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Germany's Contribution to Spanish Romanticism and the Resultant Revival of Interest in the Writers of the Golden Age

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GERMANY'S CONTRIBUTION TO SPANISH ROMANTICISM

AND THE RESULTANT REVIVAL OF INTEREST

IN THE WRITERS OF THE GOLDEN AGE.

By

Bertha Riss

A thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of Master
of Arts in Loyola University

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INTRODUCTION

With the death of Calderon in 1680 the Golden Age of Spanish letters came to a close. Politically and economically Spain began to retrogress at the death of Philip II in 1598 and reached the lowest depths by the year 1700. Thereupon the first Bourbon came to the throne and under the French domination Spanish writers turned away from their national literature to the French classic forms.

In their fanatical reaction they denounced the productions of the Golden Age. According to them Lope and Calderon were not fit for human consumption. Even Calderon's "autos sacramentales" were prohibited by law. In fact the most famous Golden Age dramas were proscribed. Translations from the French into Spanish took their place.

Out of this hectic period of political upheavals, revolutions and counterrevolutions which culminated in the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833, there emerged an entirely different literary movement, a trend away from classicism towards romanticism.
In the following chapters we are only concerned with the part the German writers played in this reversal in literary trends. This necessitated a chapter on German Romanticism and what it stood for, and a brief history of the spiritual relationship of the two countries to give us a background for the accomplishments of the German Romanticists in their endeavor to publicize the romantic aspects of the writers of the Golden Age.

Of these romantic writers none deserves greater credit than the Schlegel Brothers for their unceasing efforts in the revival of interest in the Golden Age literature. Not only by their efforts but by their enthusiasm and fervor did they lead literary Spain away from foreign fields to its national art treasures by reopening the door that closed upon the Golden Age at the death of Calderon in 1680.
CHAPTER I

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF GERMAN ROMANTICISM.

Romanticism, this magic word that swept the European continent toward the close of the 18th century, where did it originate? Who were the pioneers of the movement, and how did it spread throughout Europe? Before answering these questions let us try to find an exact definition of the word itself.

In its literal sense it refers to Romance language, the vernacular of the Latin-speaking countries. Later it came to signify a poem and still later a "roman" (novel), because this type was the most important production of romance literature. Since adventure and invention are common to most novels, "Romantic" came to mean adventurous and fantastic. In Germany "romantisch" took on additional meaning. It was even applied sometimes to wild scenery and later to medieval settings. The attempts to define the term accurately have not always been entirely satisfactory. Most writers on the subject counterpoise Classic and Romantic.
To some the distinction is geographical, as Mme. de Stael indicates by her differentiation of the literatures of the North from those of the South, to others the difference is ethnographical. Neither one seems to be correct. One cannot always classify one writer as entirely Romantic or Classic, as Goethe and Schiller testify. The two terms Classic and Romantic represent two different conceptions of life: the one static and finite and the other dynamic and everchanging. But even this distinction is not clear cut. There is some overlapping of ideas. Did not the French eighteenth century, the age of reason, bring forth Rousseau as well as Voltaire, the latter with his domination of the mind and the former with his mastery of sentiment?

According to Mme. de Stael, romantic literature is the only thing that can be made perfect, for, having its roots in our own soil, it is the only type that can grow and recreate itself. It expresses our religion, it recalls our history. Its origin is old but not antique.

In Bertrand's romantic world, art tries to commune with life: man pursues the dream of his love across the thousand adventures of existence.
To A. W. Schlegel the whole panorama of life is based on contrasts: modern art versus the antique and classic, and this antithesis is reflected in Romanticism. He reiterates that the word "Romanticism" comes from romance the name of the "Volkssprachen" which were formed by a mixture of nordic and antique, whereas the culture of the ancients was of one type.

Le romantisme est l'art de presenter aux peuples les oeuvres litteraires qui dans l'etat actuel de leurs croyances sont susceptibles de leur donner le plus grand plaisir possible. Le classicisme, au contraire est l'art de presenter aux peuples la litterature qui donnait le plus grand plaisir a leurs arriere-grands-peres. 1

Das Romantische gefaellt sich in unauf·
loeslichen Mischungen. Alle entgegenzesetz-
ten: Natur und Kunst, Poesie und Prosas, Ernst und Scherz, Erinnerung und Aehnung, Geistigkeit und Sinnlichkeit, das Irdische und das Goettliche, Leben und Tod verschmilzt sie auf das Innigste miteinander. 2


The romanticists like Novalis and Schlegel who get the word "romantique" from "roman", arrange their literary ideal around the Cervantesque novel. Others have made of the word a synonym of meridional.

The Romantic movement began in Germany towards the end of the 18th century. In the spring of 1808 A.W. Schlegel gave his famous Vienna lectures "Ueber dramatische Kunst und Literatur", and his younger brother, Friedrich published his lectures, "Ueber neue und alte Literatur". Both placed Spanish poetry on a high plane. A.W. Schlegel considered the Spanish drama romantic. In fact, he maintained that only England and Spain could boast of a Romantic Drama. In England the first exponent was Shakespeare and in Spain, Lope de Vega.

The German romanticists were drawn to the South, especially to Spain. This land, so curiously oriental, calls up all the dreams of marvelous and adventurous extravagance. And it is Cervantes who offers the most powerful and authentic picture of this romantic Spain. Therefore it was the romantic Cervantes that appealed to the romanticists in Germany. The romantic adventures, the "Novelas" and "Persiles" aroused their phantasy.
Le romantisme allemand decouvrit un Cervantes inconnu, l'artiste inspire et conscient, le penseur hautain, qui eut une conception originale de l'art et de la vie et la dressa en symboles puissantes. Les poetes romantiques eurent l'intuition d'un poete plus grand qu'euxmèmes, plus grand que tout, un heros du verbe et du symbole. 3

The romanticists attempted to conciliate the contrasting conceptions, and Cervantes aided them in this. They admired in him the soldier of Lepanto and of Algiers and at the same time the poet and the philosopher. They liked his unhappy heroes, symbols of the poesy itself, and like it, badly treated by the prose of life. All of the romanticists hailed Don Quijote as a book that represents him best. It is an ample picture of the world and humanity. Like Don Quijote, the romanticists had the longing for the unattainable: the love of Rudel for Melisande, of Sternbald for "l'inconnue", of Novalis for a lost child. Was it not the love of Don Quijote, for the Dulcinea of his dreams? - The heroes of Cervantes:

Don Quijote, L. Antonio, Rinconete and Cortadillo and Persiles are on their way for their conquests of their dreams. They chase all over Europe for the blue flower or some elusive object, the absolute of happiness which flees before them. To the romanticists all of Cervantes' heroes were great and purified. Through the characters of his imagination and by his form they considered him a romantic poet.

The German romanticists spread their influence around them and provoked among the classicists a renewel of curiosity and a fellow-feeling for Spanish writers, especially Calderon and Cervantes. One of those who was led willingly into the Romantic path was J. P. Richter. He showed in his "Titan" the attraction towards this mysterious country of sun and love. In Calderon he saw the Romantic poet.

Friedrich von Schleierel states in his "Geschichte der alten und neuen Literatur" that the real life in Spain was then more "chevaleresque" and more romantic than in any other country of Europe. Even the lack of a rigorous and perfect social order, the unhampered life of the provinces was favorable to poesy.
William von Schlegel made romanticism "a la mode", especially in Berlin, thanks to his lectures. His translations, his propaganda and his literary salons spread across Germany; a great nostalgia invaded the German heart. Schlegel contributed to the spread of romanticism and M.de Stael revealed to France German thought.

Le nom de romantique a été introduit nouvellement en Allemagne, pour désigner la poésie dont les chants des troubadours ont été l'origine, celle qui est née de la chevalerie et du Christianisme. 4

Romanticism now tried to express itself in works of art. Cervantes had his part in this new conquest. He had entered into the Romantic tradition. Cervantes with Shakespeare, Dante and Goethe encouraged the evolution toward modern poesy. The Spain of Cervantes appeared under its most seductive colors and it was the cult of Cervantes which opened the way to Camoens, Calderon and Bocacio. Cervantes' Don Quijote and his "novelas" were soon going to inspire a new realism, which the romanticists had already announced.

Cervantes struck the right chord of the Romantic mind. The romanticists were inspired by the "romanesque" and the mysterious in the works of Cervantes.

On n'imiter pas volontiers un auteur, mais on se chauffe a sa flame. On lui emprunte l'esprit meme de son oeuvre. Ces remiscences cervantesques dans le roman contemporain du premier romantisme sont une preuve nouvelle de la popularite que le romantisme vepait de conférer au poete espagnol.

Cervantes was considered a precursor, an authority by the romanticists. His "Don Quijote" and Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister" give a lesson in poetic realism and profound philosophy. Both had a decided influence on Romantic art.

The German Romanticists turned to Catholicism and mysticism. "their motto was the medieval 'memento mori', for death was the gate to the real life of the spirit." So Calderon took on enormous proportions in the eyes of the Romanticists.

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5 Bertrand, op.cit., p.311
To Friedrich von Schlegel he was even greater than Shakespeare.

In him he found the identification life and dream which was symbolic of this world for all Romanticists. He saw depicted in the Spanish dramatist an ideal picture of the Middle Ages with their uniform Faith, their allegorical vision, in a background of picturesque splendour.\(^6\)

In Spain German Romanticism manifested itself by rebelling against tradition as expressed in the classical drama. Both, in Spain and Portugal a battle against French supremacy was waged. In the first country a German, Boehl von Faber carried on the fight so valiantly that he was made a member of the Spanish Academy. We shall hear more about him later.

Now let us turn for a moment to the "Storm and Stress movement, the forerunner of the Romantic period.

In Germany it was Hamann and Herder who were the representatives of the new age of sentiment. Herder emphasized feeling rather than intellect, the individual rather than society. He advised each nation to study its past and to copy the charm of the poetry of its ancestors. He urged each nation to create its own individual forms of language, art and

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\(^6\)Ibid., p. 64
literature and so contribute to world culture. His ideas found a welcome acceptance among a group of young writers who called themselves "Stuermer und Draenger". Goethe, who met Herder in Strassburg in the winter of 1770, became the leader of the new movement. During this period of Storm and Stress German Romanticism was born. The most representative of the group were the Schlegel brothers, Schelling, Schleiermacher, Tieck and Novalis.

A great part of A.W. Schlegel's lectures on the Spanish drama deals with Calderon who had reached the peak of romantic poetry in Schlegel's eyes. He not only waxed enthusiastic over Spain's glorious past but also spoke hopefully of her future; for, when she awakes she has only to draw from her hoard of poetic treasure. In praise of Spain only his brother Friedrich equalled him and even outdid him in eulogizing Calderon. In spite of the latter's enthusiasm, A.W. Schlegel's influence in Spain was greater because of the translation of his lectures into French in 1814 and by means of this language found its way into Spain during the reign of Ferdinand VII.
Tieck was as interested as the Schlegel brothers in Spanish literature. In his "Kaiser Octavius" Calderón's influence is apparent in the metrical texture. Tieck's translation of Don Quijote in 1798 was the best of its kind. His humoristic scenes and lyric elements are masterful reproductions.

Zacharias Werner and Grillparzer were both inspired by A.W. Schlegel's translation of five plays of Calderón; Grillparzer's "Der Traum ein Leben" suggests Calderón's "La vida es sueño" although the theme is slightly different. In the latter the hero lives his dream whereas in the former he wakes up and to his relief finds out that he was only dreaming. The meter, trochaic tetrameter, is a legacy from the Spanish drama. The dream motive used by Novalis and E.T.A. Hoffmann also indicates Calderonean influence.

Another writer who played a great part in the Romantic revival was Boehl von Faber. He championed the Golden Age in Spain by popularizing August W. von Schlegel. This aroused Jose Joaquin de Mora who gave a critical reply and in so doing started the famous quarrel in 1818 between the two men. Mora attacked not only Boehl and Schlegel but the Romantic principles most vehemently. Both combatants used the name of Schlegel
freely and so advertised the name and what it stood for.

besides these champions of romanticism, Boehr and the Schlegel brothers, there were other German writers interested in Spain who contributed to the revival of romanticism in that country. J.A. Dieze, Bouterwek and Tieck are three of the most important:

We respect in Tieck one of the subtle minds whose peculiar office it seems to be to interpret one age to the other . . . His services as a poetic expositor of the Middle Ages cannot be disputed. Novalis resuscitated Catholicism as an organ of profound religious feeling, but we owe to Tieck the discovery of what may be called the worldly side of Catholicism, its affinity with the popular fancy, Its ealth of passion... the artistic quality of its rites and legends, the picturesqueness of life engendered by it. 7

Besides an interest in the drama the Germans also popularized the Spanish ballad. Herder translated the "Cid" and Jakob Grimm published in 1815 "Silva de romances viejos". In 1821 Boehr von Faber published "Floresta de Rimas antiguas

7 Kuno Francke, A History of German Literature
castellanas". It is a three volume work and contains 1000 poems. It received favorable comment in the Spanish press. In 1832 his "Teatro espanol anterior a Lope de Vega" was published in Hamburg and boasted a large number of Spanish readers.

Goethe and Schiller both had a following in Spain. The former had more of his works translated but both served to bring the countries closer together. Another German writer who contributed somewhat to the revival was E.T.A. Hoffman. His most ardent admirer in Spain was Zorrilla's wife, who inspired her husband to write "La Fasionara."

Before taking up in detail the efforts of the German Romantic writers in resurrecting the Romantic aspects of medieval Spain, let us survey a brief history of the spiritual relations of the two countries preceding the Romantic period.
CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN SPAIN AND GERMANY

The earliest relationship between the two countries goes back to the trade relations in the Middle Ages. In 1541 Anton Fugger wrote to his friend, Andreas Schatters, "Mercurius geht den Husen voran und weised ihnen die Wege." Trade between South Germany and Spain at this early time was already very extensive. In the first part of the 15th century German firms of Cologne, Regensburg and Augsburg had representatives in Barcelona. These commercial connections had a definite influence upon the spiritual relationship between the two countries, especially when German printers spread their art throughout the Iberian Peninsula. As Lope de Vega expressed it "Sie waren als Waffenschmiede der Bildung tätig." 9

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8 Dr. Julius Schwering, Literarische Beziehungen zwischen Spanien und Deutschland, (Muenster i.W.: H.Schoenig, 1902) p. 1

9 Ibid. p. 22

14
Pilgrims also contributed to a closer relationship. As early as 1080 pilgrimages to Spain took place. In the 15th century a pilgrims' book, "Die Strassen und Meilen zu St. Jackob" was published in Strassburg. It was a kind of Baedeker for pilgrims. It may be partly due to the pilgrimages that in the field of Catholic theology the spiritual exchange between Spain and Germany was extraordinarily pronounced in the 15th and 16th century. The following works were among the most important translations: Religious writings of Diego de Estella, Luis de Granada, Teresa de Jesus.

Many Germans also streamed to Spain to fight the Moors, and in the wars against the Turks, the Germans fought shoulder to shoulder with the Spaniards. Throughout Germany Charles the 5th was lauded as victor and the bravery of Spanish warriors was praised in songs and pamphlets.

Last but not least Spanish Jews did their part to further the intellectual brotherhood of the two countries. They kept the interest in the Spanish language and literature alive even after their expulsion from Spain. Among the Jews
in Hamburg were many learned men who kept in touch with the literary life of their homeland. Here in 1631 David Cohen Carlos translated the Songs of Salomon into Spanish. Isaac Jeschurun wrote his work "Livre de providencia de vina." Cohen de Lara translated several writings of Maimonides from Hebrew into Spanish. Not only in Hamburg but also in other German Cities and towns dwelled scholarly Spanish Jews, all of whom in some way or other active in constructing cultural bridges between their old and their new homeland, Germany and Spain.

Spanish literary influence on German poetry became noticeable at the turn of the century; just at the time when Cervantes commanded a predominant position in world literature. The "Nuernberger Pagnitzscheaffer" and the "Schlesische Dichterschule" directed their attention mainly to Lope de Vega, Cervantes, and Calderon. Cervantes was highly esteemed in Germany; his spirit lives on to this very day. His "novelas" are a source of delight for the cultured. "Preciosa" still wanders over the German stage accompanied by Weber's soulful melodies. Not even the pseudo-classicism
of France controlled Europe, did Don Quijote lose its charm for the German; it remained the favorite of all beautiful minds. Even into our times the Romanticists learned from this genial Spanish humorist. Friedrich Spielhagen and a Paul Heyse were among his greatest admirers. All admitted that Cervantes was inimitable. What Lord Byron said about Sheridan applies to him too: "Die Natur zerbrach die Form nach dem sie dieen Geist geschaffen" 10 Although Cervantes had never put foot on German soil, he was already known throughout Germany during his lifetime. In 1617 "Rinconete and Cortadillo" appeared in German in Augsburg. In 1621 Paksch Bostl von der Saale translated the first twenty-two chapters of "Don Quixote". Phylipp Heisdorfer published "Selections from Cervantes novelas" in Frankfurt 1653. In 1659 Kaspar Ens translated into Latin "El Licenciado Vidriera".

10 Ibid. p. 50
Cervantes had a decided influence on German literature. His supreme popularity never waned. Heinrich Postel and Bodmer considered Don Quijote the cleverest satire on supreme wisdom and folly. The adventures of Don Quijote became favorite models for musical comedies and operas. In 1670 at the royal court of Dresden Camacho's wedding was presented. And in 1722 "Sancho" was put on in Hamburg. Whereever brave souls rose up against the follies of their time the genius of this Spanish satirist inspired them.

With Don Wuijote's weapons Wieland combatted the exaggerated taste for the French "Feenmaerche;" Musaeus in his "Grandison II." fought false sentimentality. Lessing in his youth was very enthusiastic over Don Quijote and wanted to translate Cervantes' "novelas". Herder and Schiller were also inspired by Cervantes and their works show his influence. Schiller openly admitted this influence in "Cie Raueber".

At the end of the 18th century literary criticism of Spain by Germany confined itself to Cervantes' Don Quijote. In 1790 Joachim Eschenburg published something about Spain that was quite scanty. Friedrich von Blankenburg in "Literarisiche Zusatze" zu Johann Georg Sulzers "Allgemeine Teorie
der schoenen Kuenste" devoted more time to the subject.
In his chapter on comedy he wrote: "Die comedia sind freilich
nicht nach dem klassischen Muster eingerichtet, aber dafuer
atmen sie mehr Leben und Wahrheit als Italienische." 11
Calderon's "autos" he characterizes as master-pieces. In 1799
Gottfried Eichhorn published his literary history in which
Lope de Vega and Calderon are the most representative of
the comedy. He also esteemed Cervantes highly. One also finds
independent opinions in the writings of Kaufhold, Fischer
and Links. Kaufhold is annoyed that Spanish literature is so
little appreciated. "Ist es doch ausgemachte Sache," he
writes "dass die Spanier unter den Europaeischen Nationen ...
die ersten waren welche sich um die Literatur bekuemmerten ...
Die Spanier hatten ein Theater und gute Schriftsteller noch
ehe weder Franzosen noch Englaender etwas dergleichen
aufweisen konnten." 12

11 Arturo Farinelly, Spanien und die Spanische
Literatur im Lichte der deutschen Kritik und Poesie,
(Weimar: E. Felber, 1892) p. 318
12 Ibid. p. 350
Fischer preferred Spanish prose. He thought highly of it. He himself translated Quevedo and Marco Aleman. He was one of the most active intermediaries between Germany and Spain. In 1801 Dr. Escher wrote an article in "Intelligezblatt der allgemeinen Literaturzeitung" under the title: "Spanische Literatur zu Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts" in which he praised Spain highly.

In 1801 Friedrich Buchholz published his "Handbuch der Spanischen Sprache und Literatur," an ambitious compilation in which the Germans get a sermon because of their neglect of Spanish literature in favor of French and English. He wrote: "Gegen 1300 gab es Dichter in Spanien. Lope de Vega selbst hat eine ganze Bibliotek geschrieben" Schiller's friend C. C. Koerner made Calderon's acquaintance in the second part of the handbook.

Wilhelm von Humbold was the greatest German to visit Spain at the turn of the century. From Valencia he wrote to a friend May 7th, 1800:

13 Ibid. p. 362
Unter den mittaegliche Nationen aber scheinen die Spanier eine besondere Stellung einzunehmen. Sie haben offenbar mehrere Charakteristen, die man Nordische zu nennen geneigt sein mochte. Einige die uns Deutsche sehr nahe bringen. 14

In 1804 Bouterweck's "Geschichte der spanischen Poesie und Beredsamkeit" appeared. This was a great accomplishment that brought light into chaos. Since the appearance of this book, much was done to spread Spanish literature in Germany. Translations, criticisms, original works, grammars and lexicons followed in quick succession. Finally in 1801 the romanticists of Germany brought Spain before Germany and subsequently before all Europe, as a newly discovered country.

On the other hand, what did Spain know about literary Germany? - Until the end of the 18th century she scarcely had knowledge of the country, much less of its literature. The average Spaniard did not travel extensively and anything beyond his home was a desert for him. Besides Spain lacked the means of learning German since there were

14 Ibid. p. 370
very few grammars and dictionaries of that language in Spain. At the end of the 18th century a "Gramatica alemana compuesta para la nacion espanola" appeared, written by D. Antonio de Villa. It did not meet with great success. The Critics still preferred English Literature.

In 1793 Leandro Fernandez de Moratin traveled through Germany but only the material every day life interested him, not the spiritual. Some time later Abbe Juan Andres visited the country, where he was held in high esteem because of his "Origine e progressi", a much read book in Germany. The opinions expressed by Andres on German literature were based on Frederick the Great's "De la litterature allemanche" and Bielefeld's "Progres des Allemandes". The feats of Frederick the Great impressed the Spaniards greatly. Many translations of his deeds and life appeared in Spain.

In 1787 Gessner's poems were translated into Spanish by Pedro Lejeusne. And in 1787 Bernardo Maria de Calzada translated "Die Kunst stets froehlich zu sein" by Uz. Some other German works that appeared in Spanish
Translations were: "Lessings "Minna von Barnhelm", Kotzebue's "Die Versuchung", and Brandes' "Der Graf von Olsbach."

Before the 19th century the Spaniards knew very little about Schiller and Goethe. Only in the middle of the 19th century was Schiller translated. Goethe's "Werthers Leiden" was translated by Jose mor de Fuentes in 1803 and the "pasiones" or "cuitas" of Werther soon became the mode in Spain. The "Memorial literario" brought several anecdotes about the life of Goethe which were somewhat fantastic but nevertheless served the purpose of publicizing the name and what it stood for.

Perhaps no other person has contributed more to the rapprochement of the two countries than Mme. de Staël after her trip to Germany in 1803. Through her book on Germany which appeared in 1810 a new country was discovered by the Spaniards. This book was received with acclaim and definitely furthered the spiritual relationship between the two countries and facilitated the task of the German romanticists, especially the Schlegel brothers in reviving an interest in the Spanish literature of the Golden Age.
CHAPTER III

THE SCHLEGEL BROTHERS' RESEARCH ON

CERVANTES AND CALDERON

No other German writers have earned as much credit as the Schlegel brothers for their successful efforts in bringing the merits of the Golden Age Literature before the public.

To introduce the reader to them, let us give him first the general reaction of Wilhelm and Friedrich to Spanish poetry. August Wilhelm von Schlegel expresses the charm of Spanish poetry very eloquently. He states that it is a blending of Nordic earnestness, a touch of the South and the dazzling pomp of the Orient. To this his brother has the following to add:

So bluhte der Garten der spanischen Poesie auf altcastilischen durch portugiesische Erfindungen und provenzalische Blumen, und nun auch durch arabische Farbenglut verschoenert immer reicher und herrlicher empor. 15

Friedrich von Schlegel in his Vienna lectures prepares the ground by giving us a brief resume of Spanish literature. He states that the beginnings of Spanish poetry were very simple. The original forms were the epic lyric poems and the ballad. It seems as if one hears the sound of the guitar strings in these primitive poetic forms. The epic, partly of Arabic origin, was at first a simple saga and later developed artistic qualities suitable for varied literary uses in which very often the colorful predominated. The ballad expressed feeling and emotion. Some Italian influence is noticeable but the Spanish stands out with its deep tones reminiscent of Gothic and Oriental influence. No poetry had such a multifarious origin:

Diese Elemente waren einzelne Anklaenge der fantasie und des Gefuehls die zusammen erst einen vollen Accord bildeten und der spanischen Dichtkunst eigentlich den hoechsten Zauber des Romantischen verleihen. Nicht blos reich ist diese Poesie, sondern auch durchaus Ein mit dem Charakter und dem Gefuehl der Nation. Seit Karl V ist keine Literatur so national gewesen wie die der Spanier. 16

16 Ibid. p. 64
Over a long period of time Spanish poetry and literature developed in its separate existence, its national consciousness, too pronounced, for any other type of development. The novel reached its peak there and the drama was a rare gem. The language of the poets in Spain remained free, not subject to any recognized rule. Among prose writers Cervantes was the greatest. Under him, prose writing attained superexcellence. His Don Quijote has a noble style, perfect presentation and among all his satires the richest in originality and wit, a perfect blending of wit and poetry.


17 Wilhelm Schwartz, August Wilhelm von Schlegels Verhaeltnis zur Spanischen und Portugiesischen Literatur (Halle; Karras, 1914) Einleitung, p. 12
August Wilhelm von Schlegel focussed his attention upon Calderon and the Spanish drama. In the second half of the eighteenth century interest was awakened in Germany for the Spanish drama. Although other writers contributed to this interest, A.W. von Schlegel's contribution was the greatest:

Wie er allein aus seinem romantischen Bestrebungen heraus den Weg in das Wunderland der spanischen Dichtkunst fand, so ist er auch ganz neue Bahnen gewandelt. Eine neue Epoche in der Auffassung des Spanischen Dramas hebt mit ihm an. 18

Schlegel's earliest studies of Spanish literature go back to his Goettingen days. It is possible that his interest was aroused by Friedrich Bouterwek, who was at the University at the same time. It might also have been Gottfried August Buerger who was thoroughly acquainted with, and a great admirer of the Spanish language and literature. Buerger expressed himself in the following manner about the Spanish language:

18 Ibid. Einleitung, p. 14
Jetzt habe ich mich nach Spanien gewandt und Herera.
O glückselige Sänger denen solche Sprache zu Gebote steht!
Bei Gott, ich glaube ich wollte Fabelwunder des Orpheus wahr machen, wenn eine solche Sprache meine Muttersprache waere. Kranke wollte ich gesund machen, Tote vom Grabe erwecken, Furien in zaertliche Tauben der Venus verwandeln. 19

In 1791 both brothers left Göttingen which was then considered the cultural abode of the Spanish language and literature. Wilhelm went to Amsterdam as a tutor and during the next few years neglected his Spanish studies. But in 1797 his interest was reawakened. The bookseller Unger urged him to translate Don Quijote. Although he took an active part in the undertaking, Tieck actually completed the task. In Jena in 1799, Tieck and Schlegel planned to translate all of Cervantes. Unfortunately their plans went amiss. Before they got around to it, Dietrich Wilhelm Soltau had accomplished the task. These early Spanish studies of Tieck and Schlegel led them eventually to Calderón.

19 Ibid. p. 5
The height of Wilhelm von Schlegel's activities in the field of Spanish literature was reached in his Berlin lectures. To this period we owe his main works: "Das Spanische Theater", "Blumenstrausse", "Vorlesungen ueber schoene Literatur und Kunst". A number of translations, mainly of Calderon, also came out of this period. In the summer and fall of 1802 his Calderonian studies culminated in the translations of the following dramas: "La devocion de la Cruz", "El mayor encanto amor", "La banda y la flor". Schlegel also made various contributions to periodicals. An article "Ueber das spanishe Theater" appeared in F. Schlegel's magazine "Europa". The same article was discussed in his Vienna lectures. In 1809 his second volume of the Spanish theatre appeared of which Menendez y Pelayo said:

Esta obra, aunque no habla directamente de Calderon mas que en las ultimas paginas esta consagrada del toto a su enaltecimiento. Todas las lecciones no son mas que preparacion para el elogio del gran poeta castellano. 20

20 Ibid p. 25
In comparing his Berlin and Vienna lectures, it is apparent that in the latter he gives us a coherent presentation in the field of "Kenntnis und Kritik" of Spanish literature and in the former only indicates a knowledge of Spanish epics. He mentions the novels of chivalry which he considers important for the later romanticism. He reverts to the heroic mythology of the Middle Ages in which the romantic spirit is most apparent. His opinions of Spanish works of chivalry he gets from Cervantes' "Don Quijote". His interest follows this type of outline: The novels of chivalry of Cervantes as a beginning to the Spanish National drama of Calderon, where it reaches the climax. He was a gourmet in the field of literature. He concentrated only on the finest of a genre. In English, his favorite was Shakespeare, in Italian, Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, in German, Goethe and in Spanish, Cervantes and Calderon. He feted the last two with enraptured sonnets. His intense interest in Cervantes covered the period from 1787 to 1801:
Die Dichtung des goettlichen. Cervantes ist ihm mehr als eine geistreich gedachte, keck gezeichnete, frisch und kraeftig kolorierte Bambocciata. Der Gegensatz zwischen parodischen und romantischen Massen, der immer unaussprechlich reizend und harmonisch sei, zuweilen aber, wie bei der Zusammenstellung des verrueckten Don Quijote, ins Erhabene uebergehe, laesst es ihn als ein Meisterwerk der hoeheren Kunst erscheinen. Im echten Roman sei entweder alles Episode oder gar nichts, und es komme blos darauf an, dass die Reihe der Erscheinungen in ihrem gaukelnden Wesen harmonisch sei, die Phantasie fest halte und die Bezauberung bis zu Ende aufrecht erhalte. Wenn je ein Roman dies auf das Vollkommenste geleistet habe, so sei es Don Quijote." 21

Schlegel tried to bring the leaders of romanticism of European literature closer together. So can be explained the frequent comparisons of Shakespeare and Cervantes. His endless admiration for "Don Quijote" showed

21 Ibid. p. 39
itself in these words: "Wer die unendliche Tiefe in Don Quijote nich ahnt, hat wenig Hoffnung den Shakespeare zu begreifen." 22 As satirists both, Shakespeare and Cervantes were more outstanding than the professional representatives of this type. Their works satisfied the masses through quick action, or gay presentation. The deeper meaning remained concealed to the average reader and spectator.

To come back to his Vienna lectures, we see here in bold strokes how he sketches the development of the Spanish stage, emphasizes its wealth and the numerous plagiarisms by foreign authors. He discusses all types of drama, the mythological, the chivalrous, the historical and the religious; and gives a survey of the drama in Spain from the 16th century to his time. He divides this period into three periods: 1, Cervantes, 2, Lope de Vega, 3, Calderon. Cervantes' prosaic works are the most comp-

22 Ibid. p. 40
lete example of Romantic art, his dramas of Classic art. He mentions two periods in Cervantes' creative career: First a Classic period and later a trend toward nationalistic style of Lope de Vega. Only two plays of first the first period remain. "Numancia" and "Eltrato de Argel". The former seemed to Schlegel a masterpiece of rare perfection. Goethe's attention was drawn to it by Schlegel.

Schlegel worshipped Calderon. In his Berliner lectures he gives a survey of all dramatic works of Calderon:


23 Ibid. p. 52
He lets out a hymn of praise over Calderon's religious dramas. In his intrigue plays he notices the enchantment so characteristic of Spanish poesy, which takes them out of the class of ordinary comedies. In contrast to Shakespeare, whose comedies take place in foreign lands, Schlegel points out the romanticism of Spanish national plays. The latter do not have to seek their setting in foreign lands. Honor, love and jealousy he recognizes as the main motif of Calderon's comedies. In the treatment of the religious plays the Catholic tendency of romanticism is brought out. With Calderon every poetic interest in Spanish poesy came to an end for Schlegel. Calderon is not only the culmination of Spanish but of Romantic poesy:

In seinem Werke sei alle ihre Pracht verschwendet wie bei einem Feuerwerk, wo man die buntesten Farben, die glänzenden Lichter und wunderlichsten Figuren fuer eine letzte Explosion aufzusparen pflege. 24

24 Ibid. p. 56
He contrasted Calderon and Shakespeare. Both aroused the Imagination at the beginning; then when they have won over the audience they bring the necessary unfolding of the plot. In his religious parts he compares him with Dante. He said Dante was the first great romantic artist and Calderon the last.

What magnetic power attracted the romanticists to Calderon, was created for the cult and worship of romantically inclined spirits. After two pages the romanticists found in him the longed for ideal primarily in the poetry and language. They experienced the charm of poetic language, beauty in form, colorful pictures, his grandiose Metaphors and his inexhaustible imaginative comparisons.

For Schlegel, Calderon seems to be without rival. He superseedes all in brilliance and depth. In 1828 Schlegel said:
Grosse Dichter deren begeisterte Darstellungen den katholischen Glauben verherrlichen, einen Dante, einen Calderon habe ich bewundert und geliebt. Ich liebe und bewundere sie noch. 25

Calderon stellt uns seine Hauptpersonen, Mann und Frau in den ersten Aufwallungen der Jugend dar, das Ziel nach dem sie ringen ist in ihrer Gesinnung keinem andern Gute vertauschbar. Ehre, Liebe und Eifersuch sind durchgängig die Triebfedern. Wie Calderon die Reizbarkeit des Ehrgefuehls schildert, weiss Schlegel kein treffenderes Sinnbild dafür als die fabelhafte Sage vom Hermelin, das so sehr auf die Weisse seines Felles halten soll, dass es, von den Jaegern verfolgt, sich lieber dem Tode überliefert, als sie zu beflecken. 26

25 Ibid p. 61
Schlegel tells us that Calderon wrote from his forteenth to his eighty-first year. He had enough leisure to ponder over his plans. Everything in his writings is worked out according to logical principles and the highest artistic aims. Only the noblest and finest blossom sufficed. The appearance on the stage was foremost with him. Schlegel knows no dramatist who is able to combine the physical and ethereal so successfully. His sacred legends and historical allegories are filled with religious enthusiasm. In them the Romantic drama of the Spaniards reached the peak of perfection.

On Schlegel's entire relationship to Calderon, there rests a shimmer of sunny romanticism of youth. Tears came to his eyes when he talked about Calderon. In 1813 he wrote to a friend: "J'ai eu le bonheur de contribuer a repandre en Allemagne la lecture des poètes espagnoles." 27

Schlegel's translations from Spanish date back to his Berlin days. Two volumes of "Spanisches Theater

27 Schwartz, op. cit. p. 61
contain five Calderon plays and Cervantes' "Lumancia". In "Blumenstraeusse" also published during his Berlin days he chose selections from Spanish poetry. The greatest part was devoted to Cervantes. It contained some of his best.

The Romantic era was of great importance to the art of the translator, in which Schlegel was a master. Graf Casa wrote the following eulogy of his translations:

Con un placer igual
Oi tu bella version
Que mas que una traducción
parece un original
En dos lenguas tan distintas
son tan unas las ideas
Que parece lac procreas
Al mirar come las pintas
Y en mi extrana confusión
No se como soy Cristiano
Si Schlegel es Castellano
O es Tedesco Calderon". 28

Since Schlegel was the first translator from the Spanish, he had all the difficulties of a pioneer in

28 Ibid. p. 93
that field. Schelling called Schlegel's translations not translation but inspiration. His brother wrote from Paris: "Mit dem Calderon hast Du Dir das schoenste Lorbeerreis verdient. Schoeneres Deutsch kann man nicht schreiben." 29

In A.W. Schlegel's Vienna lectures he gives us the following treatize on Calderon's religious writings. He states that Calderon is especially apt in the treatment of religious subjects. Religion is his real love, his heart of hearts. This fortunate being has found his way to freedom in faith through this earthly labyrinth of a wilderness beset by doubts. He views the storms of daily life with undisturbed calm. For him human existence is no dismal riddle. Even his tears, like the dewdrops glistening in the sun, reflect heaven. His poetry is a hymn of praise to the splendor of creation; it is Adam's first awakening, eloquence paired with adroitness of expression. Concord of humanity is for him a reflection of an all embracing love. Calderon was still in his glory when the prosaic entered other countries. Therefore he is to be considered the last representative of Romantic poesy. From

29 Ibid. p. 106
the foreword of "Blumenstraeusse" in a eulogy to Calderon, Schlegel's appreciation can be summarized:

An Calderon
In Deiner Dichtung Labyrinth versunken
Wo in des ewigen Fruehlings Jugendflore
Die Schoenheit Himmel wird, die Lieb' Aurora
Und alle Blumen lichte Sternenfunken
Herold der Wonne, Uberub nun im Chore
Sei Dir mein Gruss gesandt zum sel'gen Ohre
Und hohes Heil und Glorie zugetrunken.
Doeh welcher Trank mag dazu wuerdig dienen
Von allem was umarmt von bruensigen Sonnen
Aus Trauben ihres Busens traeft die Erde
Nur jene Reb' an Vesuv's Flammen brennen
Entserrosst dass sie in fliessenden Rubinen
Lacrima Christi frommes Nektar werde. 30

J.J.A. Bertrand in his book entitled "Cervantes et le romantisme" maintains that it was Friedrich von Schlegel who was the first one to discover the Romantic aspects of Cervantes and who made himself the apostle of the new doctrine. He was the head of the Romantic school.
And when in 1797 he became acquainted with Cervantes and Don Quijote, he was knee-deep in romanticism. He thought of

30 August Wilhelm von Schlegel, Blumenstraeusse italienischer, spanischer, und portugiesischer Poesie (Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung, 1804) Foreword p. 1
translating this masterpiece of Cervantes but left the

task to Tieck. In the meantime he became interested in
Cervantes' other works. "De cet auteur immortal, il faut
avoir lu et traduit tout ou rien."

Schlegel took up the cause of modern art, the
art romantique, and he saw in Cervantes an aspect of this
art. To him, that is to Schlegel, Spain's literature is
the most brilliant of all. He saw in it the most beautiful
offspring of the Germanic and Saracen races. He recog-
nized Cervantes as the representative poet of Spain, a
national poet. The national point of view which was to
dominate the Romantic conception of Cervantes later, alrea-
dy made itself felt in the theories of the young Schlegel:

"On pourrait croire", dit
Schlegel dans l'article de
l'Atheneum," qu'il a dans un
moment de joyeuse prodigalice,
toutes les fleurs de sa fraiche
poesie qui paraît de mille
couleurs la cerne d'abondance. 31

31 J.J.A. Bertrand, Cervantes et le romantisme
He thinks Cervantes' "novelas" as good as his other works. He enjoyed especially "Galatea y Persiles" for, he saw in it the pure type of the Romantic novel. It remains the last manifestation of the genius of Cervantes and of the conception of the novel. For him, Don Quijote has the same harmony as a musical composition or a painting. Schlegel sees in Cervantes above all, the artist and the poet; in fact he appears to him as the Spanish Goethe. Cervantes revealed to Schlegel the poesy of the Mediterranean cultures and above all, the nature of Spanish life. He has given to romanticism the nostalgia and the color of the South. Cervantes is by the dual nature of his genius at the same time subjective and objective. The transcendental poet of which Schlegel tried to find the definition. Cervantes, like Shakespeare, is in his eyes, above all, a great artist:

32 Ibid. J.J. Bertrand, p. 88
The first poetic work of Schlegel was a novel "Lucinde" which was born under the double constellation of "Wilhelm Meister" and Cervantes. Schlegel has the honor of discovering the Romantic Don Quijote and Cervantes enters now at the side of Goethe and Shakespeare into the Romantic doctrine.

Cervantes is for Schlegel the veritable "artiste romantique" highly sensitive, admirable stylist, and original creator. Don Quijote opened for Schlegel new horizons, uncovered for him the splendor meridional poesy has to offer. Thanks to his critical work on Cervantes,

33 Ibid. p. 104
the latter appeared in a new light. All kinds of new points of view were offered to the newly born Romanticism. Friedrich von Schlegel indicated the path and Wilhelm interpreted it more fully.

Wilhelm came to Cervantes after Friedrich. He wrote on the subject in various magazines: "L'ideal du critique est de comprendre l'art du passe et d'y chercher des licons pour l'avenir. C'est l'Espagne qui semble propre a inspirer l'art nouveau." 34

The play of words in Don Quijote impresses him. "Il y a dans le style de Cervantes une belle symetrie, une charman­te proportion, une phrase harmonieuse et bien arrondie, un souffle delicat de grace spirituelle." 35

The theatre also attracted Wilhelm, especially the Romantic drama. He admired "Numancia." For him the dramatic art only manifests itself in the Romantic pieces, the most original and native to their country. Cervantes

34 Ibid. p. 125
35 Ibid. p. 158
seemed to him one of the founders of this idea. Later Schlegel found Calderon far superior to Cervantes but in drama he feels that Cervantes inspired the music of Calderon. He says that Cervantes is one of the most beautiful flowers in the garden of European art, which he, Schlegel dreams of transplanting to Germany so that it might spread throughout this country. From 1799 on, he renders homage to all the phases of this genius. Like his brother, he places the novel at the base of the romantic doctrine. For Wilhelm Schlegel Don Quijote is the novel of the eternal battle between prose and poetry: poetry represented by Don Quijote and prose by the squire. He discovered in the style of Cervantes as in that of Goethe a special rhythm, the rhythm of beautiful prose which shows these qualities: wit, eloquence and poesy. In short both brothers found in Cervantes and Calderon the highest form of Romantic art.

By their untiring efforts they proved their point. No effort was too much for them. They lectured; they wrote; they debated, always harping on the one theme: the Romantic
aspects of the writings of Cervantes and Calderon. They, undoubtedly, deserve to be called the inspiring leaders of the other pioneering romanticists to whom the following chapter will be devoted.
CHAPTER IV

OTHER WRITERS' CONTRIBUTION

TO THE SUBJECT

Although the Schlegel brothers' contribution to the revival of interest in Spanish Romanticism was great, they were not the only ones active in this field. There were other German Romantic writers who played a decisive part in this new movement and who turned to Spain for inspiration, Spain, the country that was rediscovered by the German Romanticists. To the latter Calderon and Cervantes stood out as shining examples of romantic art. According to J.J. Bertrand in his "Cervantes et le Romanticisme Allemand", German Romanticism discovered an unknown artist, a great thinker, who had an original conception of art and life and expressed it in powerful symbols. This was none other than Cervantes.

Who were some of the other writers that found in Calderon and Cervantes their ideal? - Lessing ought to
be mentioned first because he prepared the ground for the spread of interest in Spanish literature in Germany. He liberated his country from French servitude and opened its doors to Spain. Wieland followed in his footsteps and even showed the influence of Cervantes in his own writings. Gerstenberg and Kaestener regretted that Cervantes did not live in their time. J.A. Dieze was an indefatigable worker in the field of Spanish literature at Goettingen. "Dieze a apporte le gout de la recherche scientifique de vastes materiaux bibliographiques et historique et un outil de travail qui malgre ses imperfections allait permettre de fonder l'histoire de la litterature hispanique." 35 Schiebeler, who studied at Goettingen under Dieze, reflects the judgement of his master, when he states that Don Quijote is one of the worlds finest novels. Bertuch translated the "Lieder" of Villegas and wrote a study of the Spanish theatre. He collaborated with "Teitscher Merkur"

and founded his own review: "Magazin der Spanischen und Portuguesischen Literatur." Later he published an anthology "Manuel de la language espanola", which was followed by a translation of Don Quijote in 1775. In his introduction on the life of Cervantes he states what he likes best about this author is, that he paints men as they are everywhere and will always be. His translation was a great success. "Grâce à elle, l'esprit de Cervantes put penetrer dans toutes les couches du peuple allemand." 36

Soden worked under his direction and in the spirit of Bertuch. He translated his "novolas" and in 1782 published a translation of "Persiles". He later attempted to place Don Quijote on the stage. Both, Bertuch and Soden furthered Spanish-German relationship which was started by Dieze. Ch. Gottlieb von Murr also made his contribution in his "Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur" and in his other Magazine, "Neues Journal fuer Litteratur und Kunstgeschichte

36 Ibid. p. 31
Its province was to keep the world informed on all Phases of Spanish endeavors. Cervantes was his favorite writer. Murr kept the relationship between Germany and Spain alive. For the first time after many years one found again the intellectual elite of Spain and one renewed the old ties. Butenschoen, Calvi, von Kleist followed Murr and Dieze. Butenschoen wrote the following poem in honor of Cervantes:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Laechelnd stehn sie um ihn,} \\
&\text{Laechelnd umarmen,} \\
&\text{Sie nun den, der aus ihren} \\
&\text{Duesteren Gesichtern,} \\
&\text{Sonnen herworbief,} \\
&\text{Sie jauchzen, und} \\
&\text{Gott reicht ihm} \\
&\text{Laechelnd die Krone. 37}
\end{align*}
\]

In 1796 "Litterarische Zusatze zu Johann Sulzers allgemeine Theorie der schoenen Kuenste" by Friedrich von Blankenburg appeared. It was a Compendium of Spanish works with the emphasis on Cervantes.

\[37 \text{Ibid. p. 39}\]
Un esprit nouveau souffle a travers la litterature allemande. On se passionne de moins pour la verite general de l'oeuvre d'art, de plus en plus pour son pittoresque actual, pour ses realites populaires pour ce qu'elle a d'original et de poetique. Les voyageurs qui parcourent l'Espagne, Herder, les Stuermer und Draenger, Schiller et Goethe preparent des voies nouvelles ou's engagera hardiment le romantisme tout entier. 38

The knowledge of the Spanish language in Germany progressed slowly but the following aids spurred it on. In 1778 at Erfurt a grammar of Bahrödt appeared. In 1790 Bertuchs "Manual de la lengua espanola" came on the market, and also Calvis "Spanische Sprachlehre und Chrestomatie". Travel books began to be read avidly. Among the most important of the latter were Kaufholds "Spanien wie es gegewaertig ist" and "Reise von Amsterdam ueber Madrid" by C.Y. Fischer. Alexander von Humboldt visited the country in 1798 and his reactions influenced his

38 Ibid. p.48
his fellow countrymen greatly. Although his diary disappeared, the following observations were gleaned from his letters to Goethe: "Ce qui m'intéresse le plus avouait il cest la littérature et la langue espagnole quon ne peut étudier qu'en Espagne." Spanish poesy seemed beautiful to him, of an admirable harmony of an astonishing freedom of syntax. Goethe and Schiller owe to Humboldt their interest in Spain and its writers. On their return to Germany the brothers Humboldt had no small influence in the growing interest and affection for things Spanish in Germany. So though Germany and its writers Spain found admirers and ardent defenders. When Masson in 1782 asked: "What has Spain done for Europe?" the most vigorous answer came from Berlin Academy 1786. L'Abbe Denina defended the Spaniards by saying: "La France doit plus a l'Espagne de que les autres pays ne doivent a la France." 50

49 Ibid. p. 64
50 Ibid. p. 64
In all ways, through reports of travelers, and studies of savants, Germany soon became well informed on all things Spanish and the books that were already known took on another meaning. A new spirit tormented the young generation. The literary movement "Sturm und Drang" arose against the old cult of reason and proclaimed the rights of inspiration and genius. The new school showed a decided preference for Spain, the Spain of the past, and for the heroes of her medieval history. Hamann, the precursor of Sturm und Drang was especially interested in Cervantes. He admired "La beaute et la plenitude des periodes du style cervantescque, qui donnent a la forme magistrale de ses recits tant de calme et de dignite grave." 51

51 Ibid. p. 72
In his correspondence with Hamann, Herder manifested great interest in Cervantes. He had to his joy discovered a new Spain, adventurous and gentle, of which he had dreamed. He said it was Spain in which two civilizations were intermingled: the Saracen and the Roman-Christian. Its "Volkslied" had something of the Gothic "Volkslied". Its Arabic and German elements rendered its literature doubly curious and original. These reflections provoked new sympathies in Germany.

Schiller had made the acquaintance of Cervantes at an early age. His "Die Raebuer" shows this influence. He saw in "Don Quijote" the romantic antithesis between the ideal world and vulgar reality. Goethe was profoundly attracted to Cervantes. He mentioned "Don Quijote" to Frau von Stein. His works showed cervantesque influence. His "Urmeister" shows traces and his "Mignon" seems more Spanish than Italian. "Wilhelm Meister" shows
some resemblance to Don Quijote. In 1795 Goethe wrote to Schiller: "J'ai trouve dans les nouvelles de Cervantes un veritable tresor ou l'on peut s'amuser et s'instruire tout ensemble." 52

All over Germany groups were formed to make a special study of Cervantes and Spanish literature especially in Weimar, Hamburg, Koenigsberg and Berlin. Herder, Murr and Humboldt understood that Don Quijote is above all a picture of Spain and the eternal expression of an entire world. It was to become a classic of the new Romantic generation.

Ludwig Tieck, a poet and critic, became interested in Cervantes at an early age. He saw translations of Bertuch and devoured them. In the year 1792 at Goettinge he met Tychsen, a student of Spanish and he himself began Spanish. By 1799 he knew all of

52 Ibid, p. 79
Cervantes. In his eyes the author was above all a writer for delicate and artistic souls. In several of Tieck's writings Cervantes' influence was apparent: "Ulrich der Empfindsame", "Der gestiefelte Kater", "Die verkehrte Welt". Tieck sees in Cervantes like the Schlegel brothers, an artist, a true poet, grave and profound and truly noble. His translation was a great work and for the first time the public received a faithful image of Don Quijote. Besides it brought to the German imagination radiant visions of an unknown world. It acted upon the German reader as a modern work, sufficiently German and perfectly Romantic.

Schelling, allied to the great artists of this époque, tried to conciliate antique and modern art in searching "l'idée centrale". According to him, "Don Quijote" is the most striking example of mythology created by the genius of an individual. The theme of "Don Quijote" he portrays as a conflict
between the ideal and the real. Irony is the basis of the novel. The whole novel appears to him as a powerful picture of Spain, a novel equidistant from the epic and the drama. In his own words: "C'est fruit d'un esprit toit a tait mur." 53 After the Schlegel brothers, Schelling saw in the Spanish poet the master of the novel and of romanticism:

La lutte du chevalier errant lui apparaît conné un symbole de la lutte moderne entre l'idéal et la réalité. Cette nouvelle conception eleve Cervantes au-dessus de tous les autres poètes. Son oeuvre est aux yeux du philosophe un monde parfaitement organisé, un tableau de l'Espagne et en même temps de la vie universelle. 54

Thus his ideas also contributed to the cult of Cervantes among the romanticists.

53 Ibid., 193
54 Ibid., p. 204
Schubert, Goerres, Creuzer, Caroline von Guenderode were sensitive to the charms of the Orient. For them, Spain burst out in the most romantic colors. Jakob Grimm learned Spanish by himself and Uhland occupied himself with "romances". Stendel and Keil published "Sammlung Spanischer Original - Romane".


Grace Aux allemands Don Quijote est apparu comme une source eternelle de poesie de vie et de pensee. C'est a grace a leur enthousiaste exegese que Don Quijote a conquis désormais la noble autorite d'un Faus ou d'un Hamlet, et que Cervantes peut etre désormais mis au rang des plus grands. 55

55 Ibid. p. 634
After the last revolution two literary factions were formed in Spain. The one group admired the French dramatic writers and the other defended with ardor the honor of the old Spanish theatre. The latter had its headquarters at Cadiz and was presided over by a German, Boehl von Faber, consul of the hanseatic cities who had been living at Cadiz for about thirty years. This little literary war is remarkable enough in that the severe critics of the capital criticized severely the style of Calderon and pretended that he violated all rules of the Spanish language while the stranger of Cadiz pointed out more than seventy mistakes which were found in a German translation by this critic in Madrid. Among the answers that Boehl von Faber gave to Mora, his opponent, was the following:

Que no teniendo esta controversia nada de particular sino que el detractor de Calderon sea un espanol, y que en Espana solo un aleman haya
Boehl von Faber and friends in Hamburg show in their correspondence how interested they are in this quarrel. Boehl von Faber talks about "Huelfstruppen arriving from Germany to take up the fight for Calderon and his style. Numbers of articles appeared in German magazines about this quarrel. In "Nachgel. Schriften" edited by L. Tieck and Frau von Rauner the following excerpt appeared:

Merkwuerdig ist es, dass die Aeusserungen des Herrn von Schlegel ueber Calderon in Spanien schon einen Streit veranlasst haben. Ein dort lebender Deutscher hat sie den Spaniern in ihrer Sprache bekannt gemacht um sie dadurch zu erinnern was sie an ihrem grossen Dichter besitzen. Dagegen hat sich ein Spanier aufgelennt und von der plattesten, modernen Ansicht aus

56 Camille Pitollet, La Querelle Calderonienne J.M. Boehl de Faber et Jose J. de Mora (Paris: F. Alcan, 1909) p. XI
seinen grossen Landsmann nebst
dessen fremden Verehrer angegrif-
fen, so dass der Deutsche genoetigt
worden, jenen gegen sein eigenes
Volk zu verteidigen. 57

In der "Beilage literarisches Wochenblatt"

the following appeared:

Ja man kennt ihn (Calderon)
vielleicht in Deutschland besser
als in seinem Vaterlande das sich
auch vom Flitterglanz des soge-
nannten goldenen Zeitalters der
franzoesischen Literatur zur
Goetzenanbetung verlocken liess,
doch jetzt sich selbst wieder-
gegeben, auch wohl zu besserer
Selbstschauetzung zurueckgekehrt sein
wird. 58

In the allgemeine encyclopedia of Froch und Gruber
one speaks of the brave German defender of Calderon.
In the Goettinger Anzeiger, Julius mentions the
German who attacks the Spaniards who sinned against
the national honor of Spain because they preferred
French drama. In Spain Calderon was neglected at the
time and in Germany presented. The German tries to
change the opinions of his opponent and at the same time acquaint Spanish readers with German writers. In "Originalien aus dem Gebiete der Wahrheit, Kunst, Laune und Phantasie" the following was taken:

An diese schoene unserem Volke zur Ehre gereichende Reihe schliesst sich jetzt ein neuer, wuerdiger Name, Johann Boehl von Faber aus Hamburg, hanseatischer General Konsul in Cadiz. Er lebt nach einem Aufenthalt in Deutschland wieder in Spanien und heftet Beachtung auf aeltere spanische Dichtung, welches von grosser Wichtigkeit ist, da spanische Gelehrte franzoesische Literatur als Vorbild ansehen und nicht ihre eigene Literatur. 59

Even to England the word spread of Boehl von Faber's work. In the London Monthly review Boehl von Faber is commended for his twenty years' study of ancient Spanish poetry and in the Edinburgh Magazine of Blackwood and article by Julius was printed, defending his valiant friend Boehl von Faber. He mentions his saving the greatest part of Spanish poems from obli-

59 Ibid. p. XVII
vion and torpidity of modern Spain, and states
that, if Boehl von Faber had published elsewhere
the delightful relics of the early German, Scandi-
navian or English poetry, he would have received a
different reception. In 1823 John Bowring published
an article in a London magazine which reappeared the
same year in Galignan's Magazine "Spanish Romances"!
"No man has probably done so much for the revival
of old Spanish poetical literature as Boehl von
Faber." 60 Duran in his critical work had the follow-
ing to say on the subject:

A tal grado de miseria
se hallaba reducida la litera-
tura dramática en todas
partes cuando a principios de
este siglo algunos sabios ale-
manes se atrevieron en fin a
proclamar la emancipación
literaria de la Europa y a
elogiar y admirar las grandio-
sas creaciones de las dramáticas
españoles. 61

60 Ibid. p. XIX
61 A. Duran, Discurso sobre el influjo que ha
tenido la critica moderna en la decadencia del teatro
antiguo español (Madrid: 1870) Vol.II. p. 280
Alcala Caliiano calls Boehl von Faber a gentleman of vast knowledge who has no equal in his love and understanding for Spanish books. And the quarrel between those who took French classicism as their model and those who turned to the writers of the Golden Age for their models, was kept alive in the "Crónica científica y literaria" which appeared several times a week.

Aber seltsam!, die so glänzende und mit so siegreicher Klarheit durchgeführte Theorie des berühmten deutschen Kritikers blieb zunächst ohne alle Rückwirkung auf Spanien. Im glorreichen Kampfe schüttelte die edle spanische Nation das politische Joch des Nachbarstaates ab, aber Abhängigkeit von den literarischen Gesetzen die sie einst von dort empfangen hatte, dauerte fort. So tief hatten die französischen Ideen in Spanien Wurzel gefasst, dass sich im Jahre 1818, als unser trefflicher Landsmann Boehl von Faber, die Ansichten Schleers über Calderon in Spaniens Sprache bekannt machte, ein allgemeiner Kampf gegen dieselben
erhob. Dieser Streit wurde in Tageblättern und Flugschriften aufs' eifrigste geführt, und der Deutsche musste darin die Sache des grossen Castiliers gegen die eigenen Landsleute des letzteren verteidigen. 62

Who was this Boehl von Faber who carried on this fight so valiantly? - Boehl von Faber was born in Hamburg in 1770. Through his study of Spanish he became interested in that country and its writers and finally established himself in Cadiz. From there he carried on his fight. In 1821 he published in Hamburg "Floresta de Rimas antiguas" and in 1832 "teatro espanol anterior a Lope de Vega." His father had founded a business house in Cadiz and realized a fortune there. Boehl lived with his wife, a Hypochondriac and his daughter, the famous Fernan Caballero. His opinion of Spain can be summed up

62 Friedrich Schack, Geschichte der spanischen Literatur, (Berlin, 1845) Vol. III, p. 504
In the following words about his wife: "Es wird mich freuen, wenn sie sich dadurch so wie ich, der trueben Gegenwart entrissen in jenes wunderbare poetische Land versetzt fuhlen wird, welches die einzige Heimat edler Gemueter ist."

About the literature of antiquity he becomes ecstatic. He mentions how he has thrust himself into a study of old Spanish literature and discovered an entirely new world. He goes on to say that the fine, noble artistic spirit of this epoch is even reflected in the smallest pamphlet of that time, but especially apparent in the dramatic art, that is not even understood by present day public that vigorously applauds the trash presented to them.

In protest to the neglect of old writers, Boehl von Faber wrote a few Spanish letters which were printed in Madrid. This precipitated the Calderonean Quarrel.

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63 Bamille Pitollet, La Querelle Calderonienne J.N. De Faber et Jose J.de Mora, (Paris: 1909 p. 27
In Cadiz appeared a magazine "Mercurio Caditano" and in 1814 an article "Reflexiones de Schlegel sobre el teatro traducidas del Aleman" was published, followed by an answer signed by Mirtilo Caditano, which was a tirade against the Romantic point of view.

In 1817 Mora reopened the debate, solidly armed for the battle. Of the two, Boehl von Faber was the better informed also outside of the sphere of Spanish literature. Mora maintained that cultured Europe had been conducted into new channels in literary matters by the French revolution. Boehl von Faber contested this and asked Mora to mention one great English or German name in Literature, influenced by the French revolution. Thereupon Mora revealed his ignorance about Scott, Burns, Southey, Wordsworth, Goethe, Schiller, Tieck and the Schlegel brothers.

As soon as an article appeared in "La Cronica" of Mora in Madrid, Boehl answered it. At the beginning he was quite agreeable. But when Mora
suddenly attacked him vehemently in his paper, sparing neither Calderon nor the Germans, Boehl answered in kind. He finally won over the Diario Mercantil to his cause in which this answer appeared:

Los opiniones de Schlegel sobre el drama fundadas sobre el conocimiento intime de todas las naciones y literatures, solo se ven contestadas por aquellos paisanos nuestros que nunca han sabido salir de la estrecha esfera de su propio idioma y cuyos compendios poeticos caeran en profundo olvido, como han caido los dramas de Diderot, de Mercier y otros de llorosa memoria y como caen continuamente los capriches de la mode. 63

Then Boehl started a series of articles in "Diario Mercantil" under "Noticias literarias originales". They also contained selections from Schlegel's lectures. On the 30th of June Boehl von Faber sent to his friend Julius in Hamburg the following in a letter:

Dieser Streit hat mehr Aufsehen gemacht als ich erwartete. In Hinsicht des Gegen-
standes sind die Stimmen
geteilt; was aber die Fuehrung
des Streites betrifft, so sind
t alle Stimmen fuer mich, da sich
mein Gegner hoechst ungerecht
benommen und durch seinen
Hass gegen mich und Schlegel
verleiten liess und dadurch das
unsinnigste Zeug von der Welt
ans Licht gefoerdert hat. ..... Ich glaube nicht den Sieg
so leicht zu erringen und
mochte nur, dass Schlegel
den ganzen Vorgang erfuehre
und sich darueber irgend wo
vernehmen liesse, obwohl es
auf der anderen Seite zu viel
Ehre fuer einen so veraecht-
lichen Klaeffer sein wuerde,
dass ein Schlegel von ihm
Notiz nehme. 64

Mora takes up his tirades again on June 12th
in the Cronica. He states that superiority of romanticists
over classicists is an absurdity. It is laughable that
a foreigner should come to sell to the Spaniards as
something precious the old utensils that they had
discarded as useless.

Through Boehl von Faber's repeated attacks
on Mora and his publication he could finally write to
his friend Julius that he had succeeded in silencing

64 Ibid. p. 135
his opponent. The Cronica lost face and stopped the attacks on Calderon and the Germans. Mora finally knew that he was defeated. And on the 20th of April 1820 Boehl was made a member of the Real Academia Espanola in recognition of his services in behalf of literary Spain.

Even then his work in the good cause did not cease. In 1823 there appeared his "Tercera Parte del pasatiempo en defensa de Calderon y del Teatro Antiguo Espanol". Shortly after two small pamphlets entitled "Vindicaciones de Calderon y del Teatro Antiguo Espanol Contra Los afrancesados en Literatura" were put out by Boehl. The following statement was taken from one of them: "No hay verdadero patriotismo sin amor a la literatura nacional, y sin predileccion hacia aquellos sublimes ingenios que por el medio de la poesia enmoblecen el alma y recrean el entendimiento." 65

65 Ibid. p. 252
Among the things in these pamphlets there was a translation of the opinions of Schlegel about Spanish poetry that had motivated this dispute and a defense of these opinions against the critique of Miguel Cadisano, and, besides, opinions of foreign as well as Spanish writers about the merits of Calderon. Boehr von Faber sent pamphlets to friends in Hamburg to be passed around. To the end he fought for recognition of Spanish literature of the Golden Age.

Critics agree that this defense of Calderon by Boehr von Faber played no small part in arousing the interest of Spaniards in the great writers of the past.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

We have shown that Romanticism is a reaction from the classical to medieval models of literature which originated in Germany in the last half of the 18th century. It gave the world a new conception of beauty of feeling and emotion, of longing and love, something, at times, intangible, what the Germans call "Stimmung". It is dynamic and everchanging. It has its roots in our own soil. It expresses our religion and recalls our history. The whole panorama of life which is based on contrasts is reflected in Romanticism. Prose and poetry, nature and art, humor and sternness, memory and premonition, spirituality and materialism. Life and death are smoothly blended.

The land that called up the romanticists' dream of marvelous and adventurous extravagance was Spain and the first writer who offered them a powerful
authentic picture of this Spain, was Cervantes. His romantic adventures, the pilgrimages, the "novelas" and "Persiles" aroused their imagination. They admired the poet and the philosopher in him. They hailed his "Don Quijote" as a truly Romantic production that gave an ample picture of the world and humanity.

In turning to Catholicism and mysticism the German Romanticists came upon Calderon and received him with open arms. He took on enormous proportions in their eyes. Friedrich von Schlegel considered him greater than Shakespeare, for did he not give us a beautiful picture of the Middle Ages with their Catholicism, allegorical visions and picturesque background?

Who were some of these Romanticists who ressurected Cervantes and Calderon? The two most important were Friedrich and Wilhelm von Schlegel who made Spanish writers known through their lectures
and publication. Then, next in importance was Boehl von Faber who publicized the Schlegel brothers and what they stood for, in his public quarrel with the Spanish journalist Mora. Also of great importance were the following: J. A. Dieze, Friedrich Bouterweck, and Tieck. Then came the representatives of the new age of sentiment, the Stuermer and Dranger, Hamann, Herder, Schiller and Goethe.

Were the above mentioned writers the first to show an interest in Spanish Literature? Was there any contact between the two countries before the Romantic period? For that answer let us go back to the 16th century when Anton Fugger wrote to a friend in 1541 that trade relations between the two countries were leading to closer cultural relations.

At this period trade between the two countries was extensive. Even to the first part of the 16th century German firms of Cologne, Regensburg and Augsburg had representatives in Spain. And when German
printers spread their art throughout the Iberian peninsula, the spiritual ties were strengthened even more.

Among the other influences that brought the two countries closer together were the pilgrims. As early as 1080 pilgrimages to Spain took place and in the 15th century a pilgrim's Baedeker was published. These pilgrimages and the publications of the guide-book brought about a spiritual exchange in the field of Catholic theology which led to an interest in the religious writings of the 15th and 16th century Spain, and to translations of the works of Luis de Granady and Teresa de Jesus.

Even the military had a part in this rapprochement between the two countries. German soldiers streamed into Spain to aid in the fight against the Moors; others fought side by side with the Spaniards in the wars against the Turks. In Germany Charles V. was praised in prose and verse.
Lastly the Spanish Jews should not be forgotten, for, they did their part in keeping interest in Spanish literature alive even after their expulsion from Spain. They kept in touch with the literary life of the homeland and translated many famous works.

Because of the above mentioned pioneers Spanish literary influence became apparent around 1600. A great interest in Cervantes swept Europe, especially Germany. In 1621 a part of Don Quijote was translated which was followed by translations of other famous works in various sections of the country. Parts to "Don Quijote" were even dramatized. Calderon and Lope de Vega also came in for their share of praise. But one had to wait for the turn of the 19th century for the complete revival of interest in the Golden Age writers, for which the German romanticists were responsible. As was stated before, of this
group the Schlegel brothers were the most important.

A. W. Schlegel first became interested in Spanish literature in his Goettinger days at the end of the 18th century. At that time the University of Goettingen was considered the cultural abode of the Spanish language. The height of his activities in the field of Spanish literature was reached in his Berlin lectures in which he gave a survey of all dramatic works of Calderon. During this period he also gave us "Blumenstraeusse" and a number of Calderon translations. Schlegel especially praised the latter's religious dramas and pointed out the romanticism of his national plays which did not seek their setting in foreign lands. The sacred legends and allegories filled him with religious enthusiasm. In short he worshipped Calderon.

Tears actually came into his eyes when he talked about this great author.

What S. W. von Schlegel did for Calderon his brother Friedrich did for Cervantes. He was the
first one to discover the Romantic aspects of Cervantes and saw in him the representative poet of Spain. For him "Don Quijote" had the same harmony as a musical composition or a painting. It gave to romanticism the nostalgia and the color of the South.

What other German writers were interested in Spain and its literary past? One of them was Lessing, who also found "Don Quijote" the most famous production of that country. He actually prepared the ground for the spread of interest in Spanish literature in Germany. He freed his country from French servitude and guided it to Spain. Wieland followed him. Gerstenberg and Kaestener regretted the fact that Cervantes did not live in their time. Dieze was an indefatigable worker in the field of research at Goettingen and Gottlieb von Murr kept the world informed on all phases of Spanish endeavor in his "Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur Allgemeinen Literatur" and "Neues Journal fuer Literatur und Kunstgeschichte". Butenschoen, Calvi, and Kleist followed such well known and truly deserving men as
Murr and Dieze. In 1796 Friedrich von Blankenburg published his "Literarische Zusaetze zu Johann Sulzers allgemeine Theorie der schoenen Kuenste". A compendium of Spanish works with emphasis on Cervantes. The following helped to further the spread of knowledge of the Spanish language:

Bahrd with his grammar, Bertuch with his "Manual de la lengua espanol" and Calvi with his "Spanische Sprachlehre und Chrestomatie". Kaufhold, Fischer and Humboldt with their travel descriptions also helped the cause.

The "Stuermer und Draeanger", Herder and Hamann were high in their praise of Spain and its writers. Schiller and Goether were both attracted to Spain and its writers, and both show Spanish influence in their works. Tieck showed an interest at an early age in Cervantes of whose Don Quijote he made a translation which gave the public a faithful image of Don Quijote for the first time. Schelling also praised Don Quijote very highly. He called it the fruit of a ripe mind.
Some minor writers sensitive to the charm of Spain were Schubert, Goerres, Creuzer, Caroline von Gunderode; Jakob Grimm, Keil, Stendel, Brentano, Gries and Grillparzer joined the Calderon worshippers. Gries made a good translation of the works of this great author and Grillparzer found in him his ideal. His "Der Traum ein Leben" shows Calderón's influence.

The writer who perhaps contributed most to the revival by publicising the Schlegel brothers and what they stood for, was Boehl von Faber who carried on a literary war with a journalist in Madrid about the value of the writings of Calderon and the Golden Age as a whole. For his efforts in defence of Calderon he was made a member of the Spanish Academy.

From the above findings it is apparent that the Romantic writers of Germany led by the Schlegel brothers were the pioneers in the revival of interest in the Spanish Romanticism of the Golden Age. By every means at their disposal: research,
translation, lectures, and publications they acquainted the public with their aims. And no pedantic works were theirs but live productions full of fervor and enthusiasm. This inner fire set other hearts on fire until it spread like a conflagration over all of Europe and even into Spain where Cervantes and Calderon became the idols of the day. The shackles of French subservience were thrown off and once more the treasures of the Golden Age came into their own.

What were some of the positive results of the efforts of the romanticists? And how was the acceptance of their idea furthered in Spain? Of course Boehl von Faber, as was mentioned before, deserves the most credit, due to his publicizing the work of the Schlegel brothers in Spain. His being made a member of the Spanish Academy is evidence enough that his opinions carried weight. Moreover August Wilhelm von Schlegel's lectures were translated into French in 1814 and the Spanish writers in exile came in contact with them and were influenced
by them. To a limited extent the translations were also read in Spain. The Germans' interest in balladry also had direct repercussions in Spain. Herder with his elegant "Silva de romances viejos" containing an introduction in Spanish, were received with acclaim. But the "Sammlung" of C. B. Depping had the greatest influence in Spain and was even translated by a Spanish refugee in London in 1844. It was reissued by Antonio Alcala Galiano with the following preface by Depping:

Cuando por la vez primera en 1817 publique' yo mi obra poca ayuda encontre en los trabajos de los recopiladores espanoles y tuve que vencer grandes dificultades ..... Desde entonces acá se ha despertado la afición a la antigua poesia espanola en la tierra misma donde ella nacio..... 66

Boehl von Faber's "Flosesta de Rima Antiguas Castellanas" although published in Germany, was mainly compiled in Spain with the collaboration of friends in Madrid. It was received favorably in the Spanish press where it got considerable attention. The exiles' London Review, "Ocios de Españoles emigrados" devoted a twenty-page notice to it urging Spaniards to follow in Boehl's footsteps. These works of Boehl as well as the writings of the Schlegel brothers aroused the interest of Walter Scott, Byron, Chateaubriand and Manzoni in their respective countries. So directly or indirectly the Spanish writers of the nineteenth century were influenced by German Romanticism.

When in 1833 the emigres returned from their various places of exile they were filled with their enthusiasm for the new literary trend and became the champions of the new doctrines in Spain.

One of the most important of those who returne from exile in France was Martinez de la Rosa. His "Conjuracion de la Venecia" in 1834 introduced
romanticism in the theatre. It was definitely a product of the exile's stay in France where he was attracted by the new movement.

Don Angel de Saavedra, the duke of Rivas, who had left his country in 1823 spent eleven years in England, France and Italy. He returned to Spain imbued with the new romanticism. His first production in the new style was "El moro exposito", the best epic of modern Spain and the first great Romantic production in Spanish literature. Fine poetic passages and beautiful presentation of national legends are his contribution to the new school. In his famous drama "Don Alvaro", he gave us the most powerful production of the whole Romantic movement in Spain.

Another returned emigre, Antonio Alcala' Galiano made his contribution to the new doctrine in his manifesto in defense of romanticism, which he wrote as a preface to the first edition of "El moro exposito".
Jose de Esproncede, the most dynamic of the returned exile, was a great admirer of Byron with whom he came in contact in England. Although some of his works show the byronic spirit, in his "Diablos Mundo" there is a definite Goethe influence apparent.

His successor, Zorilla, owes his popularity to his selection of native themes and an appeal to primitive sentiments, such as courage, patriotism and religion. His wife, a great admirer of E. T. A. Hoffman inspired her Husband to write "La Pasionara" in the fantastic style of that writer.

One of the most important Romantic dramas of the year 1836 was "El Trovador" by Antonio Garcia Gutierrez who was closely connected with the early romantic movement in Spain. "El pájaro" "El rey monje" and "El Encubierto de Valencia" show the influence of the French romanticist. "Las Bodas de Dona Sancho" and "El Tesoro del rey" turn to the national past for their theme.
Jouan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, born of a Spanish mother and a German father displayed a typically German patience in searching for obscure and historical details for the setting of his plays. In "Los amantes de Teruel" both sides of his temperament and art are revealed at their finest.

The above mentioned writers are the most outstanding of the Romantic movement who in some way or other were tinged by the German Romantic doctrine either by direct contact or indirectly through England, France or Italy.

With what great pleasure the Schlegel brothers and Boehl von Faber must look down from the Elysian fields upon the fruits of their efforts.


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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Bertha Riss has been read and approved by two members of the Department of Modern Languages.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

1-27-47
Date

Signature of Adviser