⁶⁵ Machado probably met him through Lajeunesse, with whom he was often to be seen at the Vachette. Like Moréas, he was one of the first to be called to Verlaine's deathbed.⁶⁶

The only common factor linking these writers, cited by Machado as his closest friends, is an intimate acquaintance with Paul Verlaine. They had all known him well and had had poems dedicated to them by him; Moréas and Mendès had spoken at his funeral. The Paris that Machado frequented was the same city that Verlaine had left only three years before, the same cafés, night-clubs and all the atmosphere of the fin-de-siècle. It is important to emphasise that Machado was leading a kind of life that had already been celebrated in verse, an artist's life. He could have read the work of the Symbolist poets anywhere, as Jiménez did in his sanatorium in Bordeaux. But to live in the Paris of the poets and to see the raw material from which they had drawn their verse was for him a doubly enriching experience.

64. Billy, pp.375-9.

65. Raynaud, En marge de la mêlée symboliste (Paris, 1936), p.117.

66. Cazals, p.11.

We have already stated that there was in Paris at the turn of the century a great interest in the visual arts, and that Impressionist and Symbolist painters were much admired by writers. It is certain from the evidence of his poems on paintings that Manuel Machado was an assiduous visitor to the art galleries and museums of Paris. Dr. Brotherston explains how this life-long habit was first encouraged by Machado's teachers at the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (p.119).⁶⁷ It is interesting that Pío Baroja, who has been shown to have shared with the Machados a love for Verlaine's poetry first awakened in Paris in 1899,⁶⁸ learned also in that year to appreciate Botticelli and the Italian pre-Raphaelites, then so much in vogue, as well as the contemporary Impressionists, although he disliked the Symbolist painters.⁶⁹ We may assume that Machado, like Baroja, made frequent pilgrimages to the Louvre, and that he discovered there paintings which eventually became the subjects of the poems in Apolo.

Even the night-clubs were a source of inspiration. Cazals claims that it was Verlaine with his slang poem "L'Ami de la Nature"⁷⁰ who began the whole vogue of "la chanson argotique et montmartroise" later popularised by Bruant, Privas and others. We know from Pérez Ferrero that Machado, like Verlaine before him, loved the night-club songs, and it will be shown in a later chapter that some of his poetic techniques may have developed equally from them and from Verlaine. Certainly the songs sung in the cabarets of Montmartre used themes common to the poetry of the time, like Privas' Pierrot songs "Le Testament de Pierrot" and "Caprice d'amant".

67. We know from the evidence of his brother José (Últimas soledades, p.46) that Antonio too was a frequent visitor to the Prado.

68. See above, p.21

69. Desde la última vuelta III, pp.701 and 717.

70. Les derniers jours, p.224.

Another aspect of French literary life by 1899 was a revival of interest in Spain, which may have a bearing on some of the poems in Alma. Earlier in the century Hugo's Hernani and Ruy Blas, Merimée's Carmen and then Gautier's Voyage en Espagne and the Parnassian cult of the exotic had made Spain fashionable and a source of inspiration for poets.⁷¹ Verlaine himself was an enthusiastic Hispanophile who admired Góngora and planned to translate Calderón into French.⁷²

In the last decade of the century two serious periodicals concerned with Spanish culture came into being, the Revue Hispanique in 1894 and the Bulletin Hispanique in 1897. After 1900 the Mercure de France began to publish regular three-monthly reports on contemporary Spanish material in the arts. Tailhade's interest in things Spanish has already been mentioned, and he is reputed to have recited the Golden Age speech from the Quijote at a Montmartre banquet. The Symbolist poet Emile Verhaeren travelled through Spain at the turn of the century with Darío Regoyos and wrote a book illustrated by Regoyos called L'Espagne noire. That Machado was well aware of the glamour attaching to a Spaniard in French eyes is manifest in two of the stories from El amor y la muerte, the title story and "Carta de Montmartre", and there seems little doubt that he did his best to live up to the concept of the Spaniard as Don Juan which existed in the minds of French women.

After over a year of spending his free time leading the Bohemian life here described, Manuel Machado went to live by himself in the Hotel Vaugirard, overlooking the Luxembourg gardens, and began to write again. It is a curious coincidence that Verlaine had lived at various times between 1889 and

71. Rafael Ferreres, in his article "El hispanismo de Paul Verlaine", CHA 241 (Jan.1971), pp.87-105, also cites Musset and Baudelaire among French poets who were inspired by Spain.

72. See Ferreres, *ibid.*, for a full account of his knowledge of Spanish.

1894 in the Hotel Lisborne, "où il y a une belle vue sur le Luxembourg", and that they were the quietest and most productive times of his last ten years.⁷³ One wonders if Machado was aware of the parallel. Little needs to be added to his account of how he came to write his poems. It is apparent from the poetry itself that much of it was written out of his Parisian experience. How rich that experience must have been this chapter has attempted to indicate. His friends represented all aspects of literary life from poetry and the theatre to journalism. And he must have read Verlaine with care and passion. His copy of the poet's works, of which unfortunately the first volume is missing, is Léon Vanier's edition of 1899⁷⁴ and it is carefully marked. We may suppose that it was one of his first purchases in Paris.

The end product of those two years was Alma, which as he himself said, was his first and in a sense his only book. All the rest of his work was simply more experience and more technical assurance applied to the same themes. Machado returned to Paris for nearly a year in 1902 and again in 1908-9.⁷⁵ These further visits must have reinforced his knowledge of and love for French culture, but as almost nothing is known about his later life in Paris, it will not be referred to again in this study. It can, however, be assumed that through his later visits Machado maintained a constant contact with French literature and art.

73. LeDantec, pp.xxxvii-xlii; and Cazals, pp.103-113.

74. In the Biblioteca Machado, Burgos.

75. Pérez Ferrero, p.66 and Dr. Brotherston, pp.25 and 31.

CHAPTER 2

A STUDY OF THE THEMES AND IMAGES IN ALMA

Before discussing the poems themselves, it will be useful to examine the significance of the title of this book. Machado uses the word alma fifteen times in the collection,¹ and he had clearly thought carefully about using it as the title. The sonnet "Lo que dicen las cosas", written before he left Spain and published in La Vida Literaria on March 18 1899, is said to be "del libro en prensa Alma".² After his return to Madrid, Machado considered calling his book Estatuas de sombra,³ but it was eventually published under the original title. The word 'soul' is of course a commonplace of all lyric poetry, and occurs in almost every poem of Bécquer, whose influence on Machado's generation is well-known. But in Symbolist poetry it had come to be a leitmotif, with a special meaning. A sentence from Amiel's Journal Intime, published in 1884, indicates the significance of the concept to the Symbolist generation - "Un paysage, c'est un état d'âme"⁴ and is echoed by Verlaine in the famous first line of Fêtes Galantes, "Votre âme est un paysage choisi" (p.107). This interpenetration of the poet's emotion and the landscape, ideally demonstrated in poems like Baudelaire's "Harmonie du soir" (p.52) and Verlaine's "Soleils couchants" (p.69), is to be found in a number of the poems in Alma and is usually melancholy.

In a book entitled Alma contemporánea: Estudio de estética, published in Huesca in 1899, José María Llanas Aguilaniedo, a Sevillian whom Machado may

1. In the alphabetical word-frequency dictionary of Machado's poems referred to in the preface to this study, alma appears 75 times.
2. It did not appear in Alma and shows no French influence.
3. See Dr. Brotherston, p.108, n.2.
4. Cited by Raynaud, La mêlée p.108; by Jiménez in El modernismo, p.208; and by Carrillo in Como se pasa la vida (Paris, 1907) p.85, who says of Darío, "sus paisajes, chal los de Amiel, son estados de alma".

have met and whom Carrillo knew in Madrid before 1899, quotes Verlaine on the contemporary soul. "No obstante ser el sol tan bello al salir como al ponerse, el alma contemporánea. . . comprende mejor la belleza de la puesta que la de la aurora" (p.11). He refers to an "enfermedad de la voluntad" common to young artists of the time, calling them "poetas de la vida interior" (p.60), and speaking of their aristocratic, delicate airs and their "torturada alma contemporánea" (p.218). Aguilaniedo's references to Verlaine, the Symbolist poets and contemporary Parisian literary magazines are another indication that Machado too must have been aware of the prevailing literary currents in France before his departure. His choice of Alma as the title for an as yet unwritten book was an a priori gesture of solidarity with the new poetry.

In the first edition of Alma, the arrangement of the poems differs from that of succeeding collections in that "Adelfos", one of Machado's most famous poems, dated Paris 1899, is not the first poem in the book but appears later under the sub-heading 'Secretos'. Under the same heading is to be found a poem called "Madrigal" which is not included in later editions although it appears in all the collections based on Alma until 1910. Although using the Plenitud edition for page references I propose to examine the poems in the order in which they appear in the first edition.

Under the heading of 'El reino interior' there appear six poems which are linked by an atmosphere of profound melancholy and despair. Although Darío had published, in Prosas profanas (1896), a poem entitled "El reino interior"⁵ inspired by Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the Symbolists, there is no apparent connection between his poem and Machado's sub-heading. The concept of "my mind to me a kingdom is" is a hallowed one and the interior

5. Rubén Darío. Poesías completas I (Madrid, 1967), p.603. All references in this study to Darío's work will cite this edition.

life was, as has been established, an essential topic of late nineteenth century poetry.

The first poem, "Los días sin sol" (p.14) is an extended metaphor on the theme of threatening nature and man's only bulwark against it, the warm intimacy of human relations. The white wolf is not only winter but also old age, sterility and ultimately death, against which the warm hearth, the lamplight and the beloved woman are the only, if temporary, refuge. The theme of "la douceur du foyer" and "les soirs illuminés par l'ardeur du charbon" are to be found in Baudelaire's⁶ "Le Balcon" (p.40) and are echoed in number XIV of Verlaine's La Bonne Chanson (p.151). The lamplight, the fireplace and the books are all to be found there, together with the presence of the woman. But in Baudelaire and Verlaine, as in Darío's "Invernal",⁷ which clearly derives from them, the intimacy of the scene is merely a stimulus to eroticism, whereas the love described in "Los días sin sol" is a desperate gesture, a grasping at reassurance.

Another parallel to "Los días sin sol" is to be found in Samain's "Automne" under the sub-heading 'Intérieur' in Le Chariot d'Or (p.95). In Samain's poem the cold winds and lugubrious nights of winter are threatening, but the home is a refuge. The lines "et que ton rêve, ainsi qu'une rose dans l'eau,/S'entr'ouvre au doux soleil intime de la lampe", and "C'est le refuge élu, c'est la bonne demeure,/.../Où s'élabore.../L'essence fine de la vie intérieure" are very close to the sense of Machado's poem.⁸

6. Dr. Helena Valentí, The Poetic Language of Antonio and Manuel Machado Diss. Cambridge, 1971, p.147, shows similarities between Baudelaire's "Le Crépuscule du soir" (p.105) and "Los días sin sol", in particular the image of the wolf.

7. Poesías I, p.524.

8. They are also very like Machado's description, referred to by Dr. Brotherston in this connection (p.116), in the short story "La convalecencia" from El amor y la muerte, of "el reinado del hogar. . . La vida interior, que preside la lámpara".

"Los días sin sol" also recalls Verlaine's "A une femme" (p.64) where not one but a pack of nightmare wolves pursues the lover, and the woman is his only shelter from them. There is another interesting parallel in Maeterlinck's "Désirs d'hiver".⁹ In this poem too there is snow outside and wolves in the poet's heart. The twin themes of the wolf and the warm and loving refuge may well have been suggested by any or all of the poems cited, but the urgent tone and abrupt rhythms of Machado's poem make it completely original.

The second poem, "El jardín gris" (p.15) is a study in despair and sterility.¹⁰ It first appeared in Electra I, March 30 1901, as "El jardín viejo" and is described by Gullón as another example of the theme of "el parque viejo" dear to the Modernists.¹¹ But Dr. Brotherston points out that, unlike the poems with similar backgrounds by Antonio Machado and Juan Ramón, this poem is not melancholy nor nostalgic, but deliberately harsh and nihilistic (pp.104-5).

"El jardín gris" is in fact a deliberate and ironic inversion of the melancholy garden topos. It contains trees and a lake, like all Verlaine's gardens, but the trees are motionless and the lake is stagnant; no bird sings. Its sadness and its solitude are so overpowering that there is no poetry, no hope nor memories to be evoked by it. The final repetition of the phrase "viejo jardín sin alma" sums up the poem. The garden has no soul because it has no memories. When one remembers that the original title of the work was "El jardín viejo" the first line of Verlaine's "Colloque sentimentale" (p.121), "Dans le vieux parc solitaire et glacé", comes to mind.¹²

9. From Serres Chaudes (Brussels, 1890), p.59.

10. Dr. Brotherston discusses it in some detail, pp.105-6 and 114-15.

11. In "Relaciones entre Juan Ramón Jiménez y Manuel Machado", Direcciones del modernismo (Madrid, 1971), p.215.

12. This is a case where analysis of the words viejo, muerto and esperanza, and the synonyms for memory in the concordances helped to establish a link between the two poems.

Verlaine's park is old, lonely and frozen, that is, sterile, because the two ghosts who pass through it have forgotten their old ecstasy, and, as in Machado's poem, hope has fled and memory is dead. The ghosts' eyes are dead: in the grey garden "se muere la mirada". If the garden is the landscape of the poet's soul then the sterility, the emptiness are his.¹³

Such a bitter use of the garden theme was not unknown at the time. O.V. de L. Milosz, a minor Decadent poet immensely popular when Machado arrived in Paris, returns to it frequently.¹⁴ In "Aliénor" we find "les étangs aveugles, jonchés de lueurs mortes,/Sur un jardin d'automne éternelle et d'oubli" (p.18), while in "Chanson d'automne", of Verlainian title and provenance, there are more leafless gardens without memories or hopes, where "l'implacable oubli neige sinistrement/Sur les tombes des amis et des amants." And Edouard Dubus, in a poem called "Le jardin mort", comes even closer to Machado with the lines "l'étang. Brise ou bise,/Le vent n'y rôde jamais plus".¹⁵ But Machado's poem has a simplicity and irony quite absent from the self-pitying tones of Milosz and Dubus.

It is interesting that Antonio Machado wrote three poems very close in concept to "El jardín gris": number XIII of 'Del camino' (p.686) and numbers VIII and IX of 'Galerías' (p.722).¹⁶ In the first of these poems, the water in the fountain lies dead, and the garden is silent and shadowy. The two

13. There is a curious mistake in Machado's translation of "Colloque sentimentale" from Fiestas galantes. "Leurs lèvres molles" is translated by "sus labios blancos". In "Los días sin sol" the only two notes of colour are the whiteness of winter, the wolf, and the contrasting warmth of the red fire and the red lips of the woman. In "El jardín gris" there is only black ivy and the sad whiteness of empty paths. The colour white appears in a number of Machado's poems as a symbol of sterility and the death of desire, which may explain his mistranslation here.
14. In Le Poème des Décadences. Femmes et Fantômes. (Paris, 1899). Edition used for quotations Poésies I (Paris, 1960).
15. In Quand les violons sont partis (Paris, 1891). Ed. used 1905, p.59.
16. All references to Antonio's poetry will be to the Plenitud edition also used for Manuel's poems.

poems from 'Galerías' express the same thought as "El jardín gris" in a more explicit way. In number VIII all the flowers in the garden are dead and the poet asks "Alma, ¿qué has hecho de tu pobre huerto?" where Manuel in effect asks "Garden, where is your soul?" In the following poem, which is its sequel, the fountain is dumb and the garden withered. There is no comfort to be found and the poem ends on the stern injunction "No hay que llorar, ¡silencio!"¹⁷

"Mariposa negra" (p.16) has been shown to be strongly influenced by Villaespesa's "Canción de la esperanza".¹⁸ It is an immensely visual poem, and its colours and similes are very reminiscent of the atmosphere of Symbolist painting where, as Octave Mirbeau remarked in his scathing article "Des lys! des lys!" published in Le Journal in 1895, everything looks like something else and the trees in the forests have vaguely human shapes,¹⁹ as do Machado's trees. It also shows how Machado was able to bring to the medievalising tendency of Symbolism an ear and an eye trained from an early age in the Spanish ballad tradition through the Romancero of his great-great-uncle Agustín Durán. The last stanza of "Mariposa negra", culled from Machado's earlier ballad "Oriental" in Tristes y alegres (1894), is a perfect example of the romance style, and its obliquely stated implication of tragedy ends the poem on a note that is reminiscent at once of the best Spanish ballads ("El conde Arnaldos" or "Romance del prisionero") and of the mysterious and doomed atmosphere of much Symbolist poetry and painting.

The symbol of the butterfly is undoubtedly taken from the Spanish popular superstition that a black butterfly augurs disaster,²⁰ although as

17. Dr. Valentí remarks some of these parallels, p.157.

18. See Dr. Brotherston, p.101.

19. Quoted by Phillipe Jullian, Dreamers of Decadence (London, 1971), p.83.

20. I am indebted to Dr. Arsenio Pacheco for this information.

Dr. Brotherston indicates, it may also have been suggested by Villaespesa's constant use of the symbol (p.101). It is interesting that Verlaine depicts a black butterfly as a sign of grief on Satan's forehead in "Crimen Amoris" (p.378), and Antonio describes his sorrows as "mariposas negras" in 'Galerías' XXVI (p.731). The phrase "celajes violados" in the penultimate stanza of "Mariposa negra" is also used by Machado to translate "un rideau lourd de pourpres" in Verlaine's "A Villiers de l'Isle Adam" (p.559).

"Otoño" (p.17) has been noted by Machado's critics as being obviously based on Verlaine's "Chanson d'automne" (p.72). The image of the dead leaf blown about willy-nilly is common to both poems, as is the brief, light line. The other elements in the poem might be traced to several possible sources in Verlaine. The old park has already been mentioned as a frequent theme associated with melancholy, as in "L'Amour par terre" or "Colloque sentimentale" (pp.119 and 121). The "nada sé, nada quiero" recalls the "coeur qui s'ennuie . . . qui s'écoeure . . . sans raison" of 'Ariettes oubliées' number III (p.192). "Indolent" is a word beloved of Verlaine, who uses it to describe the je m'en foutisme of his languid lovers. Machado uses it obliquely, referring to the leaf which represents his state of mind, and like all good Symbolists, leaving it to the reader to connect the two halves of the simile.

"Oasis" (p.18) is the first of Machado's Parnassian poems, an important category of his work that will be referred to throughout this study. It has been noted in chapter I that although Symbolism was the dominant school of poetry when Machado lived in Paris, Parnassianism was still extant, and poets like Samain and Régnier were in some respects Parnassian as well as Symbolist. It should also be remembered that Verlaine's Poèmes Saturniens and Fêtes galantes are Parnassian collections. For the purpose of this study it will be necessary to define what is meant by Parnassianism as it applies to Machado.

Pierre Martino describes the Parnassian ideal as poetry in which "la forme et le travail de l'ouvrier étaient supérieurs à l'idée et à la

matière."²¹ As practised by Leconte de Lisle and Hérédia, it was a kind of verse that described the visible world in poems of rigorously symmetrical, classic construction and clear, simple images. There was a lack of intellectual content and an insistence on "l'érudition pittoresque et l'exactitude plastique" (p.73). The emphasis on objectivity and lack of passion resulted in a poetry that often gives the impression of immobility and even of stiffness. A search for subjects outside the poet's own emotions led to a cult of the exotic and the picturesque: distant lands, history, legends, paintings and even animal life became material for poetry.

The sonnet, because of the precision of its structure, was a form admirably suited to the Parnassian style. The Parnassian sonnet is seen at its best in Hérédia's Les Trophées, most of which are glosses on history, legend and works of art. Martino's description of them is particularly relevant here, for the characteristics he emphasises as peculiarly Parnassian are those that, as will be seen, are to be found in many of Machado's sonnets. "De tout petits tableaux . . . Des contrastes, des mouvements, des couleurs, des moments, un effet de lumière, une surprise de l'ombre . . . le dernier vers du sonnet, qui fixe ce contraste, cette attitude, cette nuance, prend une importance extrême (p.87). [The underlining is mine.] It is, of course, a necessary characteristic of any sonnet that its last line should have an epigrammatic quality and should reveal the significance of the whole poem, but what Martino calls "le sonnet parnassien" often reveals a new aspect of the poem's subject, in the last line and ends on a change of note which may be surprising or bathetic.

"Oasis", (p.18) with its objective treatment of an exotic subject, is a purely Parnassian poem which Dr. Brotherston finds very close to Leconte de Lisle's "L'Oasis" and "Le Désert", although he suggests that Machado may

21. Parnasse et Symbolisme (1850-1900) (Paris, 1947), p.88.

first have come across the theme in Darío (p.95). But the exuberant vulgarity of Darío's "Estival" from Azul (p.518), which contains all of de Lisle's richly detailed observation but none of his restraint and dignity, is very far from the controlled menace of "Oasis". Indeed, Machado's style is also very different from that of the French poet, the latter being sonorous and rhetorical where the former is understated, with a certain tenderness --"Y Dios deja un momento/que los pobres camellos se arrodillen". But it is true that the theme must have come from Leconte de Lisle, although not, in my opinion, via Darío, but directly. It should be noticed that "Oasis", although not a sonnet, has the same surprise ending, the sting in the tail, that was characteristic of Hérédia's sonnets. In fact, this poem could very well be put into the 'Museo' section of Machado's work with the other Parnassian poems. Its intensely visual effect is rather like that of Le Douanier Rousseau's "Le Bohémien endormi".

"Melancolía" (p.18), the last of the poems under the heading of "El Reino Interior", is like much of the mournful poetry in Verlaine's Poèmes Saturniens. The latter contains a sub-section 'Melancholia' (p.60), in which there are two poems describing the sad memories of lost love, "Nevermore" (p.61), and "Voeu" (p.62). But the memories in "Melancolía" are unspecified, though we may guess that the sad stories Machado mentions are indeed love-stories. The poet's hair is nearly white with these old griefs, just as Verlaine in "Voeu" finds himself like a frozen old grandfather.

But two other poems of sad memories in Poèmes Saturniens are much closer to "Melancolía". Under the sub-title 'Paysages Tristes' (p.69), they are "Promenade sentimentale" (p.70) and "Le Rossignol" (p.73). In the former the poet takes his wound, his heartache, for a walk among the willow trees, just as Machado's thought wanders among the willows and cypresses of an old graveyard.²² The second poem, "Le Rossignol", is even more like "Melancolía"

22. The words Vagar and sauce in the concordances indicated this parallel.

in that it is vaguer and more indirect, that is, more Symbolist, The poet in the Spanish poem feels like an afternoon of old autumn: Verlaine speaks of memories flocking into the yellow, that is, autumnal, foliage of his heart.

This interpenetration of the poet's soul with a landscape, so typical of Verlaine, had become a commonplace, and in Milosz one finds lines like "Je suis un grand jardin de novembre, un jardin éploré" (p.29) and "Tu souffres comme les jardins macabres d'hiver" (p.23). Antonio uses the device in poems like number XVII of 'Galerías' (p.726) -- "Es una tarde cenicienta y mustia,/destartalada, como el alma mía" -- in which the cause of his sadness is a lost love. But both Machados are closer to Verlaine than to Milosz, with their simple generalised vocabulary.

The second section of Alma is 'Secretos', in which the first poem is "Adelfos" (p.13), Machado's most famous poem together with "Felipe IV" and commonly thought of as the most Spanish of poems. Dámaso Alonso speaks of its "pereza heredada"²³ and Pedro Salinas considers it the perfect example of Spanish Modernist defeatism, of the abulia and crisis of the will described by Unamuno, Azorín and Baroja.²⁴ But Unamuno recognises that there are also in "Adelfos" echoes of the fatalism of the French Romantics and Decadents. "Pero es que la raza mora de este Machado es una raza mora que se ha bautizado en París y ha oído a Musset y a Verlaine."²⁵ That is to say, Machado's philosophy in "Adelfos" is his heritage as a Spaniard and a lover of Spanish Romantic poetry, but the terms in which he expresses it owe something to French literature also..The notion of aristocracy linked with boredom and resignation was popular with the Decadents, and had always been characteristic of the Romantic hero. Huysmans's Des Esseintes and Villiers

23. See "Ligereza y gravedad", Poetas españoles, p.51.

24. In Literatura española siglo veinte (Mexico, 1944), p.23.

25. In "El Alma de Manuel Machado", Heraldo de Madrid (March 19, 1902). Also to be found in Obras completas V (Madrid, 1950), p.293.

de l'Isle Adam's Axel are the Decadent heroes, and the 'yo' of "Adelfos" has much in common with them, as well as with the Romantic heroes of Espronceda and Zorrilla. However, it is naïve to take the persona of the poem as Machado's sincere self-portrait, as some critics have done: I think one can glimpse in it a trace of the self-mockery more apparent in his later autorretratos.

The title is intriguing. Machado himself said of it "unos versos que se titulan "Adelfos", nunca he sabido por qué",²⁶ although Unamuno states that he himself suggested the title.²⁷ Dr. Brotherston associates it with the oleanders or adelfas referred to by Machado in other poems (pp.112-3). But in that case there would be no explanation for the change of gender. An alternative and more comprehensible explanation is that adelfos is the Greek word for 'brother'. This would explain why the suggestion might have come from Unamuno, a classicist, and may have something to do with the pen-name "Géminis" under which Machado published a translation of Moréas's "Le Ruffian" in Electra on April 13, 1901.

It is only possible to surmise what this concept of the 'brother' may have meant to Machado. Perhaps the 'yo' of "Adelfos" is his other self, a sort of doppelgänger, like his shadow in "A mi sombra" (p.109), and the pilgrim figure found throughout his poetry and that of Antonio.²⁸ Musset, in "La Nuit de décembre" describes a pilgrim whose name is Solitude, "qui me ressemblait comme un frère".²⁹ It may also be that Machado's 'brother' is his soul.

26. In Unos versos, p.59.

27. In "El Alma de Manuel Machado", p.288.

28. See ch. III p.90 . Antonio also speaks of "el hombre que siempre va conmigo", his other half, in "Retrato" (p.743), and of "el otro que va contigo" in 'Proverbios y cantares' IV (p.896).

29. Alfred de Musset, Poésies Complètes (Paris, 1933), pp.317-23.

The idea, expressed in the first stanza of "Adelfos", of being a survivor of an older and more sensual race, recalls that in Verlaine's "Langueur"³⁰ (p.370). Verlaine's "Je suis l'Empire à la fin de la décadence" is equivalent to "soy de la raza mora . . ./que todo lo ganaron y todo lo perdieron." Both poets identify themselves with an empire that has declined and fallen.

In the second stanza the loss of all power of will and decision is an obsession of the 'nineties and indeed forms the main theme of Maeterlinck's Serres Chaudes, expressed in lines like this from "Oraison", "mon âme est pâle d'impuissance" (p.172). The same mixture of aristocratic disdain and fatalism as that in "Adelfos" can be found in Samain's "Mon âme est une infante" (p.9), which influenced Machado in several ways. Samain's princess, full of "dédain natal", is nevertheless bored and resigned, "sachant trop pour lutter comme tout est fatal" (p.10). It is interesting that Samain's poem is really about his soul, portrayed as a princess of a decadent age: it is possible that Machado's poem is also a long simile describing his soul, "hermana de la tarde".

The symbolic rose of stanza three is "la rose mystique" which the devotees of la Rose-Croix looked to as the final revelation of the Beauty which is God and which became Yeats's "Rose of all the world". By the time Machado arrived in Paris it had become a common image. Dubus uses it in "In Memoriam" (p.90) and Rachilde's heroes yearn after "fleurs impossibles".³¹ Darío gives a full account of it in his prologue to the second edition of Carrillo's Del amor, del dolor y del vicio (1901).

"Allí, en la serre extraña, junto a los cultivos de flores raras Carrillo piensa a menudo en una flor inaccesible que no se encuentra sino entre los asfodelos de la próxima existencia. Es la rosa de Dios, la rosa de Verdad, la rosa que solamente uno mismo puede reconocer y cortar, ardiente de un fuego blanco, y talismánica ente la hoguera divina."

30. Already mentioned (ch.I p.11) as being one of the key works of the Decadent movement.

31. Les Hors Nature (Paris, 1897), pp.7-8.

Not surprisingly, Carrillo too uses the image.³² Dr. A.E. Carter describes this craving for the impossible as one of the distinguishing marks of Decadent sensibility, linked to the cults of "impuissance" and dandyisme.³³ Machado contrasts this scentless ideal flower with the spikenard, which is the symbol of the senses in both "Adelfos" and "Gerineldos el paje". (The spikenard is of course remarkable chiefly for its almost overpowering scent.)

In the fourth stanza the image of being tossed willy-nilly by the waves echoes that in Verlaine's "L'Angoisse" (p.64):

"Lasse de vivre, ayant peur de mourir, pareille
Au brick perdu, jouet du flux et du reflux
Mon âme pour d'affreux naufrages appareille."

A similar note, possibly suggested by Baudelaire's "Don Juan aux enfers" (p.22), is to be found in Miłosz's "Chant de la Lointaine" - "Et mon indifférence abandonne les rames/A l'onde léthéenne où je me reconnais."

The rejection of art, ambition and love in the fifth stanza of "Adelfos" is also strikingly similar to sentiments in "L'Angoisse".

"Je ris de l'Art , je ris de l'homme aussi
.....
Je ne crois pas en Dieu, j'abjure et je renie
Toute pensée, et quant à la vieille ironie,
L'Amour, je voudrais bien qu'on ne m'en parlât plus."

Verlaine's "et je vois du même oeil les bons et les méchants" is echoed by Machado's "ni el vicio me seduce ni adoro la virtud". The sixth stanza of "Adelfos" and the lines "pero el lema de casa, el mote del escudo,/es una nube vaga que eclipsa un vano sol" recall Nerval's lines from "El Desdichado",

32. In Como se pasa la vida, p.217, and elsewhere.

33. The Idea of Decadence in French Literature 1830-1900 (Toronto, 1958) p.38.

"ma seule Etoile est morte - et mon luth constellé/Porte le Soleil noir de la Mélancholie", and Hugo's black sun in "Ce que dit la Bouche d'Ombre".³⁴

In the penultimate stanza of "Adelfos" Machado's lines "¿Que la vida se tome la pena de matarme,/ya que yo no me tomo la pena de vivir!" are like Verlaine's "O n'y vouloir, ô n'y pouvoir mourir un peu!" from "Langueur". The ironic attitude, the self-dramatisation with the hint of a smile, is common to "Adelfos" and both "Langueur" and "L'Angoisse".

To sum up, then, "Adelfos" is clearly a Romantic poem, and its Byronic attitudes may well derive from Espronceda and Zorrilla. The abulia too was characteristic of Machado's generation in Spain, as Salinas notes. But the same obsession with spiritual impotence was also typical of French Decadent and Symbolist literature, as was the pose of aristocratic disdain. The symbols of the mystic rose and the sun in eclipse, as well as the image of the poet abandoning himself to the waves, have been shown to be common in French literature, and the close parallels with Verlaine's "Langueur" and "L'Angoisse" cannot be ignored. It is worth noting that Machado claimed to have written "Adelfos" in Paris in 1899,³⁵ where he was, as Unamuno said, "baptised" with the current of French poetry.

"Adelfos" is, then, a poem on a typically Spanish subject, the choice of which may have been dictated partly by French influences on Machado at the time it was written, and the treatment of the subject is largely, although not entirely, French.

34. The origin of the black sun in Nerval and Hugo is the sun entering on an eclipse, such as is to be seen in the background of Dürer's "Melancholia", a painting that was very popular with both Romantics and Decadents.
35. In Unos versos, p.59, and in Obras completas I (Madrid, 1922).

"Antífona" (p.19) is perhaps the most old-fashioned poem in Alma, with its rhetorical Romantic style and elaborate simile. José Moreno Villa pointed out its resemblance to Espronceda's "A Jarifa, en una orgía".³⁶ There is another parallel in Manuel Reina's "Reina de la orgía", which was influenced by Espronceda's poem and also by Baudelaire.³⁷ It is possible that the phrase "tu hermosura podrida" was suggested to Machado by Baudelaire's "Une Charogne" (p.34).

Sentimentality about prostitutes was a phenomenon of Romanticism that had been revived by the Decadents, who chose to consider the demi-mondaine as a poetic and tragic figure in the line descending from Dumas's La Dame aux camélias. It should be remembered that the young women with whom Machado, Carrillo and their friends consorted would have been mostly artists' models or girls of dubious respectability, since virtuous girls did not associate with penniless young Bohemians. Carrillo's Bohemia sentimental (1898) contains numerous references to the likeness between grisettes and poets, sufficient to make one suspect that it was a hackneyed comparison. "Las consideramos como si fuesen nuestras hermanas . . . Viven como nosotros, vendiendo belleza, haciendo sentir . . . Sus cuerpos proporcionan tantas sensaciones estéticas como nuestros libros" (.68). "¡ El alma de la cortesana! . . . Es un alma de poeta." (p.124).

"Cantares" (p.20), the only poem on an Andalusian topic in Alma, is considered by Dr. Brotherston to be one of Machado's poems that absorbed traditional elements and made out of them something new (p.132). But it shares with "La guitarra habla" those faults which Dr. Brotherston himself pointed out, that is, the poet remains aloof from his subject and trivialises it by considering it exotic. There are lines of great beauty in "Cantares" -

36. Prologue to Espronceda's Obras poéticas I (Madrid, 1923), p.18.

37. Fco. Aguilar Piñal, La obra poética de Manuel Reina (Madrid, 1968), p.89.

"Algo que acaricia y algo que desgarr./La prima que canta y el bordón que llora./Y el tiempo callado se va hora tras hora" - which show real knowledge and love of flamenco music. But the line "son dejos fatales de la raza mora" betray a romanticising attitude resulting in an objectivity and distancing which lessen the impact of the poem. Another element from Spanish Romantic poetry was noted by José Moreno Villa in the prologue to Espronceda's Obras completas, (p.19), where he equates Machado's lines "No importa la vida, que ya esta perdida./Y, despues de todo, ¿qué es eso, la vida?" with Espronceda's "Y si caigo/ ¿qué es la vida?/Por perdida ya la di." from "La cancion del pirata" (p.132).

The light, Impressionistic technique of "Encajes" (p.21) make it one of the most Verlainian of Machado's poems. It is very like the Romances sans Paroles which are full of short lines and phrases linked without verbs in a stream of images. "Walcourt" (p.197) is an obvious precedent with its gaiety and insouciance and its puntos suspensivos. The cynicism of "¡Siempre amores! ¡Nunca amor!" is to be found more in Verlaine's later work. "Conseil Falot" (p.372) is similar in tone. "Brûle aux yeux des femmes,/ Mais garde ton coeur/Et crains la langueur/ Des épithalames!" or "Chante dans le vent/Et cueille la rose!" No one poem by Verlaine can be said to be the forerunner of "Encajes", yet it is nevertheless a most Verlainian poem.

"Madrigal" (appended here p.196), the poem which follows "Encajes" in all editions of Alma until 1910, is in metre and rhyme highly irregular and original. It seems to be the ironic reverse of the end of Verlaine's "L'Angoisse" (p.64), "mon âme pour d'affreux naufrages appareille". The image of the sea as death is a common one in poetry; the most famous example, is, of course, from Jorge Manrique's Coplas. But this image of the soul as a little boat Machado shares most notably with his brother Antonio. Number II of "Preludio" from 'Del camino' (p.680) has a similar image of death, although a gentler one without shipwreck or bitterness - "y encontrarás una mañana

pura/amarrada tu barca a otra ribera." The similarity between the two poems lies in the image of the little boat and the death by daylight. But Antonio is resigned and grateful, Manuel savage and ironical. Nature is, if not fearsome as in "Los días sin sol", indifferent and death is not a splendid and tragic venture, as it is in Baudelaire's "Le Voyage" (p.160), or Verlaine's "L'Angoisse" (p.64) but a stupid and unavoidable anticlimax.

A different use of the image is to be found in Darío's "La dulzura del ángelus" from Cantos de Vida y esperanza (p.655) in the lines "mientras el pobre esquife en la noche cerrada/va en las hostiles olas huérfano de la aurora," which clearly derives from Verlaine's "Birds in the night" (p.204), "je suis le Pauvre Navire/Qui court démâté parmi la tempête/Et. . . /Pour l'engouffrement en priant s'apprête." This is a more traditional and dramatic version of the topic, which Machado deliberately rejects. As in "El jardín gris" he has taken a poetic commonplace and inverted it ironically.

"Castilla" (p.22) describes one of the most moving incidents in El Poema de Mío Cid. Dr. Brotherston has demonstrated how some of the description was influenced by Leconte de Lisle's poem on the Cid "L'Accident de don Iñigo", and has indicated the parallel between Darío's "Cosas del Cid" from Prosas profanas (p.606) and "Castilla". Certainly Machado's lines describing the girl, "muy débil y muy blanca", is strikingly similar to Darío's "muy dulce y muy blanca." But it should be emphasised that Machado follows the Poema very closely, and his "niña" is a young child, as in the epic, whereas Darío's poem, inspired by Barbey d'Aurevilly, has nothing to do with the Poema and portrays a girl who is nearly a woman encountering the Cid in a meadow.

The clear influence of Leconte de Lisle in "Castilla", and the fact that Hérédia also wrote a 'Romancero' on the Cid, may indicate that France taught Machado to look afresh at his own heritage. However, it must be remembered that the Duque de Rivas and Zorrilla, whom Machado admired so much, had also written poems about the Cid, so that Machado had Spanish precedents for

"Castilla". The closeness of his poem to the epic seems to indicate that the latter was indeed the original inspiration for "Castilla", which is in its total effect entirely Spanish.

The next poem, "Felipe IV" (p.23), which opens the section of Alma entitled 'Museo', is, together with "Adelfos", Machado's best known poem and has been much commented on. Dámaso Alonso speaks of its "última elegancia inmóvil de lo español",³⁸ and it has much in common with sonnets of the Spanish Golden Age.³⁹ (For example, Argensola's "Su cabello en holanda generosa" shows a similar classic simplicity and richness of pictorial detail.)

The subject of "Felipe IV" is clearly one of the many Velázquez portraits of the king. Valbuena Prat calls the picture described "un posible Velázquez de Felipe IV",⁴⁰ while Dr. Brotherston observes that in none of Velázquez's known portraits of Philip IV does the king hold a glove: he suggests that Machado invented this detail to focus our attention on the hands (p.18). No critic, to my knowledge, has noted the source of the glove. However, in the main Velázquez room in the Prado there are two portraits which together provide the composite picture described by Machado. "Felipe IV vestido de negro", number 1.182, is obviously the main source of the poem. The king is dressed in black from head to foot, but holds in his limp right hand a folded paper..The other painting, number 1.188, is of the Infante don Carlos, brother to Philip and extraordinarily like him, who in this picture holds a suede glove in exactly the way described in Machado's poem.⁴¹ A comparison of

38. "Ligereza y gravedad", p.51.

39. I am indebted for this insight to Dr. Arsenio Pacheco Ransanz.

40. In Historia de la literatura española III (Barcelona, 1950), p.390.

41. F.J. Sánchez Cantón, in his Guide to the Prado Museum (Madrid, 1967), p.39 states that Velázquez's original design for the portrait of the prince c. 1627, shows him in the same stance as that of the king, whose portrait was painted c. 1625. This shows how similar were the two subjects, even to the painter.

the two portraits, which are of approximately the same size and have been in the Prado since 1827, shows how easy it was for Machado to put the glove in the king's hand. Both men are pale, with remarkably similar faces and hands, and golden hair of exactly the same colour, length and style. The paintings differ in that the king wears unrelieved black, has a gentler expression and holds a paper, while the prince wears a gold chain, looks rather more arrogant, and is carrying a hat and the glove.

It has already been remarked in this study that Machado loved paintings and was an assiduous frequenter of museums.⁴² "Felipe IV" is based on the Velázquez portraits in the Prado, which he obviously knew and loved, and in that sense is a truly Spanish poem, quite aside from its clear descentance from sonnets of the siglo de oro. But there is also an element of French influence, both in the choice of subject and in the treatment of it, which cannot be ignored. Díez-Canedo pointed out the closeness of "Felipe IV" to Verlaine's "César Borgia" (p.88),⁴³ and confirming this view Dr. Brotherston shows the similarity between Machado's prose translation of "César Borgia" and "Felipe IV", especially in the lines "cabellos negros y el negro terciopelo/contrastan, entre el oro suntuoso de la tarde,/con la palidez bella y mate de su rostro."

"César Borgia" comes from Verlaine's most Parnassian collection, Poèmes Saturniens, and is really a pastiche of Parnassian models. We have shown that paintings were a favourite subject with the Parnassians, and Dr. Brotherston notes that before Machado the Spanish-American Modernists Guillermo Valencia and Julián del Casal had written sonnets on paintings in the Parnassian manner. Hérédia, Samain and Régnier wrote a number of poems

42. In ch. I. p.32

43. In "Poesías escogidas" Revista de libros (1913), pp.5-6, and Brotherston p.98.



"Felipe IV vestido de negro", by Velázquez, number 1.182, in the Prado Museum.



"El Infante Don Carlos", by Velázquez, number 1.188, in the Prado Museum.

in this genre. Machado's treatment of his subject could also be called Parnassian in its classical distancing, serene mood and clear, powerful imagery.⁴⁴

There is another element in "Felipe IV" which is a characteristic of French Symbolist literature, and that is the preoccupation with empires in decline. (This topic has been mentioned in connection with "Adelfos" (p.46). One of the most influential poems of the Decadent era was Samain's "Mon âme est une infante" (Au Jardin p.15), which describes a Spanish princess in the Escorial. She too is pale with blue eyes: "Rien n'émeut d'un frisson l'eau pâle de ses yeux." The following lines from Samain's poem may have recalled to Machado the black velvet, tones of old gold and beautiful hands in Velazquez's portrait of Philip IV, as well as the dream of lost empires implicit in any study of that king of Spain's decadence:

"Les portraits de Van Dyck aux beaux doigts longs et purs,
Pâles en velours noir sur l'or vieilli des murs,
En leurs grands airs défunts la font rêver d'empire."

In conclusion, the topic of "Felipe IV" is Spanish, but the choice of that topic and Machado's treatment of it may well have been partially suggested by French models.

"Oliveretto de Fermo" (p.24), subtitled 'Del tiempo de los Medici', is a fashionably decadent and rather trivial poem. In structure it is very like Hérédia's "Médaille" (p.40), which is also about a Renaissance Italian of many gifts, Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta. Hérédia's poem is also divided into groups of three verbs: "Son profil d'épervier vit, s'accuse ou recule", and "Bâtit un temple, fit l'amour et le chanta". Hérédia celebrates the Malatesta as "le meilleur", capable of laying waste a whole countryside, making love and composing poems, just as Machado admires Oliveretto for being

44. See Martino, Parnasse, p.73.

at the same time an excellent assassin, a handsome man who inspired love and a sonneteer.

"La Corte" (p.24), a sonnet of impeccable Parnassian antecedents, has been cited by Carlos Bousoño as an example of "el arte de la sugerencia en el modernismo". He equates it, quite rightly, with Rimbaud's "Le Dormeur du val", but goes on to say that this technique of suggesting things without saying them outright is a Symbolist technique developed in France "alrededor de la época verlainiana".⁴⁵ But, in fact, although Rimbaud is called a precursor of the Symbolist movement, the poem in question, written in 1870 when he was sixteen and Parnassianism was at its zenith, is very untypical of his later verse, and is an accomplished example of the genre perfected by Hérédia, the Parnassian sonnet with a surprise ending, already discussed (p.42). So in "Le Dormeur du val" we discover in the last line that the young man sleeping so peacefully with a smile on his face has two red holes in his breast, that is, he is dead. In Hérédia's most famous sonnet "Antoine et Cléopâtre" (p.33), the last line shows Antony seeing in Cleopatra's eyes a vision of the future disaster of Actium. This technique is more Parnassian than Symbolist, and Machado uses it brilliantly in "La corte", where it dawns upon us in the last line that it is the queen who has summoned the count to an assignation.

Like "Antoine et Cléopâtre", "La corte", which was originally published in Electra on April 13 1901 under the title "Villamediana (Retrato de la época)", gains in irony if the reader knows the story of the courtiers. The count of Villamediana was a poet, gambler and duellist at the court of Philip IV, who was murdered at the age of forty, probably on suspicion of making love to the queen. So, as in that of Hérédia's sonnet, the last line carries a presage of disaster.

45. In Teoría de la expresión poética (Madrid, 1962), pp.92, and 97.

"Oriente" (p.25), entitled "Flores" in the first edition, could, as Brotherston remarks, fit easily if translated into the section on Antony and Cleopatra of Hérédia's Les Trophées. (p.96). Machado's is another sonnet with the vital information withheld until the last line, and again it is on a topic dear to French poets. Samain too wrote several of these sonnets, four of which are about beautiful, destructive queens - Medea, Cleopatra and Helen - who in the paintings and poetry of the Decadent era were with Salome the type of female beauty most celebrated. The cruelty and implied sensuality of Machado's queen is much closer to Samain's Medea and Cleopatra (pp.83 and 85 of Au jardin) than to Hérédia, although both Machado and Samain had learned the form from him. Verlaine too had essayed this genre in two clever pastiches, "La Princesse Bérénice" (p.370) and the famous "Langueur" (p.370). Two interesting parallels to Machado's image of Cleopatra stripping the petals from flowers are to be found in Dubus's "Le Sang des roses" (p.69) in the lines "en des nonchalairs cruels d'orientales,/Bien vite, elles en ont arraché les pétales", and in Darío's "Era un aire suave..." from Prosas profanas (p.549), "La divina Eulalia . . ./ una flor destroza con sus tersas manos."

The first poem under the sub-heading 'Estatuas de sombra', "Eleusis" (p.26) is considered by Dr. Brotherston to be Machado's profoundest poem. He compares it to Darío's "Divagación" in its cultural catholicity (pp.78-9). The title he takes to refer to the pilgrimage of believers to the shrine of Ceres [sic] at Eleusis, there to be comforted and find peace (pp.112-113).

Such an interest in old religions and legends is typical of the Symbolist period, and Michaud describes it in a way which is very applicable to "Eleusis":

"the return to the fabulous settings, primitive legends and ancient traditions of folklore marks a deliberate effort towards deeper truths, a surer awareness of hidden realities. It is no longer a recourse to the individual subconscious but to the collective unconscious, to the race memory and the legends in which it finds expression. . . In the depths of the forests, in which our reason seems to lose its way, there lies the Sleeping Beauty, in other words, our soul."⁴⁶

46. Guy Michaud, Le Symbolisme, quoted by Jullian, Dreamers of Decadence, p.56.

It is noteworthy that the mysteries of Eleusis, which had a sexual significance,⁴⁷ were referred to by Gómez Carrillo in a totally unspiritual context: "en la colina sagrada. . . la Eleusis moderna de los misterios carnales: Montmartre".⁴⁸ This is not to imply that Machado was using the symbol of Eleusis in the same way, but it indicates that it was a commonly used image at the time.

Paul Sérusier, a Symbolist painter who lived in Paris then and was one of the Nabis, a group of painters concerned mainly with mystical and religious images, painted in 1895 a canvas called "Les Mystères d'Eleusis" which shows a dim robed figure at the portico of a temple at night, beckoning to crowds of women holding torches. It is a mysterious and impressive picture. The distant figure of the priestess could be Demeter herself calling the believers to follow her, as Machado's soul does in the poem.

This guiding figure plays a similar part to the angel in Antonio's 'Galerías' number IV (p.718), the good angel who asks him "¿Vendrás conmigo a ver el alma?" and leads him into the "secretas galerías del alma, los caminos de los sueños". And in "Renacimiento", number XXVII of 'Galerías' (p.732), the hand that leads him through dreams is a mother's hand. In Manuel's poem his soul follows the mother goddess back into the past, to find out where he came from and what he is. In Antonio's the angel, a mother figure, takes him to find his soul. But really the search is the same and both poets state fairly unequivocally in their other poetry⁴⁹ that the search will only end in death, which will perhaps show the answer.

47. As far as is known, these consisted partly in a re-enactment of the Demeter/Persephone/Pluto story, and were connected with fertility rites for the harvest and therefore with a notion of rebirth. Antonio Machado in "Olivo del camino" from Nuevas canciones, refers at length to Demeter and the harvest.

48. In Sensaciones de París y de Madrid (Paris, 1900), p.249.

49. See Manuel's Ars moriendi, nos. I, III and VI (pp.185-6).

Manuel, like Hugo and Baudelaire, is not sure that there is an answer. "Eleusis" is in some ways like Hugo's "Horror" and "Ce que dit la Bouche d'Ombre", poems popular with the Symbolists. The goddess figure in "Eleusis" resembles the white lady, Hugo's guiding spirit who leads him to the abyss, and Machado's journey with its ambiguous ending recalls the end of "Horror":

"Toujours la nuit! Jamais l'azur! Jamais l'aurore!

Nous marchons. Mous n'avons point fait un pas encore! . . .

Nous distinguons dans l'ombre une immense statue,

Et nous lui disons: Jehovah!"

Hugo's reference to the statue in the shadows may also have some bearing on the sub-heading 'Estatuas de sombra', although Dr. Brotherston cites a passage from Rodó's Ariel which could equally well be the source of the image (pp.107-8).

I find "Eleusis" an unsuccessfully ambitious, even pretentious, poem, rather than a profound one. The connection between the poem and the Eleusinian cult is tenuous and difficult to establish. The historical references are trite and unsatisfying, and the poem does not succeed in conveying the sense of mystery achieved by Bécquer and Antonio Machado in similar poems about the soul and its search.⁵⁰

The next poem, "Lirio" (p.28), is with "Gerineldos, el paje", which has the same theme, one of the most accomplished poems in Alma. Dr. Brotherston has pointed out that the source is the ballad in Dufán's Romancero about the Infanta Enildas and the king's page Gerineldos (p.111). This ballad has always been one of the most widely known, and is still sung in popular versions throughout Spain.⁵¹ In all versions of the ballad, the Infanta invites

50. In Rimas XIV, LXVI, LXXI, LXXIV, and LXXXII, and in "El rayo de luna": and in Antonio's poems mentioned above.

51. See R. Menéndez Pidal, Flor nueva de romances viejos (Buenos Aires, 1938), p.72; Manuel Alvar, El romancero viejo y tradicional (Mexico, 1971), pp.83 and 197-204; and José María de Cossío, Romances de tradición oral (Buenos Aires, 1947), pp.47-9.

Gerineldos to her bed, and he at first demurs, thinking she mocks him, for he is only a servitor. He comes to her at night and the king, discovering them asleep, puts a sword between them. The princess awakes and, realising that they have been discovered, sends Gerineldos out into the gardens to hide from the king. But the latter encounters the page and asks him why he looks so sad and pale. Gerineldos answers that he has been picking roses and lilies, and that the fragrance of one of the roses has taken away his colour.

In "Lirio" Gerineldos is seen wandering in the gardens. Dr. Brotherston shows, in a parallel too convincing to ignore, how Teodoro in Lope's El perro del hortelano, a play Machado loved and which he adapted for the stage, wanders seeking peace (pp.111-112). It is also possible that, as Brotherston states, "Lirio" is based on the carrerilla appended to the ballad by Durán,⁵² in which Gerineldos is seen roaming the gardens before the Infanta approaches him. But as "Lirio" speaks of Gerineldos's shadowed eyes being the result of the queen's kisses, it seems to me more likely that the ballads, not the carrerilla, are the source, and that in "Lirio" Gerineldos is wandering in the garden to escape from the king.

The adjective mustio, used by Machado to describe the page's eyes, is to be found in a version of the ballad from Segovia, recorded by Menéndez Pidal in Flor nueva de romances viejos (p.71); "¿Dónde vienes, Gerineldo, / tan mustio y descolorido?" The sexual symbolism in the ballad version is obvious: 'the rose is Enildas herself, who has made him pale. But in "Lirio" Machado has made two changes from the ballads: the Infanta has become a queen, and Gerineldos is the lily of the title. These variations are significant, for both the predatory queen⁵³ and the symbol of the lily were leitmotifs of Symbolist and Decadent poetry.

52. Biblioteca de autores españoles X (Madrid, 1859), p.177.

53. See this ch. p. 58 on Medea, Cleopatra, Helen and Salome.

By making Enildas a queen, Machado suggests that the page is her victim, whom she has worn out with her desires. The paintings of Moreau, Burne-Jones, and Alma-Tadema were full of éphèbes, beautiful youths, slaves and victims all of them, abused by fatal queens. The medieval theme too was much in vogue, and almost trite: in Carrillo's Bohemia sentimental the poet Blémont writes about sensitive troubadours, daring pages and chatelaines dying of love (p.94).

The lily symbolised the soul, and was the most characteristic image of Symbolist and Decadent poetry and painting.⁵⁴ Dr. Brotherston quotes Villasespa's "Neuróticas", but it is just as probable that Machado's use of the symbol was suggested by the French poets, notably Samain, whose use of the image will be mentioned in connection with "Gerineldos, el page". There are lilies in the ballad sources, where they have a ~~specifically~~ sexual connotation, but in "Lirio" the flower is directly equated with Gerineldos, who is "casi todo alma."

The notion that the soul can wear out the flesh is of course common in lyric poetry - as in Byron's "The soul outwears the breast" - and it was a favourite concept with the Decadents. Verlaine, albeit in an ironic poem, "Lettre" (p.117), makes a lover say "mon corps faisant place à mon âme,/Je deviendrai fantôme". Arthur Symonds, discussing the drawings of Simeon Solomon the Decadent painter, says "they have brooded among ghosts of passions until they have become the ghosts themselves",⁵⁵ and Octave Mirbeau commented sarcastically on the bruised eyes in Burne-Jones's pictures.⁵⁶ An article

54. See Jullian, Dreamers, pp.42 and 173-4. The lily symbolises the soul in the paintings of the pre-Raphaelites, Puvis de Chavannes and Moreau, and in the poetry of Viéle-Griffin, Valéry, Laforgue and countless other writers.

55. In From Toulouse-Lautrec to Rodin (London 1929); cited by John Milner Symbolists and Decadents (London, 1971), p.20.

56. Cited in Jullian, Esthètes et Magiciens (Paris, 1969), p.53.

on the Symbolist exhibition of 1893, published in L'Académie Française, speaks of faces frozen in ecstasy, where the soul murders the flesh.

The labyrinth of myrtles in which Gerineldos loses himself is the web of love in which he is enmeshed, for the myrtle is the flower sacred to Venus. He is lost in this labyrinth from which there is no escape.⁵⁷ "Lirio" was originally published (in Electra 1901) as "Humo", and the original title suggests to me a connection with number IX of Verlaine's 'Ariettes Oubliées' (p.196). The images of smoke, mist and the pale traveller whose hopes are dead are similar, and the soft 'm' and 'b' sounds of "l'ombre des arbres dans la rivière embrunee/Meurt comme de la fumée" are echoed in the lines "los morados cercos/de sus ojos mustios/dos idilios muertos" and the 'b's of "besos" and "laberinto".

In its delicacy and suggestiveness, with the arresting final image, "Lirio" is one of Machado's most perfect achievements. It is clear that the romances are the source of the poem, and provide its main features. But it is undeniable that the topic of a page beloved of a queen was one popular in France at the turn of the century, and that Machado uses some of the symbols and conventions of Decadent literature and painting in his treatment of an essentially Spanish theme.

Dr. Brotherston has pointed out that the precedent for "El jardín negro" (p.29) is Villaespesa's "Los murciélagos" (p.100), and the similarity between the two poems is too obvious to ignore. But a number of elements in the poem may also be Verlainian. The conversation between the two lovers with its disjointed phrases - "¿Te acuerdas?" - is reminiscent of that in "Colloque sentimentale" (p.121). The image of two children huddled together recalls number IV of 'Ariettes oubliées' (p.193): "Soyons deux enfants, soyons deux

57. Dr. Brotherston states that Gerineldos escapes from the garden (p.112); I do not think the poem implies this.

jeunes filles/Éprises de rien et de tout étonnées/Qui s'en vont pâlir sous les chastes charmillles." The sinister evening in "Nocturne parisien" (p.83) contains three of the elements of "El jardín negro" in successive lines: the sun, instead of the moon, kisses the statue, the dark bat wheels, and all sound ceases.

The poetry of Samain, who took so much from Verlaine, may have suggested the bat to both Machado and Villasespina. In number VI of "Heures d'été" (Au Jardin p.20) two lovers are frightened by a premonition: "Quelle est donc, Chère, sur nous deux,/Cette aile en silence qui passe?" Samain's poetry is full of lovers at night-time. "Élégie" (Au Jardin p.30) has the same setting as "El jardín negro". "Les lignes, les couleurs, les sons deviennent vagues" corresponds to "el sonido duerme, el color se ha muerto." The whole atmosphere of Machado's poem, despite González Blanco's assertion that it resembles Maeterlinck,⁵⁸ is Verlainian, with its gardens, trees, fountains, statues, the silence and the mystery of foliage at night.

"Fantasía de Puck" (p.30) evinces the late nineteenth century penchant for fairies,⁵⁹ who lived in "selvas ideales" such as Jean Lorrain's La Forêt bleue. Puck is of course an English fairy, and it was the pre-Raphaelites, Wilde and illustrators like Walter Crane who made fairies fashionable. Puck, Queen Mab and her train are to be found in the short stories of Catulle Mendès before those of Darío. But the phrases "una marcha triunfal" and "cortejo" probably indicate a debt to Darío's "Marcha triunfal" in the technical sense, and to some of the stories in Azul.

58. In Los contemporáneos (Paris, 1908), p.114.

59. See Martino, Parnasse, p.163. "Les fées et les magiciens se répandirent en troupe dans les recueils de poèmes et dans les pièces de théâtre. Merlin et Viviane menèrent la sarabande, entraînant à leur suite le cortège fantomatique des sorciers, des mages, des nains, des géants, des gnomes, des elfes."

Verlaine did not write about fairies, but "Fantasía de Puck" is more reminiscent of his "Nuit de Walpurgis classique" (p.71) and the prologue to Jadis (p.319) than of any of the fairy stories. The former is a description of a witches' Sabbath of ghosts taking place in a Watteau garden. Verlaine asks "Ces spectres agités, sont-ce donc la pensée/Du poète ivre, ou son regret, ou son remords?" Puck's train is made up of doubts and suspicions, memories, thoughts and dreams. Verlaine's phantoms disappear at dawn as do Machado's: "Et s'évaporant à l'instant/ . . . où l'aube éteint l'un après l'autre/Les cors, en sorte qu'il ne reste absolument/Plus rien - absolument - qu'un jardin de Lenôtre." Machado's breaking dawn sees only a bubble on the sea and a face vanishing.

The idea of the procession of wickednesses may have been suggested by the prologue to Verlaine's Jadis (p.319): "En route, mauvaise troupe!/ . . . Partez, petits désespoirs,/Petits espoirs, douleurs, joies,/ . . . Allez, aegri somnia."⁶⁰

"Gerineldos, el paje" is, like "Lirio", based on the ballads of Enildas and Gerineldos. In this poem the page is seen wandering near to the castle, and this can be interpreted in several ways. If "Gerineldos, el paje" is based on the carrerilla referred to earlier, then Machado interprets it as meaning that Gerineldos, already enamoured of the princess, was wandering love-sick in the gardens when she saw him and invited him to her bed. An alternative interpretation is from the ballads themselves, and in that case the poem may be describing Gerineldos keeping the rendezvous the infanta has made with him for the night: "Tres vueltas da a su palacio/y otras tantas al castillo". But

60. There is also a possible parallel in the Spanish belief in the hueste antigua, and in the myth, common to many European countries, of the troops of fairies or demons who steal people away. An English version of this is "Thomas the Rhymer" and a Scandinavian one Peer Gynt. See article by Leo Spitzer, in Hispanic Review 23 (July, 1955), no. 3, pp.773-187.

if the ballads are the origin, there is no explanation for the page's shadowed eyes before he keeps his tryst with the queen, and so the carrerilla seems the more likely source.

In "Gerineldos, el paje", then, the page is dying of love for the queen before she notices him, whereas "Lirio" is a description of Gerineldos afterwards, worn out by her love.⁶¹ The same elements are to be found in this second poem - the rings round the page's eyes and the myrtles - but this time the shadowed eyes and the lily-like pallor are the result of unfulfilled desire, and the idyll in his eyes is not yet dead. The queen sees him and, it is implied, falls in love with his lily-like form in silk clothes, unarmed. Samain too describes in "Une" (Au Jardin p.79) a predatory queen who "brûle d'un regard lourd, où couvent des luxures/L'âme vierge du lys qui se meurt dans ses doigts." And in "Élégie" (p.35) the lover says to his beloved "que mon âme soit. . . Comme un lys fidèle et pâle à ta ceinture".

The "alma de nardo" is an echo of "Adelfos", where it also implies sensuality. Plucking flowers in gardens and olives in orchards is the common symbol for sexual conquest in ballads, and the "rosas y lirios" of the romance are certainly used here by Machado to suggest this. But the parallels with Decadent poetry are also clear, as they are in "Lirio". Machado's achievement in "Gerineldos, el paje" is to have combined the symbolism and style of the old ballads with the more refined and decadent taste of his own time.

The sonnet "Wagner" (p.32), is another poem that would be more appropriately placed in the sub-section 'Museo', for it too is a piece of Parnassian description. The moonlight, the fountain and the silence are

61. Dr. Brotherston dismisses "Gerineldos, el paje" because of its overt sensuality, which he finds coarse (pp.110-11). It is certainly not as haunting a poem as "Lirio", but it is far from coarse, and sexual desire is a perfectly legitimate subject for a poem, as for any work of art.

possibly Verlainian but the rest of the poem is merely the verbal equivalent of the Wagnerian paintings of Henri de Groux, Beardsley and Redon in a period which worshipped Wagner.

The next sub-heading is "Miniaturas". Its first poem, "Figulinas" (p.34), about a little princess in a Watteau picture,⁶² is attributable to the influence of Darío's Prosas profanas according to Valbuena Prat (p.389). Dr. Brotherston says it could be suggested by Verlaine or by Darío, and points to the similarity of lines from "Era un aire suave..." to lines from "Figulinas" (p.97, n.1). The princess might also have been suggested by Darío's "Sonatina".

There is no single poem by Verlaine that might have inspired "Figulinas", but the ladies in "L'Allée" (p.108) or "À la promenade" (p.109), the marquise Osine in "L'Impénitence finale" (p.385) or the coquettes in Les Uns et les Autres (p.334) could all have contributed.

The last lines of "Figulinas" are curiously similar to those by Carrillo on another cult figure of the Symbolist epoch: "Pierrot ama, sufre, odia, goza y espera como todo el mundo."⁶³ It is possible that Machado's princess "traviesa" is, like Darío's Eulalia "maligna", another manifestation of naughty Columbine and so a representative of all women, as Pierrot is of all men.

"Versailles" (p.33) derives equally from Verlaine, Darío and Samain. Metrically it stems from "Marcha triunfal", and the second and third stanzas recall Darío's poem in their stately rhythm. But neither "Era un aire suave..." nor anything else in Darío portrays the gently melancholy falling of dusk on the fête galante as Machado learned it from Verlaine and Samain.

62. I have been unable to find any painting of a princess by Watteau.

63. In Sensaciones p.65.

Versailles had become fashionable as a setting for poems since Robert de Montesquiou and Henri de Régnier settled there and were inspired by its perspectives. The latter wrote a whole book of poems on Versailles, La Cité des Eaux. Samain too wrote some of his best work on this theme, and since he also learned from Verlaine, it is difficult to be sure which of the two poets most influenced Machado's "Versailles". Samain's "L'Île fortunée" (Au Jardin p.61) portrays dusk falling on Watteau's lovers in much the same terms, while the four poems in his 'Versailles' (Le Chariot pp.15-18) also describe the courtiers of Louis XIV. "Watteau" from the same book (p.52) shows the moon rising above the groups of lovers, and its first and last stanzas are similar in technique to Machado's "Versailles", especially in the use of puntos suspensivos.

"Au-dessus des grands bois profonds

L'étoile du berger s'allume...

Groupes sur l'herbe dans la brume...

Pizzicati des violons...

Entre les mains, les mains s'attardent."

Even Machado's rimes riches - galanteos, discreteos, camafeos - are also paralleled by Samain's indécise, idéalise and Cydalise.

Verlaine's "A la promenade" (p.109) and "Mandoline" (p.115) are also like Machado's poem in the descriptions of flirting, the dresses, the soft colours and the fading day, and the feeling for sunset and dusk throughout Fêtes galantes is perfectly captured in "Versailles".

Luis Cernuda, in his examination of Modernism, states that no Modernist succeeded in writing like Verlaine. "Basta comparar los poemillos de Fêtes galantes donde. . . todo es sugerencia y matiz, con la exageración y falta de gusto de "Era ~~un~~ un aire suave..."; los temas podrán ser equivalentes, pero los resultados . . . son bien desiguales."⁶⁴ Cernuda does not consider

64. Estudios sobre poesía española contemporánea (Madrid, 1957), p.81.

in this context the poetry of Machado, which he thinks insubstantial and affected (p.155). But it is my opinion that in "Versailles" Machado came as near as any Spanish poet could to the delicacy of Verlaine's style.

"La noche blanca" (p.35) and "Copo de nieve" (p.36), which Dr. Brotherston suggests could have been influenced by Darío's "Canción de carnaval" and "El faisán" (p.97), have little in common with either of these poems. The only similar elements are the names Pierrot and Columbine, the fact that Pierrot is melancholy and that the moon is in love with him. These were themes of the period so common as to have become hackneyed, and neither Darío nor Machado had any monopoly of them. Darío himself said that "Canción de carnaval" was inspired by Banville, as too was "El faisán". The vulgar cheerfulness of the former could not be farther from Machado's wistful little poems.

The style and shape of the poems are like those of Verlaine in "Pantomime" (p.107), "Fantoches" (p.114) and "Colombine" (p.118) of Fêtes galantes. Of these three it is the last that shows Columbine as faithless, "une belle enfant/Méchante" leading her band of dupes to destruction. The genesis of the melancholy Pierrot has already been described (p.17). Verlaine's sonnet "Pierrot" (p.320) was an influential example of the genre and anticipated Laforgue, who however initiated the love affair between Pierrot and the moon in L'Imitation de Notre Dame la Lune. In "La noche blanca" the reference to the marquis and the jewels with which he buys Columbine's love must have been to a commonplace of the pantomime. In Carrillo's Bohemia sentimental Luis the poet writes pantomimes with Pierrot, Columbine and the Marquis, (not 'a' marquis), as stock figures (p.63) and in one of them Pierrot tries to win Columbine with a stolen necklace (pp.102-3). Luis, who plays Pierrot, talks to the moon: "¡Buenas noches, luna! . . . ¿No me reconoces?. . . Soy yo, tu Pierrot, el amante de Colombina". Columbine as painted by Willette was "mala y buena, desinteresada y codiciosa, amorosa

y fría. . . y por encima de todo, caprichosa."⁶⁵ That is why, in both Machado's poems, she betrays Pierrot but loves him all the same. The phrase "la señora luna" is from Laforgue but had become a commonplace.⁶⁶

To sum up, in Alma, therefore, there can be seen the influence of other French poets besides Verlaine, especially that of Samain and Hérédia, both of whom were Parnassian in form, although Samain was very much a Symbolist/Decadent in content. Jiménez, who comments on the influence of Samain on Machado in diction and construction,⁶⁷ nevertheless insists on the Symbolist, as opposed to the Parnassian, character of Alma.⁶⁸ It would seem that his motives for so doing were to emphasise that he and the Machados owed relatively little to the Parnassianism of Darío and the Latin-American Modernists but took their themes and style directly from Symbolism.

In fact, Alma partakes of the characteristics of both schools. The Verlainian poems which most affected Machado at this time were the Poèmes Saturniens, as can be seen from the poems quoted. A number of these are still Parnassian in structure, if not in attitude. But other Symbolist influences are clearly to be seen.

A careful reading of the poems has shown that the direct influence of Verlaine and of Samain is evident in Alma, especially in "Otono", "Melancolía",

65. Carrillo, El alma encantadora de París, pp.105-6.

66. It should be noted that the Pierrot and Columbine theme occurs throughout the work of Machado's friend Carrillo in both novels and essays. In 1899 he published Maravillas: Novela funambulesca which tells the story of a Pierrot and a Columbine. In Sensaciones de París y de Madrid (1900) he notes that "en París no hay un teatro que no tenga una pantomima en su repertorio, ni poeta dramático que no haya escrito una pantomima." A few years later appeared his history of French pantomime, El teatro de Pierrot (Paris, 1909). It seems otiose, therefore, to seek in two poems by Darío precedents for this theme in Machado, who had lived for two years in Paris in close association with Carrillo and at a time when pantomime was at the height of fashion.

67. Gullón, Direcciones del modernismo, p.194.

68. La corriente, p.41.

"Adelfos", "Encajes", "Felipe IV" and "Versailles". Machado did not have to wait until 1902, as Dr. Brotherston suggests (p.98) for Jiménez to introduce him to the poetry of Samain. Alma also indicates that Machado was able to capture in his poetry the hesitant and melancholy tone of Verlaine much more successfully than Darío, whose rich, authoritative verse is quite unlike that of Verlaine, although he also took themes from him. It is possible that during his stay in Paris Machado absorbed ideas from Darío and learned about French poetry from him, although he could equally well have learned from Carrillo and his French acquaintance. But it seems clear that Machado, apart from one or two borrowings, developed independently of Darío and took his inspiration from the original sources of French poetry, with no need of intermediaries.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSIS OF THEMES AND IMAGES IN CAPRICHOS

The collection Caprichos was published in 1905 and dedicated to Rubén Darío. The latter repaid the compliment with an enthusiastic review of the book, published in Opiniones (1906). "Sus versos parecen escritos en francés y desde luego puedo asegurar que son pensados en francés. Es en muchos de sus poesías - por ejemplo en Caprichos, de título goyesco - un verleniano de la más legítima procedencia. Con los elementos fonéticos del castellano ha llegado a hacer lo que en francés no han logrado muchos seguidores del prodigioso Fauno."¹

Of course by 1905 Machado was by no means alone in using French techniques nor in imitating Verlaine. I have indicated in the introduction to this study (p.1) that by 1903 Verlaine was well-known in Spanish literary circles. It is sufficient to glance at the correspondence between Jiménez and the Martínez Sierras to see how much all three of them admired Verlaine. They read his poems aloud and presented copies of his books to each other.² Martínez Sierra's Teatro de ensueño (1905) contains a playlet called "Saltimbanquis" with a Puck, a Pierrot and a Columbine. Other plays of theirs were entitled Sueño de carnaval and Pantomima. Jiménez in a letter of 1904 to Darío says "voy a hacer un libro sobre Verlaine, con un estudio de cada aspecto del gran poeta y traducciones en verso castellano."³ The book was never written, but

1. In "Nuevos poetas de España", Obras I, p.415.
2. Gullón, Relaciones amistosas y literarias entre Juan Ramón Jiménez y los Martínez Sierra (Puerto Rico, 1961), pp.80 and 86.
3. Antonio Oliver Belmás, "Ausencia y presencia de Juan Ramón Jiménez en el archivo de Rubén Darío", Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos LXIV (1958), 1, p.66.

Juan Ramón's debt to Verlaine can be seen clearly in much of the early poetry and was freely admitted by him.

Machado seems to owe nothing to his Spanish contemporaries in this respect. He was a forerunner and prime mover of the Verlaine cult in Spain and it is more likely that they learned from him. But it was the prevalence of the themes and moods introduced from France by Darío and Machado that must have provoked the ferocity of Andrés González Blanco's review of Caprichos, and the patronising tone of Manuel Abril.⁴ Both castigate the very aspect of the book that Darío most admired, that is, its Frenchness. Blanco describes Machado's poetry as "banvillesco, frívolo, parisien", and equates him scornfully with Gómez Carrillo in his superficial eroticism (pp.93-4). He objects to the title Caprichos "por no creer que el arte sea un juego", and quotes with approval Unamuno's devastating comments on "la voluptuosidad cerebral y el erotismo morboso que se reflejan en buena parte de esa insoportable literatura parisien." (pp.95-6)

Abril reminds his readers that Alma "podía pecar de reminiscencias francesas" and says that Caprichos sins even more in this respect, being full of "imitación múltiple" (pp.668-9). Even, and most inexplicably, Antonio de Zayas, duke of Amalfi and Machado's oldest friend, who is quoted by Jiménez as being one of the first to introduce modern French poetry into Spain,⁵ added his voice to the storm of protest against afrancesamiento in an article on "El modernismo" (1906) in which he thunders against those writers who are too soaked in Verlaine to think in anything but French.⁶ He dislikes the

4. In Los contemporáneos, p.93; and La Lectura V (1905)3, pp.667-70.

5. See Gullón, Direcciones p.225: and Conversaciones p.64.

6. In Ensayos de crítica histórica y literaria (Madrid, 1907), p.403.

symbols of the commedia dell'arte and the tendency to describe Spanish history and customs in "páginas sentidas a la francesa" (p.411).

A number of these criticisms could be levelled at Machado, whose devotion to Verlaine, use of the figures of Italian comedy and Parnassian attitude to Spanish folklore have already been remarked on and will be further demonstrated in this chapter. A study of themes and images in Caprichos following the sequence of the first edition will confirm the French influence noted by the critics already quoted, without subscribing to their condemnation of it.

The very title Caprichos, the frivolity of which so annoyed Blanco, is not of course "goyesco", as Darío asserts, but Verlainian, taken from a subtitle 'Caprices' in Poèmes Saturniens (p.74), the early collection which, as has been shown, so influenced Machado.⁷ Three of Verlaine's five poems under this heading are light erotic sketches in the same genre and the same ironic vein as much of Caprichos.

The first poem in the collection, "Pierrot y Arlequín" (p.37), is technically a tour de force. It clearly derives from Verlaine's "Colombine" (p.118), as many critics have pointed out, in its metre and rhyme scheme, and of course in its use of commedia characters. The commonplace about the moon being Pierrot's lover has already been discussed (ch.2, p.69) and Harlequin's attitude to women is traditional. The consoling effects of food on Pierrot's melancholy were a pantomime stand-by, referred to by Verlaine in "Pantomime" (p.107). The ending of "Pierrot y Arlequín" is remarkably like that of "Sur l'herbe" (p.108) - "Hé! Bonsoir, la lune!" - and has the same effect of fantastic gaiety.

"Florencia" (p.37) is one of many poems based on themes so frequently found in turn-of-the-century verse that it would be impossible to assign it

7. Goya's "Caprichos" contain a few horrific carnival pictures but nothing that could have had any bearing on the poems.

to any one antecedent. Darío's "Divagación" contains a stanza with a mandoline and a Florentine page dressed in red. But both instrument and page are to be found in the other arts of the epoch too. Dante Gabriel Rossetti's paintings of Florence and Ruskin's books had started a vogue for the city and it was a major theme of Decadent art.⁸ One of Samain's erotic sonnets, number II of 'Heures d'été' (Au Jardin p.20) contains these lines: "Dans le soir de magnificence,/Les richesses de ta presence/Evoquent l'âge Florentin." Jean Lorrain in Loie Fuller called Florence a place where one felt a certain regret at not dying, and this sentiment is echoed in Machado's "hermosura de la muerte". The beauty of death is also a common Decadent theme and is often linked with sensuality, as it is in Baudelaire's "Les Deux Bonnes Soeurs" (p.132), La Débauche with her myrtles and Death with her cypresses.

"La alcoba" (p.38) seems linked to "Florencia", for it is, as it were, a "close-up" of the serenaded woman in her "blanco lecho" of which the page sings. As in the previous poem, her red mouth is the only note of colour. And again Samin's 'Heures d'été' provide a parallel.

'Heures d'été' III	"La alcoba"
"Parfums lourds. . .	"vaho"
. . . d'étouffants arômes. . .	de flores y aroma
.	de tu carne suave.
Les fleurs dorment dans le velours.	Duermen los colores
.	de las flores.
Seule, ta levre éclate, rouge. . .	Las rosas purpúreas
'Heures d'été' V	de tu cara duermen.
"La bouche brulante de carmin. . ."	Sólo vela el rojo
	carmin de tus labios."

8. See Jullian, Dreamers, pp.140-143

But Samain's perfumes are not those of flesh. A clearer antecedent for these is to be found in Verlaine's "Marco" (p.86); "Quand Marco dormait, oh! quels parfums d'ambre/Et de chairs mêlés opprimaient la chambre!"

The repetition of the phrases "en el cuarto" and "duermen" is a Symbolist technique, seen in poems like Baudelaire's "Harmonie du soir" or Verlaine's "Crépuscule du soir mystique", which produces a soothing and hypnotic effect. It may derive from the French pantoum genre, which repeats lines in a regular order, so that the second and fourth lines of the first stanza become the first and third of the second stanza and so on. Dubus's "Pantoums" II (p.22) depicts a scene very similar to that in "La alcoba". The repeated lines "un vague demi-jour sommeille dans la chambre", "le grand lit dans l'alcôve est nimbé de mystère", "lèvres, fleur de pêcher folâtre, il faut vous taire" and "l'air est tout languissant d'un parfum de paresse" are echoed by Machado's shadowed room where colours sleep, the air is scented and only the woman's red mouth seems awake.

The next poem, "El viento" (p.39), is one of Machado's most accomplished and is often quoted to show how Verlainian he could be. Once again, as in "Otoño", the metre and the loose syntax derive from "Chanson d'automne" (p.72), as do the images of the violins and the wind. The simile of smoke dissolving is frequently encountered in Machado's poetry and may be reminiscent of 'Ariettes oubliées' IX (p.196), "l'ombre. . . meurt comme de la fumée", where it carries the same implication of transience and melancholy. "Charleroi" (p.197) too, with its short lines and telegraphic style, may have influenced "El viento". It describes the wind bringing breaths of perfume and sounds in much the same way.⁹

9. Dr. Valentí has noted the frequency of wind images in both Verlaine and Machado (p.66).

"Rojo y negro", the first part of "La fiesta nacional", is not relevant to this study, as it cannot be said to have any French antecedents in theme.

"Pantomima" (p.39), another exercise in the commedia dell'arte convention, is much the most original of Machado's poems in this genre. Despite the words "funambulesco" and "Carnaval", (which were common currency), there is little trace in it of what González Blanco calls "banvillismo" (p.122). Banville's Mascarades are regular in metre and rhyme and cheerful in outlook.¹⁰ The haunted nightmare atmosphere of "Pantomima" is Machado's own, although a number of elements from Verlaine, Samain and Dubus may be noticed.

The "complot" may well have been suggested by Verlaine's "Fantoques" (p.114), in which "Scaramouche et Pulcinella,/Qu'un mauvais dessein rassembla,/Gesticulent, noirs sur la lune." The puppet-like movements of Pierrot and Margot, indicated by the jerky, uneven lines, are very reminiscent of "Fantoques" and "Pantomimé" (p.107). The masks and disguises were of course a carnival tradition: the sadness hidden by them had been most perfectly expressed by Verlaine in the famous first poem of Fêtes galantes (p.107): "masques et bergamasques,/ . . . quasi/Tristes sous leurs déguisements fantasques." The use of the symbol of Folly shaking his bells in Antonio's "La muerte" is ascribed by Ribbans to Verlaine's "Nevermore" (p.81) and to Baudelaire's "La Mort des artistes" (p.152):¹¹ a similar ancestry may be postulated for Marmel's use of the image. (Banville uses it too, but without the bitterness of the Machados.) The "serenata gemebunda" may derive from Verlaine's "Sérénade" (p.80), but his "En 17..." (p.543), a relatively little-known poem, provides a more striking parallel. It describes a masked ball of

10. Some of the characteristics that Max Fuchs (Théodore de Banville (Paris 1910), pp.182-197) notes as typical of Banville's rimes funambulesques are nevertheless to be seen in "Pantomima", as in Darío's "Canción de carnaval". These are rimes riches, clownish changes of mood verging on farce, and a tendency to parody and dehumanise the characters portrayed.

11. "La influencia" pp.194-5.

similar richness and gaiety to the one in "Pantomima", upon which falls an inexplicable melancholy and then a frenetic abandon.

"Ô l'incroyable mélancholie
Tombant soudain sur la noble fête!
De l'orage? ô non, c'est la tempête!
L'ennui, le souci? - - C'est la folie!"

Dubus took up the theme of a ball ending mournfully in two poems, "Aurore" (p.35) and "Chanson" (p.37). The following lines from the latter show the same melancholy as "Pantomima".

"Mais la fête se fait lasse,
L'âme au vent plaintif se glace,
Les sourires se vont mourant.
.
.
.
L'amour est un jeu morose:
Tout est vide, tout est vain."

The silent falling of the snow, stifling all life and gaiety, is linked by Brotherston with other uses of whiteness in Machado's verse to express nothingness and oblivion (p.115). It is also very similar to an image in Verlaine's "Voix de l'Orgueil" (p.258): "neige lente. Il fait si froid! Lourde, affadie,/La vie a peur et court follement sur le quai!", and to a line from Samain's "Extreme Orient" III (Au Jardin p.118), "et l'Ennui dans nos coeurs neige silencieux." Milosz's "Chanson d'automne" contains a similar image: "l'implacable oubli neige sinistrement".

The association of the figures of pantomime with the carnival is of course traditional, for at Mardi Gras people wear fancy dress and are often disguised as pantomime characters. Darío also describes a carnival peopled with Pierrots and Columbines in "Canción de carnaval" (p.561) and "El faisán" (p.565). The carnival on Shrove Tuesday is a period of wild enjoyment followed by Ash Wednesday and the sobriety of Lent. So the falling of the snow on

Machado's carnival is possibly also a symbol of Lenten gravity and of the reminder of mortality in the Ash Wednesday service. And snow is also appropriate to the season in which Lent falls.

Machado's achievement in "Pantomima" is to have combined the topos of the melancholy revellers with the technique of the rime funambulesque in a poem of grotesque pathos which is very original.

'Mujeres', the second section of the book, is a series of sketches (in the 1908 edition this section was called 'Bocetos') of women from literature, history and contemporary life. The first, "La hija del ventero" (p.49), was suggested by a line from the Quijote which stands at the head of the poem. It is a work of purely Spanish inspiration in theme, and a knowledge of the Quijote is necessary to appreciate its full resonance. In this respect and in its remote and rather fey atmosphere the poem resembles number XI of 'Lucien Létinois' from Amour (p.450). In Verlaine's poem it is sunset and Cinderella is dozing, while other characters from fairy stories pursue their various activities. In the end everyone meets together in the welcoming inn. This poem, like Machado's, relies on the connotations of names known from books, a common heritage, to work its magic.

"Mimi, la modelo" (p.50) is a piece of commonplace Parisian sentimentality put into verse and thereby refined. Mimi was of course the sanctified name for all grisettes, models and open-hearted girls of slender means ever since Murger's Scènes de la vie de Bohème and Puccini's opera. Carrillo's Parisian heroines tend to be fair-haired, under-nourished and to love artists. Léandre here has nothing to do with "Léandre le sot",¹² the stock character of the commedia, but is a romantic name for a lover, like the Léandre in Samain's "Watteau", (Le Chariot, p.67). However, it should be noted that there was a Montmartre painter of the turn of the century called Léandre. Long flowing

12. Verlaine, "Colombine", p.118.

hair like Mimi's was a fetish of the age, from Baudelaire's "La Chevelure" to Millais's "Ophelia". The rather trite notion that her hair was the only gold she possessed may well have been suggested by a line in Verlaine's "Grotesques" (p.68), which is also about Bohemians, "pour tous biens l'or de leurs regards." But despite the hackneyed theme, Machado makes of the poem, as Dámaso Alonso points out, an Impressionist painting of delicate colour and great tenderness.

Dr. Brotherston has shown how "Rosa" (p.51) echoes Darío's "Alaba los ojos negros de Julia" (p.91). It may also have been influenced by his "El faisán", with its inversion of "la loca boca. . . la boca loca", and is clearly a tribute to Darío. The latter may have been inspired by number X of Verlaine's Chansons pour elle, with its line "ta bouche . . . trop rusée" (p.717). We know that Machado read his copy of that collection with great care, even marking it, so that Rosa's "arte peregrina" could also have been suggested by Verlaine's description in number I (p.709) of Eugenie Krantz's knowledgeable ways. "Rosa" is a trifle of a poem, a mere exercise in technique.

"Una estrella" (p.51) is the verbal equivalent of a painting by Julio Romero de Torres, which is to say that it is a sentimentalised view of Andalusian womanhood painted, or written, in a once fashionable style that has dated very much. The vulgarity of expressions like "el loco deseo" and "una hurí española" are the first indications in Machado's work of the tendency to cheapen his Andalusian heritage which mars so much of his later poetry.

There is also in "Una estrella", apart from the popularising element, a trace of fin-de-siècle erotic blasphemy rather reminiscent of Baudelaire. The latter, in "A une Madone" (p.63) sub-titled 'Ex-voto dans le goût espagnol', also calls his mistress a statue and speaks of her "rôle de Marie". "Tout en moi te chérit et t'admire" corresponds to "creo/en María, y la admiro/y adoro".

The proximity of the words "statue" and "vers", and of "desir" and "onduleux" in Baudelaire's poem may have suggested those of "copla" and "estatua", and "ondulante" and "deseo" in Machado's.

Whereas Mimi is the traditional name for the artists' model, Marguérite is the equivalent for the tragic courtesan - the one is cante chico, the other cante grande. The origin of the name in Machado's "Margarita" is of course Dumas's La Dame aux camélias, which is the reference in Darío's "Margarita". There is no connection between Darío's poem and Machado's save the name, and López Lapuya shows how commonly used that was in his remark "en cualquiera vendedora de amor veíamos una sensible Margarita".¹³ This view of woman as victim, down-trodden innocence, the flower beneath the foot, was characteristic of much nineteenth century literature, and was exemplified in such novels as Eugène Sue's Fleur de Marie. Machado's poem does not transcend the limitations of the cult.¹⁴

The last poem under the heading 'Mujeres' is "Ruth" (p.53). It is a simple poem, rather Parnassian in technique and of course in its Biblical subject matter. Apart from the latter, it seems to owe nothing to Hugo's "Booz endormi". A contemporary influence might be Rossetti's painting "Ruth and Booz", which depicts her much as Machado does, with her cloak full of wheat and Booz bending solicitously over her.

The next section of the book, 'Cadencias de cadencias', contains six poems on Spanish subjects and one very French poem, "Jardín neo-clásico,"

13. La bohemia española en París, p.170. See also ch. 2, p. 49 on sentimentality about prostitutes.

14. One of Lévy-Dhurmer's best-known paintings, also called "Marguérite" represents a girl with a rather farouche look holding daisies. Another picture that could have suggested this poem is Janmot's "Fleur des champs", which also shows a beautiful, sad girl with daisies in her lap and hands. Baudelaire wrote about it in Le Salon de 1845 (Paris, 1962), p.152.

which in later editions appears with other afrancesado poetry under the heading 'Figulinas'. The first poem, "Álvar-Fáñez" (p.101), reminded Uhamuno of Leconte de Lisle¹⁵ despite its solid background of references to the Cantar de Mio Cid. It is true that it is rather too artificially terse and pithy in expression, betraying once again the detached Parnassian attitude of poems like de Lisle's "L'Accident de Don Iñigo" or Hérédia's "Romancero".

But I do not think that the same criteria apply to "Glosa" (p.101). There is no French antecedent for the theme, as there are for poems on the Cid and his men. The poem shows a real warmth of feeling for Berceo, who was one of the poets most beloved of Machado's generation. Darío also wrote "A Maestre Gonzalo de Berceo" in Prosas profanas, congratulating himself on improving on Berceo's alexandrine, and he also refers to the "vaso de bon vino". It is noteworthy that Machado follows Darío in the inconsistency of using the modern spelling for Gonçalvo, although the rest of the vocabulary is archaic.¹⁶ Machado's title was also used by Antonio for a poem on Manrique.

"Don Carnaval" (p.102), despite the odd use of the French word sage in the second line, is another poem of purely Spanish inspiration in theme if not in technique, and shows a close acquaintance with the Libro de buen amor, the tone of which it reproduces magnificently, especially in the last three stanzas.

"Madrid viejo" (p.104), sub-titled 'Acotación' or 'stage-directions', is stylistically very similar to Verlaine's "Effet de nuit" (p.67), a poem indicated by Ribbans as having also influenced Antonio's "Invierno" (p.191). This aspect of it will be discussed in chapter 7. It is also very close in theme to a poem by Antonio, number XII of 'Del camino' (p.686). In both there is an old, blind beggar. In Manuel's poem he sees pass "las horas y las horas",

15. In prologue to Alma.Museo, Los cantares, p.199.

16. Cernuda, Estudios p.84, points out this illogicality in Darío.

in Antonio's "la blancas sombras de las horas santas". In "Madrid viejo" "vana hierba entre las piedras crece": in number XII "crece en la plaza. . . el musgo, y entre la piedra". Both poems use puntos suspensivos to give slowness to their lines. The vocabulary - plaza, piedra, blanco, viejo, horas, santo, mendigo, pasar - is the same, and both poems are examples of the concern felt for Spain by the Machados' generation.

"Don Miguel de Mañara" (p.104) is on a Sevillian theme, the prototype of Don Juan who was a libertine and became a saint, founding a convent called La Caridad. The eroticism of the first sextet, the piquant juxtaposition of love and death, is quite decadent in tone but could equally have come from Spanish Romantic sources. The only truly fin-de-siècle note in the poem is struck by the line "la elegancia suprema del arrepentamiento", which smacks of the dandy turned mystic and of the belated Catholicism of so many of the Decadents.

"Un hidalgo" (p.105) is the only example in Caprichos of what we called in chapter 2 (p. 42) the Heredian sonnet.¹⁷ The irony of its last line is masterly. This sonnet may have been one of the poems which provoked Zayas's complaint that Modernists were debunking Spanish history and the glories of Flanders, Portugal and Italy (pp.414-5). But although the form is French, the content is purely Spanish and shows once again a generation of '98 preoccupation with the causes of Spain's decadence. "Un hidalgo" is of course, like "La corte" and "Felipe IV", about the period of Spanish history the Machado brothers knew well, that is, the seventeenth century.¹⁸

17. It should be noted that a late but influential collection of Parnassian sonnets was Henri de Régnier's Les Médailles d'Argile (1900) which is full of descriptions of paintings and people. In the section 'Les Passants du passé', "Le Courtisan" and "Le Soldat" (pp.229 and 242) are also very similar to Machado's sonnets in this genre. (ed. cited Paris, 1921).

18. See Dr. Brotherston, pp.120-121, and their play Julianillo Valcárcel.

"Jardín neo-clásico" (p.106) is another of Machado's elegant sonnets, completely Verlainian in inspiration this time. It takes its images mainly from "Nuit de Walpurgis classique" (p.71) and the Fêtes galantes. The Cupid bending his bow is from "L'Amour par terre" (p.119) while the description of the garden is nearly all from "Nuit de Walpurgis classique" - the rigid cypresses, the classical groups of statues, the fountain and the topiary work, everything clipped and trimmed and in its place. Only the wandering white paths and the clumps of myrtle are not French and they are, as has been seen, constant images with Manuel. It is possible that the masked face and the statues were suggested by Darío's "Era un aire suave..." but it is just as likely that Machado found them where Darío did, that is, in the poems of Verlaine and the paintings of Watteau.

The next sub-heading of Caprichos is 'El mal poema', which was to be the title of Machado's new collection of poems in 1909. It has been suggested that the title is an ironic inversion of La Bonne Chanson or a variation on Les Fleurs du Mal. The seven poems under this title are sad, even morbid, and deal with the seamy side of life.

The first poem "Serenata" (p.88) was originally published in Helios VI (1903) as "Sérénade", which would seem to indicate a French source of inspiration and is also the title of one of the Poèmes Saturniens (p.80). But all that the two poems have in common is that the mistress is indifferent and that the lover spends sleepless nights thinking of her. The notion of lovers' souls approaching each other in dreams may come from Verlaine's "Colloque sentimentale" (p.121), - "Toujours vois-tu mon âme en rêve"? - but is also expressed by Bécquer in Rimas XXVIII and LXXXV. The vocabulary of "Serenata" is also Becquerian. In one of Antonio's poems, number XV of Soledades, a man in love walks the streets where his beloved lives, and his footsteps are the only sound in the street.

"Neurastenia", which was never reprinted in any collection after Caprichos and a copy of which is appended (p. 197), is yet another poem which seems to have been inspired by "Nuit de Walpurgis classique" (p. 71). Machado's "son doliente" which passes through the night air recalls the "air mélancholique, un sourd, lent et doux air" from that work and also perhaps, for it too is "burlón", the "doux chant/Badin" of number V of 'Ariettes oubliées' (p. 193), which also dies away into a garden at night and is heard from within the room. The "claridades. . . temuidades sin vida" that flit through Machado's garden are very like the "formes toutes blanches,/Diaphanes. . . Ces spectres. . . ou bien des morts" of "Nuit de Walpurgis".

Greg'h's Verlainian "Minuet", referred to above,¹⁹ is also very like "Neurastenia". It should be noted that the title word was another leitmotif of Decadent literature.²⁰

"Nocturno madrileño" (p. 89) clearly takes its title and some of its images from Verlaine's "Nocturne Parisien" (p. 83). The "cantar con notas monótonas, tristes" that speaks of crime and misery reflects Verlaine's lines

"La Ville est là qui chante sa chanson. . .
Et c'est l'aube des vols, des amours et des crimes. . .
Son cri qui se lamente, et se prolonge, et crie. . .
C'est écorché, c'est faux, c'est horrible, c'est dur."

This is the first of Machado's city poems, a genre which he was the first to introduce into Spain and the germ of which he found in Baudelaire and Verlaine. The latter's "L'Aube à l'envers" (p. 375) is similar to "Nocturno madrileño" in its picture of drunkenness and murder, "d'affreux baisers et d'immondes paris". The third stanza of Machado's poem in particular describes the city woman in the same terms as the French Decadents like Jean Lorrain, "des

19. See ch. 1, p. 13, and Carrillo, El modernismo, p. 173.

20. See Carter, The Idea of Decadence, pp. 62-8.

chloroses fardées et des paleurs"²¹ with circles under their eyes. Words like "anemia", "perversos" and "malsano" emphasise the Parisian Decadent connotations.

"Prosa" (p.91) is another variation on the same theme, recalling Baudelaire's Tableaux Parisiens. It is a deliberately hypnotic poem with a monotonous rhythm, a "letanía" of human misery, which strikes a new and original note in Spanish poetry. The technique is like that of number III of 'Ariettes oubliées' (p.192). The "sans amour et sans haine" ennui of Verlaine's poem corresponds to the "sin gracia y sin deseo" of Machado's, and both end on a strong line of sadness: "Mon coeur a tant de peine!" and "como una mala vida!"

"Alcohol" (p.90) is very like Samain's "Luxure" (Au Jardin pp.137-143), especially in its Villonesque contradictions, like a ballade of opposites.

"Luxure"

Baume du mal amour.

Cordial de rancœur.

Faiblesse du puissant et puissance
du mièvre.

Appetit du péché mortel.

. . . acide de l'acide.

Ultime amour damné qui se suicide.

Philtre d'oubli.

"Alcohol"

Mal placer.

Agua de perdición.

Falso fuerte.

. . . mortal como el pecado.

Mentira, química, muerte.

"Mutis" (p.92) is one of the self-portrait poems in the line that starts with "Adelfos" and is at its best in "Prólogo-epílogo". It is reminiscent of the former in its dramatic tone, and of "Lirio" in its imagery of smoke evaporating. The line "mas llevo prisa" will be used later to much more telling effect in "Retrato".

21. Poussières de Paris (1902), p.33.

"Escena última" (p.41), the last poem in the 'mal poema' cycle, is very clearly inspired by Verlaine's sonnet "Pierrot" (p.320). In Verlaine's poem Pierrot's white shirt is like a shroud blowing in a cold wind, and he is dying. In Machado's he is stiff with cold, and dies.

"Pierrot"

"Et la farine rend plus effroyable encore

Sa face exsangue au nez pointu de moribond.

"Escena última"

"blanca la faz de harina .

y las manos exangües, ha caído muerto."

[The underlining is mine.]

The last section of the book is 'Vísperas', in a more elegiac mood, although two of the poems are serenely happy. The title poem (p.53) has been shown by Brotherston to be very close to a poem of Antonio's originally published under the same title and now number X of Soledades (p.103). Number XIV of 'Galerías' has a similar opening - "Tarde tranquila, casi/con placidez de alma" - and many of Antonio's poems have this setting of the square and the church. It has not to my knowledge been remarked that "Vísperas" is dedicated to Antonio in the first edition of Caprichos.

The use of the word almo is a clear borrowing from Verlaine, who uses the word, a neologism in French as in Spanish, three times in his poetry.²² It means "nourissant, bienfaisant, doux".²³ There is in "Vísperas" a possible echo of a sunset poem by Samain, "Élégie" (Au Jardin p.35) where the last rays of light die on the woman's rings as they do on the church tower in Machado's poem. But the atmosphere of "Vísperas" is very clearly Verlainian, even

22. See Valentí p.46, who notes that Antonio also uses it once in "Nocturno" from Soledades (1903).

23. See Claude Cuénot, Le Style de Paul Verlaine (Paris, 1962), p.51.

though it is difficult to cite any one poem by Verlaine that might have influenced it. The last stanza of Sagesse III, IX (p.382) is similar in mood. The vocabulary is also like that of Verlaine - quieta, paz, solitario, almo, plegaria, bueno, callada - and recalls the tone of many of the poems of Sagesse and Amour.

"Abel" (p.54) is one of the best poems Machado ever wrote. Dr. Brotherston has shown its closeness to Samain's "La Peau de bête" (p.99). But there is also in the poem a strong feeling of Verlaine. The lines "en la pálida esfera/no hay una sola nube" are to me reminiscent of the sad emptiness of number VII of 'Ariettes oubliées' (p.195) in the lines "Dans l'interminable/Ennui de la plaine" and "Le ciel est de cuivre/Sans lueur aucune". The second stanza is completely Verlainian, its inspiration coming mainly from 'Ariettes' numbers I and IX (pp.191 and 196), as the following schema shows.²⁴

'Ariettes oubliées'

"cri doux,

que l'herbe agitée expire" (no. I)

"L'humble antienne" (no. I)

"vers les ramures grises

le chœur des petits voix" (no. I)

"Et que tristes pleuraient dans les hautes feuillées

tes espérances" (no. IX)

"les ramures chanteuses" (Mandoline")

"une voix

sous la ramée" (La Bonne Chanson VI)

"Abel"

"La tristeza infinita

efluye de la humilde

hierba del suelo. Invita

a llorar el rumor de la

arboleda."

24. The establishment of these parallels was facilitated by use of the computer concordances.

Also the "pálida esfera" and the smoke of the first stanza may be a reminiscence of the "paysage blême" and the line "meurt/Comme de la fumée" of number IX.

The repetition of lines is a Symbolist technique. It is used by Verlaine in poems like "Soleils couchants" (p.69) and "Crépuscule du soir mystique" (p.70) and by Baudelaire, especially in the famous "Harmonie du soir" (p.52), which may also have given Machado an image that recurs throughout his work in the line "Le soleil s'est noyé dans son sang qui se fige." We find it in "Abel" in "la primera/Sangre vertida seca el sol poniente, and at the end of "La Fiesta nacional". Unamuno saw the "precisión pictórica" of Leconte de Lisle in "Abel"²⁵ but I find it more Symbolist than Parnassian in its interpenetration of mood and landscape. There is an interesting parallel in Antonio's "Campo", number XX of 'Galerías' (p.728).

"La tarde está muriendo
como un hogar humilde que se apaga.

Allá, sobre los montes,
quedan algunas brasas.

Y ese árbol roto en el camino blanco
hace llorar de lástima."

"Puente-Genil" (p.55) is an objective, colourist poem very like those of Manuel Reina, and in theme and mood completely Spanish.

The last three poems in Caprichos are very accomplished. González Blanco, whose review of the book is not on the whole notable for its generosity, calls them "definitivas, acabadas, que consagran a un poeta y que señalan una evolución ideológica en la poesía española contemporánea." (p.122).

25. Prologue, p.199.

"Se dice lentamente" (p.56), which Blanco calls an original note in Spanish poetry, is, as Dr. Brotherston has shown, very like Antonio's 'Soledades' VIII (p.668) "Yo escucho las coplas", especially in its use of the theme of the monotonous fountain (pp.102-3). But it is also very close to Sagesse I, 16, "Ecoutez la chanson bien douce" (p.256), which may have been its original inspiration.

Sagesse I, 16

"Ecoutez la chanson bien douce
Qui ne pleure que pour vous plaire..
... la gloire
D'être simple sans plus attendre...
la voix qui persiste
son naïf épithalame."

"Se dice lentamente"

"Yo no se más que una
vaguísima oración;
... De pena
está y de encanto llena;
y tiene llanto y risa,
y la calma sumisa
de la renunciación...
repetidas,
muy oídas. . .
No la saben los sabios."

Even "ella es dulce a los labios" echoes Verlaine's "chanson bien douce". The lines "Donnez-lui l'oraison. . . la paisible Oraison" from "La Prière du matin" (p.405), a poem which is carefully marked in Machado's copy, could well have suggested "la oración" to him. But despite its Verlainian antecedents "Se dice lentamente" is castizo both in its emotion and in its vocabulary, that simple generalised vocabulary which Verlaine bequeathed to a whole generation of poets from all nations.

"La voz que dice" (p.57) is very Decadent in both vocabulary and attitude. The use of the vocative, which Zayas referred to as a cheap French trick,²⁶ can be very moving. Baudelaire used it for dialogues with himself, "pauvre âme solitaire", and Verlaine learned it from him. The pilgrim soul, the traveller, appears in many of the latter's best poems, "Le faune" (p.115), 'Ariette' IX (p.196), the second "Nevermore" of Poèmes Saturniens (p.81) and Sagesse I, 7 and III, 3 (pp.248 and 278).²⁷

26. "El modernismo", p.410.

27. It is interesting that Antonio too used this concept of the pilgrim soul throughout his work. An example is no. VIII of 'Del camino', p.683.

The plaintive tone of "La voz que dice" and the images of the temple of sad joy and the violet evening are very fin-de-siècle and recall Samáin, who in "Soir" (Le Chariot p.26) speaks of "des couchants violets" and "des soirs divins". The voice is like that of Death in his "Tentation" (Au Jardin p.181) who calls the lover, saying:

"Ma voix glisse et pénètre aux plus secrets replis.

.

Viens, je suis la Mort douce, et l'amante attendue,

Et je te verserai. . .

Loin du mal et des pleurs, du doute et des sanglots

Le silence et l'oubli dans l'éternel repos."

"Kyrie eleison" (p.57) which is also a sonnet, is the first and best of Machado's religious verse. Its famous first line is said by Dr. Brotherston to have been taken from Darío's "Sor María" (p.89), but González Blanco points out that "métricamente tiene toda la libertad rítmica y el encanto discordante de la hermosa estrofa de Verlaine 'De la douceur, de la douceur, de la douceur!'" (p.122). Verlaine's Liturgies Intimes contains a "Kyrie eleison" (p.740), which although altogether different in form contains a prayer for happiness through love, just as Machado's poem asks for "alegría". But Verlaine's "Prière du matin" (p.405), which has already been mentioned as well-known to Machado, seems to have provided much of the imagery. In his translation of "Prière du matin" Machado renders "les affres du Calvaire" as "los clavos del Calvario", a mistranslation which may have some bearing on the line in "Kyrie eleison", "el clavo de la impiedad." The second quartet in Machado's sonnet, with its image of the river of prayer, was clearly inspired by Verlaine's

"Donnez-lui l'oraison . . . d'où découle

Un ruisseau toujours clair d'austères vérités."

The notion of weeping away sin is also to be found in "Prière du matin", as are the words "charité" and "joie", rendered by Machado in his translation, and in "Kyrie eleison", by "caridad" and "alegría". Both González Blanco (p.123) and Lepiorz²⁸ speak of "Kyrie Eleison" in terms of Sagesse, and it has the same tone of joyful simplicity that is so remarkable in Verlaine's work.

A thematic analysis of Caprichos, then, has shown that the influence of Verlaine is almost all-pervading and that the Parnassian element of Alma has lessened. There is also more thematic influence apparent from Baudelaire and Samain.²⁹ But the real achievement of Caprichos is technical, and it will be shown in chapter 7 how skilled Machado had become in this respect. Much of Caprichos is not subjective poetry, and it betrays less of Machado himself than any other of his collections except Apolo. It is really an assembly of caprices, sketches, exercises, some so flimsy as to be nothing but a pretext for a demonstration of poetic expertise. But the best of the poems are among the best that Machado ever wrote, and it is in these, "El viento", "Madrid viejo", "Prosa", "Vísperas", "Abel", "Se dice lentamente" and "Kyrie eleison", that the voice of Verlaine can be heard most clearly.

28. Themen, p.23.

29. It is interesting that whereas Jiménez refers to Baudelaire as one of the most important influences on himself and the Machados (in La corriente p.94), Cernuda insists that "ni Darío ni el modernismo lo tuvieron entre sus penates." (Estudios, pp.81 and 124). This is clearly a case of a French influence that was not initiated by Darío.

CHAPTER 4

THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF ALMA.MUSEO.LOS CANTARES. AND ASSESSMENT OF
FIESTAS GALANTES

Like the first edition of Alma, Alma. Museo. Los cantares carried a prologue by Unamuno when it appeared in 1907. This was appropriate, for the new book was in fact an expanded version of Alma containing a number of the poems from Caprichos together with twenty seven new poems not previously published in book form. There are four new sub-titles. 'Figulinas', also the title of one of the poems, replaces 'Miniaturas' for the Verlainian fête galante poems. 'Hablado' is the heading for poems of urban despair, instead of 'El mal poema'. Then there are two new and important headings which indicate very clearly their distinct sources; 'Los cantares' and 'La buena canción'. The former includes eight poems in the copla style, and takes its title from the single flamenco-inspired poem in Alma, "Cantares".¹ The latter describes nine poems, three of which were previously headed 'Vísperas', inspired by Verlaine's La bonne chanson. In his prologue Unamuno stresses the essential Spanishness of Machado's inspiration, although admitting "que algún impulso. . . le haya venida de la literatura francesa es indudable. . . Ciertos de sus cantos leves, vagos, todo matiz y suspiro, nos recuerdan a Verlaine".

As has been explained in the introduction (pp.5-6), it is not relevant to this study to examine the flamenco poetry, except where that poetry derives from other than Andalusian roots. This chapter, then, will consider in terms of theme and mood all the new poems in Alma.Museo.los cantares in the order

1. The frontispiece, by Juan Gris who also designed Machado's bookplate with its melancholy Pierrot, clearly indicates 'Los cantares' as an important section of the new book. It shows a black-haired gypsy girl wearing a mantón, and carnations in her hair, standing under orange trees.

in which they appear in that book, with the exception of those poems under the heading 'Cantares' written in the popular form. It will also examine the book Fiestas galantes, Machado's prose translations of Verlaine, which appeared a year later in 1908, and will explain how this book has been used as the basis for the present study of Machado's debt to Verlaine.

"Paisaje de arrabal", the first poem in the collection, is almost certainly, like "Remember" and "El rescate", one of Machado's juvenilia which he resuscitated to pad out the book. It was not printed in Tristes y alegres (1894) but may have been in the collection Etcétera (1895) of which only a mutilated copy remains in the Biblioteca Machado. (A copy is appended p. 198.) It is an old-fashioned poem, Romantic in tone, and does not merit discussion.

"La lluvia", (p.58) the next poem under the old sub-title 'El reino interior', is prefaced by a quotation from Verlaine's famous "Il pleure dans mon coeur" from 'Ariettes oubliées', III, (p.192), and its three-line stanza is also Verlainian. The question "¿Qué me ha quedado?" could be an echo of Baudelaire's "Le portrait" (p.44) - "Que reste-t-il?" - which is also about lost love and dwells on the woman's eyes. But the most unmistakably French note in the poem is the correspondance between sound and smell, "el aroma de su nombre". In Baudelaire's "Toute entière" (p.46) we find the lines

"O métamorphose mystique
De tous mes sens fondus en un!
Son haleine fait la musique,
Comme sa voix fait le parfum!"

Obviously inspired by this, Verlaine wrote his "A Clymène" (p.116), using the word correspondance invented by Baudelaire and speaking of the "arôme insigne/ De ta paleur" and "le candeur de ton/Odeur". In number VIII of La Bonne Chanson (p.147), he repeats this theme with many of the same words, and finds sounds, colours and pictures in her name. The mysterious lady in "Mon rêve familier" (p.63) has a sweet and sonorous name, as does Mathilde in number VII

of La Bonne Chanson (p.146). It seems clear, then, that the line "el aroma de su nombre" was suggested by Verlaine, as the whole poem, with its repetition like the monotony of falling rain, was influenced by his most famous poem.

There is a possible antecedent too in Verlaine's "Streets" I (p.206), which is also composed in three-line stanzas of octosyllabic lines. It also speaks of a lost love, and the last stanza, "Je me souviens, je me souviens/ Des heures et des entretiens,/Et c'est le meilleur de mes biens" is like "La lluvia".

"Balada matinal" (p.173) is another old piece from Tristes y Alegres, where it was also entitled "Colores". It shows that the morning theme was used by Machado before the poems of 'La buena canción', but an examination of the latter will show how his knowledge of Verlaine changed his treatment of the theme.²

"El príncipe" (p.27) is obviously not meant to be taken very seriously. It is reminiscent of nothing so much as Verlaine's "Cauchemar" (p.66) from Poèmes Saturniens, which is a pastiche like other poems in that book. Verlaine's poem depicts a knight who rides like a thunderstorm. His eyes too are in shadow, but flash out like lightning. "Cauchemar" ends on a note of splendid bathos with his thirty two teeth gleaming in the darkness. (The poem is probably a pastiche of Baudelaire, whose "Danse macabre" (p.108) contains a line ending in perfect seriousness "trente-deux dents".) The reversal of verb and subject in the last stanza and the exclamatory ending of "Cauchemar" are similar in "El principe," and both poems are melodramatic in tone.

It is hard to understand why Machado should have included "Remember" in this collection. Under the title of "¡Ya no!" it appeared originally in Tristes y alegres, Machado's first collection of verse, published in collaboration

2. See this ch. p.106.

with Enrique Paradas. It is an undistinguished poem, a mixture of rhetorical style and Becquerian sentiments, and derives most obviously from the latter's number LIII of Rimas, "Volverán las oscuras golondrinas".

Under the sub-title 'Primitivos' is included another piece of juvenilia from Tristes y alegres, the ballad "El rescate".

The sub-heading 'Figulinas' contains a new poem., "Fin de siglo" (p.41). It is, as Dr. Brotherston remarks, a caricatured view of the French eighteenth century (p.75). Gerhard Lepiorz³ compares it with Verlaine's "Mandoline" (p.115), which clearly influenced it. The names Tirsis and Aminta, the eight-syllable line and the reference to courtly poetry are common to both. But other poems by Verlaine also contributed to the genesis of "Fin de siglo". Cloris and Aminta are also to be found in Les uns et les autres, (p.334) while there are references to the pastoral mode in "Sur l'herbe" and "L'allée" (p.108). Indeed, as Lepiorz notes, the whole world of Fêtes galantes relives in Machado.⁴ Cloris reappears in "En bateau" (p.114) and Tirsis in "Les indolents" (p.118). It is interesting that where Verlaine puts an objective distance between himself and his courtiers by describing them in terms of Watteau's paintings and thus immobilising them, Machado clearly thinks of them in terms of china figurines, as his sub-title suggests. His porcelain shepherdesses show no real emotion, and so the activities of painting miniatures and inventing the guillotine are shown to be not as incongruent as they appear at first sight. The guillotine is a neat and elegant way of being brutal, and shows the same preoccupation with the mechanics of style as does the turning of a compliment or the dancing of a minuet. Everything is reduced to a miniature, frivolous scale - smiling is a religion, the law, courtesy - and the whole poem has the tinkling sound of a clavichord in a museum full of china pieces.

3. Themen und Ausdrucksformen p.22.

4. Themen, p.22.

Another very likely antecedent for "Fin de siglo" is Samain's sonnet "Versailles" II (Le Chariot p.16). Stanzas two and three especially of Machado's poem may derive from these lines:

"Urbanité des façons anciennes.

.

Mains royales sur les épinettes.

Gestes de menuet et coeurs de biscuit fin.

.

Grands seigneurs pailletés d'esprit. Marquis de sèvres.

Tout un monde galant, vif, brave, exquis et fou."

Samain's spinets and minuets correspond to Machado's clavichords and minuets, and "Marquis de sèvres" is unmistakably echoed by "pastoras de porcelana." But the brutal bathetic ending of "Fin de siglo" redresses the balance, and shows the reality under the façade, just as the last lines of Verlaine's "Lettre" (p.117), after the hyperbole of passion, betray the invincible ennui of the erst-while devoted lover.⁵

"Aquí en España" is a continuation of "Rojo y negro" from Alma, the poem which when eventually completed was published as "La fiesta nacional", a study of the bull-fight (p.69). It is not relevant to this study.

'Los cantares' is Machado's first collection of coplas and poems in the Andalusian manner since those of Tristes y alegres, although the first poem, "Cantares", had appeared in Alma. Included under the same heading are four poems which are not coplas nor specifically on Andalusian themes. Three of them have the word madrigal in their titles and may have formed part of the "plaquette" of fifteen or twenty "madrigalitos sin pensamiento ni profundidad" about which Machado wrote to Juan Ramón Jiménez in 1903. He describes them as "música y colorines a la aguada, distracciones inofensivas".⁶ The first of

5. A poem in Tristes y alegres also called "Fin de siglo" refers to the pleasure of watching the querida weep. This hint of perversity may have been the reason for the title, with its connotations, in French at least, of decadence, and corresponds to the perversity of Florian a century earlier.

6. In Gullón, "Relaciones amistosas y literarias entre Juan Ramón Jiménez y Manuel Machado". CHA (Madrid), 127 (July, 1960) p.127.

them, "Madrigales", (p.43) contains the gallicism "reseda" noted by Damaso Alonso.⁷ The word occurs too in Verlaine's "Après trois ans" (p.62), where it is also associated with dew and morning. The scent of flowers is a reminder of love, as it is in Verlaine's poem, but in the latter it is much more wistful. The link between morning dew and the gift of bouquets of flowers is to be found in "Green" (p.205), from Romances sans paroles, which resembles "Madrigales" somewhat in its light, airy tone.

"Aleluyas madrigalescas" (p.44), is even more of a trifle, as its title suggests. Aleluyas were the comic strips of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, broadsheets with a series of cartoons illustrating coplas printed beneath. The term consequently came to mean "doggerel", and this series of rhyming couplets celebrating the charms of the fair Lolilla is, as Machado said, inoffensive and nothing more.

"La diosa" (p.45), reverts to the theme, mentioned earlier, of the Columbine figure, the woman who is both good and evil.⁸ This angel/demon idea of femininity was common to Baudelaire and Verlaine and had become vulgarised. The notion is a commonplace in all Gómez Carrillo's work and it is his influence that is most apparent here. But there are echoes of Verlaine too, not of the gentle, melancholy "pauvre Lélian" best-known to Machado's contemporaries but the satyr, the unrepentant sensualist of the later books like Parallèlement and Chansons pour elle. These books influenced Machado alone of his generation and their effect can be seen in much of his erotic verse. The idea of young girls capable of depravity appears early in Verlaine's work, in "Chanson des ingénues" (p.75) from Poèmes saturniens, where the girls have fair hair in smooth bands like Machado's "diosa". Numbers V (p.713) and VIII (p.715) of Chansons pour elle express the same sensual and untrustworthy

7. "Ligereza y gravedad" p.81

8. See ch.2, p. 69

side of woman: "pervers nonchaloirs de ces yeux", "menterie, bouche fleurie", "perverse/ou non, que fait?", "Aïmons, ma petite méchante". (It should be noted that number V is emphatically marked in Machado's edition.) The other side of the coin, youth and innocence, is described in much the same terms as is Mathilde in numbers II and III (pp.142-3) of La bonne chanson. She too is unpredictable, "Légère et grave, ironique, attendrie". The duality of Verlaine's feelings towards women is expressed in "Sérénade" (p.80) from Poèmes saturniens in the line "-Mon Ange! -ma Gouge!" which Machado translates "Pícara mía, ¡mi ángel!"

This same duality is to be found in the next poem, "Madrigal a una chica... que no entiende de madrigales" (p.46). But here the influence is more clearly Baudelaire, for this use of night as a symbol for woman occurs in "Les yeux de Berthe" (p.186) and "L'Idéal" (p.25). In Baudelaire's "Madrigal triste" (p.179) too there are similar images of voluptuousness and the burning heart. The only poem by Verlaine at all similar is "Marco" (p.86) from Poèmes saturniens, which shows the influence of Baudelaire in its vocabulary, térrible, mystère, crime, luxure, feux, comparable to Machado's terrible, misteriosa, muertes, voluptuosa and candente. Baudelaire also uses the term madrigal to mean a complimentary poem to a woman, as in "Madrigal triste" or the prose poem "L'horloge"; Verlaine only uses it once.

The next sub-heading, 'Hablado', is interesting. The word seems to indicate that the poetry should be spoken rather than sung, reminding one of the medieval distinction between dezires and canciones. In fact the four poems which come under this heading are similar to those in 'El mal poema' from Caprichos, in particular to "Prosa", from which the new sub-title may derive. This is a new genre of poetry for Machado, that of deliberately banal, prosaic verse, poetry of the city and is, as Rafael Ferreres states, possibly the first attempt in Spanish to write such poems.⁹

9. In Los límites del modernismo y del 98 (Madrid, 1964), p.35 note 18.

"Última" (p.86), the first of them, is really another in the series of self-portraits that stretch from "Inmoral" in Tristes y alegres to the "Nuevo autorretrato" of Phoenix in 1935. Like "Adelfos" it has a lofty self-dramatising tone, but unlike it "Última" is often punctuated by lines of sharp dégonflage. This alternation between morbid self-pity and ironic je m'en foutisme gives the poem flexibility and range. The self-pity is very like that in Baudelaire's "L'Ennemi", (p.18) in which the lines "Ma jeunesse ne fût qu'un ténébreux orage" are similar to Machado's "juventud podrida". Again, irremediable is a very Baudelairian word, and Machado's "Tú, calla. ; Tu boca es sólo para besar!" is reminiscent of "Sois charmante et tais-toi" from "Sonnet d'automne" (p.71). Verlaine's Parallèlement is full of verses in a similar vein, weary, cynical and ending in bathos. In "Allégorie" (p.485), for example:

"Sujet naïf et fade qui m'attristes. . .

Tapisserie usée et surannée,

Banale comme un décor d'opéra,

Factice, hélas! comme ma destinée?"

In "Prologue a un livre . . ." (p.497) we find "Je compte parmi les maladroits, /J'ai perdu ma vie"; "Invraisemblable mais vrai" (p.501) and "A la manière de Paul Verlaine" (p.503) show the same attitude.

But Darío had also published, in Los lunes del Imparcial (1907), a self-portrait, the "Epístola" to la señora de Lugones (p.746), which may have influenced "Última", first published in the same journal in the same year.¹⁰ Machado's use of the word "admirable" in the third stanza seems to indicate a reference to Darío, whose favourite adjective this was.¹¹ The line "en mitad del camino"

10. It is also possible that Machado's poem influenced Darío's, as I have been unable to date "Epístola" exactly. Or it may have been a parallel influence, as the poets were good friends.

11. I am indebted for this suggestion to Dr. Coopè. On Darío and "admirable" see Pérez Ferrero, Vida, p.56; and Jiménez, La corriente, p.92.

may recall Darío's "Thanatos" from Cantos de vida y esperanza (1905). The line is of course from Dante, and is also quoted by Antonio, in lines similar to Manuel's and to Darío's "Canción de otoño en primavera" (p.657), in number XXV of 'Galerías' (p.731):

"Hoy, en mitad de la vida,
me he parado a meditar...
¡Juventud nunca vivida,
quien te volviera a soñar!"

José Machado has commented on the similarity between the self-portraits of the two brothers (pp.36-7).

In "Epístola" Darío too speaks of his "Neurastenia", as does Manuel Machado in "Última". The word was, as we have said, in common use at the time. Exacerbated nerves and quivering sensibilities, the result of Rimbaud's "long *dérangement de tous les sens*", were considered a desirable state for an artist. (Machado uses the term in the most complimentary way in his review of Jiménez's Rimas.¹²) But in "Última" he seems to be using the word ironically, as he does in the poem "Neurastenia" from Caprichos.

The lines "de lo que dicen que valgo/no me he creído jamás" are clearly a paraphrase of Zorrilla's "ya no valgo/lo que han dicho que valía".¹³

The next of these poems, "Invierno" (p.84), is one of Machado's best in the genre. It is a cry of rage and protest against the Bohemian life and against the Philistinism of Spanish society that forces artists into it, and it is a rejection of the sentimental view of Bohemia. As Dr. Brotherston

12. In El País (Madrid, 1902). Quoted by Gullón, "Relaciones amistosas y literarias entre Juan Ramón Jiménez y Manuel Machado", CHA (July 1960) 127, pp.134-6.

13. See Dr. Brotherston, p.34, on the other version of this line in "Yo, poeta decadente", which runs "ya no bebo/lo que han dicho que bebía."

points out, the poverty and squalor of that life were an unavoidable reality for Machado and his contemporaries (p.35). Nilo Fabra quotes Darío as saying "estoy enfermo, muy enfermo . . . yoes la bohemia, la inquerida bohemia."¹⁴ Darío repeats this phrase in "Nocturno" from Cantos de vida (p.656): "el falso azul nocturno de inquerida bohemia". A likely antecedent for Machado's lines on the poverty of great writers is also to be found in Darío, in number XI of Cantos (p.643): " - ¡ oh Shakespeare pobre, y oh Cervantes manco!" The notion of the world's hostility to artists is also there: "la pasión del vulgo que condena." But Darío's poem is a cry of hope and faith in the future, whereas Machado's is totally despairing.

The barrel-organ, with its mournful music, is the symbol of the streets and cafés of literary Bohemia, and of the romanticising of that life. Machado was of course aware of the organ in "Nocturne Parisien" (p.83), a poem that has already been shown to have influenced him.¹⁵ Verlaine's organ grinds out old, well-known songs which "font vibrer l'âme aux proscrits, aux femmes, aux artistes."¹⁶ Machado must also have known Laforgue's "Complainte de l'orgue de Barbarie", with its lines

"Orgue, orgue de Barbarie,
Don Quichotte, Souffre-Douleur,
Vidasse, vidasse ton coeur,
Ma pauvre rosse endolorie."

But Machado explicitly rejects this literary cliché with its melancholy sentimentality, and states clearly that the artist's life is not only sad but

14. In "El íntimo", Ofrenda de España a Rubén Darío, pp.42-3. Quoted by D. Álvarez, Cartas de Rubén Darío (Madrid, 1963), p.20.

15. See ch.2, pp.64 and 65, and ch.3, p. 85

16. Jiménez, in "Pablo Verlaine y su novia la luna", Helios X (Oct.1903), pp.301-4, speaks of Verlaine's "organillo de la nostalgia, [que] lloraba sus aires antiguos" (p.302).

ridiculous and humiliating. The flat, jerky style, the unfinished sentences and puntos suspensivos give the poem the air of a spoken monologue in prose, as does the use of a proverb in familiar style- "Suerte/te dé Dios, hijo, que el saber no vale". Verlaine too comments wryly on the destitute life of the poet, in "Caprice" (p.527) from Parallèlement, and uses the same image of wounds.

"La lune pour chauffer les sans femmes ni toits,
La mort, ah, pour bercer les coeurs malechanceux,
Pauvres coeurs mal tombés, trop bons et tres fiers, certes!
Car l'ironie éclate aux lèvres belles, cartes,
De vos blessures...
Va, poete, le seul des hommes véritables,

Meurs sauvé, meurs de faim pourtant le moins possible."

And of course, Verlaine's own poverty is mentioned in "Invierno", so that his influence can be seen in the poem both by precept and example.

"¡Paz!" (p.85) is a prayer for innocence and faith after the disillusion of city life. Like "Última" it speaks of allegorical wounds inflicted in desperate struggles. Baudelaire uses the same images to express man's capacity for evil in "Au lecteur", (p.5), "le poison, le pòignard", and in "Madrigal triste" (p.179), "de poison, et de glaives", corresponding to Machado's "puñal" and "veneno". But the main inspirations of the poem are clearly Sagesse and Amour. The image of pure water found in "Prière du matin" (p.405) and "Un conte" (p.410) is associated with innocence, as it is here: "Il faut un coeur pur comme l'eau qui jaillit des roches", "eau claire du coeur". A line from Sagesse II, 7 (p.271), "La paix du coeur, l'amour d'être pauvre" is extended in Machado's translation to read "la paz y de ser pobre los sencillos placeres", and is clearly the source of "¡Paz!"¹⁷ The interesting use of the word

17 This is another example of the usefulness of the translations to indicate hitherto unnoticed parallels between the work of Verlaine and Machado.

"sutileza" in this context of childish faith is paralleled by a similar use in Sagesse, I, 5 (p.247):

"Ah! que du moins, loin des baisers et des combats,
 Quelquechose demeure un peu sur la montagne,
 Quelquechose du coeur enfantin et subtil,
 Bonté, respect!"

Dr. Valentí has demonstrated how Machado's use of the word cosa, as here in "cosas inmortales", derives from Verlaine.¹⁸

Samain also took up this theme from Verlaine in the series 'La Tour' (Au Jardin, pp.131-2), and in 'Paysages' IV (Le Chariot, p.29). Lines from the latter, "Ah! vivre ici parmi l'innocence des choses", and "O songe d'une vie heureuse et monotone!" may have suggested Machado's "¡Y la sencilla paz de los dias iguales!"

The next poem in 'Hablado', "Peregrino" (p.84), is a short jingle on the theme of the pilgrim, which has already been mentioned as an important image both for Manuel and Antonio Machado.¹⁹ It expresses once again the idea that life is a journey with an unknown destination and man a traveller who must live in the present.

The last section of the book, 'La buena canción', is directly inspired by Verlaine's La Bonne Chanson.²⁰ The first poem, "La buena canción" (p.59) is very close to La Bonne Chanson I (p.142). The elements of morning, sun, sky and river are the same, and the thoughts of love that they evoke. Machado's use of the word "lucero" to describe his first love is paralleled by Verlaine's

18. "The poetic language", pp.67-8. The word occurs 44 times in her concordance of Machado's work, and 13 times in Verlaine, according to Guénot, Le Style de Paul Verlaine (Paris, 1963), p.138.

19. See ch.2, p. 45 , and ch.3, p. 90

20. See Chabás, Vuelo y estilo I (Madrid, 1934), p.108; and Lepiorz, Themen, p.22.

number IV; (p.144); "...un Être de lumière/a dans ma nuit profonde émis cette clarté/d'une amour a la fois immortelle et première", and by the "lumière sainte" of number XII (p.149). The same symbol, "lucero/de la mañana", is the "étoile du matin" of number V (p.145). And the image of the sky as silk may well have been suggested by these lines in number XIX: (p.153):

"Le grand soleil, complice de ma joie,
Fera, parmi le satin et la soie,
Plus belle encore votre chère beauté;
Le ciel tout bleu, comme une haute tente,
Frissonnera somptueux."

[The underlining is mine]

The next poem, "Intermezzo" (p.59), uses once again the image of the river as spiritual healing, the "ruisseau toujours clair" of "Prière du matin" (p.405). The reference to spring in his soul is like that in number XXI of La bonne chanson, "j'ai depuis un an le printemps dans le coeur" (p.154). Machado's use of the word cosas, in "dulces cosas y palabras", is once again Verlainian, as remarked earlier in this chapter (p.104 n. 18). But Machado has not yet attained this peace and love: the poems of his "buena canción" are an expectation of joy soon to come, Verlaine's are in anticipation of his coming marriage. Like numbers IV (p.144) and XVII (p.152) of La bonne chanson, "Intermezzo" forecasts the life of love and peace that will be possible with the beloved woman.

"Despedida a la luna" (p.60) is a very unpoetic poem in places, an autobiographical confession rather like Verlaine's in "Un conte" (p.410) from Amour. It describes in straightforward terms what the better poems of this period intimate, that is, Machado's disillusionment with facile love affairs and city life, represented by Paris. The images he uses to describe this life are very like those of "Madrigal a una chica...que no entiende de madrigales". The poet of the first stanza could well be Baudelaire, for the hope of "amor apacible" and the rejection of passion are similar to "Sonnet d'automne" (p.71):

"Je hais la passion et l'esprit me fait mal!...

Aimons-nous doucement. L'amour...

Je connais les engins de son vieil arsenal:

Crime, horreur et folie!"

But there is also a parallel with Darío, whose "Epístola", mentioned above (p.100), contains the lines

"Y me volví a Paris. Me volví al enemigo
terrible, centro de la neurosis, ombligo
de la locura."

Machado's second, fifth and sixth stanzas are also very like Darío's "Canción de otoño en primavera", a similar autobiography of the emotions, and there seems little doubt that the first part of "Despedida a la luna" was mainly inspired by Darío. But the second half of the poem is decidedly Verlainian. The tones of red and black represent sexual passion and sin, and are probably derived from Verlaine's "There" (p.415) in Amour, "un regret rouge et noir". In the same stanza the countryside reflected in his eyes may have been suggested by the lines in La bonne chanson number V (p.145) which juxtapose a description of the morning landscape with that of the lover's eyes. The same poem contains the lines

"Quelle joie

Parmi les champs de blé mur!...

- La rosée

Gaiment brille sur le foin,"

which correspond to

"...se tienden de risa

las mieses bajo la brisa

alegre de la mañana."

One of the most interesting things about "Despedida a la luna" is its reference to "mi joven esposa" at a time when Machado was still living the Bohemian life, three years before his marriage to Eulalia. It makes clear to

what extent Machado thought of his own life in terms of Verlaine's, for there is no doubting the sincere tone of the poem. Clearly Eulalia came to represent for him, even at a distance, both Elisa and Mathilde, the two women in Verlaine's life. (The former was his cousin and first love, as Eulalia was to Machado; the latter his wife, to whom La bonne chanson was dedicated.)

"Es la mañana" (p.62) is another poem on a morning landscape as an image of the peaceful and innocent life. The short lines and rhyme scheme recall number VI of La bonne chanson (p.145), as Lepiorz points out.²¹ The internal rhymes and alliteration, "dora y colora", "el rio, ríe", "bálsamo amable", give the poem a soft, liquid sound that is more French than Spanish, corresponding to lines like "ma mie endormie" in number V (p.145). The notion of the sky as a symbol of salvation, not simply in the hackneyed sense of 'heaven' but as light and purity, occurs in Sagesse I, 8 (p.248) "Le ciel tout bleu, le ciel chanteur qui te réclame". This singing sky corresponds to Machado's laughing sky. The plea for goodness and faith repeats again the theme of "¡Paz!". The use of the word inenarrable may have been suggested by the line "volupté nonpareille, ivresse inenarrable" from Verlaine's "Il Bacio" (p.82), which Machado translates as "embriaguez inenarrable".

"Vagamente" (p.63) seems out of place in 'La buena canción', being a poem of melancholy fountains reminiscent of some of the poetry in Alma and Caprichos. The holiness of water harks back again to "Prière du matin", (p.405) but as a whole the poem is more like that part of Antonio's work which derives from "Après trois ans" and his childhood memories of the fountain and the lemon tree.²²

The two sonnets of "Sé buena" (p.64) are the culmination of these poems of 'La buena canción' in the sense that they describe at length, in the very

21. Themen, p.49.

22. See Ribbans, "La influencia de Verlaine en Antonio Machado" CHA 91-2 (1957), pp.186-7.

terms that Verlaine used, the vision of a good and loving woman who will be the poet's salvation. Verlaine first expressed this treasured hope in Poèmes saturniens. "A une femme" (p.64) refers to such a woman and her tears and laughter as does "Mon rêve familial" (p.63). But curiously the poem most like "Sé buena" is the sensual "Lassitude" (p.63). It is a sonnet, where "Sé buena" consists of two linked sonnets. It too is a series of commands couched in an intimate, non-rhetorical language, and contains one line which could well have been the main inspiration for "Sé buena", "Vois-tu, l'amante/doit avoir l'abandon paisible de la soeur", which Machado expresses as "sé mi amante y mi hermana". Baudelaire too often expressed this idea, as in "Mon enfant, ma soeur" from "L'invitation au voyage" (p.58) or in these lines from "Chant d'automne" (p.62),

"Et pourtant aimez-moi, tendre coeur! Soyez mère...

Amante ou soeur, soyez la douceur".

The line "como al sediento un sorbo de agua pura en la mano" is reminiscent of the "eau du puits glacé" and its associations of tender care in Sagesse III, 3.

In the second sonnet of "Sé buena" the images of the woman's blue eyes and of the pale moon at morning are clearly taken from "ton regard que noie/L'aurore dans son azur" and the "pâle étoile du matin" of La Bonne Chanson V (p.145).

Sagesse I 16 (p.256) contains lines very like those of Machado's second stanza:

"Elle parle aussi de la gloire

"Pascaremos la gloria - dulce

D'être simple sans plus attendre,

paz sin victoria -

Et des noces d'or du tendre

de nuestro amor..."

Bonheur d'une paix sans victoire."²³

...nuestra sencilla historia!"

"Sé buena," too, is a kind of epithalamium, of a human kind but insisting on the same spiritual values as this poem of Verlaine.

23. A comparison of the uses of the words paz and sencilla by means of the computer concordances established the close link between these poems.

The strange line about the lovers' weak shadows on the earth is curiously like a line in Vigny's "La Maison du Berger", a poem Machado probably knew and which also casts a woman, Eva, as man's saviour and speaks of a refuge in the countryside: "Nous marcherons ainsi, ne laissant que notre ombre/Sur cette terre".

"Domingo" (p.65), the last poem in the book, should probably have been included in the section 'Hablado'. It expresses the same weariness as "Última" and "Invierno", together with a prayer for simplicity like that in "¡Paz!", but is a much finer poem in its total effect than any of these. It is a sonnet, and both Lepiorz and Brotherston have commented on Machado's skilful manipulation of the caesura to make a transition from the first to the second tercet, from the jerky, broken lines expressing the hubbub of the crowd to the long, eloquent alexandrines of the final prayer.²⁴

The description of life as a tumult of noise and fatigue is to be found in poems by Baudelaire, Verlaine and Samain. The first describes in terms similar to Machado's the scene of poor people's Sunday evening in "Le Vin des chiffonniers" (p.120): "Au coeur d'un vieux faubourg, labyrinthe fangeux/Où l'humanité grouille en ferments orageux." Obviously inspired by Baudelaire, Samain took up this theme in 'La Tour' II (Au Jardin, p.131). It begins with the word "life", as does "Domingo": "La Vie est comme un grand violon qui sanglote,/Et le peuple obstiné, qui grouille aux carrefours. . . fourmille et clapote."

Machado's first tercet is very similar, both in technique and content, to Verlaine's Sagesse I, 19 (p.258):

24. See Brotherston, p.90; and Themen, p.50.

"Voix de la Chair. Un gros tapage fatigué.

Des gens ont bu. L'endroit fait semblant d'être gai."²⁵

But where Verlaine and Samain condemn these manifestations of the devil, the world and the flesh, Machado prays for the ability to throw off his accidie, the equivalent of Baudelaire's "ennui, fruit de la morne incuriosité" and join the simple-hearted in their gaiety. His is the spiritual aridity of Baudelaire's "Le Mauvais Moine" (p.18) or the poems of the 'Spleen' cycle (pp.79-80), and his cry for help in the last tercet is similar to the monk's:

"Quand saurai-je donc faire

Du spectacle vivant de ma triste misère

Le travail de mes mains et l'amour de mes yeux?"

A similar plea ends "Un Voyage à Cythère" (p.136): "Ah! Seigneur! donnez-moi la force et le courage/De contempler mon coeur et mon corps sans degout!"

Machado's envy of the pleasures of the populace is paralleled by lines of Baudelaire's "Le Jeu" (p.107):

"Je me vis accoudé, froid, muet, enviant,

Enviant de ces gens la passion tenace. . .

Et mon coeur s'effraya d'envier maint pauvre homme."

Indeed, almost all of the themes of "Domingo" can also be found in Les Fleurs du Mal. It is not surprising that Machado should have been influenced by Baudelaire in his poetry of urban life. The French poet was the first and greatest singer of the city and a master of the sonnet, the form in which Machado also excelled. It has been observed that Antonio Machado knew his Baudelaire,²⁶ and the two brothers shared a common fund of literary knowledge and reference.

25. This poem was probably inspired by Baudelaire's "La Fin de la journée" (p.153): "Sous une lumière blafarde/Court, danse et se tord sans raison/La vie, impudente et crieurde." Twilight, the wish to rest and the noises of life outside are also to be found in Baudelaire's poem, as well as Machado's.

26. See Ribbans, "La influencia" CHA 91-92 (1957), pp.195-6.

Alma.Museo.Los cantares, then, despite its flamenco frontispiece and Andalusian poems, still contains a significant proportion of new work with unmistakably French antecedents, mainly from Verlaine, Baudelaire and Samain. Of this work, "La lluvia", "Invierno", "¡Paz!", "La buena canción", "Es la mañana" and "Domingo" show clearly that French influence on Machado produced some of his best poetry.

A year later, in 1908, appeared Fiestas galantes. Poemas saturnianos. La buena canción. Romanzas sin palabras. Sabiduría. Amor. Parábolas y otras poesías. a collection of prose translations of Verlaine's poems, based on Fasquelle's famous Choix de poésies with some variations.²⁷ A comparison of Machado's translation with the Fasquelle edition²⁸ is a significant pointer to Machado's preferences.

He adds ten poems to the section Poèmes Saturniens, making it almost complete save for three poems. He also adds the only two poems which were missing from Fêtes galantes, "En patinant" and "Dans la grotte." He omits number VI of 'Ariettes oubliées' probably because of the difficulty of translating its street argot and obscurely French references, but adds "Ô la rivière dans la rue!" to Romances sans Paroles. It is curious that he leaves out of eight of the best poems of Sagesse, among them numbers III, 6, 9 and 13. None of them necessarily presented any great difficulties for a translator, except perhaps number 13. But presumably something had to be omitted if Machado was to include the erotic poems from Chansons pour elle. The verse

27. Ribbans, in his article "Nuevas precisiones sobre la influencia de Verlaine en Antonio Machado", RF XII (1968-9), pp.297-8, discusses the importance of this 1891 edition for Antonio Machado and Juan Ramón Jiménez. To this may be added that it was also the edition in which Baroja, in Paris at the same time as the Machados and a friend of theirs, learned to love Verlaine's poetry. (See Egea, Baroja y Francia, p.410).

28. In the reprint of 1961 by Club des Librairies de France, Saverne.

playlet Les Uns et les Autres is also, understandably, left out, as is "J'ai la fureur d'aimer" from Amour, but six of Dédicaces are added, and twelve of Chansons pour elle.

Clearly, then, Machado had a definite penchant for Verlaine's erotic poetry. This conclusion is also borne out by the evidence of his copy of Verlaine's Oeuvres Complètes II (Paris 1899), held in the Biblioteca Machado, Burgos. I have assumed that the pencil marks in this book were made by Machado, since the poems singled out, particularly "Prière du matin" and Chansons pour elle,²⁹ can be shown to have influenced Machado in his own poetry, and also because it is unlikely that Machado's wife would have appreciated the latter poems. It is almost certain that this edition of Verlaine's works, including the two missing volumes, was that used by Machado for his translations to supplement the Choix de poésies, as it was the only collective edition available at that time.

The translations themselves are excellent, both accurate and elegant, although Machado takes the occasional liberty in order to clarify a poem or to achieve more polished Spanish. Georges Tournoux, Verlaine's bibliographer, said that they were among the best translations ever made of Verlaine's work.³⁰ Enrique Díez-Canedo, himself a professor of French who had translated poems by Verlaine as early as 1900, stated unequivocally in his review of Fiestas galantes Machado's claim to be Spain's interpreter of Verlaine.

"Si entre los poetas actuales buscamos uno bien posesionado de las cualidades necesarias para tan alta empresa, conocimiento, hasta en sus más fugitivos matices, de ambos idiomas, flexibilidad elegante de ritmo, gracia vaporosa y larga familiaridad con el poeta francés, nadie como Manuel Machado para salir airoso. Si el espíritu de Verlaine se ha difundido en nuestra poesía moderna. . . la forma de Verlaine, inmaterial, exquisitamente melódica, ha venido a España, principalmente, por Manuel Machado. En la obra

29. Machado shows a certain circumspection in his choice of these for translation. Of the eleven marked in his copy, eight are omitted from Fiestas galantes, and those the most flagrantly erotic.
30. In a letter to Machado in the Biblioteca Machado. Also cited by Dr. Brotherston, p.143.

de este poeta, influida de un modo sano por los Poèmes Saturniens y los Fêtes galantes en lo que tienen de pictórico y acaso más intensamente por los libros posteriores a Sagesse, hay ritmos y estrofas que reproducen con gentil exactitud ritmos y estrofas del "pauvre Lelian".³¹

The virtues of Machado's translation can be seen in this example, number VI of La Bonne Chanson.

Verlaine	Machado
La lune blanche	La luna blanca
Luit dans les bois;	Luce en el bosque;
De chaque branche	De cada rama
Part une voix	Parte una voz
Sous la ramée...	So la enramada...
Ô bien aimée.	¡Oh bien amada!
L'étang reflète,	Refleja el lago,
Profond miroir,	Profundo espejo,
La silhouette	La silhueta
Du saule noire	Del sauce negro
Où le vent pleure...	Do el viento llora...
Rêvons, c'est l'heure.	Sueña, es la hora.
Un vaste et tendre	Un tierno y vasto
Apaisement	Recogimiento
Semble descendre	Bajar parece
Du firmament	Del firmamento
Que l'astre irise.	Que el astro irisa...
C'est l'heure exquise.	La hora exquisita.

31. In "Poesía", La Lectura VIII (April, 1908), 88, pp.437-9.

This selection was clearly Machado's personal choice, and was based on a knowledge of Verlaine wider than that of most of his contemporaries in Spain. It is additional evidence, if more were needed, that Machado knew, understood and loved the poetry of Verlaine, for this is no hack job but a lovingly polished series of translations that must have occupied him for several years. Even if he had not known the French poet's work well when he began, as we know that he did,³² he must have become deeply imbued with it in the course of such a lengthy task.

It has been explained in the introduction to this study (pp. 6 - 7) that a comparison of these translations of Verlaine with Machado's own poetry through computer concordances has made it possible to analyse in great detail the Verlainian influence on Machado in terms of theme and image. There could be no better evidence of Machado's close knowledge of Verlaine's work than this book, which was clearly a labour of love.

32. I am assuming that Machado began the translations during his first two visits to Paris, since he obtained Verlaine's complete works in 1899 and the translations are so elegant as to indicate that they must have taken a number of years to complete. However, I have been unable to find any evidence of when they were begun.

CHAPTER 5

THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF EL MAL POEMA

In some ways El mal poema (1909) represents Machado's highest achievement, and contains much of his most original verse. Its style, described by José Moreno Villa as "hablar versificado, ese sentido para la poética llana y con fondo de distinguido altanería"¹ is unique in Spanish poetry. Its cynicism derives partly, as Moreno Villa points out, from Espronceda, but its prosaic tone and city subject matter have French antecedents. In 1908 Machado had been working in Paris as a translator once more,² which may explain the two poems in French contained in this collection. In his speech to the Academy in 1938 he apologised profusely for El mal poema, calling it "agrio, duro, detestable"³ but pointed out that such was his life at the time, "la pasada bohemia, rota y descoyuntada".⁴ Even at the time of publication, in an open letter to Jiménez, Machado makes an ironic apology for the sordid subject matter of the book, speaking of its "trivialidades y malsonancias".⁵ But his awareness of its real importance is apparent through the irony. "Hay una apariencia y quizás una substancia tal de vida en algunos de mis malos poemas...reflejando, en efecto, la vida de muchos jóvenes de mi tiempo", and he goes on to quote Poe, Heine, Verlaine and Bécquer as his antecedents, "aventureros del ideal a través de las pasiones amargas y de la vida rota". In an interview with Juan Sampelayo in Arriba, September 28, 1941, he calls El mal poema his favourite book.

1. Los autores como actores (Mexico, 1951), p.112.

2. Dr. Brotherston, pp.35-6, and ch. 1 p.34

3. Unos versos, p.85.

4. Quoted by Gullón, "Relaciones amistosas y literarias entre Juan Ramón Jiménez y Manuel Machado", p.130.

5. See Dr. Brotherston, pp.36-7 and "Autocrítica", La guerra literaria (Madrid, 1913), pp.117-20.

Juan Chabás suggests that the title El mal poema is a deliberate antithesis of 'La buena canción',⁶ while Dámaso Alonso thinks that it may have more in common with Les Fleurs du Mal than just its title.⁷ Both of these suppositions may be correct, for the book shows clear influences from both Verlaine and Baudelaire, as this chapter will demonstrate.

The first and most important sub-heading in the book is that which, already used in Caprichos, gave its name to the whole collection, 'El mal poema'. But preceding it are two key poems, "Retrato" (p.75) and "Prólogo-epílogo" (p.76).

The first of these is an ironic version of an accepted literary form which can be seen at its most serious and self-important in Villaespesa's "Autorretrato" from El patio de los arrayanes (1908). In the latter the author congratulates himself on his aristocratic hands, thinker's forehead and d'Annunzian neck. Machado's "ojos de hastío" and "boca de sed" are more subtle, though a faintly melodramatic flavour is still detectable. The style, fluctuating between Esproncedan swagger and French dégonflage, is Machado's own. Like El estudiante de Salamanca he has "en los labios la ironía" and "el corazón gastado": like him too he admires "agilidad y bravura" and is "hastiado de amores". But the tone is conversational, flat, with broken lines and conventional phrases, "Nada...Vida...Cosas", "Nada grave".

Both tone and attitude to life are to be found in Verlaine. In Sagesse I, 3 (p.243), the voyageur, who is Verlaine himself, is addressed thus; "Du moins as-tu cueilli l'ennui.../Tes yeux sont aussi morts depuis les aventures." In the "Prologue supprimé a un Livre d'Invectives" (p.513) we find a jocular confession similar to Machado's:

6. In Vuelo y estilo I (Madrid, 1934), p.109.

7. In "Ligereza y gravedad", pp.83-4.

"Mes femmes, toutes! et ce n'est pas effrayant:
 A peu près, en trente ans! neuf, ainsi que les Muses,
 Neuf environ! Sans m'occuper du casuel,
 Des amours de raccroc, des baisers de rencontre."

And in "À Gabriel Vicaire" from Dédicaces (p.574) the tone of the whole poem is the same mixture of flippancy and histrionics:

"Moi pas mal sombre, un Dante imperceptible et pire
 Avec un reste, au fond, de pêcheur mal transi.
 Je suis un sensuel. . .
 Plaignez-moi, car je suis mauvais et non méchant.
 Puis, tel vous, j'aime la danse et j'aime le chant,
 Toutes raisons pour ne plus m'en vouloir qu'à peine,
 Et puis j'aime!"

In "À Adrien Remacle" (p.571) he calls himself, "Moi le lassé qui rêve d'être un ironique. . ./ . .Moi le blasé".

A very similar style, colloquial and embittered, can be found in Tristan Corbière's few poems on Paris in Les amours jaunes; the broken lines and puntos suspensivos are very similar to Machado's style.

"C'est la Bohême, enfant...
 Chanson usée et bien finie,
 Ta jeunesse... Eh, c'est bon un jour!...
 Tiens-c'est toujours neuf - calomnie
 Tes pauvres amours... et l'amour."

"Tu ris. - Bien!-Fais de l'amertume,
 Prends le pli, Mephisto blagueur,
 De l'absinthe!"⁸

8. "Paris", from Ça, in Tristan Corbière, ed. Jean Rousselot (Paris, 1951), pp.93-4.

And Dubus in "Vaine joie" (p.101), an autobiographical poem similar to "Retrato" but without the redeeming irony of the latter, claims to keep his spleen to himself, for fear of ridicule: "J'ai des filles à prendre et des vins à cuver/ comme vous tous: je ris, et il me déplait qu'on voie/Toute l' inanité cruelle de ma joie."

Francisco Vian declares that "il 'Retrato' non e che una serie di 'agudezas' barocche, come ne fioriscono de continuo sulle labbra dei 'senoritos' andalusi, specie quando si trovano all'estero e si compiacciono di forzare i termini."⁹ There is certainly in the poem this element of Andalusian braggadocio, but M. Vian does not remark the originality of using it in poetry nor the ironic use to which it is put. Machado is satirising much of Spain in laughing at himself. He is also indirectly making a plea for realistic poetry, a plea he will make again in "Internacional". He insists that he is not the traditional Romantic idea of a poet, not a gamester, a toper nor a Don Juan. Like most people, he admires skill and agility, prefers gaiety and sunshine to gloomy high-mindedness and classical modes. Rather than be such a poet, that is, a melancholy phil-Hellene, he would prefer to be a good banderillero. But the implication of these lines is not, as most critics have assumed, that Machado would rather be a bullfighter than a poet, but that he would rather be a bullfighter than "un tal poeta". And clearly, Machado knows his own worth, knows that he is not "un tal poeta" but an innovator of considerable skill.

The mention of Montmartre and the Macarena is significant. The slang music-hall songs of Montmartre, like those of Aristide Bruant and Xavier Privas, and the words of flamenco songs are alike in their concern with the life of the poor, with crime, passion and death, and this is the world that Machado describes in El mal poema. Bruant's Chansons des rues cannot be shown

9. In Il "Modernismo" nella poesia ispanica (Milan, 1955), p.237.

to have had any demonstrable influence on these poems, but the slang, the toughness and the carpe diem attitude of a poem like "Internacional" certainly derive from the same tradition of street songs.

"Prólogo-epílogo" (p.76) continues in the same strain of mock-apology which is, as Dr. Brotherston points out, not to be taken seriously (p.34). Machado's claim that he is giving up poetry is simply a pretext for castigating the system that condemns Spanish artists to penury, the same Philistinism he attacked in "Invierno". The self-deprecating manner and the humility are once again ironic. Verlaine in the first poem of Elégies (p.787) adopts the same style:

"A mon âge, je sais, il faut rester tranquille,
Dételer, cultiver l'art peut-être imbecile,
D'être un bourgeois, poète honnête et chaste epoux".

But he continued to be a Bohemian and a poet, as did Machado, despite his protestations of age and illness.

The second stanza of the poem is no longer ironic but savagely eloquent. The Muse weeps, abandoned. Like Baudelaire's "Muse malade" (p.16), she has shadows under her eyes: like his "Muse vénale" (p.17), she is cold and hungry. She finds, as does Verlaine's "voyageur" in Sagesse I,3,(p.243), "Du mal toujours, du laid partout sur les chemins". The prosaic style persists, with interjections like "¡qué demonio!" and "mejor dicho". The long lines of emphatic words linked by a repetitive 'and' have the emotional effect of an angry man banging with his fist on a cafe table. Indeed much of the poem is like a dramatic monologue of the kind recited in nineteenth century music-halls. The use of a popular expression in the lines "el Arte,/mendigo, emigra con la música a otra parte", is a brilliant stroke. This combination of rhetorical figures of speech, "la Musa", "el Arte", with everyday speech gives a freshness to the former. (The image of Art leaving Spain is reminiscent of two other poems in Spanish, Garcí Ferrandes de Jerena's cantiga from the Cancionero de

Baena^{9a} where Love leaves Spain with all his train, and Darío's "El campo" from Prosas profanas, of which these are the last lines:

"Yo soy la Poesía que un tiempo aquí reinó:
Yo soy el postrer gaucha que parte para siempre
De nuestra vieja patria llevando el corazón!"

The third stanza of "Prólogo-epílogo" is on women and derives from number III of Verlaine's 'Lucien Létinois' from Amour, (p.444), which has the same description of woman as the eternal enemy who never quite wins, the bewildering mixture of cruelty and kindness.

"O la femme! Prudent, sage, calme ennemi,
N'exagérant jamais ta victoire à demi...
...ou bon ami...
Et doux, trop doux souvent..."

Machado expresses the same idea in the lines "¡Oh la célebre lucha con la dulce enemiga!/La mujer. . . el único enemigo que no quiere vencer." The other references such as "gata y ángel", are probably from Verlaine's "Femme et chatte" (p.74), "Sérénade" (p.80), and the clichés of the period already referred to.¹⁰

In the fourth stanza he speaks of his loves as past and refers humorously to his age. (Machado was only thirty five at the time, another reason for taking these confessions with a grain of salt.) Again, Verlaine provides an obvious starting point. In Dédicaces, "A Charles de Sivry" (p.573), we find "Poète, moi, jusqu'à la bêtise,/...la barbe à moitié grise.../Mûrs pour la gloire et ses échafauds." (The reference to glory is in the previous stanza of "Prólogo-epílogo".) In Chansons pour elle I (p.709) there is the line "Hein?

9a. Cancionero de Baena III ed. José María Azaceta (Madrid, 1966), p.1119.
See also vol.I. pp.98-9.

10. See p. 99 above on "La diosa".

Passé le temps des prouesses!" and the reference to Góngora is to be found also at the head of "Lassitude" from Poèmes saturniens (p.63).

The final stanza is serious in tone, a summary of Machado's ostensible reasons for ceasing to write. The striking image of the blood flowing from his pen has two possible sources. Sagesse I, 3(p.243) contains the line "Avec du sang déshonoré d'encre à leurs mains", while Darío in "Epístola" III from El canto errante speaks of "lo amargo del jugo de mis sesos,/del sudor de mi alma, de mi sangre y mi tinta".

The sub-heading 'El mal poema' covers the next five poems in the book, the first of which is "Yo, poeta decadente..."(p.78), another pseudo-apology. The list of topics of his poetry, bullfights, prostitutes, liquor, the dark corners and darker vices of Madrid is, except for the bullfights, an account of the commonplaces of all French city poetry, from Baudelaire to Corbière, and the adjective "decadente" emphasises this connection although the context is Spanish. The word canaille is frequently used in the work of writers like Jean Lorrain to describe the dubious glamour of the artistes and prostitutes of Paris nightlife. Curiously the expression "bisnietos del Cid", used here for its irony, finds an exact echo in a description by Lorrain of a Spanish dancer, María la Bonita: "Fleur d'Espagne et danseuse des rues...et peut-être arrière-petite-fille du Cid Campeador".¹¹ The last lines of the first stanza are, as Dr. Brotherston has shown, a paraphrase of Zorrilla (p.34). They are also very reminiscent of the last lines of Verlaine's "A François Coppée" (p.555), a poem in which he ironically compares his own lowly state as a poet with that of Coppée enthroned among the "immortals":

"Moi, ma gloire n'est qu'une humble absinthe éphémère
Prise en catimini, crainte des trahisons,
Et si je n'en bois pas plus c'est pour des raisons"

11. In Femmes de 1900, (Paris, 1932), p.112.

The second stanza ruefully questions the value of Machado's poetry (implicitly including this one) and implies that the public ought not to judge him from his poetry nor its contents, the list of the previous stanza. This same insistence on his own privacy, "una cosa es la Poesía, /y otra cosa lo que está/grabado en el alma mía" can be seen in Verlaine's "Prologue d'un Livre dont il ne paraîtra que les extraits ci-après" from Parallèlement (p.497):

"Vous n'aurez ni mes traits ni mon âge,

Ni le vrai mal secret de mon coeur."

The French poem is a similar pseudo-apology to a prejudiced and ignorant public, who may be shocked to find that his poems were written in prison.

The last stanza of "Yo, poeta decadente...", a technical tour-de-force, recapitulates and rejects the poetic expression of the previous stanza as commonplace and inadequate. It ends on a note of weary impotence with another conversational phrase, "Todo es conforme y según", which, like the meaningless "Bueno, pues, nada" is used to bring a Spanish conversation to a close. A similar cry of helplessness is found at the end of Verlaine's 'Lucien Létiinois' V, (p.446): "Qu'y faire? Ah, laisser faire!"

"Mi Phriné" (p.78) is the most technically accomplished poem in the collection, though not the most important. It uses the conversational, prosaic style in a masterly way. The title refers to the great courtesan of ancient Greece, the model for Praxiteles's Cnidian Venus. By using it Machado exploits the ironic possibilities of comparing his own beloved little "déclassée" with the most beautiful woman of antiquity, and also perhaps implies that she too can inspire a poet just as Phryne inspired the great orator Hyperides. It would seem that Phryne, like Medea and Helen, was one of the women commonly invoked by the Decadents, for Lorrain uses her name without explanation in a description of a pantomime: "Phrynnette, cette petite soeur cadette et décadente de Phryné" is a "mousseuse hétaïre".¹² The fashion for being in love with

12. "Phryné", in Femmes de 1900 (Paris, 1932), pp.73-4.

harlots has already been discussed in this study.¹³ The primarily French inspiration of "Mi Phrine" is shown also by the gallicism of "déclassée", but the language is spoken Spanish with its proverbs and polite arrogance.

"Internacional" (p.79) begins in a style very much like that of the music-hall songs of 1900. (Indeed, half a century later, Mme. Edith Piaf, linear descendent, musically speaking, of Bruant and Yvette Guilbert, used to sing a song not dissimilar that began "C'est à Hambourg ou Montmartre, À Whitechapel..." and went on to tell of the girls and their pimps in much the same terms.) The expression "bisnietos del Cid" from "Yo, poeta decadente..." is repeated and the irony reinforced by "sobrinos de Diderot". A fatalistic cynicism, very much of the streets, is expressed in the language of the streets, Madrid chulo with a flavour of Montmartre argot. Once again Machado is proffering the idea of a new kind of poetry. "El argot" is as real a language as "el caló", the speech of his Andalusian gypsies which is accepted in the poetry of the coplas.

The next stanza expresses this notion more clearly. "Poesía de germanía" is still disdained, but this is what he chooses to write, in the tradition of Villon, Cervantes, Quevedo and Verlaine. The last-mentioned also expressed a camaraderie with the society of the streets in "Autre" from Parallèlement (p.499):

"Allons, frères, bon vieux voleurs,
Doux vagabonds,
Filous en fleurs,
Mes chers, mes bons"

as well as in "Grotesques" (p.68) and "Caprice" (p.527).

The phrase "crepúsculo vespertino" could refer to "Le crépuscule du soir" (p.105) in which Baudelaire describes the evening as beloved of criminals,

13. See p. 49 above.

roués, writers and the hard-working poor. Machado clearly speaks of the same people in "Internacional". His evening is a gift for all men, belonging to no one, and bequeathing the twilight with its lovely nuances of colour. Verlaine too, in "Nocturne Parisien" (p.84), describes the evening as a blessing to city dwellers. The line "padre del matiz divino" may refer both to the evening and to Verlaine and his nuances. The dawn, in contrast, is bright and faintly ill-smelling. Baudelaire's "Le crépuscule de matin" (p.116) expresses the same horror of the morning and will be shown later to have influenced "La canción del alba".

All this is not to say that Machado had not experienced evening and dawn in the city for himself: we know from Pérez Ferrero that he had, frequently.¹⁴ But it is clear that his experience was affected by his reading, so that he saw the city in the same terms as the French poets he admired.

The fifth stanza, with its reference to thirst as life's main preoccupation, recalls Verlaine's use of the image in "Prière du matin" (p.406), which will be discussed in relation to "En la muerte de Julio Ruelas".¹⁵ The carpe diem motif recalls once again number VIII of Chansons pour elle (p.715), heavily marked in Machado's copy with its lines

"Seulement, nous sommes au monde

.

Or, ici-bàs, faut qu'on profite

Du plaisir qui passe si vite...

Aimons."

But what is not French in this poetry is wholly original, the use of a swaggering, chulo turn of phrase to describe a chulo's world. The end of the poem with its impertinent last line is one of Machado's most accomplished.

14. Vida, pp.91-5.

15. See this ch. p.131

"La canción del presente" (p.81), another poem on the same carpe diem theme, recalls Verlaine's number V of 'Lucien Létynois' (p.445) from Amour; "J'ai la fureur d'aimer. Mon cœur si faible est fou". Its cynical attitude is again like Chansons pour elle VIII, which is similarly couched in familiar language with expressions like "Que fait?" and "et que donc bien!". The rejection of the future, whether it be on earth or elsewhere, is common to both poems. Machado's "es absurdo complicarla [la vida] /con un ansia de verdad/ duradera y expectante./ ¿Luego? ... ¡Ya! /La verdad será cualquiera" is equivalent to Verlaine's "Quant à nos âmes . . . Nous en moquons nous? Que non pas!/Seulement, nous sommes au monde/ . . . /Et non au ciel, mais ici-bas."

Like "Madrigales" and "El viento", "La canción del presente" expresses in light short lines and a Verlainian technique an attitude to life which was perhaps the most characteristic thing about Manuel Machado and his poetry. His brother José says "...lo que más le interesa es adueñarse del momento actual, del que está pasando. Retener el instante que se va y no otro. Ni ayer ni mañana. Hoy,"¹⁶ and it should be noted that the subtitle of the poem is 'Leiv motiv', a motif to live by.

The next poem, "Sombra", (appended p. 199), is rather like Verlaine's "Le rossignol" in its use of the image of the wind in a tree's branches. The idea of a poem or song wandering in the air is to be found in two of the 'Ariettes oubliées'. Machado's "vago rumor de agua corriente" is like "sous l'eau qui vire,/Le roulis sourd des cailloux" in no.I (p.191), while the "aire entre las ramas" is like "tous les frissons des bois/Parmi l'étreinte des brises" in the same poem. In number V (p.193), "un air bien vieux, bien faible et bien charmant/Rôde discret" and dies away through an open window into the garden. The old benches, the faun, the park and the fountain are of course the traditional decor of the Verlainian garden of "Après trois ans" and Fêtes galantes referred to in previous chapters. But the anticlimax produced by the

16. Últimas p.43.

word "torpemente" recalls the banal sensuality of "Allégorie" (p.328) in which Verlaine also mocks the conventions of faun and park.

After 'Canciones y coplas' which do not concern us here, comes the next sub-section 'Horas', containing eight poems, two of which are in French.

"Chouette" (p.81) indicates by its very title that it is French in inspiration, and once again the subject is a grisette. The "batalla de amor" reference echoes that in "Prólogo-epílogo" and Verlaine's "Lassitude". The poem is extraordinarily like one on the same theme, "Rondeau" by Musset, who was one of the favourite poets of Machado's generation.¹⁷

"Mais le jour vient...

Le peigne en main...

A son miroir Manon court m'oublier.

Hélas! L'amour sans lendemain ni veille

Fût-il jamais?"

Manon too, of course, was a courtesan.

"Marina" (p.181), is an autobiographical poem dated "Barcelona-julio-1909". Pérez Ferrero (pp.95-104) and Dr. Brotherston (p.38) provide rather contradictory accounts of the circumstances in which the poem was written. The one thing that seems clear is that when Machado embarked on his uncle's boat for Marseilles he was escaping from a love affair. José Machado compares the poem with Antonio's boat leaving the harbour in "Retrato" (p.744)¹⁸ and the use of this image of the boat and the sea has already been discussed.¹⁹ The mood in "Marina" is exalted and has much in common with Baudelaire's "Le voyage" (p.155) and Mallarmé's "Brise marine".

17. See Jiménez's dedication to "Nocturnos", quoted by Darío, in his review of Arias Tristes, Helios XIII (1904): cited by Ribbans, "La influencia" p.182.

18. Últimas p.42.

19. See p.50 above.

The use of the colour vermilion in the first stanza is like that in Verlaine's Sagesse III, 7 (p.281), "Ivre de soleil/Et de liberté.../La brise d'été/Sur le flot vermeil" while Sagesse III, 2 (p.275), speaks of the great-hearted sea washing away rancour. But the adventurous aspects of the voyage, described in the third, fourth and seventh stanzas, obviously derive from Mallarmé and Baudelaire. In "Brise marine" we find the same references to the unknown and to escape:

"Fuir! la-bas fuir! Je sens que les oiseaux sont ivres
D'être parmi l'écume inconnue et les cieux!
Rien...
Ne retiendra ce coeur qui dans la mer se trempe...
Je partirai!"

In "Le voyage",

"Mais les vrais voyageurs sont ceux-là seuls qui partent
Pour partir...
De leur fatalité jamais ils ne s'écartent,
Et sans savoir pourquoi, disent toujours: Allons! ...
Au fond de l'Inconnu pour trouver du nouveau!"

And in "Marina",

"Gran palabra: navegar.
Dejar la playa segura;
Irse, correr...
Marinero de la vida,
Los nuevos peligros quiero
Con que el azar me convida.
Y apresto a nueva partida
Mi barco...

...va a partir

Puesta en lo ignoto la fe...
No sé donde voy a ir,
E ignoro si volvére."

[The underlinings are mine.]

The line in the eighth stanza, "Mi alma no es más que un espejo", may well have been suggested by one in Baudelaire's "L'Homme et la Mer" (p.21), "La mer est ton miroir: tu contemples ton âme". And the image of the pillow in the ninth stanza is like one in number V of 'Lucien Letinois' (p.445), "Il les aime.../Leur mémoire est son cher oreiller".

The two poems in French, (appended pp.200 and 201), are undistinguished and clumsy. Darío too had attempted to write poems in French, in Azul, with no greater success.

The first, "La vie. . ." repeats the "Adelfos" theme and is elaborately Decadent. The careful aphorisms "-Un regret de ne rien regretter" and "ma peine sans peine"- are a mixture of Baudelaire and Corbière. The word "maudit" is of course the hackneyed Verlainian reference. The fading lily is from Samain and the homelessness like Corbière's "Paria"²⁰ from Ca!

"Mon horizon, l'imprévu-

Et le mal du pays me ronge-

Du pays que je n'ai pas vu".

The poem does not merit a prolonged study, but it may be observed that Dubus's "Le mauvais chemin" (p.20) contains very similar sentiments about "le chemin.../[que] nous avons parcouru tant de fois" which must, sadly, be retraced.

"Minuit" is even more inept. The "ombre malsaine" seems to have been inspired by "des démons malsains dans l'atmosphère" from Baudelaire's "Le crépuscule du soir" (p.105), while the conspicuous use of the adjective "charmant" may come from the same poem, "le soir charmant, ami du criminel". The "ombre malsaine" is also reminiscent of the "vapeur malsaine" of Verlaine's "Nocturne parisien" (p.83). The inonde/profonde rhyme recalls onde/profonde in "Dans les bois" (p.82) from the same collection, which also describes night, shadows, fear, frissons and morts. In Sagesse III, 2, (p.275) there is a stanza which comes very close to "Minuit" which it also resembles in metre:

20. Pp.93-4.

"Cette ville sombre!
 Tout est crainte ici...
 Le ciel est transi
 D'éclairer tant d'ombre.
 Les pas que tu fais...
 Lèvent des poussières
 Au souffle mauvais...
 Voyageur si triste,
 Tu suis quelle piste?"

"El camino" (p.82) in its vocabulary and probably in its initial inspiration is very like Darío. It is another variation on the same theme as "La voz que dice" and "Peregrino", a theme that Darío probably learned from Verlaine too. The first two lines of Machado's poem correspond to lines from "Thanatos" from Cantos de vida y esperanza (p.683):

"En medio del camino de la vida...
 Dijo Dante. Su verso se convierte:
 En medio del camino de la muerte."

Darío had touched on this topic in "Alma mía" from Prosas profanas (p.621), and continues it in "Melancolía" from Cantos de vida, (p.675), while Antonio Machado, as has been observed,²¹ made it one of his seminal metaphors. The rhetorical vocabulary of "El camino",-"frescura de las rosas", "lindas adolescentes", "tardes tibias", "talles esbeltos", "embriaguez divina", "música dulce" - is in its commonplace sensuality typical of that part of Machado's poetry inspired by Darío, like "Rosa" or "Despedida a la luna".

"A mi sombra" (p.83) seems also to be based on a poem by a friend of Machado's, in this case Villaespesa, whose poem "La hermana negra", describing his shadow, was published in La Musa enferma (1900). The lines

21. See chapter III, p. 90 and chapter IV, p. 104

"Camino sin rumbos y por mi camino
 una hermana negra siempre me acompaña,
 mi sombra, tan muda como mi destino...
 Sombra, de mi mismo misterio surgiste,
 y también conmigo irás al misterio,
 al volver al seno de la tierra triste..."

are very close to Machado's poem. The rhyming of "luna" with "oportuna", which also occurs in "Retrato", is probably an echo from Verlaine's "Votre âme est un paysage choisi" from Fêtes galantes (p.107).

"Fin", appended here (p. 202), is another of the Becquerian coplas Machado wrote as an adolescent. It was not published in Tristes y alegres but clearly dates from that time, like a number of other poems in El mal poema. Machado obviously rescued it from deserved oblivion in order to fill out the volume. His poetic output was always painfully slow, as he explains in his speech to the Academy,²² and all his volumes of collected verse after Caprichos contain poems that were not worth preserving. "Dístico", in the next section, falls into the same category, and its two lines do not warrant discussion.

The last sub-title in the book is 'Dedicatorias', which corresponds to Verlaine's Dédicaces. It consists of eight poems, only four of which I propose to discuss. The last three are purely occasional verse - one to the Queen, one to Gómez Carrillo on the publication of his book Grecia and one on an horchatera written for a calendar of Spanish girls in El Herald.

The first poem, "A Santiago Iglesias" (p.198), is a Parnassian poem couched in the form of the ballades that Verlaine imitated from Villon, a number of which are to be found in Dédicaces. Machado's poem is in fact a Parnassian sonnet with an envío. The elaborate metaphor on the goldsmith's art likened to poetry is a commonplace of Parnassian theory. Gautier's "La

22. Unos versos, pp.72-3.

forme au travail/Rebelle" from "L'Art" corresponds to Machado's "el difícil oro". Hérédia's sonnets on the medieval and Renaissance goldsmiths (pp.39, 43-6), and perhaps Verlaine's epilogue to Poèmes Saturniens (p.96), a pastiche of Parnassian theory, have all contributed to it. Verlaine's "ciseaux des Pensées" become "el pensamiento en fuego" that melts and moulds the gold. This is not a notable poem but interesting in its use of the conventions of Parnassianism and of the ballade form.

The next three poems are all epitaphs. The first, "En la muerte de Julio Ruelas" (p.206) begins with the first half of an octet as though it were going to be a sonnet like most of Verlaine's Dédicaces but then ends in thirteen lines. The opening thought is reminiscent of the first line of Mallarmé's epitaph on Poe, "Tel qu'en lui-même enfin l'Eternité le change." The description of Ruelas's life recalls the lines in Verlaine's "Prière du matin" (p.406); "la mort des sens et de leurs mil ivresses" corresponds to "un matarse de embriagueces de mil suertes".²³ The image of thirst and water occurs in the same poem. This hidden water is like that in Sagesse II,iv,3 (p.269), "O ce lit de lumière et d'eau parmi la brume!", and throughout Verlaine's religious poetry it represents the divine love that alone can slake the thirst of man, who is prey, like Ruelas, to "la soif inapaisable" ("Prière du matin"). Faith in an afterlife is expressed by Verlaine, too, in "A Edmond Lepelletier", (p.599), "il ne faut plus penser aux morts/Que pour les plaindre... /Car n'allons-nous pas les rejoindre?" and in "A Villiers de l'Isle Adam" (p.559).

23. This line in Machado's poem is very close to his translation of the Verlainian line quoted; "La muerte de los sentidos que mil embriagueces", and is another example of how a study of Machado's translation was useful.

"A José Nogales, muerto" (p.206) is an epitaph in a different tone, one of bitter anger at his death. The sentiments of brotherhood in art are like those in Verlaine's "A Villiers de l'Isle Adam (p.559):

"Villiers, sois envié comme il aurait fallu
Par tes frères impatients du jour suprême
Où saluer en toi la gloire d'un élu."

But the images of the bullet, and the psychology of the bullfight and of war, are totally original and the last two lines, a reworking of those ending the second stanza of "Prólogo-epílogo", are very effective.

"A Alejandro Sawa" (p.205) is in my opinion the best poem Machado ever wrote. Sawa was of course a friend of his, and Sawa's death was a tragic one. The bitter contradictions in the poem are reminiscent of nothing so much as the epitaphs that Tristan Corbière wrote for himself, which are full of the same sort of tension between opposites. The closest is "Epitaphe" from Ca (pp.97-9):

"S'il vit, c'est par l'oubli . . .
Il ne naquit par aucun bout,
Fut toujours poussé vent-de-bout,
Mélange adultère de tout,
Et fût un arlequin-ragoût . . .
Sans avoir été - revenu:
Se retrouvant partout perdu . . .
Fini, mais ne sachant finir,
Il mourût en s'attendant vivre
Et vecût s'attendant mourir."

Machado's line "su vida. . . fue perdida" could refer to Verlaine's "J'ai perdu ma vie" from "Prologue d'un livre . . ." (p.498). "Reversibilités" (p.500) is also somewhat like "A Alejandro Sawa" in metre and strophic scheme, and speaks

of an obscure and lonely death. But Machado's poem has a Spanish stoicism and lapidary quality very different from Corbière's savage humour or Verlaine's mournfulness.

This short book is, in my opinion, the last collection of good and important poetry by Machado, although until 1918 he continued to produce occasional poems of great merit. When in 1941 he called El mal poema his favourite book²⁴ Machado was probably thinking of the series of "bad" poetry brought together in his collective edition, which includes poems of the same genre from Caprichos, Alma Museo, Los cantares and Canciones y dedicatorias (1915), which will be discussed in the next chapter. Taken as a whole cycle, these poems represent the best and most original of Machado's work, in which he finds his own authentic voice as a poet, a singer of the streets of Madrid who had learned his trade from the singers of the streets of Paris.

24. See above p. 115.

CHAPTER 6

A THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE BEST OF MACHADO'S POETRY UNTIL 1918

In 1911 there appeared Apolo:Teatro pictórico. This book contains twenty-five Parnassian sonnets describing famous paintings and is dedicated, as was the section 'Museo' in Alma, to Giner de los Ríos, who taught Machado to appreciate pictures.¹ The main characteristics of Parnassianism have already been discussed in this study,² and it has been remarked that to choose a painting as a topic for a poem was a particularly Parnassian trait (p.53). I propose to examine only eight of these poems, those which show French influence in their subject matter and those which seem to me particularly accomplished.

The sonnet on Botticelli's "La Primavera" (p.108), is full of a very French eroticism. Machado himself gives the explanation for this in La guerra literaria, saying that the poem is more lyrical and personal than the other sonnets because he got to know the picture in Paris and so it is associated with Parisian memories (p.50). It was of course the most famous and beloved painting of the Decadent era. Young women tried to look like Botticelli's figures-"Ces Primaveraes truquées...des ateliers et des cafés d'artistes", says Jean Lorrain in Gil Blas³ -and Gómez Carrillo's heroine in La Bohemia sentimental was one of them.⁴ Lorrain also wrote an erotic poem on a Botticelli painting, where he speaks of virginal charms. Liberty's of London copied the floral motifs of Botticelli in their prints which were the height of fashion when

1. See Dr. Brotherston, pp.119-120.

2. Ch.II, pp. 42

3. (Paris, 1899).

4. (Paris, 1902), p.29.

Machado was in Paris. So the Decadent tone and expressions like "divina enfermedad" are understandable.

The first stanza is clearly an echo of that from Verlaine's "Voeu" (p.62), which is also a sonnet. The exclamatory style is the same and Verlaine's "Ah! les oaristys! les premières maîtresses!" corresponds to Machado's "; Oh el sotto voce balbuciente, oscuro,/de la primera lujuria!" (The Greek word oaristys means 'a conversation between lovers.')

The "spontanéité craintive des caresses" becomes "el no saber de la primera caricia". The "fleur des chairs" is echoed by the "flores" of Machado's last stanza, while the ambiguity of "el beso adolescente, casi puro" is very Verlainian, like the "senteurs presque innocentes" of spring flowers in "En patinant" (p.111).

The use of flowers as erotic symbols is typical of Samain, too, who wrote a sonnet on a "Dame du Printemps" (Le Chariot p.134) with similar references to virginity, desire and "la langueur d'aimer". "Printemps" from the same book (p.30) also resembles "La Primavera" in its images of flowers and love. A number of antecedents for Machado's sonnets on paintings have been suggested, among them Julián del Casal, Darío and Guillermo Valencia, but no critic seems to have remarked a much closer precedent: the sonnets of Samain. He wrote four on topics from Hérédia, of which "Cléopâtre" has been mentioned above as a possible source for "Oriente"⁵; he also wrote three sonnets and two other poems on paintings by Moreau, Watteau and Boucher.

The yearning for a paradise of infantile love in "La Primavera" recalls also Baudelaire's "Moesta et errabunda" (p.69) and its lines "le vert paradis des amours enfantins,/L'innocent paradis, plein de plaisirs furtifs". Machado's line "ángel, niño, mujer" is similar to the description in Lorrain's poem, reminding one of the ambiguity of Botticelli's women, so pleasing to

5. See ch.II, p. 58 And, as we have noted (ch.II, p. 53), Samain was essentially a Parnassian in form.

the fin-de-siècle.⁶ As an attempt to convey the essence of the picture "La Primavera" is clearly a failure, but it is valuable as an indication of how deeply the atmosphere of Paris in 1900 affected Machado.

The following sonnet, "La Gioconda" (p.109), is, of course, also on a painting in the Louvre. The cult of Florence in the 'nineties has already been mentioned.⁷ Ever since Walter Pater's exegesis of the Mona Lisa in Studies in the History of the Renaissance (1873) she had become an obsession with the Decadents, recreated by D'Annunzio in Il piacere, Jean de Tinan and others. Pater said that she was "older than the rocks among which she sits" and speculated on the "strange thoughts and fantastic reveries" in her mind. Machado's version also emphasises her age and wonders what it is that makes her smile. The "palabra fatal" is a very Decadent note. The sonnet itself is quite undistinguished, but demonstrates once more Machado's typically fin-de-siècle sensibility.

"Carlos V" (p.109), after the painting by Titian, is, like "Felipe IV", clearly inspired not only by the picture but also by Verlaine's "César Borgia". In Apolo the first line reads "damasquinó de oro" and the twelfth "el mundo entero", which are both obviously preferable to later versions. The three notes of colour in Verlaine's poem are gold, black and red: those in "Carlos V" are gold, steel-grey, black and purple. The purple feather in the latter corresponds to the feather and rubies in the former, that is, both provide the single note of bright colour. César's eyes, which follow the onlooker, gleam with projects of adventures, as Charles's are hard and wolf-like. The mouths of both princes are singled out for comment. The Olympian tone of both poems is the same, and indeed Titian's portrait is very like that described by

6. See Jullian, Dreamers p.42.

7. See above, p. 75.

Verlaine in that it too is "vu de trois quarts et tres ombre" in the style of the Spanish and Venetian masters. The painting Machado describes is, of course, of Charles before the battle of Mühlberg, and is in the Prado. The spirited black horse, the famous armour, the feather and the lance, are all there. The "resonantes pasos y seguros" are reminiscent of those in another Hispanicising Parnassian poem by Verlaine, "La mort de Phillipe II", (p.88), "Son pas est de pierre./..Son pied ferme et pesant et lourd, comme la loi,/ Sonne sur les tapis".

Velázquez's "La infanta Margarita" in the Louvre influenced Machado's sonnet on her (p.114), although the latter is mainly based on that painting in the Prado, number 1.192, which was in Machado's time thought to be of the princess María Teresa, her sister.⁸ The handkerchief and the guardainfante are there. But the pink bow in her hair is that of the Louvre portrait. The Velázquez infantas in the Louvre had inspired Hugo and Samain, as has already been noted.⁹ The year 1899 was the tricentenary of the painter and a number of new books on him were published. Mesonero Romanos remarks on the "lazo rosa" and reminds us that Gautier loved this painting.¹⁰ Berruete's book, published in French in Paris, also admired the "adorable Infante aux yeux bleus."¹¹

Gómez Carillo describes the fashionable attitude to Velázquez in Paris from 1899 to 1900. "El genio de la decadencia . . . el creador de aquel tipo

8. Machado admits this in La guerra literaria p.44. It was clearly one of the "inexactitudes...necesarias a mi intento". Besides, he may well have noticed the painting's resemblance to portraits of the little Margarita and concluded correctly that it was indeed of her and not of her sister.

9. See above, p.56.

10. Velázquez fuera del museo del Prado (Madrid, 1899), p.155.

11. Velázquez (Paris, 1898).

inolvidable de pálidos reyes anémicos y cloróticas infantas que miran asustadas hacia el porvenir . . . y que llevan entre las exangües manos una rosa simbólica."¹² This tubercular look was beloved of poets: Dubus's "Solitaire" was "blanche . . . sa chair exsangue de chlorose" (p.104). There is another very close parallel to Machado's poem in Jean Lorrain's sonnet "Anémie" from *Modernités* (1885). It too describes a princess, "trop fine, trop nerveuse, exsangue et déjà lasse/De vivre", who has "la fragilité de la fin d'une race."¹³

The "flor clorótica" of the first line of Machado's "La infanta Margarita" is therefore a commonplace of the fin-de-siècle in Paris, the vocabulary of a later decadence applied to the victim of an earlier one. So even in this most apparently Spanish of topics Machado is following a French fashion.

"Don Juan de Austria" (p.115) is another poem on the Spanish court of Philip IV. The Prado portrait described by Machado shows the buffoon dressed in the archaic fashion, with a painting of the battle of Lepanto behind him and armour at his feet, emphasising the irony of his nickname. The anecdote about the money, which makes such a fine Heredian ending, demands from the reader some previous knowledge for its full irony to be felt. In fact, Don Juan lent the king two reales to buy comfits for the queen.¹⁴

"Un prince de la Casa de Orange" (p.116) takes up once more the theme of decadent princes. It is interesting that in Samain's "Au Jardin de l'Infante" he speaks of "les portraits de Van Dyck aux beaux doigts longs et purs". This

12. Sensaciones de París y de Madrid (Paris, 1900), pp.182-3.

13. In this context it is interesting to recall Gautier's "Notice" to the 2nd ed. of Les Fleurs du Mal (1869) in which he describes Baudelaire's style. "Ces roses de phtisie, ces blancs de chlorose . . . et toute cette gamme de couleurs . . . qui correspondent à . . . la dernière heure des civilisations" (p.29). The "Notice" was printed at the head of all editions of Les Fleurs du Mal until 1917, and had great influence (Cf. Aggeler, Baudelaire pp.xi-xiv).

14. J.A. Picón, Vida y obra de Don Diego Velázquez (Madrid, 1899), p.7.

is one of those portraits. The setting sun, the white skin, the hair of old gold are all to be found in "Felipe IV" and "La infanta Margarita". In the second stanza the word "podridas" emphasises the thesis of decadence. A strikingly similar prince, described as "Digne enfant de ces races pourries", is to be found in Lorrain's "Prince héritier" from Modernités. The white hand of Machado's prince is again bloodless, like those of Carrillo's, or Velázquez's, Infantas. The words "desdén" and "fatal" recall once more Samain's princess (Au Jardin, p.10). Her "dédain natal" is the same and she too is indifferent, "sachant trop pour lutter comme tout est fatal." More than any other poem in Apolo this sonnet embodies the Decadent spirit, although in a Parnassian form, as does the poetry of Samain.

"Siglo XVIII" (p.117) is not illustrated in Apolo, and its subtitle, 'Escuela francesa', seems to indicate that the subject is not one painting but a whole period. The poem describes scenes that could be from Watteau, Fragonard, Boucher or Verlaine's Fêtes galantes. The loquacious abbé is to be found in the last-mentioned collection in "Sur l'herbe" (p.108), in Darío's "Era un aire suave..." and in Dubus's "Madrigal" (p.19), which is also a sonnet. Some of the vocabulary, boscage, encajes, violines, is to be found in Darío, as are the references to Greece and paganism. The "nobles pastores" are like the "marquises bocagères" of Samain's "L'Île Fortunée" (Au Jardin p.61), but the "exquisita pena" is pure Verlaine.

The last stanza of "Siglo XVIII" resembles two French poems, Verlaine's "L'Allée" (p.108) and Moreás's "Vignette", a sonnet from Les Cantilènes. In the latter an eighteenth century lady at her toilet bears a striking resemblance to Machado's Clori.

"Elle mire au miroir son visage où neigea
La poudre odorante et que relève une mouche...
...elle pique avec un geste sec
Des asphodèles dans sa chevelure belle,
Belle et bleue et parfumée et qui se rebelle."

"L'Allée" is also a sonnet, although stood on its head in the Verlainian manner, beginning with the tercets and ending on the octave. It too has an ironic ending, a slight dégonflage in the last line, as do "A la promenade", (p.119), "Cythère" (p.114), and "Lettre", (p.117). Machado's disdainful Clori with her patches is like the lady in "L'Allée" with her mouche, as well as like Moreas' belle. The falseness of the hair powder and patches, which emphasises the silliness of the epoch as does the blue hair in "Vignette", is paralleled by the adjective "niais" applied to Verlaine's lady.

"L'Indifférent" (p.118), on a picture by Watteau in the Louvre, is rather like a sonnet by Samain on the same topic (in Au jardin p.68). The use of the adjectives gracile and grácil imply that Machado knew Samain's poem. In the latter the indifferent youth is "las d'Agnès ou de Lucile", just as in Machado's poem he is fleeing the jealousy and entanglements of Filis and Amarilis. The background sound of the fountain occurs in both poems. Samain's "solitaire et moqueur" is like Machado's "desmemoriado y elegante": both sets of adjectives imply heartlessness, grace and poise.

"Pierrot" (p.119), the last of the sonnets we are examining, refers, as the second tercet shows, to a painting by Watteau, although like "L'Indifférent" it is concerned with the background story to the picture. The references to Pierrot weeping, the extreme whiteness of his garb and to the "paisaje recortado" all make it extremely likely that it was the "Gilles" of the Louvre that inspired Machado. This painting is Watteau's best Pierrot (Gilles was the old French name for the paillasse who eventually merged with the commedia dell'arte Pierrot) and his tragic face undoubtedly influenced the later creators of the melancholy Pierrot.¹⁵ This poem does no more than repeat the commonplaces about his sadness, his lady the Moon and the treacherous Columbine that have already been discussed here.¹⁶ But the persistence of the

15. See A.G. Lehmann, "Pierrot and fin-de-siècle", Romantic Mythologies (London, 1967).

16. See pp.69 and 74 above.

theme throughout Machado's work (it even reappears in 'Confetti' (p.321), from Phoenix (1936)), shows how deeply imbued he was with the symbolism of this leitmotif of the 1890s.

So once again it is a painting in the Louvre that Machado has chosen to describe. Of the twenty five sonnets in the book nearly a third are inspired by French sources, and all are based on the Parnassian sonnet, perfected by Hérédia and continued by Samain and Régnier, that has been discussed in ch.II, p. 42.

The last book of poems by Machado to be considered in this study is Canciones y dedicatorias, published in 1915. Between it and Apolo were published two other collections of verse, but neither of them concern us. Trofeos (1911) is an untidy mixture of poor juvenilia from Tristes y alegres and an assortment of other poetry originally published before 1909, while Cante hondo (1912) although very good, consists entirely of Andalusian poetry and so is not relevant here.

Canciones y dedicatorias can be divided roughly into the two parts corresponding to its title, although there are three other subtitles. All of these poems fall into the category of what Machado calls "los cantares, poesía de la vida sentimental y aun sensual, poesía de la vida rota que culmina en El mal poema."¹⁷ Indeed the first and third 'canciones', "La canción del alba" and "La canción del invierno" were originally published in El Imparcial in 1910 and express the same mood as El mal poema the year before. Of the 'canciones', I propose to discuss only the four that show clear French influence.

The first of these, "La canción del alba" (p.93), is one of the best poems in this genre by Machado. The harsh imagery is completely original and personal, but there is one echo of Baudelaire. "Le crépuscule du matin" (p.116) is the

17. Unos versos p.79.

most obvious antecedent for any twentieth century poem on a city dawn. It describes weariness, disgust, illness and "Les débauchés qui rentraient, brisés par leurs travaux". Machado's image of the dawn, smiling and stupid like a pregnant woman, is like Baudelaire's "Les femmes de plaisir, la paupière livide,/ Bouche ouverte, dormaient de leur sommeil stupide". The "transacciones lamentables" recall too Verlaine's "L'aube à l'envers" (p.375), - "d'affreux baisers et d'immondes paris." The violent reversal of the order of things - women are ugly, friends hateful, monsters real, the nightmare ends in sleep- gives the poem an hallucinatory quality not unlike Verlaine's "Kaleidoscope" (p.321) from Jadis. "L'aube a l'envers" is also about a dawn, dreaming and waking and not knowing the difference.

"La canción del invierno" (p.201) is another poem of city sadness, but also recalls "Los días sin sol" and the notion of the hearth as a place of refuge from the ills of life. The influences of Baudelaire and Verlaine have already been noted¹⁸ in this regard. "La canción del invierno" is even more overtly Verlainian. "Cae la lluvia . . . el pobre corazón no sabe lo que quiere" harks back to 'Ariette' III (p.192), "il pleut sur la ville . . . C'est bien la pire peine/De ne savoir pourquoi . . . Mon coeur a tant de peine!" The "luz pobre" and "cielo de cobre" are like the "ciel... de cuivre/ sans leur aucune" from 'Ariettes oubliées' VIII, (p.195), while the lamp, the rêverie, the book, the fireplace and the woman are again from La bonne chanson number XIV (p.151). Samain took up the same theme in "Automne" from Le chariot d'or (p.97) - "doux soleil intime de la lampe...C'est le refuge élu, c'est la bonne demeure...Où s'élabore.../ L'essence fine de la vie intérieure" - and he too describes wind and winter outside. Machado's "propios altares" are paralleled by Samain's "tes vrais dieux", so that the similarity appears more than coincidental. The opening line of "La canción del invierno" recalls too that

18. See p. 37 above.

of Mallarmé's "Brise marine", "La chair est triste, hélas! et j'ai lu tous les livres."

"La canción del primer amor" (p.46), entitled "Primer amor" in later editions, is another variation on the same theme as "La Primavera" in Apolo, especially in the third and sixth stanzas, where the exclamations clearly derive from the same sources, Verlaine's "Voeu" (p.62), and "Il bacio" (p.82). For the rest, the poem is a trifle, playing on names as do "Rosa" and "Aleluyas madrigalescas", and using the same technique as "Madrigales". The exclamatory eroticism reminds one of Darío, whose "Heraldos" from Prosas Profanas enumerates girls' names, including Aurora. It contains the lines "¿Ella?/ (no la anuncian: no llega aún.)" which certainly correspond to "y Ella!/-que no es ella todavía."

"Oraciones a ella" (p.66) probably derives its title, as Lepiorz has pointed out, to Verlaine's Chansons pour elle.¹⁹ Like the poems in 'La buena canción', of which cycle it forms part in later editions, it sees the woman as a healing strength, and like the other poems in that cycle, it takes inspiration also from much of Verlaine's work. The French poet, as Jean Richer has observed "toute sa vie resta sensible à ces marques extérieures de santé [full red lips and bright eyes] et rechercha les tempéraments sanguins"²⁰ and Machado describes Eulalia in the same terms. The sad, bad poet redeemed by a good and generous woman has been a commonplace since the Romantic era: Faust and Tannhäuser spring to mind. Baudelaire uses it in "Reversibilité" (p.48), "Causerie" (p.61), and "Chant d'automne" (p.62), Verlaine in "Voeu" (p.62), "Mon rêve familial", (p.63), "A une femme" and all the poems of La Bonne Chanson.

In "A une femme" (p.64), the lines "la grace consolante/De vos grands yeux où rit et pleure un rêve doux" are probably the source of Machado's

19. Themen, p.23.

20. In Paul Verlaine (Paris, 1960), p.12.

"cúrame con tus ojos . . . con tu risa . . . ¡Con el sol y la sal que hay en tu llanto!" These healing tears are also to be found in "Mon rêve familier" (p.63): "Les moiteurs de mon front blême,/Elle seule les sait rafraîchir, en pleurant". But curiously much of Machado's imagery comes from the least spiritual of Verlaine's books, Chansons pour Elle and Parallèlement, which celebrate the robust charms of Eugenie Krantz. The country image is like that in number V of 'Filles' (p.494), "Rustique beauté/...Tu sens bon les foins,/La chair et l'été". In number I of Chansons pour elle (p.709), we find "ô.../tes yeux riants", in number II (p.710), she is called "compagne savoureuse et bonne", in number VIII (p.715), "Elle sent bon, ta chair", in number X (p.717), "ta bouche...d'une fraise" and in number XIX (p.723), "Ton rire éclaire mon vieux coeur". The references to the poet's fever and taedium vitae seem again a topic copied from Baudelaire and Verlaine, although it is possible that Machado really was ill, as he states in "Prólogo-epílogo" and in letters to Jiménez.²¹

"La mujer de Verlaine" (p.94) is a poem about the possibility of happiness that Verlaine once glimpsed with Mathilde and then lost. Dr. Brotherston implies that Machado has falsified the story in order to make it suit his equation of Mathilde with Eulalia (p.39); this is not at all the case. The poems of La Bonne Chanson, which Verlaine wrote in Paris and Fampoux and sent to Mathilde, who was on holiday in Normandy, express just this dream of a good and beloved woman in an ideal landscape. And there is no doubt that all his life Verlaine looked back wistfully to the countryside as a place of peace and innocence, and that despite his violent diatribes against his wife, he regretted that lost dream.²² The countryside of his childhood holidays and his youthful

21. Gullón, "Relaciones", pp.127-8.

22. In confirmation of the latter statement, see LeDantec pp.179, 187, 229, 468, 652, and the poems 'Ariettes' II, IV, and VII (pp.191-5), "Birds in the night" p.202, "Child wife" p.207, Sagesse I, 17, p.257, "Ballade en rêve" p.423, and Bonheur VI, p.662.

love for his cousin Elisa may explain the emotional connection. It is also true, as Machado states obliquely in stanza seven, that it was Verlaine who destroyed the marriage. But he did continue to seek a reconciliation, so Machado's assumptions of his nostalgia for his wife are justified.

In "Paysages" from Amour (p.441) Verlaine describes the landscapes of Paliseul and Arras, where his parents were born, with great affection and a naïve insistence on the goodness, strength and happiness of country people. The landscape described by Machado in the second stanza, "lejano campo, sobre él que flota/la niebla, apenas por las luces rota/de un tibio sol", is like the first three lines of number I of La Bonne Chanson (p.142), the morning scene of sun and mist seen by the "songeur", who is Verlaine, dreaming of Mathilde. Machado pictures Verlaine writing these poems, as indeed he did, in the "Paris maussade et malade" described so vividly in numbers XVI and XVII (pp.152 and 154). The image of water and aguardiente from "La canción del alba" is used again here, with a double meaning, for absinthe, the French liquor here synonymous with aguardiente, was Verlaine's weakness and downfall, the main reason, apart from his potential homosexuality, for the collapse of his marriage.

Stanzas four and five describe Verlaine in prison and in hospital, still regretting the lost home he never possessed. An examination of section three of Sagesse will show this to be true. In number I (p.273) "le Sage", who speaks for Verlaine, rejects "la ferocité des villes" and goes back to the past, the childhood landscape of goodness, order and harmony. Numbers XI and XIII (pp.283-4) are also country scenes and number XX (p.289) is a parable contrasting the peace of the country with the stink of the city.

The dream of the two lovers alone in a landscape is frequently found in Verlaine's work, especially in La Bonne Chanson XVII (p.152), in "Bruxelles" II (p.199) and in 'Ariettes oubliées' IV (p.193). Machado indicates gently and with pity that Verlaine's fatal temperament, which was what made him a

great poet, destroyed this dream of happiness, although it brought him literary glory.

There seems also to be some sympathy expressed for Mathilde and a tacit condemnation of Verlaine's behaviour towards her, an attitude perhaps to be explained by Machado's recent marriage but also fully justified by the facts in Verlaine's biographies. Machado has not falsified Verlaine's attitude towards Mathilde. What he has done is imaginatively to synthesise Verlaine's (very real) hope of love and peace with Mathilde as it is expressed in La bonne chanson with his continued equation of the good life and the bucolic described in many poems in Sagesse and Amour. Verlaine's own poetry, as we have seen, offers ample material for such an interpretation.

"Carnavalina" (p.99) is another variation on the theme of "Pantomima" but is much less successful. Like the latter it takes some images from Verlaine's "Pierrot" (p.320), but it is banal. The emphasis on Colombina's laughter- "la divina.. la que ríe"-is clearly another echo of Darío's "la divina Eulalia ríe, ríe, ríe" from "Era un aire suave." Eulalia, like Colombina, is faithless-"¡Ay de quien del canto de su amor se fíe!" The obscure logarithm of love hidden within her body, like the "cifra segura" of "Florescencia", may have been suggested by Verlaine's "le pentacle de tes sens" in Chansons pour elle (p.717), (which Machado mistranslates as "pentagrama de tus senos" reading "seins" for sens".)

"En la muerte de José Palomo Anaya" (p.210) conveys great emotion, as Dámaso Alonso points out (p.86), with concrete prosaic words and an almost total lack of imagery. It could be regarded as the apotheosis of Machado's "mal poema" style, and although its use of verbs-"Y he visto", "Y recuerdo"-and its deliberately banal images may seem commonplace now, it must be remembered that in Spain in 1915 it was remarkably modern.²³ The technique of understatement

23. It is interesting that to an English ear, the second and third stanzas have much the same ring as T.S. Eliot's early verse, which was also influenced by Laforgue and other French Symbolists. (See "The Love Song of Alfred J. Prufrock", 1917).

was then still new to Spanish ears, attuned to elaboration and rhetoric: even Darío, for all his Symbolist pretensions, uses always the eloquent and lofty style. The new colloquial style was the heritage of Corbière, Laforgue and those who followed them, and originated in a reaction against eloquent emotionalism in poetry. Machado absorbed both these currents.

His last poem in this style was not published until 1918 in Sevilla y otros poemas but clearly belongs to the "mal poema" group. "Cordura" (p.90), its title, is the word he uses here, although not in Fiestas galantes, to translate Verlaine's Sagesse, and despite Díez Canedo's insistence that sabiduría would have been more correct, I agree with Machado.²⁴ Verlaine's sagesse is innocence, goodness, kindness, as when one says to a child, "Sois sage!" Cordura expresses this perfectly. Also, the word sabiduría clearly had for Machado the connotation of worldly knowledge, knowingness, as its use in "Sé buena" (p.64) indicates.

"Cordura" expresses the quality of simplicity and childishness characteristic of Verlaine in his life and in his poetry. The bewildered victim of life's harshness who begs for understanding was one aspect of Verlaine: equally typical was the retreat to childish abuse, to "le mot de Cambronne". (This indeed was the one word that Verlaine deigned to utter to Darío when the latter was introduced to him in 1893).²⁵ Like Verlaine's own work, the poem swoops from gentleness to defiance, to that French desgarro pointed out by Damaso Alonso.²⁶ The envoi is like that in the epitaph for Alejandro Sawa, and has the same uncertainty as the endings of "Internacional", "Yo, poeta decadente" and the

24. Review of Fiestas galantes, in "Poesía", La lectura (April, 1908), p.437. Machado also uses the word to translate Sagesse in "La mujer de Verlaine".

25. See Autobiografía, Obras completas XV (Madrid, 1920), p.115.

26. "Ligereza", pp.80-81.

much earlier "Copo de nieve".

This short poem that ends on a dying fall is the last good poem Machado wrote that shows clearly the influence of Verlaine. In Phoenix (1936), poems like "Dice la fuente" (p.228), "Rima" (p.246) and those under the heading 'Confetti' (p.233) show that the influences of his early years stayed with him, but in reality his poetic vein was exhausted after 1915. Indeed, as has been indicated in the introduction to this study (p. 6), it could be said that Machado's worth as an innovator was a direct result of his Bohemian leanings and francophilia, which ended with his marriage and spiritual return to Spain. It is undeniable that his work in the Andalusian manner is often superb, but as other poets before him - Ferrán, Paradas and Montoto, to name only a few - had also written poetry in the popular idiom, Machado cannot be said to have been a pioneer in that field. His real contribution to Spanish poetry was to have introduced into Spain two new genres from France, the Parnassian sonnet and the city poetry of the mal poema cycle, and these were the genres in which he excelled.

CHAPTER 7

AN ANALYSIS OF MACHADO'S TECHNICAL DEBT TO FRENCH POETRY

Before embarking on an examination of French technique in Machado's verse, it will be useful to indicate the opinions he and other writers expressed on the need for rejuvenating the Spanish language by means of judicious injections of French syntax and gallicisms. Rémy de Gourmont, in his preface to Leopoldo Díaz's Sombras de Hellas (1903), claimed that the new Latin American writers were following French syntax. Carrillo, in his series "Lettres Espagnoles" for the Mercure de France, quotes Manuel Ugarte, the Argentinian author then resident in Paris, as saying "Le mouvement qui a pour objet de moderniser le castillan vient de source française. Tous ne veulent pas l'avouer en Espagne... Abandonnant la solennelle et vague verbosité de l'ancien castillan, tous [les nouveaux écrivains] commencent à céder aux exigences de l'époque, en s'efforçant de donner un peu plus de précision à leurs phrases".¹ An almost identical statement comes from Manuel Machado himself a year later, quoted by Carrillo in the same series of articles. "Les idées et les sentiments modernes ont surpris la vieille langue espagnole ankylosée dans les comportements du dictionnaire et dans les pompeux modèles classiques. Il était nécessaire de penser en français au moins pour penser avec actualité, parce que le castillan dormait et refusait les expressions."²

Darío had stated the case for the use of appropriate gallicisms in Historia de mis libros³, and Machado makes his own opinion on this quite clear in La guerra literaria (1913).

1. Mercure de France XLVIII, no. 167, (November 1903), p.549.
2. Mercure de France L (April 4, 1904), p.276.
3. (Madrid, n.d.), p.171.

"¿Se me dirá?...¡Galicismo! En efecto - aunque los que suelen hablar de galicismo no suelen saber francés- yo cometo muchos... seguiré cometiendo galicismos siempre que me acomode para ser más expresivo y claro, es decir, siempre que me encuentre con que la expresión española está gastada y vieja, y no responde ya al matiz actual de una cosa o de una idea" (p.12).

Throughout his poetry and prose, Machado makes use of syntactical gallicisms, literal translations from the French and Hispanicised French words: Dámaso Alonso has noted some of these uses,⁴ and additional ones, like the superfluous use of the subject pronoun, can be found in poems like "Se dice lentamente" (p.56), and "La voz que dice" (p.57).

A number of critics, especially Unamuno and Clarín, showed a violently chauvinistic reaction to French influence,⁵ and Antonio de Zayas, whose rejection of afrancesamiento has already been noted,⁶ speaks of the francophile poets in these terms. "Saben los modernos versificadores que los poetas franceses aciertan a ser fugaces, efímeros, tomátiles, [sic] alados, por medio de una artificiosa concisión que después del todo se reduce, ya a suprimir en la oración el verbo, y a usar y a abusar del vocativo y a dislocar arbitrariamente la sintaxis."⁷ But Machado, in his speech to the Academy, implies, albeit apologetically, that these were precisely the techniques that he had learned from the French.

"Si yo había aprovechado para mi obra lo mejor del simbolismo y parnasianismo . . . las notaciones rápidas y epigráficas, sin nexos articulados . . . es cosa que no sabría afirmar, ni menos explicar satisfactoriamente. Ni si fué eso precisamente en cuanto a la forma, algo de lo que yo traje a España para enriquecer los capítulos de la nueva Retórica y Poesía" (p.71).

4. "Ligereza", p.81. See also J. López Morillas, "El Azul de Rubén Darío. ¿Galicismo mental o lingüístico?" Revista Hispánica Moderna X (1944), pp.9-14, for a study of such uses in Darío's work.
5. See Ribbans, "Unamuno and the younger writers in 1904", BHS XXXV (1958), pp.83-100: and Clarín's prologue to Carrillo's Almas y cerebros (Paris, 1898).
6. See ch.III p. 73.
7. Ensayos p.387.

Most of these techniques, however, had been utilised by other Modernists, notably by Darío, who had also learned them from the French. It is therefore impossible to prove conclusively that Machado was the first to adapt any one French technique to Spanish verse.⁸ What I propose to do in this chapter is simply to show where and how well he used French techniques, and to indicate French parallels.

It is a commonplace of criticism that Machado's form derives from Verlaine.⁹ A summary of the chief formal characteristics of Verlaine's poetry will show how they coincide with those of Machado's work. According to Cuénot they are a tendency to break the alexandrine by means of forced enjambements and displaced caesuras, and a love of assonance, alliteration, internal rhyme and short metres; one of his favourite forms is the sonnet.¹⁰ I propose therefore to examine Machado's verse in terms of the broken alexandrine, the sonnet and short verses, together with the techniques of enjambement, assonance and alliteration used in each form.

Before discussing Machado's use of the alexandrine, it will be necessary to give a brief summary of the introduction of the broken alexandrine into Spanish poetry. During the Romantic era the alexandrine had come back into favour after centuries of relative neglect. Zorrilla in particular used it a great deal, but wrote almost exclusively iambic hemistichs with regular caesura. However, during the eighteenth century a thirteen syllable alexandrine, written

8. See Brotherston pp.80-00; and Alonso, "Ligereza" pp.52-6 and 58-9.

9. See inter alia Lepiorz, Themen pp.90-91, and "Manuel Machado" Romanische Forschungen 61 (1948), p.389; Alonso, "Ligereza" pp.58-9; P. Henríquez Ureña, Breve historia del modernismo (Mexico, 1954), p.508; G. Diego, "Los poetas de la generación del 98", Arbor 36 (Dec. 1948), p.445; J. Chabás, Vuelo y estilo I (Madrid, 1934), pp.64 and 108; E. Díez Canedo, "Poesía", La Lectura VIII (April, 1908), pp.437-9.

10. Le Style de Paul Verlaine (Paris, 1963), *passim*.

in imitation of the French classic line, had been introduced by Iriarte and Moratín, among others. In this verse the first hemistich terminated either in an acute syllable or in a vowel making synaloepha with the first syllable of the second hemistich. Examples of these two procedures can be seen in the lines "en cierta catedral / una campana había/que solo se tocaba | aquel solemne día."¹¹ But this new alexandrine was not much used until the end of the nineteenth century.

In 1883 Francisco Gavidia of El Salvador, having studied Hugo, began to use more freely accented alexandrines than the strictly iambic ones popularised by Zorrilla. The accentuation of the latter is seen in a line like "¿Qué quieren esas nubes que con furor se agrupan?", and of Gavidia's freer line, "Desperté. Ví la estrella de la mañana. ¡Ardía!" Inspired by Gavidia and by his reading of French poetry, Darío began to essay alexandrines of different rhythms, anapestic as well as iambic, and to use internal pauses and secondary accents. In "Caupolicán" from Azul (1888) he wrote the first alexandrine sonnet in Spanish since the seventeenth century.¹² Finally, in Prosas Profanas (1896) he began to use the thirteen syllable alexandrine with a weakened caesura, and that of three hemistichs, or ternary alexandrine. An example of the former is the line "Mi alma frágil se asoma | a la ventana oscura" from "El Reino Interior", and of the latter "Dichoso el árbol, que es | apenas sensitivo" from "Lo fatal".

Henríquez Ureña points out that Darío probably learned both the alexandrine without caesura and the ternary alexandrine from Verlaine,¹³ who was a great

11. Iriarte, "Fábula" VI: quoted by P. Henríquez Ureña, "Sobre la historia del alejandrino" Estudios de versificación española (Buenos Aires, 1961), p.358. See also Tomás Navarro Tomás, Métrica española. Reseña histórica y descriptiva (New York, 1956), p.309.

12. See Henríquez Ureña, Estudios, p.236.

13. Estudios p.357.

demolisher of the classical alexandrine. It cannot therefore be proved that Machado learned directly from the French to use the broken alexandrine, since Darío had ~~attempted~~ all the possible variations before him.¹⁴ But a study of his use of the alexandrine, particularly in sonnets, will demonstrate Machado's skill in adopting the new forms of the metre. The sonnets of Alma are all Modernist, that is, in alexandrines rather than hendecasyllable verse.

The sonnet was of course one of Machado's favourite forms and the one in which he excelled. He experimented with it, and despite the fact that Darío had ~~attempted~~ some of these variations before him, Machado needed no precedent other than his French masters to vary its form. The other three French poets shown in this study to have influenced Machado were all great sonneteers. Forty-five percent of Baudelaire's work was in sonnet form, and he was the first French poet to change its form radically. Almost all of Hérédia's poems are of course sonnets, and the same is true of Samain. The latter wrote regular sonnets like Hérédia, but with a marked delight in enjambements and in breaking the caesura.

No critic has observed that Machado's often-quoted remark to Eduardo Benot that an alexandrine sonnet was a sonite¹⁵ is in fact a paraphrase of Malherbe's famous line on the irregular sonnet, "Si ce n'est un sonnet, c'est une sonnette."

There are only three sonnets in Alma, "La corte" (p.24), "Oriente" (p.25) and "Wagner" (p.32). In "La corte" (p.20), synaloepha between the first and second hemistichs of the alexandrine occurs three times, in the seventh, ninth and tenth lines. In the latter two lines there is a natural break and it could be argued that the caesura remains, but in line seven, "mas a oscuras el sitio está donde se os llama", the caesura is definitely blurred.

14. See Brotherston, pp.87-90.

15. La guerra, p.34. Diario de Huelva, 20 January 1944, quoted by Dr. Brotherston, p.81.

In "Wagner" (p.32), lines one and four contain an acute ending to the first hemistich, thus making the "alejandrino a la francesa" described earlier. González Blanco calls this technique Verlainian and says of "Wagner" "ésta fue una de las composiciones que más enseñaron en España con respecto a las tendencias métricas de la poesía moderna: en ella la cesura se hace aguda y hasta se duplica."¹⁶ In lines one and nine there are also secondary pauses that break the line: "el silencio y la sombra|se abrazan: han cesado." Lines two, ten and thirteen can be read either as regular alexandrines with a caesura and hiatus between two vowels - "el cantar de la fuente|y el suspirar del viento" - or as thirteen syllable lines with synaloepha and weakened caesura - "el momento precioso|en que el héroe del cuento."

Dámaso Alonso says of this sort of alexandrine "que . . . viene transplantado del francés, es indudable . . . va a establecer con mucha frecuencia extraños puentes, vínculos entre los dos hemistiquios. En estos casos, el sentido pide unidad de todo el verso. Extraña criatura este metro. . . es como un querer y un no querer, romper y no romper, ligar y no ligar."¹⁷ The line "mientras forjan un escudo|mágico a la alta empresa" from "Wagner" demonstrates what Alonso means by the sense of the verse linking the two hemistichs. It is interesting that these techniques were first used by Machado after his time in Paris. The sonnets he wrote before going there, although they post-date the innovations of Darío's Prosas profanas, were, as Dr. Brotherston points out (pp.14 and 82), perfectly regular.

The sonnets of Caprichos contain even freer alexandrines. "Madrid viejo" (p.104) was one of the two first examples in Spanish of a sonnet with mixed alexandrine and hendecasyllable lines.¹⁸ The mixing of lines of different

16. In Los contemporáneos II, p.111.

17. "Ligereza", p.60. Alonso argues convincingly for the retention of the caesura when reciting these modernist alexandrines, to give richer expressiveness to the line, which was undoubtedly the poets' intention.

18. See Dr. Brotherston, p.82.

lengths in the sonnet began in French poetry with Baudelaire's "Le chat" (p.39) and "La musique" (p.74), although he used the lines in a regular pattern.¹⁹ The technique of "Madrid viejo" has been noted by Dr. Brotherston (p.83). Machado uses enjambements like "Una/fachada" and "Suená/una campana" to throw into relief the nouns and also to lengthen the lines, in a very Verlainian way. An example of the first effect in the French poet's work is "à la/feuille morte" from "Chanson d'automne" (p.72), and of the second

"Le soir. Silence et calme. À peine
Un vague moribond. . . "²⁰ ("Les Loups", p.359)

The lack of verbs in the first three lines of Machado's sonnet make the poem resemble stage directions, as the sub-title 'acotación' suggests. Verlaine uses a similar technique in "Effet de nuit" (p.67).

"La nuit. La pluie. Un ciel blafard que déchiquette
De flèches et de tours-à-jour la silhouette
D'une ville gothique éteinte au lointain gris.
La plaine."

The enjambements in this poem are also like those in the second quatrain of "Madrid viejo."

González Blanco remarks that "Un hidalgo" (p.105) is metrically Verlainian. By this he undoubtedly means the weakened caesuras and thirteen syllable lines. The former, as in "cuarenta|anos" and "magnífico|ejemplar", were characteristic of Verlaine. Line eleven also has possible synaloepha between the vowels at the caesura, while lines four and twelve end the first hemistich on an acute syllable and can therefore be called "alejandrinos a la francesa." Line five breaks a word, "descansar", with the caesura, and almost none of the lines are regular alexandrines.

19. See Cuénot, p.466.

20. Examples from Cuénot pp.314 and 319.

Another Verlainian technique in "Un hidalgo" is that of lengthening the lines by continual enjambement.²¹ The effect of this is to express the old soldier's slow and stately walk and his leisurely conversation. The abrupt return to reality in the last line, a particularly Heredian tour-de-force, is accentuated by the position of the emotive word "ducados" just after a weak caesura, which emphasises it.

"Jardín neoclásico" (p.106) uses weak caesuras, although there is no synaloepha, and contains one thirteen syllable line, number five: again there is continual enjambement, especially in the first tercet. "La voz que dice" (p.57) contains four "cesuras agudas" and a number weakened by a syntactical link, as in line four.

"Kyrie eleison" (p.57) is a triumph of liberated versification in the French manner, even if the metrical form of its first line derives as Dr. Brotherston states (p.89), from Darío's "¡Oh Sor María!" in "Retratos" rather than from Verlaine's "De la douceur! de la douceur! de la douceur!" from "Langueur".²² Here too Machado uses weak caesuras or forced accents to throw into relief important words: "espinas" in line three and "olvido" in line seven are stressed by this means. Cuénot observes similar uses of broken caesura in Verlaine (pp.342-4). Enjambement is also used for the same purpose by both poets. The type in "Kyrie eleison" is that which Cuénot calls "oratoire", where the poem rolls on sonorously without a break. He cites "Prière du matin" (p.405) as a prime example of this style in Verlaine.²³ It has already been shown that the water imagery of that poem influenced "Kyrie eleison"²⁴ and it

21. See Cuénot, pp.341-7.

22. But as Alonso points out (p.64), Machado's line, like Verlaine's, forces a secondary accent, whereas Darío's does not. Of course, Darío had anticipated Machado in forcing accents with the caesura.

23. See pp.320-321.

24. See ch.III. p. 91.

seems clear that its form did also. Most significantly, in his copy of Verlaine's poetry Machado underlined in "Prière du matin" precisely those sorts of enjambement that he uses in "Kyrie eleison": "a vous connaitre/
Tous ceux que vous voudrez de tant de pauvres fous" and "les coins/D'ombre et d'or". In "Kyrie eleison" the same technique is used to emphasise the important words llorar, satisface, esperanza and amor. Similar eloquent enjambements are also to be found in Verlaine's Sagesse sonnets, which "Kyrie eleison" also resembles in form and subject matter.

Alma.Museo.Los cantares contains four new sonnets, of which "La buena canción" (p.59) is Machado's first traditionally hendecasyllabic sonnet since 1899. But these hendecasyllables are Modernist, polyrhythmic ones, and the constant enjambement is once again Verlainian. The second part of "Sé buena" (p.64) uses mixed hendecasyllable and alexandrine lines.

"Domingo" (p.65) has been studied by both Dr. Brotherston and Lepiorz for its broken lines and weakened caesuras. I would like to draw attention to the fact that its enjambements correspond to those Cuénot has called "prosaïque ou de démolition" in Verlaine's poetry (pp.325-6). Those in Machado's first tercet resemble the broken phrases of the unhappy soul in Sagesse II, 4(p.269). The swing back to a balanced, classical line in the final tercet of "Domingo" is equivalent to the calm, certain tones of Christ in Sagesse II, 7 (p.271):

"Et tu boiras le vin de la vigne immuable
Dont la force, dont la douceur, dont la bonté
Feront germer ton sang à l'immortalité."

The Parnassian sonnets of Apolo are all hendecasyllabic, with consonant rhyme instead of Machado's more usual assonance. Their rhyme scheme is as free as he permits himself elsewhere: the two quatrains rhyme independently, the tercets inter se. The sonnets are, like Hérédia's, regular. However, unlike Hérédia but like Samain and Verlaine, Machado continues to use enjambement to give a long arabesque, as in "L'indifférent", (p.118), a technique used by

Samain, or to throw a word into relief, as in "duros/ ojos de lobo audaz" from "Carlos V" (p.109). "La Primavera" (p.108) contains no finite verbs at all, a technique Machado may well have learned from Verlaine.²⁵ "Siglo XVIII" (p.117) uses the same technique of Impressionist sketching, without verbs in the quatrains, as "Effet de nuit" (p.67), and number XVI of La bonne chanson (p.152). The strong internal rhymes and repetition of "Pierrot" (p.119) are also a Verlainian technique, although one Darío made very much his own too. The obtrusive quality of the echoes in this sonnet are closer to Darío than Verlaine.

The sonnets of Canciones y dedicatorias return to the alexandrine form. "Oraciones a ella" (p.66), Verlainian in title, is also Verlainian in versification. The tercets are linked by enjambement, a characteristic also of those sonnets by Verlaine which, as does this poem, lead up to a crescendo (what Cuénot calls an "amplitude croissante"). An example of this type is Sagesse II, vii. Such a sonnet is called a major, as opposed to a minor, where the ending is a dégonflage.²⁶ "Oraciones a ella" is composed of mixed hendecasyllable and alexandrine lines, and although the caesuras of lines two, five, seven and ten are weak, they are not broken.

"La canción del invierno" (p.201), already discussed above²⁷ as full of themes from Verlaine, uses the enjambement arabesque described by Cuénot (pp.323-4) to show an interminable and wearying round, of people following in endless procession. "Oscuro túnel, húmedo encierro,/ por donde marcha, a tientas, nuestro pobre convoy./ Y nos tiene amarrados a la vida de hoy,/ como un amo que tira de su cadena al perro" is like the "troupeau de dupes" following Columbine (p.119), and the prisoners going round the courtyard in "Autre"

25. See Cuénot, p.205.

26. Cuénot, p.480.

27. See p. 142.

(p.499). But the closest equivalent in Verlaine is the round of phantoms in "Nuit de Walpurgis classique", "Ils vont toujours, les fébriles fantômes,/ Menant leur ronde vaste et morne et tressautant/ comme dans un rayon de soleil les atomes", which uses enjambement in the same way to give an effect of sad and monotonous procession. The tercets interrupt abruptly, like the drawn curtain, this winter monotony. Traditional lines and lack of enjambement establish the peace and order of the last tercet.

Of the other sonnets in Canciones y dedicatorias, "La Primavera" I (p.48) and "Las concepciones de Murillo" (p.105) are hendecasyllabic, while "La Primavera" II (p.49) mixes hendecasyllables and alexandrines. All of Machado's sonnets use enjambement and weakened or obliterated caesuras in alexandrines, as has been demonstrated.

In his cultivation of the sonnet, Machado also used the rhyme freedom of Baudelaire and Verlaine. The former had been the first French poet to rhyme the quatrains independently, and the tercets also, and to vary the position of rhymes, as well as mixing lines of different metric lengths in the same sonnet.²⁸ Verlaine had followed Baudelaire in these innovations, and frequently used enjambement between the tercets. Darío had used independently rhymed tercets and quatrains once, in "Caupolicán" from Azul, but none of his other sonnets show such liberty of rhyme,²⁹ while most of Machado's sonnets from Alma onwards are very freely rhymed. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that Machado learned this technical liberty from Baudelaire and Verlaine.

28. See Cuénot pp.465-6.

29. With regard to Antonio Machado's statement that Darío wrote no sonnet worth mentioning (Obras, p.1220), I would except "Yo persigo una forma" of Prosas profanas, and "La dulzura del ángelus", "Un soneto a Cervantes" and "Soneto autumnal al Marqués de Bradomín" of Cantos de vida y esperanza from this generalisation. But I agree with Machado that his brother was a better sonneteer than Darío.

"Felipe IV" (p.23), that Parnassian poem in terza rima which Moreno Villa said was nearly a sonnet,³⁰ should now be discussed. Dámaso Alonso has pointed out how Machado avoided the difficulty of having no last line to his tercets by including an internal rhyme in the penultimate.³¹ Terza rima is not a common form in Spanish, but was much used in France in the nineteenth century, particularly by Leconte de Lisle and Gautier (it is interesting that the latter used it in one of his poems inspired by a Spanish painter, "A Zurbarán", which contains the lines "Deux teintes seulement, clair livide, ombre noir/ ...A l'artiste ont suffi pour peindre votre histoire"). Verlaine used it fifteen times,³² notably in "La mort de Philippe II". This descriptive, historical Parnassian poem on a Spanish topic may have suggested the use of terza rima to Machado, especially as it follows "César Borgia" in Poèmes Saturniens, which has been shown to have influenced "Felipe IV".³³

"Felipe IV" has been analysed by Alonso and Dr. Brotherston (pp.117-19) among others. But I would like to draw attention to a technique in it which was much used by Verlaine, that of detachment. It consists of an insertion between a noun and its complement, which serves to throw into relief a word or phrase.³⁴ In "Felipe IV" it has the effect of preciousness or irony. The interpolation of a phrase of stylised, meaningless courtesy between the subject of the sentence, the king, and the adjectival clause describing him,

30. "La Manolería...", p.121.

31. "Ligereza...", pp.66-7.

32. Cuénot, p.485 no.19.

33. See above p. 53.

34. Cuénot, pp.206-9.

"Nadie mas cortesano ni pulido
 que nuestro rey Felipe, que Dios guarde,
 siempre de negro hasta los pies vestido",

produces the same effect of off-handed, and therefore ironic, politeness, as it were an afterthought, as does Verlaine's "Eloigné de vos yeux, Madame, par des soins/Impérieux" from "Lettre" (p.117), and also serves to throw into greater relief the descriptive phrase following the interpolation. A similar irony is achieved by the insertion of "con desmayo galán" before "un guante de ante", making the glove appear even more bathetic in apposition to "cetro real".

Many of Machado's most Verlainian poems are couched in short lines, that is, in metres of eight syllables and less. In his speech to the Academy he refers to the virtuosity, in the book Caprichos, of "ciertas arietas muy difíciles de lograr en castellano" (p.76). That these were derived from Verlaine is suggested also by Darío, who greatly admired them.³⁵ There does exist in Spanish a type of poem called arieta. It is a poem of short, light lines meant for singing, and can consist of one or two stanzas, each composed of not less than two and not more than seven lines. Each line may consist of between three and ten syllables, and the last lines of the stanzas must rhyme acutely.³⁶ Such a description is too rigid to apply to any of Machado's poems in Caprichos. An examination of Verlaine's 'Ariettes oubliées', however, shows a great variation in metres, from thirteen syllables to five, and in strophes, which vary between distichs, quatrains and sextets. What they have in common is their musicality. LeDantec's account of them could apply equally to Machado's arietas. He calls them musical games, pure poetry, without architecture or logic, songs without words.³⁷ Feminine rhymes, alliteration, echoes and internal

35. In "Nuevos poetas de España", Opiniones (1906), p.415.

36. D.C. Clarke, Versification, p.322.

37. LeDantec, Preface to Verlaine. Oeuvres poétiques complètes, pp.178-180.

rhymes characterise them and they lack verbs and grammatical sequence. Many of them have already been shown to have influenced Machado in terms of content, especially numbers I, III, and VIII.

Such a description could be applied to "Pierrot y Arlequín", (p.37), "Flores", "Flores", (p.37), "El viento", (p.39), "Neurastenia", "Prosa" (p.91), and "Se dice lentamente" (p.56), in Caprichos, and also to "Otoño" (p.17), "Encajes" (p.21), and "Copo de nieve" (p.36) in Alma.

"Otoño" (p.17), patently inspired by "Chanson d'automne" (p.72), is made up of a repeated trochaic foot, that is, a rhythmic group of four, in lines of two, four, seven and eight syllables. Its rhyme scheme is looser than anything in Verlaine, as is the strophic form, five, eight, and then four lines. But the mood, vocabulary, and echoes are Verlainian. Apart from the obvious repetitions of words in the first and last stanzas, like those in "Soleils Couchants" (p.69), there are subtler vocalic rhymes such as the echoes between "parque viejo", "hoja seca", and the 'o' sounds of "solo", "indolente" and "roza".

"Encajes" (p.21) is based on the same rhythmic unit. Its weak verbs, such as "son" in "y son copas", and its Impressionist telegraphic style are like the verbs in 'Ariette' I (p.191), "C'est l'extase". Cuénot's description of the heptasyllable fits Machado's poetry perfectly, if one considers the tetrasyllables as the equivalent of the pies quebrados of the octosyllable. "Mètre rapide, l'heptasyllabe rend heureusement la légèreté, la pureté, la candeur, l'allégresse, l'ironie, les sentiments qui manquent de profondeur... Vers chantant, c'est le vers du lyrisme pur, sans rhétorique ni tâche de prose" (p.398), and he quotes as an example "Mandoline" (p.115), which has the same long, sinuous line as "Encajes".

"Copo de nieve" (p.36), with its abrupt rhythm of six and three syllables, is very like "Colombine" (p.118). The French five syllable verse gives the

same impression as the Spanish hexasyllable, and the uncertain disyllabic endings are very alike. Both poems create the effect of jerky, puppet-like movements, a technique Machado perfected in "Pantomima" (p.39).

"Pierrot y Arlequín" (p.37) has been recognised by all the critics as so patently Verlainian that there is no need to treat of it at any length here. It is an accomplished copy of "Colombine" (p.118) for which "Copo de nieve" had doubtless been a sketch. "El viento" (p.39) uses the telegraphic style again, like "Encajes". Although the setting is different, the metre and style of "Charleroi" (p.197) are very similar to it:

"Parfums sinistres!

Qu'est-ce que c'est?...

Le vent profond

Pleure, on veut croire."

"Neurastenia" (p.197) has the same metre and rhyme scheme as Verlaine's "La lune blanche" (p.145). It is not a very good poem but clearly served as a rehearsal for "Es la mañana" with its repetitions and internal rhyme. "Prosa" (p.91) is another poem in heptasyllabic sextets. The metre, although not the strophic form, is like that of 'Ariette' III (p.192), which has also the same repetition of two rhymes. This has the effect of giving a monotonous, obsessive sound to the poem. Machado's rhymes, poesía, armonía, cansada, letanía, desterrada, alegría, correspond to the repetitiveness of Verlaine's coeur, ville, langueur, and coeur.

"Se dice lentamente" (p.56) has the same hypnotic quality as 'Ariette' I (p.191), "C'est l'extase langoureuse". The vocabulary is markedly Verlainian- vaguísima, pena, oración, monótono- as is the use of internal rhyme, "Encanto . . . llanto", corresponding to "le roulis sourd des cailloux" in 'Ariette' I, and " . . . mienne . . . tierme". The marked use of alliteration in "Se dice lentamente" - llena and llanto; brotá, labios, saben and sabios; saben, sabios, su and son; monótono and lentamente - is to be found in

'Ariette' I, "frêle et frais", and also in Sagesse I, 16 (p.256) - pleure and plaire; voix, voilée and veuve; peine and passage. It has been remarked in chapter III (p.90) that the latter poem was probably the original inspiration for "Se dice lentamente", so the use of alliteration may have the same source.

"La lluvia" (p.58), "Madrigales" (p.43) and "Es la mañana" (p.62) from Alma.Museo. los cantares could also be called arietas. "La lluvia" uses the technique of monotonous rhyme to express sadness. The rimes plates of the first three stanzas of Verlaine's "Colloque sentimentale" (p.121) have a similar effect. But the rhyme scheme of "La lluvia" is even more like that of 'Ariette' III (p.192), the poem Machado quotes as his inspiration, although Machado's stanzas contain one line less than Verlaine's. A not dissimilar poem, although its three line strophes are monorhyme and it has a refrain, is number I of 'Streets' (p.206), which has much the same metre, rhythm and theme.

"Es la mañana" (p.62) is one of the most successful of Machado's arietas. The complexity of its internal rhyme is remarkable, resulting in a gay musicality such that the meaning is subservient to the sound. The rhyme scheme is that of La Bonne Chanson VI (p.145), although the effect is very different because Machado uses clear, hard consonants, n's, p's, d's and c's, and short words to give a crisp, clean effect, whereas Verlaine uses soft sounds, l's, b's, s's m's and r's.

Other poems of short lines by Machado which do not qualify as arietas nevertheless use the same techniques as Romances sans paroles. "Lirio" (p.28) and "El jardín negro" (p.29) from Alma, both hexasyllabic, use much internal rhyme and alliteration to compensate for the looseness of romance assonant rhyme on the even verses. In "Lirio" particularly, the echoed words and the soft ceta, erre, s and m sounds give the poem its dream-like quality. Verlaine uses a similar procedure in number IX of 'Ariettes oubliées' (p.196), and Gerineldos fades away "como una humareda" as do the reflections of the trees in the misty river in Verlaine's poem.

"Vísperas" (p.53) is yet another poem which exploits the possibilities of internal rhyme-paz, plazoleta, callada, ensimismada-and of alliteration, like "suspenso, un son de salmo". These techniques, together with that of enjambement, are to be found throughout Machado's poetry and are particularly successful in poems like "Vísperas" (p.53), "La voz que dice" (p.57), "Madrid viejo" (p.104), and "Abel" (p.54) where they achieve a Verlainian gentleness and melancholy.

Most of Machado's poems use romance assonance on even lines, and so an examination of his use of rhyme would not be very fruitful. But some cases may be mentioned. "Fantasía de Puck" (p.30), although it could be called a sestina italiana, has the same rhyme scheme as Verlaine's "Colombine" (p.118), a poem which also describes a train of people in a rather sinister way. In both poems the long enjambements and the strong consonant rhymes give the effect of broken rhythm, of an irregular march. And although its lines are longer, the Spanish heptasyllables with the third and sixth lines rhyming on an acute syllable are not unlike the couplets of French pentasyllables divided by rhyming dissyllables of masculine rhyme. These same techniques of rhyme and enjambement are also used in "Versailles" (p.33), which however derives metrically from Darío's "Marcha triunfal". Machado's reference in the second stanza acknowledges the debt.

The verse of El mal poema employs consonant rhyme to give a harsh effect, as opposed to the nuance of assonance. Verlaine uses the technique of purely masculine rhymes to achieve the same effect in "Croquis parisien", (p.65), "Autre" (p.499), and "Reversibilités", (p.500), which are all poems of bitter irony like El mal poema. It is noticeable that a poem such as "A Alejandro Sawa" (p.205), has a strong proportion of agudo rhymes (ten agudo to six llano), the equivalent of the French masculine rhyme. Indeed the rhythm between the seven and four syllable lines in "Reversibilités" is not unlike that between eight and four in Sawa's epitaph:

"Que de sanglots répétés,
 Fous ou dolents!
 Ah, dans ces piteux retraits
 Les Toujours sont les Jamais!

Tu meurs doucereusement,
 Obscurément,
 Sans qu'on veille, ô coeur aimant,
 Sans testament!"

Returning to a consideration of Machado's use of the alexandrine, it should be noted that although most of his alexandrines are to be found in the sonnets, three of his self-portrait poems, "Adelfos" (p.13), "Prólogo-epílogo" and "~~Retrato~~" use this metre too. In the first of these he is using the alexandrine in the classic manner, as "le mètre royal", for a lofty and sonorous tone, and so, like Verlaine in the "Prologue" to Poèmes Saturniens (p.58), or in the sonnets of Sagesse spoken by Christ, he uses regular alexandrines. One of the two irregular lines is "Un vago afán de arte|tuve... Ya lo he perdido," where the effect of the caesura before the verb is to imply a hesitation in the statement, a regret. The rimes embrassées are consonantal but not obtrusive.

In the second two poems the rhymes are couplets, the least lyrical, most prosaic of rhymes. In French poetry it is associated with the alexandrine for epic, narrative and didactic verse: in Verlaine's poetry it is reserved for the alexandrine. Darío had used alexandrine couplets in "Cosas del Cid" and "Coloquio de los centauros", but it is not a common use in Spanish verse. Machado uses it here as Verlaine had used it in "César Borgia" and the 'Contes diaboliques', that is, as an objectively descriptive, Parnassian mode. Such an approach serves to distance and make ironic the angry, subjective content and also stresses the prosaic tone.

In "Retrato" (p.75) Machado again uses the Verlainian Impressionist technique to break the rhythm of the alexandrine. The change from the rather pompous, regular rhythm of "Unos ojos de hastío y una boca de sed" to the broken line "Lo demás...Nada...Vida...Cosas...Lo que se sabe" is an ironic piece of anticlimax. In both poems Machado uses the long series of enjambements that are to be found throughout his work and in all Verlaine's alexandrines:

"En nuestra buena tierra, la pobre Musa llora

Por los rincones, como una antigua querida

Abandonada, y ojerosa y mal cenida,

Rodeada de cosas/feas y de tristeza

Que hacen huir la rima y el ritmo y la belleza."

The enjambements throw into relief "por los rincones" and "abandonada", while the weak caesuras stress "antigua" and "feas". This is a good example of how well Machado had learned from Verlaine the techniques of "l'enjambement prosaïque ou de démolition" and of the broken caesura to express emotion.

It is clear then that if Machado was neither the first nor the only follower of Verlaine in Spanish, he was one of the most accomplished: "Otoño", "Pierrot y Arlequín", "El viento", "Se dice lentamente" and "Es la mañana" are proof of that, in terms of Verlainian metres and rhythms, while the perfection of many of his sonnets, unparalleled in modern Spanish poetry, is comparable to that of Baudelaire and Verlaine. "Otoño" and "Pierrot y Arlequín" have frequently been compared with their Verlainian models, but an equally good example of Machado's skill in reproducing the French poet's style can be seen in a juxtaposition of lines from "El viento" and "Charleroi".

"El viento"

"Charleroi"

"Es el viento

"Quoi donc se sent?

Quien lo trae...

L'avoine siffle.

Goce sumo,
 Pasa, cae...
 Como humo
 Se desvae...
 Pensamiento
 ¡... y es el viento!"

Un buisson gifle
 L'oeil en passant.

 Parfums sinistres!
 Qu'est-ce que c'est?
 Quoi bruissait
 Comme des sistres?

 Le vent profond
 Pleure, on veut croire."

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

I propose to conclude this analysis of the influence of Verlaine and other French poets on Manuel Machado with a review of Machado's references to Verlaine in his prose work, before discussing the extent of his debt to French influences and their contribution to the enduring worth of his poetry.

The collection of stories and essays El amor y la muerte (1913) contains pieces that were first published as early as 1903. The title story "Nuestro París... El amor y la muerte" appeared then, in Helios 10. The title is a commonplace of the epoch that appears in poems by Hérédia, Baudelaire and Samain, and in the prose work of Jean Lorrain and Gómez Carrillo.¹ The second story, "Alma parisién", is based on a quotation from Verlaine's "Mon rêve familier", and in the text Machado refers to him simply as "el maestro" (p.32). "Solos" is a duologue between Pierrot and Colombine of the kind described by Gómez Carrillo in Bohemia sentimental (pp.102-6.) "El alma del ajénjo" is a Baudelairian prose poem on the significance of absinthe to the artistic life in Paris, which ends "Tu reino es París, la capital de nuestro siglo...Tú oficias en la misa-orgía de todos sus amores...en la borrachera sagrada de los poetas... ¡Verlaine!". There is no other direct reference to Verlaine nor to any other French poet, but the themes of the stories, such as ironic lovers talking of suicide, and the topics of gardens, statues, pastel tones, the monotony of rain, have clear antecedents in the French writers who influenced Machado's poetry. The stories are of the genre called le conte parisien, practised by Catulle Mendès and Jean Lorrain, and imitated by Darío and Carrillo before Machado. They are mediocre, but interesting in that they show Machado's enthusiasm for things French between the years 1903 and 1913.

1. See "Le Cydnus", p.32; "Les Deux Bonnes Soeurs", p.132; "Bacchante" from Le chariot d'or, p.119; "L'Heroïne" from Poussières de Paris, pp.31-2; and Sensaciones de París, p.286.

That this interest did not abate in later years is borne out by a number of his newspaper articles published between 1921 and 1944. In a number of these, written for La Libertad in 1921, he confirms his admiration for Verlaine. The most interesting is a generous review of a new verse translation of Verlaine's poetry by Emilio Carrère, published in Madrid by Editorial Mundo Latino. It contains an account of Verlaine which is a summary of all his other statements on the poet:

"Verlaine es todavía el último gran poeta que ha producido el mundo. En la admirable floración lírica de Francia en el último tercio del siglo pasado, Verlaine culmina y se nos aparece - los días agrandan su figura - como el más complejo y fuerte de aquella época fecunda, en que parnasianos y simbolistas se disputaban el cetro de la poesía . . . ¿Fue Verlaine parnasiano o simbolista? Fue en todo caso Verlaine. Amó la forma, la cultivó y la complicó hasta las más sutiles maravillas. Pero su alma, llena de ensueño y de intuiciones, no cabía en ninguna escuela ni confesión artística. Es más que parnasiano y más que simbolista. Y es, sobre todo, paradójicamente místico y decadente. ¿Decadente? Sí. Con frecuencia la sensualidad predomina sobre su espíritu, sobre su voluntad. Y nadie como él, al par, espiritualiza lo sensual . . . Y sobre todo, nadie como Verlaine ha cantado el misterio cotidiano, la maravilla frecuente de nuestros deseos y nuestros ensueños, ni tenido la sabiduría sutil de la vida - placer, dolor, amor -; ni nadie ha dicho mejor que él, con sus versos, lo que todos sabemos...y nadie sabe. Por eso es el más humano y el más divino de los poetas. Y sobre todo, el poeta de hoy, el de 'todavía', el de siempre, tal vez."

In another, undated article in the Biblioteca Machado, Manuel speaks of himself as one of "los que somos francófilos sin reserva y adoramos a Francia como algo por encima de todo localismo, como patria espiritual." And as late as 1944, in an interview with Ledesma Miranda, he says "Prefiero la poesía que va al sentimiento, con o sin imágenes. La que entra por el oído. "De la musique avant toute chose", que decía el gran Verlaine. Desde Verlaine a nosotros se han dado pocos pasos, y estos fuera del camino verdadero."²

Until the end of his life, therefore, Machado continued to express his passionate devotion to Verlaine. He demonstrated it in the titles of his poems,

2. "El ángel de Manuel Machado", Arriba, 18 June.

in quotations, direct references and unabashed imitation. That he took a great deal from Verlaine in terms of form has been observed by many critics, and has been corroborated in chapter VII. But the extent of Verlaine's influence on Machado's themes and images has also been demonstrated in this study. Other critics have noticed the Verlainian antecedents of "Otoño", "Pierrot y Arlequín", "Felipe IV", "Kyrie eleison", and the poems of 'La buena canción', and the references to Verlaine in "La lluvia", "La mujer de Verlaine" and "Cordura". But many more parallels have been noted here.

It has been possible in this study to show more conclusive evidence of Verlainian influence in Machado's work than has been available to previous critics. The usefulness of mechanical aids in this respect has already been indicated in the introduction (p. 7). It will be useful to recapitulate briefly here some examples of clear cases of influence that were established by comparing Machado's translations of Verlaine with his own poetry by means of the computer concordances.

In Alma, the similarity between "Melancolía" and "Promenades sentimentale" was established by checking parallel uses of the words vagar and sauce, and the same process with the words viejo, muerto, esperanza and recuerdos revealed the connection between "El jardín gris" and "Colloque sentimentale". The provenance of parts of "Abel" in Caprichos from 'Ariettes oubliées' was proved by the use of the words hierba, llorar and the Spanish synonyms for foliage. "Se dice lentamente" provides one of the most striking parallels with Verlaine in all Machado's work, in its closeness to Sagesse I, 16, which was shown by a comparison of the words pena and the synonyms for tears and weeping. The Verlainian provenance of "¡Paz!" and "Sé buena", in Alma. Museo. Los cantares, was able to be clearly established by means of the concordances. El mal poema provides fewer obvious parallels with Verlaine than do other books, but even so the striking example of the closeness of the third stanza of "Prólogo-epílogo"

to number III of 'Lucien Létinois' was discovered through the concordances, as was the similarity between images in "En la muerte de Julio Ruelas" and "Prière du matin".

The influence on Machado's work of other French poets of the second half of the nineteenth century has also been clearly demonstrated here. That of Samain had been indicated by Jiménez and corroborated, with one example, by Dr. Brotherston (pp.98-9), who has also noted some striking parallels with Leconte de Lisle and Hérédia (pp.95-6). But no previous critic, as far as I have been able to ascertain, has shown the extent of these influences and those of Baudelaire, Milosz and Dubus throughout Machado's best poetry.

The poet who most influenced Machado, aside from Verlaine, was as Jiménez noted, Samain. "Los días sin sol", "La alcoba", "Fin de siglo", "Alcohol", "L'Indifférent" and "La primavera" show direct influence, and in many other poems, like "Adelfos", "Gerineldos el paje" "La infanta Margarita", "La voz que dice" and "Un príncipe de la Casa de Orange", there are definite traces of his style and language together with those of other poets. Samain faithfully imitated Baudelaire as well as Verlaine, although the latter's influence is more noticeable in his work, and so it is sometimes difficult to be sure whether Machado learned from him or from his predecessors.

It is interesting to note that Jiménez was capable of confusing Samain's work with that of Verlaine. He attributes to the latter the line "el desprecio a la muerte como una flor en los labios", which is in fact the last line of Samain's 'Versailles' III in Le Chariot d'Or.³ Jiménez's statement in the same essay, written about 1905, that Machado had been influenced by Samain's diction and construction could refer to "Versailles" from Alma or to poems in the newly-published Caprichos. "La alcoba", "Alcohol" and "La voz que dice" from that collection have already been shown to contain obvious parallels with 'Heures d'été' III, "Luxure" and "La Mort".

3. In "Alma y capricho de Manuel Machado", La corriente, p.41.

An idea of how much Machado's style on occasion resembles that of Samain can be obtained from a comparison of their respective poems on Watteau's "L'Indifférent". The sonnets are different in some respects, but Samain's exemplifies his typical style, a dreamy Symbolist melancholy derived from Verlaine, which so influenced Machado.

Samain

"Dans le parc vapoureux où l'heure s'enamoure,
Les robes de satin et les sveltes manteaux
Se mêlent, reflétés au ciel calme des eaux;
Et c'est la fin d'un soir infini qu'on savoure.

Les éventails sont clos; dans l'air silencieux
Un andante suave agonise en sourdine,
Et, comme l'eau qui tombe dans la vasque voisine,
L'amour tombe dans l'âme et déborde des yeux.

Les grands cils allongés palpitent leurs tendresses;
Fluides sous les mains s'arpègent les caresses;
Et la-bàs, s'effilant, solitaire et moqueur,

~~Et~~ **L'Indifférent**, oh! las d'Agnès ou de Lucile,
Sur la scène, d'un geste adorable et gracile,
Du bout de ses doigts fins sème un peu de son coeur."

Machado

Galán desmemoriado y elegante,
Surge en un grácil paso de gavota,
Mientras la fuente frívola borbota
El soso y frío madrigal constante.

A la señora de Tourvel- su Filis -
 Envioó, en un billete perfumado,
 Un acróstico - ¡oh celos! - dedicado
 A las letras del nombre de Amarilis.

Y ella, furiosa con la Mariscala,
 Rompió, indignada, dos preciosos Sèvres
 Y una preciosa túnica de encaje...

Él dijo bien una disculpa mala...
 Salió; y, huyendo las celosas fiebres,
 Corre las gratas frondas del paisaje."

The influence of Baudelaire on Machado is clearly demonstrable in poems such as "Domingo", "Última", "La canción del alba" and "Prólogo-epílogo". In the last, Machado's "la pobre Musa llora/ . . . como una antigua querida/ abandonada" is plainly from Baudelaire's "La Muse malade" - "Ma pauvre muse, hélas! qu'as-tu donc. . . ?" - and "La Muse vénale", "trempé /e/ de pleurs." Like those of Samain, traces of his tone and images can be glimpsed in many of Machado's poems.⁴ "Antífona", "Una estrella", "La diosa", "Marina", "¡Paz!", "La lluvia", "Despedida a la luna" and "Internacional" are some examples.

The influence of Leconte de Lisle on "Oasis" and "Castilla" has been remarked by Dr. Brotherston, as has that of his disciple Hérédia on "Oriente". This study has added "Oliveretto de Fermo" and "A Santiago Iglesias, poeta" to the list of poems which take themes from Hérédia, and has shown how the Parnassian sonnet form, of which he was the master, was translated into Spanish by Machado.

4. César González-Ruano, in Baudelaire (Madrid 1958), pp.225-6, notes in Machado "influencias de un Baudelaire pasado por Verlaine." Damaso Alonso mentions the possibility of such influence but does not elaborate on it ("Ligereza", pp.83-4). Dr. Helena Valentí, "The poetic language," remarks the influence of Baudelaire in "Los días sin sol" (see ch.II p. 37).

The parallels noted here with Dubus, Milosz, Moreás, de Vigny, Musset and Gautier could doubtless be added to. Machado was clearly a voracious reader and steeped in French literature. It is probably significant that the French poets who most influenced him, aside from Verlaine, were either precursors or followers of the Verlainian style. Baudelaire was of course Verlaine's master, who bequeathed to him the themes of the city, erotic melancholy and indolent sensuality. Samain, Dubus and Milosz were notable figures in the generation of Symbolists, referred to in chapter I (p. 20), who faithfully copied Verlaine, and the poetry of all three was very fashionable during Machado's first two periods in Paris between 1899 and 1903. (I have been able to find relatively little direct influence of Laforgue, Corbière, and Mallarmé in Machado's poetry, and none from Rimbaud. This may be because the work of these four poets is infinitely more complex and difficult to grasp than that of Verlaine and his imitators, although linguistically this should have presented no problem to Machado, whose French was excellent. In the case of Laforgue and Corbière, I think it would be true to say that Machado probably absorbed from them the slang language and ironic attitude of his city poetry, without trying, or indeed being able, to translate their essentially French puns and flights of fancy.)

Any list of Machado's best poetry, then, excepting his work in the Andalusian vein, which stands outside the scope of this study, would include a great number of the poems that have been proved here to contain at least some, and often preponderant, French influence. My own choice of his best work would be "Adelfos", "Otoño", "Felipe IV", "Lirio", "Es la mañana", "Vísperas", "Abel", "Se dice lentamente", "Domingo", "La hija del ventero", "Madrid viejo", "Yo, poeta decadente", "Internacional", "Invierno", "La canción del alba" and "A Alejandro Sawa". Almost all of these poems show overwhelming French influence, whether in technique or in theme, and most of that influence is

from Verlaine. The conclusion is inescapable that Machado owed the genesis of a large part of his best work to his knowledge, and love of, the poetry of Verlaine.

That Machado himself was probably aware of this has been demonstrated by quotations from his own prose writings on Verlaine, as well as by his use of Verlainian titles and references in his poetry. It is a moot point whether all of his borrowings from the French were conscious or unconscious. Lepiorz thinks that Machado deliberately used French themes for the sake of a technical renovation of Spanish verse, and that his assumption of Verlaine's dualism between sensuality and mysticism was only a pose.⁵

I believe that Machado's use of Verlainian technique, as in "Pierrot y Arlequín" or "Es la mañana", was certainly deliberate, as was that of the fête galante and pantomime topoi and the themes of the 'buena canción' poems. But the Verlainian note in many poems may well have been almost unconscious on Machado's part, and simply a result of his being so deeply imbued with the themes and images of the French poet. Indeed I think that one can glimpse the trace of a personal, as well as an artistic, obsession with Verlaine. Both poets led dissolute lives, Machado until his marriage, Verlaine until his death, and looked for salvation in the love of a good woman. And both poets demonstrated in their work a religious fervour that increased with age.

In 'La buena canción' Machado draws an obvious parallel between his own future relationship with his wife-to-be Eulalia Cáceres and Verlaine's hopes of Mathilde Mauté as they were expressed in La Bonne Chanson. In "Prólogo-epílogo" he claims to renounce the hope of being a Verlaine, implying that it had been a treasured aspiration. In the other semi-autobiographical poems of El mal poema, especially "La canción del presente", "Internacional", "Yo, poeta

5. See "Manuel Machado", RF 61 (1948), p.389; and Themen, p.91.

decadente", "¡Paz!" and "Cordura", he seems to identify himself as one of the "aventureros del ideal a través de las pasiones humanas y de la vida rota", like Verlaine.⁶ In his religious poetry, from the sonnets "Kyrie eleison" and "Domingo" to the series "Domine, ut videam" in Horas de oro (1938), there can be heard the unmistakable tone of Verlaine's Sagesse sonnets. It is hard to resist concluding that Machado thought of himself as "paradójicamente místico y decadente"⁷ like the French poet. Jiménez too, in his pen-portrait of Machado, notes such a polarity between the religious and the sensual sides of his nature.⁸

Another interesting parallel can also be noted in the lives of Verlaine and Machado. Both men reached a turning point in their poetic careers in their middle thirties, Verlaine after the publication of Sagesse (1880) and Machado after that of El mal poema (1909). After 1880 Verlaine, who had lost his wife and lovers and become a chronic alcoholic, turned to sensuality and religion for inspiration, and save for some good poems in Jadis et Naguère his work degenerated into gross argot or sentimental piety. Machado, who had written most of his best work out of the experience of a disordered and Bohemian life, rejected the latter once he was married and turned again for inspiration to the Andalusian popular poetry he had loved when younger. "Popular" poetry and poems on religious or nationalist themes form the bulk of his verse after his marriage, and despite some good poems, which have been discussed in chapter VI, little of it is of enduring worth.

It would be foolish to assume that Machado tried to copy Verlaine in his life as well as in his poetry, or that he tried to be like Verlaine in order to write like him. Machado's susceptibility to women and his religious feelings

6. In his "Autocrítica" letter to Jiménez, already cited (ch.V, p.115)
The whole letter implies such an identification, purportedly unwilling.

7. See p. 170 above.

8. La corriente p.43.

were both perfectly genuine, and both stayed with him until the end of his life. It would be truer to say that in these respects he was like Verlaine, and that he was aware of the parallel. Since he also admired Verlaine as a poet, it is not surprising that there should be such duplication of experience transmuted into poetry. Such an assumption would also account for Machado's otherwise inexplicable admiration of Verlaine's erotic verse.

During the course of this study a number of possibilities for further investigation became apparent which, although peripheral to the central theme of the dissertation, warrant mentioning here.

A parallel study of possible French influence on the Machados and their friends, Jiménez, Valle-Inclán, Villaespesa, Benavente and the Martínez-Sierras, who collaborated on magazines like Electra, Juventud, Alma española, Helios, and Renacimiento between 1900 and 1906 might be fruitful in determining the origins of many themes common to these writers.⁹

Work also remains to be done on the influence of Samain, in particular on Jiménez, who as late as 1911 dedicated Poemas mágicos y dolientes "a Albert Samain en el cielo de Citeres." The traces of Moreás, Régnier, Jammes, Pierre Lotys and other French writers in Jiménez's work has not yet been comprehensively studied.

Another profitable field for investigation is the use of the French pantomime convention by Spaniards, especially by Benavente, the Martínez Sierras and Valle-Inclán.¹⁰ Further study could also be made of the treatment of paintings in poetry and of how Machado profited by the example of Gautier, Verlaine, Samain, Hérédia and possibly Régnier in writing his Apolo sonnets.

9. A comprehensive study of the influence of Verlaine in Spain has already been undertaken by Rafael Ferreres and is about to be published.

10. Robert Lima's "The commedia dell'arte and La marquesa Rosalinda" describes Valle-Inclán's use of pantomime roles but does not explore how this French genre came to Spain.

Luis Cernuda has remarked on the tendency of Modernists to utilise as sources "materia expresada por otros autores, fueran poetas, novelistas, pintores o músicos"¹¹ and this was particularly true of Machado. It has already been noted in this study (p. 15 above) that this tendency was a characteristic of Symbolist poetry, and that Machado shared with his French contemporaries a love of paintings.

Finally it is interesting to note, in relation to the influence of Verlaine on Manuel Machado, that the opinions which he and Antonio expressed about each other's poetry, as well as their own, seem to indicate a mutual recognition of a debt to Verlaine. Manuel described himself as "poeta 'di camera'; poeta del siesnoés y del gesto inacabado."¹² Such a description could equally well be of Verlaine, with his nuances and intimate, hesitant style. Antonio sums up his own poetic gift as "intimismo", which has always been recognised as Verlaine's unique and most characteristic style.¹³ Manuel's poetry he calls "impresionismo lírico". This too is a phrase frequently used to describe Verlaine's work.¹⁴ (It is interesting to note that "neobarroquismo", a quality quite alien to Verlainian Symbolism or Impressionism, is the word Antonio uses to describe Darío's work.)

But an even more significant remark is to be found in Manuel Machado's review of the translations of Verlaine by Carrère, of whom he says "sería el Verlaine español, si ya de antes y más no lo fuera otro."¹⁵ He does not indicate who this "other" may be, but I believe that he was referring to his brother Antonio, of whom he says elsewhere "lo tengo por el más fuerte y hondo poeta

11. Modernismo, p.82.

12. Unos versos, p.19.

13. Obras, Plenitud, p.1232.

14. See LeDantec, p.182; Octave Nadal, "L'Impressionnisme verlainien", Mercure de France (May 1 1952); and Cuénot, p.541.

15. "Leyendo", La Libertad (Madrid), June 19, 1921.

español."¹⁶ José Machado describes how Manuel's eyes used to fill with tears when he read Antonio's poetry.¹⁷

It is hard to escape the conclusion that the Machado brothers recognised in each other's poetry qualities that both had learned from Verlaine. But José Machado, whilst speaking of Antonio and Manuel as "raíces del mismo árbol" and stressing their similarities, sums up succinctly their differences. Antonio, he says, never loses his poetic identity and his voice is always characteristically his own, whereas Manuel, through his ability to adapt himself to any theme, always fuses himself absolutely with his subject and so speaks with many voices. (p.30).

A strikingly similar criticism is made of Verlaine's work by Cuénot. "Quand un poete s'est créé un style bien précis . . . il est soutenu par son style et il arrive ainsi à combler les lacunes de l'inspiration . . . Il n'en est pas ainsi chez Verlaine . . . c'est l'inspiration du moment qui crée chez Verlaine un certain style, quasi instantané . . . Dès que l'inspiration faiblit, la forme faiblit." (pp.547-8) Like Machado, Verlaine was capable of writing atrocious poetry. In Cuénot's devastating phrase, "il . . . n'a pas eu la pudeur de se taire et . . . a osé se survivre à lui-même quand il n'avait rien à dire." (p.547) This is as true of Machado's poetry after 1921 as it was of Verlaine's after 1885.

There are further clear parallels between Verlaine and Machado. Both attempted to "rajeunir le style poétique, de lui conférer plus de force et de souplesse, en introduisant les tournures de la syntaxe familière . . . en recourant aux mots familiers et même vulgaires." (p.543) Both were inspired by popular songs, disliked rhetoric and eloquence, and had recourse to allusion, slang and "reminiscences à des choses très connues". (p.542) Both subscribed

16. La guerra, p.37.

17. Últimas, p.30.

to an "esthétique de l'éphémère" and were basically non-intellectual. Cuénot remarks of Verlaine that he was "un des épigones du romantisme" (p.542): the same is true of Machado, with his admiration for Zorrilla and Espronceda.

And finally, although admiring Romances sans Paroles and Sagesse, Cuénot considers them as tentative beginnings, never fully realised, of a new kind of poetry and insists that the only part of Verlaine's work which is truly perfect is the Fêtes Galantes, in the Parnassian mode. This could also be said of Machado's work as a whole. His eaux-fortes, his ariettes and the city poetry of the 'mal poema' cycle are magnificent experiments in genres new to Spanish poetry but he failed to create out of them a total poetic style of his own. And so his most fully realised poetic achievement, like Verlaine's, is Parnassian. "Felipe IV", like "César Borgia", is a perfect example of "la transposition d'art, la grande plastique."

In conclusion, it is as true of Machado as it was of Verlaine that he had no real literary posterity. His efforts towards loosening and modernising Spanish verse may have been influential, but Darío's were far more so. The next great generation of Spanish poets, that of 1927, owed almost nothing to Machado, despite Moreno Villa's loyalty to him as an Andalusian popular poet. Gerardo Diego wrote Machado's poetic epitaph. "Maestro incomparable de la ligereza, de la gracia y de la abulia modernistas, más directamente aprendidas de un Verlaine que de un Darío."¹⁸ Lest the fore-going account of Machado's sources should seem to imply a concomitant denial of his poetic worth and originality, I would like to end by quoting from Amado Alonso's Materia y forma en poesía (Madrid, 1955), p.383.

"Todo lo que nos sirva para conocer el acto de poesía, el momento de la creación, nos lleva hacia una integral comprensión de la obra: conduce a que se logre plenamente su sentido objetivo. Las fuentes literarias deben ser referidas al acto de creación como incitaciones y como motivos de reacción. El poeta no repite; replica."

18. In "Los poetas de la generacion del 98", Arbor 36 (Dec. 1948), p.445.

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APPENDIX I

A critical edition of poems by Machado not included in Obras completas, with first known sources.

- "Madrigal" (Alma). Last published in Alma:Opera selecta (Paris, 1910). p. 196
- "Neurastenia" (Caprichos). Never republished. p. 197
- "Paisaje de arrabal" (Alma. Museo. Los cantares). Last published in Trofeos (Barcelona, 1911). p. 198
- "Sombra" (El mal poema). Last published in Alma:(Opera selecta) (Paris, 1910). p. 199
- "La Vie" (El mal poema). Last published in Alma:(Opera selecta) (Paris, 1910). p. 200
- "Minuit" (El mal poema). Last published in Alma:(Opera selecta) (Paris, 1910). p. 201
- "Fin" (El mal poema). Last published in Alma:(Opera selecta) (Paris, 1910). p. 202

"MADRIGAL"

Y no será una noche
sublime de huracán, en que las olas
toquen los cielos...Tu barquilla leve
naufragará de día, un día claro
en que el mar esté alegre.
Te matarán jugando. Es el destino
terrible de los débiles...
Mientras un sol espléndido
sube al cenit hermoso como siempre.

"NEURASTENIA"

Un son doliente,
 unico son,
 por el ambiente
 pasa burlón,
 como un silbido,
 ...como un gemido.

Van claridades
 por el jardín,
 de tenuidades
 sin vida, sin
 nada que sea,
 ...ni que se crea.

Entre las ramas
 de algún rosal...
 voces de damas.
 Y en el cristal
 del lago un vago
 rostro... ¡Cuán vago!

- Pero tú, hermano;
 no lo verás...
 Dame tu mano.
 Mas...¿dónde estas?...
 Eso es...Soñaba...
 Nadie aquí estaba...
 Un mueble: " ¡^Chas!"

"PAISAJE DE ARRABAL"

(HABLA UN ARBOL)

La ciudad ha avanzado...Como lepra,
 las sucias cases grises
 invadieron el campo. Y mis hermanos
 al aire vieron vueltas sus raíces.
 Solo a mí me han dejado. Pardos muros
 álzanse en torno; y a mirarme, horribles
 ojos rojizos, se abren las ventanas
 destilando su hedor de vida triste.
 Yo he visto, sin poder huír, los interiores
 donde el odio se forja y nace el crimen,
 y he visto esas atroces
 bocas que nunca ríen,
 puertas negras del antro, desahuciadas
 del sol, horriblemente horribles.

¡Ay! mis ramas al viento
 doy siempre, en la esperanza de que firme
 arrebate mis plantas encrustadas
 en este suelo infame, donde erigen
 estas horribles cárceles
 y de la savia el curso ardiente y libre
 quieren torcer...Yo quiero
 huír, huír, huír. Y el viento sigue
 agitando mis ramas, mientras locas
 desgarran este suelo mis raíces.
 Sólo tu hacha, leñador, aguardo.
 Ven: yo arderé en tu hogar para ser libre.

"SOMBRA"

Hoy destila mi pluma un verso caprichoso
que se arrastra por tierra sin fin ni rumbo, un vago
rumor de agua corriente, respiración confusa
del aire entre las ramas de un viejo, viejo árbol.

Y quiero darlo al viento tranquilo de esta tarde,
para que esté en el parque melancólico un rato
largo, y, lamiendo el muro, escondido en la hiedra,
el muro silencioso transmine. Y en el campo
se quede entre el tomillo y el romero, el secreto
de las germinaciones ocultas escuchando...

Un verso decadente, cadente, sinuoso.
Un verso de rincones y sitios olvidados,
sensual torpemente. Un verso para escrito
en la hoja de un helecho, o en la lengua de un satiro.

"LA VIE"

Ni vice ni vertu dans ma course incertaine.
Ma vie est un regret de ne rien regretter.
Et, promenant l'horreur de ma peine sans peine,
Je vais maudit du Ciel ainsi que de l'Enfer.

Des ébauches d'amour, de la haine pour rire...
Des biens, des maux, sans trop démêler la saveur,
De plaisirs aigre-doux, des lyriques martyres...
Car j'ai peur de la joie comme de la douleur.

Je me suis arrêté à toutes les frontières
Et je n'ai pas goûté la paix d'un seul pays,
La terre qui délasse ni l'eau qui désaltère.

À attendre le soleil il s'est fané mon lys.
J'arrive où l'on ne sait...Et, sur le fin, je vois
Qu'il faudrait parcourir la route une autre fois.

"MINUIT"

Une ombre malsaine
Tombe sur les lieux
Que je vois à peine...
Sur la ville ancienne
S'abbattent les cieux.

Des clartés fuyantes
Passent un instant...
Une peur charmante
Blottit les amantes
Contre les amants.

Quelquechose inonde
L'air d'ombres de mort
Planant sur le monde.
Dans la nuit profonde
La ville s'endort.

La ville s'endort,
Melânt jusqu'au jour
Dans son pauvre corps
Les frissons de la mort
Aux fris [s]ons d'amour.

"FIN"

Al fin se impuso la razón
y nuestro idilio deshicimos,
y todo nos lo devolvimos...

Todo...menos el corazón.

APPENDIX 2

After submitting the first draft of this thesis, I learned that Sr. Rafael Ferreres was on the point of publishing a study entitled Verlaine en España. He very kindly sent me a manuscript of his chapter on Manuel Machado, for which I am most grateful, and has allowed me to include the following brief summary of it in this appendix.

Sr. Ferreres calls Machado the most faithful Verlainian of all modern Spanish poets, and refers to his statements on Verlaine in La Libertad in 1921, in Arriba in 1944 and to the translations Fiestas Galantes in support of this statement. He quotes Jiménez, Henríquez Ureña, Dámaso Alonso, Carballo Picazo and Brotherston on Verlainian influence in Machado's work, but also points out that Darío and Villaespesa preceded Machado in the use of some Verlainian topics. He also notes similarities in this respect between Antonio and Manuel Machado, citing "Jardín neo-clásico" and number XXXII of Soledades, galerías y otros poemas (1907).

In a textual discussion of parallels between Machado and Verlaine Sr. Ferreres points to the resemblances between "La lluvia" and "Mon rêve familier", "Otoño" and "Chanson d'automne". He comments on the use of Verlainian techniques of alliteration, internal accents and enjambement in "Don Carnaval", "Madrid viejo", "Siglo XVIII" and "Pierrot", and cites Machado's use of Verlaine's titles in "Melancolía", "Pierrot", "Pantomima", Caprichos and 'La buena canción'. As an example of Verlainian influence in theme as well as in technique he discusses the influence of Chansons pour elle, "Lassitude" and "Voeu" on "Sé buena".

Sr. Ferreres concludes by equating Machado's attitude to Verlaine with that of Garcilaso de la Vega towards Petrarch in its joyfully admitted debt to a great precursor, and stresses that Machado's debt to Verlaine in no way diminishes his own poetic personality.

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