

JOVELLANOS STUDIES, 1901-1973:
A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

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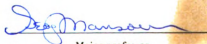
A Critical Bibliography

presented by

Lilian Libby Rick

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Spanish Literature



Major professor

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ABSTRACT

JOVELLANOS STUDIES
(1902-1973)

A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

By

Lilian Libby Rick

The literature of Eighteenth Century Spain has been to a large extent neglected by scholars, but during the last two decades an upsurge of interest in this period has produced the need for a re-assessment of its literature. The Spanish Enlightenment represented a reverence for tradition along with a spirit of reform impelled by a consciousness of Spanish backwardness, a faith in science as well as profound Catholic orthodoxy; a critical attitude toward the nobility and at the same time a belief in enlightened despotism; a spirit of philanthropy and optimism together with a faith in the efficacy of education. These tenets, to an extent typical of the century, but at the same time uniquely Spanish, are to a remarkable degree embodied in the person of Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, a man who partook of both worlds, the scholastic and scientific, the age of faith and the age of scepticism, the traditional and absolutist as well as the liberal and revolutionary. His contribution was accomplished through his ability to accommodate and harmonize these patently disparate elements into a cohesive and functional plan for the betterment of Spain and mankind. Because of the wide-ranging resonance of his ideas on future generations, Jovellanos deserves more careful study and critical attention than he has received in the past century and a half. But such

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investigation should begin with a careful assessment of what has been accomplished in the past in this field, particularly during the present century. The present thesis, therefore, evaluates the scholarship on Jovellanos and concentrates on studies written since the publication of Julio Somoza's Inventario de un jovellanista (Madrid, 1902).

Part I of the thesis includes an introduction, in which Jovellanos' position in Eighteenth Century Spain is assessed and evaluated, and a bibliographical essay, in which are traced the currents of criticism concerning Jovellanos since his death, dealing especially with that written during the present century. Any apparent changes in attitude or emphasis, manner or style of criticism, nationality of the critics, volume of material published, etc., have been pointed out, and, where possible, related to existing social, political or economic conditions, as well as philosophical trends and literary modes operative at the time these studies were written.

Part II of this study consists of a critical bibliography of studies about Jovellanos. Works are listed alphabetically by author, each with a code number to facilitate reference. Following each bibliographic entry is a brief descriptive resumé and usually this writer's critical observations on the work which point out its contribution to Jovellanos studies. These reviews are not of uniform length, and some are longer than one might expect to find in a bibliography of this kind. It was felt, however, that the thoroughness of the treatment, as well as the occasional direct quotations included, were warranted in view of the increased value they might thus have for future Jovellanos researchers.

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JOVELLANOS STUDIES, 1901-1973:

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by

Lilian Libby Rick

A THESIS

Submitted to

Michigan State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Romance Languages

1973

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Acknowledgments

Much of the material for this study has been obtained through the Interlibrary Loan Department of Michigan State University, whose director, Walter G. Gorman, has been most helpful.

My special gratitude goes to Dr. George Spencer for his generous expenditure of time and effort in assisting in the preparation of this study. His constant aid and encouragement have made this work possible.

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Studies on Jovellanos prior to 1902 not listed

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The literature of Jovellanos and his contemporaries has to a large extent neglected by scholars. Not until the past few decades a renaissance of interest in this period has developed. This is due of the need for a reassessment of the literature. Scholars have begun to view it as a part of a whole which laid the foundations of subsequent periods and to study the "Spanish renaissance" for today's world.¹

During the past twenty years renewed interest in the Eighteenth Century has received great stimulus from Spain's monumental work, *L'Espagne au dix-huitième siècle ou la XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1909) which appeared in Spanish translation as *la España ilustrada de la XVIII^a centuria* (Madrid, 1957). Political and social conditions of the Eighteenth Century were discussed by Antonio Góngora in his *Historia social de España en el siglo XVIII* (Madrid, 1921). The author also wrote an excellent study of the political and social conditions of the latter part of the century. *El despotismo ilustrado* (Madrid, 1921) was the first attempt to analyse Spain's situation in the latter part of the century in the thought of Europe on el pensamiento ilustrado (Madrid, 1935). In the same year Vicente Rodríguez Carvajal published *El intento español de ilustración* (Madrid, 1935). In a more popular and artistic vein, José María Santiago Alcolea brought out their profusely illustrated *Historia de la cultura española: El siglo XVIII* (Barcelona, 1937). Juan Marichal analysed the personality, thought and style of Jovellanos, Colmeiro and Feijoo in his *Voluntad de arte* (Barcelona, 1937), and Richard Herr soon afterwards published an excellent study of the period in *The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton, 1938). Another American, John Cook, wrote a detailed study of neoclassical theatre, *Neoclassic Drama in Spain, Theory and Practice* (Dallas, 1939), the first study of importance in this field since José McClelland's treatise of 1937, *The Origins of the Romantic Movement in Spain* (Liverpool, 1937). Rodolfo Regalado published *Literatura española: siglo XVIII y la primera mitad del XIX* (Buenos

Part I

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Introduction

The literature of Eighteenth Century Spain has been to a large extent neglected by scholars, but within the past two decades a renaissance of interest in this period has prompted a recognition of the need for a reassessment of its literature. Critics have begun to view it as a century in which were laid the foundations of subsequent periods and to find in its writings relevance for today's world.¹

¹ During the past twenty years renewed interest in the Eighteenth Century has received great stimulus from Jean Sarrailh's monumental work, L'Espagne éclairée de la seconde moitié de la XVIII^e siècle (Paris, 1954) which appeared in Spanish translation as La España ilustrada de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII (México, 1957). Political and social aspects of Eighteenth Century Spain were discussed by Antonio Domínguez Ortiz in his La sociedad española en el siglo XVIII (Madrid, 1955). Luis Sánchez Agesta wrote an excellent study of political ideas current during the latter part of the century with his El pensamiento político del despotismo ilustrado (Madrid, 1953); two years later he attempted to analyze Spain's situation with respect to Europe as reflected in the thought of Feijoo, Cadalso and Jovellanos in his "España y Europa en el pensamiento español del siglo XVIII", CCF, Oviedo, 1955. In the same year Vicente Rodríguez Casado published his "El intento español de ilustración cristiana" in Estudios Americanos (1955). In a more popular and artistic vein Juan Reglá and Santiago Alcolea brought out their profusely illustrated Historia de la cultura española: El siglo XVIII (Barcelona, 1957). Juan Marichal analyzed the personality, thought and style of Jovellanos, Cadalso and Feijoo in his Voluntad de estilo (Barcelona, 1957), and Richard Herr soon afterwards published an excellent study of the period in The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain (Princeton, 1958). Another American, John Cook, wrote a detailed study of neoclassical theatre, Neoclassic Drama in Spain, Theory and Practice (Dallas, 1959), the first study of importance in this field since Inez McClelland's treatise of 1937, The Origins of the Romantic Movement in Spain (Liverpool, 1937). Rodolfo Raguuel published Literatura española: siglo XVIII y la primera mitad del XIX (Buenos

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Literary critics are realizing that failure to appreciate the contribution of Eighteenth Century Spain has been at least partially owing to lack of scholarly research and the repetition, until recently, of the negative and at times malevolent comments of

Aires, 1961), in which he, like other recent commentators, has attempted to combat the negative assessment of the period prevalent up to this time.

During the early sixties Russell Sebold published several critical essays on Torres Villarroel and an important study, "Contra los mitos anti-neoclásicos españoles", Papeles de Son Armadans, 103 (1964), in which he refuted the adverse criticism of Nineteenth Century critics concerning this period. His edition of Fray Gerundio (Madrid, 1960-64) is one of the few Eighteenth Century works to be published by Clásicos Castellanos during the last fifteen years. Julián Marías pointed to the opportunity missed by Spain in his La España posible en tiempo de Carlos III (Madrid, 1963), and in the same year Nigel Glendinning brought out Vida y obra de Cadalso (Madrid, 1962), which contains a superb introduction by Lucien Dupuis. More recently Gregorio Palacín Iglesias has published a fine reevaluation of the Eighteenth Century in his Nueva valoración de la literatura española del siglo XVIII (Madrid, 1967). J. A. Maraval also offered a positive assessment of the period in his article, "Las tendencias de reforma política en el siglo XVIII", Revista de Occidente, V, 2ª época 52 (julio, 1967). More recently Paul Iñie has published important articles concerning Torres Villarroel and Jovellanos, in which the grotesque aspects of the work of the former and the esthetic perception of that of the latter are lucidly discussed. Inez McClelland has recently published a two-volume study of Eighteenth Century drama in Spanish Drama of Pathos (Toronto, 1970), and an extremely useful treatise on Feijoo, Benito Jeronimo Feijoo (New York, 1969). Nearly all of the above-mentioned studies involve an affirmative assessment of the period: the theory of Spanish decadence during these years is refuted, and, with the exception of Sarrailh's work, French influence, especially in the field of literature, is minimized. I have left largely unmentioned the many fine studies on Jovellanos published recently, since these are treated at length elsewhere in this study, but needless to say, they reflect the same positive attitude.

With regard to the renewed interest in Eighteenth Century Spanish literature during the past two decades, one should mention the fine studies published in Oviedo as a part of the series, Cuadernos de la Cátedra Feijoo, and Nigel Glendinning's excellent contribution to the series, A Literary History of Spain, his monograph titled The Eighteenth Century (London, 1972), especially valuable for its analysis of the book trade during these years and for some fine critical commentary on style.

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Romantic theoreticians,² who considered the period to be shackled by over-zealous imitation of French literary modes and lacking in natively inspired innovation. Scholars are now finding in the

² Alcalá Galiano, in his 1834 prologue to El moro expósito (Obras de don Angel de Saavedra, Madrid, 1857, pages XXIII-XXIV), evaluated Spanish neoclassical literature as "la francesa, vestida de la dicción y estilo de los antiguos y buenos escritores castellanos, pues su teórica es la de nuestros vecinos durante los siglos XVII y XVIII". Russell Sebold, in his article, "Contra los mitos neoclásicos españoles", observes that no dictum has been passed so directly or frequently from book to book, although it was actually the Spanish classics that were looked to for models of style and versification rather than the French, and Spanish history was largely used as thematic material. Agustín Durán (Discurso sobre el influjo que ha tenido la crítica moderna en la decadencia del teatro antiguo español, Madrid, 1828) saw in neo-classical drama an antichristian materialism because of its use of mythological and classical themes, failing to note that many of the works of this period actually used national themes. The negative assessment of these and other Romanticists, e.g., Larra ("Literatura. Rápida ojeada sobre la historia e índole de la Nuestra", Obras completas, Paris, 1870), Espronceda ("Poesía", El siglo, (enero, 1834; also BAE, t.LXXII), was echoed during the Nineteenth Century by George Ticknor, Juan Valera ("De lo castizo nuestra cultura en el siglo XVIII y en el presente", Obras, Madrid, 1961, t.XXIII), Cueto (el Marqués de Valmar) and to a large extent by Menéndez Pelayo. Cánovas del Castillo in Historia de la decadencia de España (Madrid, 1852-54) asserts that this decadence "debida a la indiscreta importación de leyes y costumbres y tendencias extranjeras". (pp. 758-759). Cotarelo y Mori continued trend into the Twentieth Century with his Iriarte y su época (1897 and Don Ramón de la Cruz (1899). Juan Marichal (p. 199) quotes Ortega y Gasset concerning the "desastrosa ausencia (en la historia española) del siglo XVIII". More recently Miguel Oliveira ("El siglo XVIII español, lo que no fue", Sur, 300, 1956, 54-67, and Palacio Atard (Derrota agotamiento, decadencia, en la España del siglo XVII, Madrid, 1956; Los españoles de la ilustración, Madrid, 1964) have continued in this vein. A. Owen Aldridge, in "Las ideas en la América del Sur sobre la ilustración española", Revista Iberoamericana, 1968, 283-297 asserts that Spain was culturally behind her colonies during the Eighteenth Century and in "The cloudy Spanish Enlightenment", Modern Language Journal, Feb., 1968, 113-116, comments on the backwardness of Spanish universities during this period.

Eighteenth Century, rather than a time of intellectual sterility, a period in which Spanish Seventeenth Century self-sufficiency was replaced by a salubrious and refreshing cosmopolitanism.³

This new interest in European ideas and modes received its impetus from the necessity imposed by the political and cultural

³ Gumersindo Laverde in "De la Filosofía en España", El Diario Español, 1 Octubre, 1856, was perhaps the first to attempt to show that the ilustrados "venían todos por distintos caminos a ensanchar prodigiosamente el círculo de nuestras ideas, y nos volvimos a poner en contacto con la civilización general de Europa". Manuel Silvela, "Velista", ("Disertación acerca de la influencia ejercida en el idioma y en el teatro por la escuela clásica que floreció desde mediados del siglo pasado", Artes y Letras, Madrid, 1890) was, according to Sebold, the first to attempt to rehabilitate the reputation of the Spanish neoclassical theatre. Pedro Salinas' edition of the poetry of Meléndez Valdés, Poesías, (Madrid, 1925), did much to focus new and more favorable attention on the poetry of this period. Likewise Inez McClelland, with The Origins of the Romantic Movement in Spain, although over-emphasizing French influence, has helped to restore esteem for Eighteenth Century literature, as has Jefferson Rea Spell in his Rousseau in the Spanish World before 1833 (Austin, 1938). Gaspar Delpy (L'Espagne et l'esprit européen, Paris, 1936; Bibliographie des sources francaises de Feijoo, Paris, 1936), with his studies on Feijoo, Constantino Eguía Ruiz, who examined the religious crisis of the late Eighteenth Century (Los jesuitas y el motín de Esquilache, Madrid, 1947), and also Jean Sarrailh (La crise religieuse en Espagne à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, Oxford, 1951) have likewise made significant contributions in this area. Federico Suárez Verdguer in La crisis política del antiguo régimen (Madrid, 1948) has demonstrated that the small, select group of ilustrados attempted to renovate the old Spanish monarchy through "modos españoles" as well as through the stimulation of foreign ideas. Rodríguez Casado with "La revolución burguesa en el siglo XVIII", Arbor, (enero, 1951) affirms that the Eighteenth Century revolution in Spain was social rather than ideological. The long-overdue reassessment of the Eighteenth Century has increased in scope and volume during the past twenty years (v.note 1).

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With the advent of the Bourbon Dynasty and during the first half of the century thoughtful men began to abandon their long-held xenophobia and to think of themselves as Europeans rather than exclusively Spaniards, absorbing the economic, sociological and, more importantly, the philosophical thought not just of France, but of England, Germany and Italy as well, especially during the reign of Carlos III (1759-1788).

During the first half of the century French influence in the esthetic realm as well as in that of political, economic and social theory was in the ascendancy, but towards mid-century there was a trend away from French precepts and models and toward greater interest in English, Italian and even German ideas. But more importantly, during the second half of the century appreciation for the Spanish past and for its literature increased, and writers developed new self-confidence in their ability to create literature emulating indigenous rather than foreign norms.⁴ Thus, internationalism produced no slavish imitation of foreign models, but

⁴ Nigel Glendinning, The Eighteenth Century, p. 22-28. Also see Palacín Iglesias, Ch. II.

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rather a naturalization or hispanization of those commonly-held European modes of thought, which produced in Spain a unique phenomenon, the Spanish Enlightenment, or, as it has also been called with some justification, the Christian Enlightenment. ⁵

Most recent historians and critics have tended to agree on the uniqueness of the Spanish experience, and have likewise refuted the notion of French intellectual and esthetic domination, especially during the latter part of the century. Although Palacín Iglesias may exaggerate in denying any foreign stimulus in the origin of the Spanish Enlightenment,⁶ one cannot fail to recognize the essential casticismo of this phenomenon. The ilustrados themselves gradually became aware of this uniqueness, turning to national

⁵ Paul Hazard (La crisis de conciencia europea, El pensamiento europeo del siglo XVIII, Madrid, 1946) was one of the first to use the term "cristianismo ilustrado", defining it as a religión liberal and European in nature, free from stratification and obscurantism, stressing moral purity and practical efficiency. In 1953 Patricio Peñalver Simó in Modernidad tradicional en el Pensamiento de Jovellanos (Seville, 1953) quoted Hazard and extrapolated this theme, asserting that, although Ortega y Gasset, Américo Castro, Madariaga and others have exaggerated the extent of Spanish Eighteenth Century Europeanization, there existed a certain degree of Enlightenment, but that this never implied any loss of religious conviction on the part of the ilustrados. More recently, Rodríguez Casado has written an article, "El intento español de ilustración cristiana", Estudios Americanos, 1955). Gregorio B. Palacín Iglesias states: "De ahí que la Ilustración española fuera siempre ilustración católica, respetuosa con la fe tradicional de España". (p. 46).

⁶ Palacín Iglesias states:
 Me atrevo a afirmar que la Ilustración nació en España como un movimiento totalmente independiente de la Ilustración francesa y de la inglesa. Nació aquel movimiento en los días del padre Feijoo como resultado del ansia de saber, de progreso intelectual y de avance social y económico. Posteriormente, la entrada en España de obras francesas e inglesas estimuló, sin duda, aquel movimiento, pero en modo alguno podemos supeditararlo al similar de aquellos otros países. (p.46).

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The Ilustración, then, represented a reverence for tradition along with a spirit of reform impelled by a consciousness of Spanish backwardness; a faith in science as well as profound Catholic orthodoxy; a critical attitude toward the nobility and at the same time a belief in enlightened despotism; a spirit of philanthropy and optimism together with a faith in the efficacy of education. These tenets are, to an extent, typical of the century, but at the same time are uniquely Spanish in that their proponents continued to adhere to traditional religious values. To a remarkable degree the thought and spirit of the Spanish Ilustración is embodied in the person of Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, one of the century's outstanding thinkers and writers.

Jovellanos was born in 1744 when the exciting, yet disconcerting effects of new scientific discovery and enlightened scepticism were being felt in Spain. The place of his birth was the port city of Gijón, open to commerce with the rest of Europe and a source of supply for books, scientific instruments and ideas from the outside. Asturias at this time was a center of intellectual ferment, especially Oviedo, where Feijoo, although no longer teaching, was still active, writing and stimulating new and enlightened currents of thought. It is conceivable that Jovellanos may have met and talked with the highly-revered old scholar-monk whose spirit still

in excluding possibly heretical foreign writings from Spain. See also Delpy's Bibliographie for the wide scope of Feijoo's reading as evidenced by his library.

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dominated the university community.⁷ Thus, he must certainly have been familiar, as was Feijoo, with Francis Bacon's recommendation of "methodic doubt" and experimentation, and with Descartes' theory of knowledge which gave primacy to consciousness.⁸ It may well have been at this point that Jovellanos began to call into question the scholastic method, so out of tune with experimental science and the Age of Reason. Like Feijoo, Jovellanos, tacitly, at least, accepted the necessity of separating these two widely disparate epistemological methods, the abstract, deductive and metaphysical approach of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas on the one hand, and the new reliance on doubt and sensual perception on the other.

Alcalá, where Jovellanos completed his ecclesiastical education and came to know Cadalso, was also a center of intellectual stimulation, where traditional scholasticism was being challenged by the scepticism of the Age of Reason. That Jovellanos was caught up in this troubling dilemma is evidenced by his decision shortly afterward to abandon the ecclesiastical career for which he had been destined by his family and trained since childhood, in favor of one in the field of jurisprudence.

⁷ Manuel Ruíz Lagos (no. 310) has recently demonstrated that Jovellanos studied for the bachillerato in Oviedo rather than in Avila, as previously supposed, and that he left there only in 1763, a year before Feijoo's death. The influence of the latter on the former may not have been sufficiently taken into account by commentators on Jovellanos.

⁸ Inez McClelland, in Benito Jerónimo Feijoo (p.18,19) calls attention to the general ineffectiveness of the Inquisition in excluding possibly heretical foreign writings from Spain. See also Delpy's Bibliographie for the wide scope of Feijoo's reading as evidenced by his library.

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However, it was in Seville, that Jovellanos received the full impact of the ideas of the Enlightenment as he joined the tertulia of the progressive-minded Pablo de Olavide and read freely in the writings of the Philosophes and the English pragmatists and economists. It is true that Jovellanos, as an eclectic, did not accept, or if he did, he later rejected, many of the ideas proposed by these writers, especially the scepticism and deism of the Philosophes and the political and social ideas of Rousseau (although not entirely his educational theories and certainly not his preromanticism). Other concepts he retained, e.g., Montesquieu's notions concerning governmental organization (constitutional monarchy, separation of powers, etc.). In the long run, however, it was probably English thought which had the most lasting influence on Jovellanos, as is being increasingly recognized by scholars,⁹ who note that many "French" innovations in the philosophic, social and economic fields, as well as in that of esthetic and dramatic theory, were, partially at least, importations from England. Hobbes was among the first to set forth a rationale for materialism and for absolute monarchy, while Locke advanced the notion of a social compact, ideas which Jovellanos explored but eventually rejected. Locke's concept of sensationalism, as well as his interpretation of natural law, with its corollary of personal liberty, remained, however, as important bases for Jovellanos' political thinking in many areas.

¹⁰ Curso de humanidades castellanas, BAE, Rivadeneira.

⁹ See Edith Helman (no. 183 d), Paul Ilie (no. 191) and John Polt (no. 279). For English influence on the literature of Eighteenth Century Spain see Palacín Iglesias, and McClelland, Origins of the Romantic Movement in Spain.

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Angel del Río (no. 299) has correctly pointed out that Jovellanos well reflected the ideological conflict characteristic of his age, a time in which traditional religious and social values were assailed by materialism and atheism. Sensationalism (sensualismo), the idea that all knowledge is received through the senses, although, of course, basically in conflict with Catholic doctrine, made its impact on the social, esthetic, and especially on the educational theories advanced by Jovellanos.

Similarly, natural law, derived by St. Thomas Aquinas from Aristotle and seen by him as participating in eternal law and comprehensible to Man through reason, forms an important part of Jovellanos' philosophical credo. Man, as a rational being, endowed with freedom of will, freely complies with divine will because of the necessity which natural law imposes upon him. Man's innate tendency toward perfection, he believed, would lead him, when properly guided by education, toward morality and benevolence. "Tienen los hombres grabados en sus corazones una ley sagrada, que aprueba lo justo y reprueba lo injusto".¹⁰ The Supreme Being has engraved on Man's understanding the eternal principles of honesty, justice and beneficence, he asserted in his Reglamento para el Colegio de Calatrava and in Tratado teórico-práctico de enseñanza.¹¹

¹⁰ Curso de humanidades castellanas, BAE, Rivadeneyra, T.I., (Madrid, 1858), p. 104.

¹¹ BAE, T.I., p. 206, 249.

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St. Thomas and natural law ethics are also called to mind in Jovellanos' attitude toward rebellion.¹² Although opposed in principle to violence and revolution, the existence of unusual circumstances forced him to declare his approval of the insurrection of 1808, asserting that the people possess "un derecho extraordinario y legítimo de insurrección", available to any group "que se halle repentinamente atacado por un enemigo exterior, que siente el inminente peligro de la sociedad de que es miembro, y que reconoce sobornados o esclavizados los administradores de la autoridad."¹³ Thus, while generally anti-revolutionary and anti-democratic in political philosophy, Jovellanos, at this point at least, conceded that the people have the right to overthrow a tyrannical monarch (or even one who fails to function as

¹² Aristotle was somewhat equivocal concerning rebellion: although decriing tyranny, he believed that insurrection was almost never warranted. St. Thomas declared that "all human power is from God . . . therefore he that resisteth the power . . . resisteth the ordinance of God" (The Basic Writings of Thomas Aquinas, New York, 1945, p. 795). Nevertheless, he declared, as did Jovellanos, that unjust or oppressive laws need not be obeyed (p. 794). These assertions have been variously interpreted by his commentators. Jovellanos, in his Defensa de la Junta Central, quotes from the Partidas as precedent for his defense of insurrection in extraordinary circumstances, i.e., when the people revolt against a government not duly constituted. Jovellanos, like St. Thomas, posited the existence of a social contract, but unlike Locke and Rousseau, he believed that Man is by nature a social being, and that such a pact is inherent as an aspect of natural law, rather than a creation of Man. Therefore, for Jovellanos Man's right of insurrection is more limited than for most English and French theoreticians of the time.

¹³ Defensa de la Junta Central, Apéndice V, BAE T. I, p. 584.

¹⁴ Tratado teórico-práctico de enseñanza, BAE, T. I, p. 279.

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ruler), and to seek other government for themselves (such as the Junta Central, which assumed power in Seville after the departure of Fernando VII for Bayonne).

Belief in natural law leads logically to a belief in natural rights and duties, an important cornerstone of Jovellanos' political and social philosophy. But, differing from Locke, Jovellanos denied that men are born free and equal. Man, as a social being, must surrender some of his freedom, and a natural social hierarchy is essential for an orderly society. Men are equal, however, in the eyes of the law, and possess the right to its protection and to enjoy the benefits of society.¹⁴

As well as a certain amount of personal freedom, Man possesses the right to work for a livelihood, a conviction which led Jovellanos to advocate suppression of the power of the guilds, whose exclusiveness he considered unjust and counterproductive. More complex, however, was the matter of the right of private property, a derecho natural which Jovellanos always upheld in principle. But in practice Jovellanos regarded the use of entailment and mortmain as socially unjust and economically unsound, since large tracts of land were thus left largely untilled and unproductive. Jovellanos' advocacy of disentailment has been a source of much controversy concerning his economic policy (and even his religious orthodoxy), since his critics have seen land reform as incompatible with the

¹⁴ Tratado teórico-práctico de enseñanza, BAE, T. I, p. 259.

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natural right to property. But actually, in his more euphoric moments Jovellanos envisaged in the distant future a day when men would live in such peace and harmony that private property would cease to exist. This utopian state could eventually be achieved, Jovellanos believed, through universal education, an optimistic view shared by most ilustrados. Thus, he dedicated himself unreservedly, especially during his years of banishment in Gijón (1790-1797) to the task of extrapolating his theories of education, especially training in the experimental sciences and in technical studies, even founding a model technical school and writing textbooks, which were, at that time, in extremely short supply. For the practical yet idealistic Jovellanos, economic and technical progress would lead naturally to prosperidad común, given Man's innate tendency toward perfection.

Human perfectibility and a just society are possible, believed Jovellanos, through Man's comprehension of the duties inherent in derecho natural (human rights and responsibilities). Founded on justicia natural and stemming from natural law, and thus ultimately from eternal law, derecho natural is the principal source of Man's knowledge of his obligation toward God, toward himself and toward his fellow men. ¹⁵ Related to natural law, and more specifically to Man's condition as a member of society, is benevolence, or amor público, a virtue which, Jovellanos believed, led men to voluntarily work for the common

¹⁵ Carta a desconocida persona, BAE, T. II, p.360.

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good. Sacrifice of private interest, then will lead to the common prosperity and to the happiness of each citizen. ¹⁶

This belief in Man's potentiality and in his natural goodness and benevolence became more evident in Jovellanos' later years, especially during the Mallorcan imprisonment (1801-1808), when Jovellanos' preromantic sensibility was displayed in such writings as the Descripción del castillo de Bellver ¹⁷ and Descripción de la catedral de Palma de Mallorca ¹⁸, works in which sentiment and picturesqueness came close to triumphing over neoclassical reasonableness.

In earlier, more neoclassically-oriented, works on the theory of art, Jovellanos had asserted that esthetic principles inherent in nature could be determined from the study of great works of poetry, drama, painting or architecture, but in the later essays, while not abandoning his neoclassic faith in reason, he perceived a spiritual quality, especially in the great Gothic structures, which could not be entirely explained by logic.

Jovellanos, living as he did at the crossroads of two historic periods, therefore, partook of both worlds, the scholastic and the scientific, the age of faith and the age of scepticism, the

¹⁶ Tratado teórico-práctico de enseñanza, BAE, T. II, p.360.

¹⁷ BAE, T. 46, pp. 391-409; T. 87, pp. 344-365; T. 46, 410-

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¹⁸ BAE, T. 87, pp. 382-403.

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traditional and absolutist as well as the liberal and revolutionary. His contribution was accomplished through his ability to accommodate and harmonize these patently disparate elements into a cohesive and functional plan for the betterment of Spain and of mankind. Always moving toward the goal of the "good society", his ideal was harmony on every level: harmony among individuals, among social classes, among nations, harmony between Man and nature and between Man and God.

Because of the perfection of his prose style as well as the esthetic value of his poetry and drama, and because of the wide-ranging resonance of his ideas on future generations, Jovellanos deserves more careful study and critical attention than he has received in the past century and a half. But such investigation should begin with a careful assessment of what has been accomplished in the past in this field, particularly during the present century. A study of twentieth century commentary on Jovellanos has not been provided until now.

At the beginning of this century Julio Somoza compiled an excellent critical bibliography, which included nearly all published works by and about Jovellanos prior to 1902. His Inventario de un jovellanista (Madrid, 1902)¹⁹, although omitting a few studies published outside Spain, can be considered a definitive work. The Twentieth

¹⁹ For evaluation of this bibliography see Part II, No. 341.

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Century, however, has produced fewer bibliographical studies such as Somoza's. Martínez Cachero and Simon Díaz in 1951 published a listing of works by and about Jovellanos during the first half century, "Bibliografía de Jovellanos, 1902-1950", Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, Oviedo, No. XIII (agosto, 1951), 131-152.²⁰ Also in 1955 Martínez Cachero appended a bibliography to Constantino Suárez's biographical study of Jovellanos in Escritores y Artistas Asturianos, Índice bio-bibliográfico, Edición, adiciones y prólogo de José Martínez Cachero, Tomo IV (Oviedo, 1955),²¹ a bibliography based largely on the work of Somoza and Suárez. Neither the 1951 bibliography nor that of 1955 is complete, and neither contains critical description or commentary on the material listed. Only José Caso González, with his "Notas críticas de bibliografía jovellanista, 1950-1959", Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo, XXXVI (1960), 179-213,²² has made any attempt at bibliographical criticism, and his work includes only thirty-three studies published between 1950 and 1959.

There is a need, then, for a more complete critical bibliography of studies on Jovellanos published since 1901, the date of Somoza's work. This need has prompted the writing of the present study.

²⁰ See Part II, No. 335

²¹ See Part II, No. 345

²² See Part II, No. 83

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This work is divided into two parts. Part I includes this introduction and a bibliographical essay in which I have traced the currents of criticism concerning Jovellanos since his death, dealing especially with that written during the present century. Whenever possible I have pointed out any apparent changes in attitude or emphasis, manner or style of criticism, nationality of the critics, volume of material published, etc., and have attempted where possible to relate such changes to existing social, political or economic conditions, as well as philosophical trends and literary modes operative at the time these studies were written.

Part II of this study consists of a critical bibliography of studies about Jovellanos. No bibliography can claim, of course to be complete or definitive, and more especially one that deals with a writer as dynamic or as controversial as Jovellanos, who continues to inspire critical investigation. However, I have attempted to make this work as complete and as functional as possible.

A bibliography of this kind poses some special problems. Since much of Jovellanos' writing deals with economic and political thought, one is confronted with the problem of distinguishing between literary and non-literary studies concerning him. But often in books and articles predominantly involving non-literary aspects of Jovellanos' writings there are allusions to or judgements concerning his literary works. Almost inevitably these articles include biographical references of importance to the understanding of his writings, and discussions, or at least mention of his philosophical outlook.

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Thus, in order to make this bibliography as complete and as useful as possible, most of the available material has been reviewed. Twenty-two articles have been listed but not commented upon. These are mostly works of a panegyric nature, commemorative poems and dramas, etc., or else studies of purely economic or political importance. Fifteen of the more important or literarily-oriented studies included in Caso González's "Notas críticas de bibliografía jovellanista" have also been reviewed in this bibliography, but the eighteen remaining studies have been listed but not commented upon, since the excellence of Caso's treatment or the non-literary nature of the work involved makes this unnecessary. Unfortunately, there are a few studies that I was unable to locate; nevertheless, I have listed them and have cited the source of reference. Most articles included in standard reference books have not been listed or commented upon unless they were judged to have some special relevance. Works omitted by Somoza have been listed separately, but for the most part have not been discussed since they are largely unavailable. Studies by major commentators in this group, i.e., Mérimée, Blanco White, Balbín, Meléndez Pelayo, have been discussed, nevertheless, and in the case of Meléndez Pelayo, even some works treated briefly by Somoza have been included, since they are significant for the understanding of subsequent criticism.

Works have been listed alphabetically by author, each with a code number to facilitate reference. Some authors have been listed according to the maternal surname rather than the patronymic since these writers preferred to sign their studies in this way and their

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bibliographers have continued in this usage. To facilitate reference, nevertheless, both the maternal and paternal surnames have been included in the alphabetical listing.

In the case of a few articles the pagination could not be included since it was not visible on the microfilm reproduction available to me.

Following each bibliographical entry is a brief descriptive resumé and usually my critical observations on the work, which point out its contribution to Jovellanos studies. These reviews are not of uniform length, and some are longer than one might expect to find in a bibliography of this kind. It was felt, however, that the thoroughness of the treatment, as well as the occasional direct quotations included, were warranted in view of the increased value they might thus have for future Jovellanos researchers.

Jovellanos' first biographer was José María de Perceval, Ceán Bermúdez, an art historian of some repute. His biography, which refracts the life of Jovellanos through a series of historical and political eyes, is not always accurate, yet it is the best contemporary record available, and has served until recently as the basis of scores of biographies and studies, which are often, as Julio González (no. 34) says, sheer plagiarism. Other contemporary accounts are Jovellanos' own biography appended to his Defensa de la Junta Central, and accounts by Sempere y Guarinos, Posada, Antillón, Saeguí and Blanco White (no. 37). The memoirs of Godoy concerning his relations with Jovellanos have been shown by Caso González (no. 34) to be entirely unreliable.

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An Essay on Jovellanos Studies

As one views the whole spectrum of Jovellanos studies during the past century and a half, it becomes evident that these writings form a panorama in which are reflected the changing social, political and intellectual conditions in Spain. Although probably true of the criticism concerning many writers, this is particularly applicable in the case of Jovellanos, whose commentators have tended to interpret his works according to their own religious and political tenets, at times to the point of losing sight of the writer's stated intent and the intrinsic literary merit of the work. Among notable exceptions to this generality must be included several competent scholars of the past two decades.

Jovellanos' first biographer was his friend and protégé, Ceán Bermúdez, an art historian of some repute. His testimony, which refracts the life of Jovellanos through adoring and somewhat uncritical eyes, is not always accurate, yet it is the best contemporary record available, and has served until recently as the basis of scores of biographies and studies, which are often, as Julio Somoza (no. 341) says, sheer plagiarism. Other contemporary accounts are Jovellanos' own biography appended to his Defensa de la Junta Central, and accounts by Sempere y Guarinos, Posada, Antillón, Sampil and Blanco White (no. 371). The memoirs of Godoy concerning his relations with Jovellanos have been shown by Caso González (no. 84) to be entirely unreliable.

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Little was written concerning Jovellanos during the first third of the Nineteenth Century, and no edition of his works appeared until 1830. This was of course partially due to the low intellectual ebb in Spain under Ferdinand VII, and to the onus cast upon Jovellanos' memory by the inclusion of his Informe sobre la Ley Agraria on the Index of 1827, (some thirty-two years after its publication). Between 1830 and 1884, however, ten editions of the works of Jovellanos appeared, and with them a corresponding increase in interest in his life and writings. There were dozens of panegyrics as well as eulogistic poems and even dramas during the latter part of the Nineteenth Century and the first decades of the Twentieth, often delivered on the occasion of the moving of Jovellanos' gravesite, the erection of a statue in his honor, or in commemoration of the centenary of his death in 1911.

In nineteenth-century Europe there was special interest in literary biography, in collecting a myriad of facts concerning the writer's life and his moral, emotional and philosophical development in an attempt to relate this material psychologically or conceptually to his writings. Critics sought literary sources and environmental factors, investigating the social milieu as well as the political and economic circumstances that conditioned the writing of the work. This historical and positivist trend, related to the scientific spirit of the age and to its preoccupation with biological evolution, is reflected indirectly in Spanish literary criticism. To relate European norms and currents of thought to the Spanish situation is often risky, and to speak of positivism and determinism in this regard is patently

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inexact, but Spanish men of letters were not entirely unaware of literary currents outside Spain, and whereas literary tendencies assumed their own particularly Spanish characteristics in the Nineteenth Century they generally followed European trends, literary criticism being no exception.

As in the rest of Europe, literature was not only approached by critics from an historical perspective, but was even viewed as a facet of history itself. The quest for the autochthonous, for the spirit (Geist) of the people, their heritage and native genius is reflected in Jovellanos' search for historical precedents for a constitutional monarchy. It may also be related to the intense interest of Nineteenth Century (and even Twentieth Century) commentators, e.g., Cantera (no. 65), Casariego (nos. 71,72), García Rendueles (no. 150), Mariano Gómez (no. 156), Oliver (no. 235), Peñalver (nos. 264, 265), Villota (no. 362), who sought in the political, economic and social writings of Jovellanos support and precedent for what they personally believed to be the authentic Spain. Within the hopeless division of the dos Españas, instead of a national spirit, literary historians believed they found in the writings of Jovellanos the true spirit of either Liberal Spain or of Traditionalist Spain.

The writings of Jovellanos, principally expository in nature and concerned with political, social and economic problems, were fertile ground for the kind of historicism imposed upon them by commentators often more interested in making a political point than in discussing the literary aspects of the work of Jovellanos.

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Thus much of the commentary concerning him can hardly be considered as literary criticism but falls rather into the category of polemic or of political pamphleteering (nos. 65, 156, 181, 240, 253, 262).

In accordance with the general European trend toward literary biography, the facts of Jovellanos' life were recorded by many writers during the Nineteenth Century, but one must remember that much of this biographical production was only remotely related to Jovellanos' literary output; his life was not only looked on as exemplary but fascinating in itself as a subject for biography, and its political implications were considered extremely important. In addition to many biographies, there were a fair number of studies of Jovellanos' political and educational ideas, but less than a dozen writers occupied themselves with his drama and poetry, and several of these discussions formed part of general histories of literature. Even in the more ambitious of these studies the treatment of don Gaspar's drama and poetry had been approached intellectually rather than esthetically, writers being concerned with the juridical and legal ideas expressed in El delincuente honrado, with the social comment expressed in his satires or with his influence over the Salamancan School. There was no attempt to analyze these writings stylistically or structurally.

The first to comment on Jovellanos' poetry were his younger contemporaries, Quintana and Gómez de Hermsilla, the former offering

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qualified praise and the latter, a strict neoclassicist, faulting Jovellanos for the familiarity of his expressions and use of archaisms; neither, however, attempted to explicate his poetry critically.

Later in the century Leopoldo Augusto Cueto, Marqués de Valmar, although equivocal in his assessment of don Gaspar's poetry, did attempt to relate it to the norms of the period in which it was written, thus evincing a tendency toward historicism and critical relativism which was to become increasingly more important in the following decades. Unfortunately, a number of subsequent commentators on the poetry of Jovellanos tended to accept Cueto's largely negative judgement; even Menéndez Pelayo was to some extent influenced by it, as Arce (no. 21) demonstrates, although he did note in Jovellanos' best poems, especially in the satires, signs of true poetic inspiration and even passion.

With the exception of the studies mentioned above and an excellent article in French by Ernest Mérimée (no. 392), Jovellanos studies during the Nineteenth Century were undistinguished, much of the criticism deteriorating into arguments over his religious orthodoxy or heterodoxy. Menéndez de Luarda (Franquet) (no. 240) and Miguel Sánchez wrote scurrilous diatribes against Jovellanos, accusing him of being anti-Catholic, anti-Christian and insurrectionist, largely because of his advocacy of disentanglement, and because of his early association with such liberals as Olavide and Cabarrús. Arguments, this work, as well as his several fine studies and selections of unpublished manuscripts are important landmarks in Jovellanos studies. Senoz, a bibliographer rather than a critic, never

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Other critics, however, came to Jovellanos' defense, often swinging the pendulum to the other extreme and finding in Jovellanos only the most perfect religious orthodoxy and most complete political traditionalism. Paradoxically, both groups, the defamers of Jovellanos led by Menéndez de Luarda, and his avid defenders, led by Cándido Nocedal, were extremely traditionalist. Yet each was able to interpret Jovellanos' writings in the light of his own convictions and arrive at conclusions which were equally extreme but diametrically opposed. These politically-inspired commentaries, then, mirrored only indirectly the Liberalist-Carlist struggle, reflecting more precisely the climate of violent political emotionalism and spirit of intolerance characteristic of much of Nineteenth Century Spain.

Toward the end of the Nineteenth Century a great admirer and defender of Jovellanos, Julio Somoza de Montsoriú (also Julio Somoza García Sala: see no. 77) began to research and edit material by and concerning his fellow-Asturian. The first great jovellanista dedicated his life to the project of investigating, editing and cataloguing the writings of don Gaspar. The work he did in preparing his carefully researched Inventario de un jovellanista (no. 341) is alone sufficient to make him deserving of the lasting gratitude of scholars. Although Somoza was not a great writer, and at times allowed his own bias and irascibility to obscure the basic soundness of his arguments, this work, as well as his several fine studies and collections of unpublished manuscripts are important landmarks in Jovellanos studies. Somoza, a bibliographer rather than a critic, never

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attempted to discuss the style or ideology of Jovellanos' writings; he limited his study of the poetry to an effort to date some of the major poems and to identify the person or persons to whom the early love lyrics might have been addressed. Although Somoza's work was essentially extrinsic and in the positivist tradition of the Nineteenth Century, it provided the very necessary preparation for the literary studies which hopefully would follow.

Aside from Somoza's Inventario only six brief studies concerning Jovellanos (nos. 46, 207, 241, 330, 331, 332) were published in Spain during the first decade of the Twentieth Century. But in England the publication of the lively journals of Lord and Lady Holland (nos. 189, 188) provided intimate and often significant insights into the last years of don Gaspar's life. In so far as I have been able to ascertain, these documents have never been translated to Spanish (Bibliographers have consistently copied the title of Lord Holland's memoirs of "Foreing Reminiscences").

The one hundredth anniversary of his death in 1911 brought with it a surge of interest in Jovellanos, and stimulated a remarkable outpouring of articles and monographs, the count soaring from fewer than ten during the first decade of the century to nearly fifty in the second. Although the centenary commemoration played its part, one must also take into account the relative economic prosperity in Spain, partly occasioned by the First World War, which made funds available for publishing. The rise in interest in historicismo (see no. 31) was another contributing factor, along with the general social

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unrest of the second decade of the century, often frightening to conservative thinkers. One might draw an analogy between the wave of fear and conservative reaction in Spain following the French Revolution with a similar unease produced by revolutionary stirrings throughout Europe during this period, which had their culmination in the Russian Revolution. Writers of a conservative bent turned to the past, and specifically to the writings of Jovellanos for corroboration of their anti-revolutionary and traditionalist views. In a world threatened by atheism and determinism such writers as García Rendueles (no. 150) Gómez Centurión (nos. 159, 161), Martínez Norval (no. 234), Manuel Miguélez (no. 244), Miguel Oliver (no. 253) and Yaben Yaben (no. 366), as evidenced in their works, took comfort in pointing to Jovellanos' deep religious faith and complete orthodoxy.

In the introduction to his Inventario Somoza had urged that the most fitting tribute to Jovellanos on the occasion of his centenary would be a written one. Thus the Real Sociedad de Ciencias Morales y Políticas announced a contest with prizes for the best work on the moral and political ideas of Jovellanos. The result was the publication of several important book-length studies, generally of high quality, although by virtue of the topics none, of course, was without bias. García Rendueles (no. 150) especially used his study as a platform for railing against what he considered the moral degeneracy of his day, and others were less than reticent in expounding their own conservative views. Camacho y Perea's treatment (no. 63) made the most balanced and dispassionate contribution, while that of Julián Juderías

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(no. 197) was notable for the clarity of its presentation of political and philosophical concepts, and Artífano y Galdácano's (no. 26) was valuable for its knowledgeable presentation of Jovellanos' political thought. Yaben Yaben (no. 365) took advantage of the occasion to expound learnedly on Catholic dogma and to criticize what he was convinced was error in Jovellanos' political and religious beliefs. González Blanco (no. 171), whom Joaquín Arce (no. 21) has accused of being less than original in certain areas, is the only one of the group to deal with Jovellanos' verses, and although he is extremely negative in his assessment of the poetry of the Eighteenth Century, and with it that of Jovellanos, his interest in this area indicated a new trend toward modern literary criticism, with explication of texts, an aspect of Jovellanos studies which up to this time had been almost entirely lacking. Significantly, perhaps, in the same year (1911) there appeared an excellent treatment of Jovellanos' poetry by the Augustinian, P. Jesús Delgado (no. 113), in which El delincuente honrado is also lucidly discussed. He is perhaps the first to actually attempt a discussion of the intrinsic aspects of the poetry of don Gaspar, seeking to sound the well-springs of his poetic inspiration:

Pero la poesía de Jovellanos no es poesía de la imaginación, no es descriptiva, no se despertó al contacto de la Naturaleza; sino que es poesía interior, profunda, que sale del alma; y ésta se despertó más tarde, no tanto en su cultísimo entendimiento como en su nobilísimo corazón, al contacto de la vida real, de la vida social, de la vida del mundo. A Jovellanos no le hicieron poeta las aves y los bosques, sino la vista de la miserias y las injusticias humanas; por eso no canta con la trompa épica los nobles hechos de los hombres, sino gime y suspira por el triunfo de la virtud humillada y oprimida; (487).

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While Delgado never goes beyond descriptive generalities, and although his assessment is perhaps unduly laudatory, the sensitivity of his treatment and his determination to delve beneath the surface mark a turning point in the criticism of Jovellanos' poetry.

Another presentation in commemoration of the centenary was Bernardo Martínez's serialized study, which, although offering a good overall biography, added little new in the field of literary analysis. In this regard he may have relied to some extent on his fellow Augustinian, Delgado (no. 113), whose ideas and even phraseology he appears to echo, e.g., Delgado: "la diferencia que existe entre el hombre instruido y el verdadero poeta"; Martínez: "la distancia que separa al poeta del hombre instruido".

The Real Academia de la Historia also took cognizance of the centenary by publishing many hundreds of pages by and about Jovellanos, even printing a special edition of its Boletín (Vol. LXI) in his honor, as well as a large volume of unpublished papers and documents (no. 163). Much of this material was concerned with Jovellanos' associations with the Real Academia and with the military orders, as well as with his work as a censor of literature. In a period when traditional cultural values were felt to be threatened this recording of minutiae apparently seemed to conservative elements exceedingly important for the preservation of the prestige of erudition and of noble blood.

During this second decade of the century, the work of Julio Somoza continued to provide a vital and perhaps dominant part

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of Jovellanista studies. His fine two-volume edition of the correspondence between Jovellanos and Lord Holland (no. 339) was of biographical value, serving to set in focus the lives and thought of these two great liberal thinkers. Historically, the detailed account of the war years furnished by these letters illuminated the whole panorama of war-time Spain, especially the international ramifications involved. But more importantly, the publication of this correspondence for the first time pointed to a new appreciation of letters as a literary genre.

The most controversial literary event of the decade concerned with Jovellanos was the Gijón edition of the Diarios. During the entire Nineteenth Century efforts to publish these diaries were thwarted by those who felt the ideas expressed therein to be too progressive. Cándido Nocedal in 1868 planned and edited a third volume of the works of Jovellanos for the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles de Rivadeneyra, but for political reasons never released them to the public. Menéndez Pelayo, however came into possession of a copy, which he shared with Somoza. Other attempts were likewise frustrated, so that, except for some excerpts published by Somoza in 1884, this material was still unavailable to the public until the manuscripts were finally released for publication in 1915 by the widow of Menéndez de Luarda (no. 240), who stipulated that an article by her husband be included, which had originally been intended as a prologue to an edition of the diaries which failed to appear. These "Apuntes para un prólogo", published separately in 1891, attacked Jovellanos violently for being insurrectionist, jansenist and atheist.

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for his colleague's vituperation and to some extent vindicate Jovellanos of the charges brought against him. The text of the diaries, however, was filled with misprints, errors and improvisations; over three thousand are listed in the "Fe de erratas", whose author is thought to be Somoza (no. 258). It was not until nearly four decades later that a satisfactory version appeared (nos. 297, 298). Adellac (nos. 4, 5, 6, 7) published several other studies concerning Jovellanos during this period, as did Miguel Miguélez (nos. 245, 244), but neither occupied himself with the literary aspects of Jovellanos' writings.

By far the most unusual and perhaps the most important studies on Jovellanos during the second decade of the century were two brief essays by Azorín, one dealing with El delincuente honrado. Azorín considers how a work of art may be changed by successive generations of interpreters, thus initiating a whole new concept of literary criticism, a mid-point between false absolutism and false relativism which René Wellek has termed "perspectivism".¹ With "Un poeta" Azorín evokes by indirection the spirit of the man and the poet in an essay which itself constitutes a prose poem in praise of don Gaspar as poet. Defending the use of such vulgarities as mulas and zagal, which Cueto had so strongly criticized, and pointing to this new realism and to don Gaspar's vehement and visionary individualism as heralding the romantic revolution, Azorín not only

¹ René Wellek and Austin Warren. Theory of Literature, Third edition, N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace & World, (1956), p. 43.

expressed a new and surprising appreciation for Jovellanos as poet, but showed the way toward a new sensitivity in literary analysis.

After the great outburst of enthusiasm for Jovellanos studies during the second decade of the century, the following ten years (1920-1930) also were extremely disappointing both in quantity and in quality. Only a dozen articles appeared, most of them biographical sketches or bibliographical notes. The one significant piece of literary criticism was Torres Ríoseco's perceptive recognition of Jovellanos' romantic tendencies (no. 351) in which poems are analyzed conceptually and stylistically. The dearth of material during this decade may be partially due to adverse political and economic conditions, but one cannot discount the fact that, after such an outpouring as that of the preceding decade, critics turned their attention in other directions for a while, e.g., the Góngora centenary.

The years 1930-1940 were somewhat more productive, in spite of the political turbulence during the first part of the decade and the tragic and fratricidal war of the latter part, when virtually nothing was published. In 1931 Julio Somoza presented for publication his last collection of manuscripts by Jovellanos, together with a valuable prologue exploring the causes of Jovellanos' banishment and imprisonment (no. 343). The important literary event of the decade for Jovellanos studies was the three-volume edition of the works of don Gaspar published by Clásicos Castellanos. The excellent biography and critical study by Angel del Río stands as a landmark in

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the field for its scholarly approach and deeply probing analysis (no. 299). In it the name of the author of the prologue is duly noted. In a reprinting of the same work ten years later, contrary to the practice with other Clásicos Castellanos editions, all identification of the editor, del Río, then residing in the United States, has been completely removed, conceivably for political reasons.

The only work on Jovellanos published during the war years was a charming book written by a woman concerning Jovellanos as feminist (no. 255).

The years between 1940 and 1950 brought another centenary celebration, in honor of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Jovellanos in 1744, and another burst of interest and outpouring of comment and criticism. But political and social conditions had changed since 1911; consequently, these literary manifestations were quite different. Spain was recovering from one of the greatest disasters of its history, a large percentage of its writers had left, and its intellectual life was at a low ebb. Nevertheless, nearly eighty books and articles concerning Jovellanos were published, some of them of high quality. In 1944 the newspaper, Arriba, devoted an entire issue of its literary supplement, Si, to Jovellanos with many distinguished writers contributing articles in his memory (nos. 66, 70, 109, 118, 128, 172, 177, 262, 305, 348, 358). These included several brief but perceptive studies of various aspects of Jovellanos' poetic and dramatic production, the most outstanding being that of Gerardo Diego (no. 118).

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Toward the end of the decade the Marqués de Aledo (no. 187) compiled three large volumes containing the valuable historical documents which Jovellanos had copied and collected in his travels throughout Asturias; their publication provides just recognition of Jovellanos' ability and interest as philologist and antiquarian. But the most significant commemorative effort came from outside Spain in the form of an extensive collection of essays on Jovellanos published in Buenos Aires in 1945 (nos. 32, 43, 49, 105, 156, 166, 192, 238, 256, 285, 321, 329). It was as though these writers, many of them expatriates, wished to honor a man whom they considered to be the embodiment of Spanish liberal and progressive tradition. Their interest, however, lay largely in the fields of politics, sociology and economics; the lone article concerning Jovellanos as a man of letters (no. 49) is somewhat weak, and contributes few new insights.

Two book-length studies concerning Jovellanos appeared in Spain during the forties, one a lively and gossipy biography by Joaquín Bonet (no. 51) and the other a treatise by Casariego (no. 71), who, in an attempt to prove Jovellanos' complete traditionalism succeeded in displaying his own mental rigidity.

Asturians (nos. 50, 55, 176, 263, 358) took the occasion of Jovellanos' bicentenary to express their pride in their illustrious native son and to explore his special contributions to his patria chica. González García (nos. 174, 175) published in Gijón a serialized biography in nearly forty installments, and Joaquín Bonet (no. 50) edited a collection of don Gaspar's writings concerning his native

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province. Also in the spirit of local interest was Sureda y Blanes' (no. 347) detailed study of Jovellanos' years in the Castle of Bellver.

Interest in Jovellanos' poetry increased significantly during the forties, and the intent of the criticism showed movement away from purely external aspects. Although Giménez Caballero (no. 154) still remained bound by political concerns in his analysis of Jovellanos' satires, he displayed interest in periodization in his attempt to chart the course of Spanish humanism. Gerardo Diego (nos. 117, 118, 119) in his assessment of Jovellanos as poet in prose as well as in verse and in his discussion of don Gaspar's sentiment for nature, descriptions of landscapes and use of romantic imagery and diction moved closer to contemporary stylistic and conceptual analysis. In his careful comparison of Jovellanos' poetry with that of Fray Luis, Joaquín Arce (no. 22) showed similarities in thought and word usage, and thus provided one of the first attempts at intrinsic poetical criticism.

During this decade there was, in general, less interest in Jovellanos as dramatist; Azorín, however, contributed another essay on the subject. In 1913 he had been concerned with the concept of honor and justice as revealed in El delincuente honrado (no. 36); in his study thirty years later he demonstrated an interest in dramatic theory (no. 35). But in each essay the reader senses the static quality, the timelessness, which both Jovellanos and Azorín saw as the

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Although Jovellanos' relation to the arts was still of little interest to critics, Ricardo del Arco's study in this field (no. 24) was probing and significant. Lázaro Carreter (no. 203) and Angel del Río (nos. 301, 302) evinced new interest in Jovellanos as a linguist, and there was some slight concern with his educational ideas (nos. 153, 172, 213), while Yaben (no. 364) continued to repeat his opinions concerning Jovellanos' religious orthodoxy.

Significantly, considering the political situation in post-war Spain, nothing was written within the Peninsula during this decade that dealt with the economic, sociological or political writings of Jovellanos, the only studies treating these areas being published in the Buenos Aires collection (nos. 32, 166, 192, 285, 329). The bicentenary, nevertheless, while less brilliant than the 1911 observance, can be considered quite respectable in the light of existing circumstances, and marked a reawakening of interest in Jovellanos which has continued to the present.

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Although the decade 1950-1960 produced only a slight increase in the total number of books and articles concerning Jovellanos, a definite shift of emphasis developed; interest was now being centered on his political and economic writings, an area almost completely neglected in the preceding three decades. Eight economic studies were published, while eighteen were concerned with Jovellanos' political writings.

The renewed interest in these aspects of the work of Jovellanos coincided, of course with the relative easing of political tensions throughout Spain, but there were perhaps other reasons as well. With the entrance of Spain into the United Nations and some interest being shown in the possibility of joining the European Common Market, certain writers, e.g., Sánchez Agesta (nos. 317, 318, 319) found in Jovellanos analogous ideas concerning world brotherhood and cooperation. The advent of financial aid from abroad focused new attention on Spain's economic conditions, especially the long-standing problem of the latifundios. In Jovellanos' Informe sobre la Ley Agraria writers found stimulating and pertinent ideas concerning land reform, as evidenced by a number of articles by such writers as Prados Arrarte (no. 285), Andrés Alvarez (no. 17) Chiareno (no. 101), Helman (no. 138a) and Smith (nos. 137, 138, 139).

In the political area some writers saw in Jovellanos' rejection of revolution and violence support for their own rightist viewpoint.

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In general, these writers saw in Jovellanos a man who understood the importance of history and tradition in the evolution toward a more prosperous society and a more just and equitable government, a kind of Eighteenth Century razón histórica. In a country whose war wounds had yet to be healed perceptive writers saw in Jovellanos a spirit of equanimity and harmony, a figure who could symbolize the best of both worlds, the traditional and the modern.

Although interest in the political and economic aspects of Jovellanos' work predominated in the fifties, other areas were not entirely neglected. The most outstanding work of literary criticism during these years was Polt's excellent comprehensive analysis of El delincuente honrado (no. 280) which dealt with intrinsic as well as extrinsic aspects of the play. In addition to dealing extensively with the history, criticism, theme and especially the sources of the play, Polt was the first to discuss its structure, characterization and dramatic technique. Casaldueiro (no. 67) also contributed to the understanding of the relation of the play to the classic unities in his penetrating discussion of the sense of time in the Eighteenth Century. Poetry, however, was largely neglected, only a few brief studies by Arce (nos. 20, 23) and Caso (nos. 91, 92) being written.

During this decade several other important publications appeared which gave evidence of the increasing interest in the writings of Jovellanos, among them two bibliographies (nos. 335, 345), the first since Somoza's, and nine of the diaries with posthumous notes by Somoza and an excellent introduction by Del Río (no. 297). In

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addition three new volumes of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 85, 86, 87, were devoted to Jovellanos' unpublished works, accompanied by a less-than-satisfactory introductory study by Artola (no. 30).

The decade 1960-1970 has seen an even greater output of books and articles concerning Jovellanos, the total nearing the one hundred mark. In general the works have been comprehensive and of high quality, giving evidence of the more serious attention he has recently been receiving from critics.

In this decade Jovellanos' poetry has for the first time provoked substantial interest among critics. In 1960 Joaquín Arce (no. 21) published a comprehensive study of the neoclassical and pre-romantic tendencies in the poetry of Jovellanos, seriously discussing themes, motifs, versification and poetic technique.

A great stimulus to Jovellanos studies has been provided by José Caso González, who without doubt has become the leading contemporary scholar in the field. His excellent edition of the poetry of Jovellanos (no. 87) provides extensive notes and appendices as well as an introduction in which each poem is carefully analyzed using techniques of modern literary criticism. Caso published as well separate studies, one concerning Jovellanos' metrical theory (no. 90), and another (no. 77) in which through meticulous investigation and comparison he showed that don Gaspar suppressed a personal and lyrically beautiful version of Epístola del Paular for a more stylized one, less revealing of his intimate sentiments.

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Without doubt Caso's work has awakened interest in Jovellanos' verses on the part of other critics, (nos. 21, 59, 68, 120, 155, 191, 367), Zavala's study (no. 367) being especially valuable for its identification of bourgeois elements in his poetry.

As for dramatic criticism, Caso provided the only studies in Spanish, his discussions of Pelayo (no. 75) offering an excellent analysis of theme, characterization, style and dramatic technique. His treatment of El delincuente honrado (no. 76) presented a valuable stylistic interpretation of this play. Caso, likewise, edited a fine selection of Jovellanos' letters (no. 74), thus encouraging interest in this long-neglected area of his literary production. He also has edited and authored a prologue for a new edition of the Reglamento para el Colegio de Calatrava (no. 89) and written another penetrating article concerning Jovellanos as an educational theorist (no. 78). His studies of the religious beliefs of Jovellanos (78, 80, 84) have done much to remove long-standing misconceptions in this area.

A noteworthy characteristic of the sixties in Jovellanos studies has been the trend toward more international involvement. With Caso himself now teaching at the University of Lyon and interesting his students there in Jovellanos, and at least ten foreign scholars contributing worthwhile books and articles, it seems evident that Jovellanos' renown has spread far beyond the borders of Spain. From Germany has come a fine book-length study of Jovellanos with emphasis on the economic and political aspects of his work (no. 304). In England Inez McClelland has carefully analyzed Jovellanos' dramatic production in her

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two-volume work, Spanish Drama of Pathos, (no. 235) and Glendinning has written concerning his poetry (no. 155). In the United States John Polt's study of El delincuente honrado continued the international trend initiated by Mérimée, Torres, Sarrailh and others. He has since come to be regarded as a leading jovellanista with excellent books and studies concerning many phases of Jovellanos' life and work. Paul Ilie (no. 191) has contributed a study on Jovellanos' esthetic theory which has brought new insight in this area, while Edith Helman has written concerning Jovellanos' humanism (no. 182) and republished others of her studies in Jovellanos y Goya (no. 183). Marcia Davidson wrote about Jovellanos' economic theories in her doctoral dissertation (no. 110).

At the same time interest was not lagging within the Peninsula, especially in the area of economics, where apparently the prejudice against economists, expressed so vehemently by Menéndez Pelayo (no. 388), fortunately seems to have disappeared. Twelve books and studies concerning Jovellanos' economic theories were introduced (nos. 1, 8, 68, 110, 121, 210, 269, 285, 304, 336, 337, 338), attention centering as before on the Informe sobre la Ley Agraria. Jovellanos' political thought was also analyzed by sixteen writers (nos. 19, 28, 33, 64, 84, 125, 165, 208, 219, 220, 246, 247, 264, 304, 327, 352), but emphasis here continued to be somewhat partisan.

Literary regionalism was strong during the sixties, with renewed interest being evinced in Jovellanos' work on behalf of his native Asturias. In this area the Asturian, Jesús Martínez Fernández, published several biographical studies of some interest (nos. 228, 229, 230, 231,

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232). Mallorcans as well called attention to Jovellanos' stay at Valldemosa and Bellver by publishing several related studies (nos. 16, 164, 205, 261, 263, 269, 313).

Among the book-length biographies Angel Dotor's (no. 125) was doubtless the most balanced and comprehensive, and included a valuable bibliography. Gómez de la Serna's study (no. 165), mostly concerned with Jovellanos' political and social thought, was extremely perceptive, as was Caso's fine introduction to Jovellanos' Obras en Prosa (no. 85), which offered excellent literary interpretations of the works included.

The most recent contribution to Jovellanos studies is Polt's fine biographic, conceptual and literary analysis published in the Twayne series (no. 278), his chapter on Jovellanos the dramatist being especially valuable. The work serves as a fitting complement to his previous study on Jovellanos' English sources (no. 279).

In reviewing critical commentary on Jovellanos since 1901, one must conclude that the perceptiveness and scholarship of the studies has gradually increased; its range of interest has broadened to include some excellent literary criticism as well as treatment of Jovellanos as economic and educational theoretician. Recently fine studies have appeared concerning Jovellanos' interpretation of the arts. Treatment of Jovellanos' political thought has generally become less emotional and more factual, as have studies on his religious tenets.

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All this is indicative of greater appreciation for the timeliness and applicability of Jovellanos' thought today. It is to be hoped that this trend may continue and produce more of the excellent interpretive studies such as those which have recently been appearing.

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Part II

Critical Bibliography of
Jovellanos studies, (1901-1973)

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- 1 Acerete, Julio C. Introduction, notes and appendices to Informe sobre la Ley Agraria by Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Colección "Notas de Sociedad", Barcelona: Edición de Materiales, 1968, 254 pages.

Acerete succinctly reviews agriculture in Spain from Roman times to the present, focusing especially on Eighteenth Century reforms and their at least partial negation during the two subsequent centuries.

The writer affirms, as does Helman (no. 182), that Jovellanos insisted that the ideas expressed in Informe sobre la Ley Agraria were those of the Sociedad Económica in order to avoid censure by the Inquisition. He is doubtless correct in assuming that Jovellanos' own ideas were more radical yet, although other more conservatively oriented commentators, e.g., Miguel Oliver (no. 253), have believed them to be less liberal. This work, says Acerete, formed the basis for the social philosophy of the Cortes de Cádiz and for the progressive liberalism of the past century. The proposed reforms failed because the Spanish people were essentially conservative and non-revolutionary, declares Acerete, probably oversimplifying an exceedingly complex issue.

The writer, nevertheless, has compiled a valuable reference table, a cronología circunstancial, in which the events of the life of Jovellanos are juxtaposed with important events of the times. In another appendix the author charts the revolutionary-counter-revolutionary pendular movement of Spanish politics between 1810 and

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1931, years during which neither group was sufficiently strong to dominate effectively, thus creating a state of almost perpetual civil war. In this way Acerete convincingly supports the thesis of his essay: the unwillingness or ineffectiveness of modern Spain in carrying out meaningful reform.

- 2 Acevedo, Bernardo. "Un héroe olvidado". Trabajo leído el 27 de noviembre de 1911, El Ateneo de Gijón en el primer centenario de Jovellanos, Gijón, 1911, pages 77-81.

The author recalls the loyalty of Jovellanos' majordomo, Domingo García de la Fuente, who never swerved in his devotion, even during his master's imprisonment in Bellver. Acevedo diminishes the effect of his panegyric by attacking Jovellanos' detractors and by complaining quite irrelevantly about some minor problems of the centenary celebration.

- 3 Adellac y González de Agüero, Miguel. Introduction to Diarios, (Memorias íntimas), 1790-1801. Instituto de Jovellanos de Gijón, Madrid: Imp. de los Sucesores de Hernando, 1915, 413 pages.

After more than a century of delays and false starts the Diarios of Jovellanos were finally published in 1915 by Adellac, who narrates in his introduction the sorry tale of these memoirs (perhaps somewhat inaccurately labeled "memorias íntimas", since they contain few confidences). Upon Jovellanos' imprisonment the diaries were impounded by Cabellero and later rescued by Ceán, whose

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heirs sold them. Bought in a pawnshop by Abello, they were inherited by Luarca, who published an article attacking Jovellanos as heretic, atheist and revolutionary. Luarca's widow allowed the diaries to be published providing her husband's remarks be included, as well as the notes which Abello and Necedal had prepared for a BAE edition which failed to appear. The 1915 edition proved to be scandalously inaccurate, filled with misprints and even willful alterations, and was apparently little read.

In his introduction, which deals with the diaries historically, but provides little thematic analysis, Adellac attempts to apologize for Luarca's intolerance and vindictiveness, but cannot refrain from contrasting this spirit with the absence of recrimination in the diaries of Jovellanos, who had every reason for bitterness because of his patently unjust treatment.

4 Adellac, Miguel. "Jovellanos y la cuestión social de su tiempo". Conferencia explicada el día 9 de septiembre de 1911, Et Ateneo de Gijón en el primer centenario de Jovellanos, Gijón, 1911, pages 43-60.

Adellac, director of the Instituto de Gijón, calls radicalísimas Jovellanos' ideas concerning land reform as expressed in his Informe sobre la Ley Agraria.

The writer is inexact in categorizing Jovellanos as a physiocrat: in his concern for the individual, especially the peasant

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he goes far beyond these earlier economic theoreticians. He might be more adequately classed as a post-mercantilist (see No. 17).

Adellac points to the similarities between the economic ideas of Jovellanos and Twentieth Century English ideas concerning small land holding as proposed by Lloyd George. But the writer exaggerates in his assessment of the international effect of Jovellanos' writings in the field of economics and agriculture: most of the ideas he expressed were current throughout Europe during the late Eighteenth Century.

- 5 Adellac y González de Agüero, Miguel. Preliminary study to Manuscritos inéditos de Jovellanos: Plan de educación de la nobleza, Trabajo de Orden del Rey en 1798. Gijón: Sangenés, 1915, 236 pp.

Like Somoza (no. 341) Adellac doubts that Plan de Educación de la Nobleza was entirely the work of Jovellanos. He asserts, however, that the work was certainly inspired by Jovellanos while he was Minister of Grace and Justice in 1798. Although there is no reference to this work in don Gaspar's diaries, it is ideologically similar to his other writings on education. Adellac suggests that Bishop Tavira of Salamanca may have been his collaborator.

As director of the Instituto de Gijón and speaking as an educator interested in the reform of the bachillerato in Spain, Adellac analyzes the Plan with a view to making its curriculum more practical. He differs with Jovellanos, however, in that he believes the study of Latin to be indispensable in preparing for most professions. His analysis and criticism of Jovellanos' work, which comprises well over half the book, is also a declaration of Adellac's own educational ideas.

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- 6 Adellac y Gonzalez de Agüero, Miguel, Prologue and brief notes to "Oración inaugural a la apertura del Real Instituto Asturiano que leyó su promotor en 7 de enero de 1794". El Noroeste, 1911.
Bib. Ref. in: Simón Díaz, José and Martínez Cachero, José María. "Bibliografía de Jovellanos (1902-1950)". Boletín de Estudios Asturianos, Oviedo, No. XIII (agosto, 1961), (no. 335), 131-152.
- 7 "Adhesiones". El Ateneo de Gijón en el primer centenario de Jovellanos, Gijon, 1911, pages 99-106.

A series of letters eulogizing Jovellanos on the occasion of his centenary by Faustino Rodríguez San Pedro, Rafael Altamira, Rafael María de Labra and Valentín Escolar.

- 8 Agramonte, Roberto D. "Jovellanos, planificador". Torre, XXII, 1965, 155-169.

Agramonte reviews the plans and recommendations of Jovellanos for a more prosperous and happy Spain, emphasizing especially his patriotism and his somewhat over-optimistic conviction that intelligence leads necessarily to virtue. He points out as well his mistrust of the metaphysics of Llull: "Vertió al odre castellano la Geometría de Raimundo Lulio".

The writer notes that Jovellanos was both modern and European, corresponding with French intellectuals as well as with Jeremy Bentham, whose utilitarian ideas he found especially applicable in the

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field of educational reform. Agramonte calls attention to parallels between Jovellanos and Benjamin Franklin, although one might argue that, unlike his American counterpart, Jovellanos was ultimately unsuccessful as a man of action.

- 9 Aguilar Piñal, Francisco. La Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras en el Siglo XVIII. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1966, 392 pages.

This extensive study of the intellectual life of Eighteenth Century Seville discusses, among many other subjects, the tertulia of Pablo de Olavide, Asistente of Seville, at which Jovellanos read his El delincuente honrado.

The book provides a fine background for the understanding of the place where Jovellanos spent some of his formative years, and descriptively presents the intellectual climate conducive to the production of the type of poetry and drama in which don Gaspar was, at that time, much interested.

- 10 Aguirre Prado, Luis. Jovellanos. Colección "Temas españoles", No. 241, Madrid: Publicaciones españolas, 1956.

This monograph presents a standard biography of Jovellanos, usually factual, but offering few insights and no new information.

The writer makes clear his scorn for bourgeois values and for désentailment, but otherwise engages in little partisan propaganda. Although the study provides resúmenes of El delincuente honrado, Pelayo, Ley Agraria and Espectáculos y diversiones públicas, as well as parts

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- 11 Alberich, José. "Un hispanista temprano: Lord Holland". Revista de Literatura, VIII (1942), 295-308.

José Alberich presents a brief biography of Lord Holland together with an analysis of his Vida de Lope. The article, however, does include about two pages of useful information concerning Lord Holland's relations with Jovellanos.

Alberich, who describes Jovellanos as "uno de los españoles más inteligentes y más puros de aquella época tan pródiga en insignes botarotes", recounts their first meeting in 1793, Lord Holland's efforts to have Jovellanos released from prison, and their frequent meetings and almost daily correspondence while Jovellanos was serving in Seville with the Junta Central. Although Jovellanos was ideologically more conservative, their relationship always remained cordial and even affectionate, Holland admiring Jovellanos as a good and intelligent man and Jovellanos finding in his English friend simplicity, nobility and generosity. It is noteworthy that Holland never appears to have exerted undue political influence over Jovellanos, although one suspects he may have been in a position to do so. But Alberich correctly points out that neither exerted great influence in his government, and that Jovellanos, at least, lacking leadership ability, exerted influence only through his example and his writing.

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- 12 Alberti, J. "Gijón proyectado a la busca y descubrimiento de Jovellanos". La Nueva España, Oviedo, 9 de febrero de 1960.
Bib. Ref. in: Pérez de Castro, José. "Deseo y esfuerzo de Jovellanos por Gijón", (no. 269), 182.
- 13 Alcázar Molina, Cayetano. Don Pablo de Olavide (el colonizador de la Sierra Morena). Madrid: Voluntad, 1927, Cap. VII: "La tertulia de Sevilla y el recuerdo de Jovellanos". pages 95-104. (From the series, Los hombres del reinado de Carlos III).

Alcázar Molina describes the group of intellectuals who met regularly in the home of the Asistente of Seville. A discussion on neoclassic dramatic theory among them led to the writing of El delincuente honrado, which the author describes as "tierna y lánguida, bien escrita y declamatoria", although one might question the use of "lánguida" in this regard. The writer alludes to the influence of the Salamancan poets over Jovellanos, but neglects to mention that this influence was reciprocal.

Somoza, (no. 341) perhaps with some political bias, has affirmed that Jovellanos and Olavide were never special friends, but Alcázar asserts that Jovellanos proved his loyalty by standing by Olavide when the latter was imprisoned because of his liberal leanings. He also mentioned Olavide affectionately in his poem of leave-taking to his friends in Seville. Alcázar quotes in its entirety the lovely Sapphic ode on the death of Engracia, whom the research of Defourneaux

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(no. 111) has shown to be the daughter of Olavide, rather than his niece.

Alonso Bonet, Joaquín. See nos. 50-58.

- 14 Alonso, Alfredo. "Orzuela y Jovellanos". Trabajo leído el 27 de noviembre de 1911, El Ateneo de Gijón en el primer centenario de Jovellanos, Gijón, 1911, pages 62-70.

The writer speculates on a letter written by Jovellanos from Valldemuzza, which alludes to the disloyalty of a young man named Orzuela "aquel muchacho torpe y rudo que tanto protegí". What was the ultimate effect of this disafección which don Gaspar found so difficult to forget, Alonso wonders.

- 15 Alunzia, Joaquín. "Jovellanos y la siderurgia vascongada". Zumarraga, revista de estudios vascos, No. 2, 1954.
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (G-K), Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1955, (no. 345), 592.

Alvarez Gendín, Sabino. See no. 153.

Alvarez Santullano, Luis. See No. 324.

- 16 Alvarez Solar-Quintes, Nicolás. "Jovellanos en Mallorca". Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, XIX, 1965, 103-122.

This pleasantly nostalgic visit to Mallorca recreates Jovellanos' seven years of imprisonment there. The writer provides a

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description of the town of Valldemosa, where Jovellanos spent his first year of confinement not unpleasantly sharing the life of the monks of the Cartuja. The author erroneously states that Jovellanos spent three years in Valldemosa: he arrived on Mallorca April 18, 1801, although Alvarez puts his arrival as April 18, 1799. This article, which appears to rely heavily on one published by Sureda y Blanes (no. 347) in the same periodical in 1947, provides minor biographical data concerning Jovellanos.

- 17 Andres Alvarez, Valentín. Prologue to Informe sobre la Ley Agraria by Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1955, 291 pages.

In his prologue Andres Alvarez deals with Spanish thought concerning economic theory and land reform during the century preceding Jovellanos, showing that the ideas set forth by him in his Informe sobre la Ley Agraria, although in large part not new, were more lucidly and precisely explicated here than previously. He affirms that in the Eighteenth Century most of the progressive ideas came from France and were in conflict with Spanish traditionalism. Thus in El delincuente honrado the paradox of the title is reflected in a situation in which the hero is a criminal by French standards but honorable to Spanish eyes. Jovellanos was much aware of this dichotomy and tried to harmonize these conflicting ideas and adapt them to the exigencies of the Spanish situation. Thus he advocated

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democracy on the municipal level, but more authoritarian government on the national level. He saw in many of the French political innovations only reinterpretations of ancient Spanish institutions. The Seventeenth Century saw Spain's problem as economic, asserts Andres Alvarez, but the Eighteenth viewed it as political.

The writer has approached the Informe sobre la Ley Agraria from an historical rather than from an economic point of view. Although the study is informative, the author is inaccurate in finding little new in the Ley Agraria: Campomanes' report of twenty years before approached the problem from a mercantilist standpoint, whereas the Informe of Jovellanos is postmercantilist, incorporating Smith's laissez-faire philosophy and a new preoccupation with social welfare.

Andreu Valdés-Solís, Martín. See no. 353.

- 18 Antón, Rubín. "Menéndez Pelayo y Jovellanos". Región, Oviedo, 11 de octubre, 1956.

Bib. ref. in: Martínez Cachero. Menéndez y Pelayo y Asturias, (no. 224), 210.

- 19 Aranguren, José Luis. "Jovellanos desde el castillo de Bellver". Papeles de Son Armadans, XVII (1960), 221-237.

Aranguren postulates that Jovellanos' thinking was considerably altered during his seven-year imprisonment in the Castle of Bellver.

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The writer's qualification of Jovellanos as the first Spanish intellectual "propiamente dicho" may be open to serious question, but use of the terms "solidario y solitario" is apt: Jovellanos' deep-seated loneliness is an aspect of his personality which has been little commented upon. He was deeply involved in society and at the same time spiritually distant from it.

Although Jovellanos was a regalist in an age when this term was often equated with Jansenism, Aranguren affirms that Jovellanos was never a heretic. Actually, in Bellver Jovellanos became more deeply religious, paradoxically almost happy (at least in comparison with the years that followed). He became something of a romantic, with his new interest in nature and appreciation for the Middle Ages and its art.

Before Mallorca Jovellanos was not at all democratically inclined, believing as did most ilustrados that reform must come from above. But as he viewed events within Spain, Aranjuez, etc., Jovellanos, declares Aranguren, came to believe in democracy rather than enlightened despotism. It is true that the former enemy of all revolution was constrained to accept this one, and to take part in the Junta Central, which received its power directly from the people. But this was about the extent of his "democratic" commitment. He cited as precedents for this body and for the Cortes de Cádiz Spain's ancient, "internal" constitution, unwritten but valid. But this advocacy of constitutional monarchy is very different from sanctioning democracy,

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a term he always used scornfully, associating it with the radicalism of the French Revolution.

Aranguren perceptively notes Jovellanos' great preoccupation with time as he passed the seven long years on Mallorca; he frequently mentioned the swiftness of the passage of the years, bringing with it illness and old age. The writer associates this tendency with Romanticism, although it may indicate more specifically Jovellanos' preoccupation with his own increasing age and ill health. He is perhaps somewhat inaccurate in comparing this point of view with "intemporal neoclasicismo": neoclassic dramatists, in their adherence to the classic unities were enormously conscious of time. One might conclude, rather, as does Casaldueiro (no. 67) that the two centuries were equally concerned with time, but thought of it in a different way.

In this article Aranguren has researched and set in focus a traumatic period in Jovellanos' life, and has shown that Jovellanos continued openminded. His thinking may have altered significantly during these years, but probably not to the extent indicated by the writer.

20 Arce y Fernández, Joaquín. "Cuando Gijón estaba a la sombra del cerro de Santa Catalina". El Comercio, Gijón, 15 de agosto, 1953.

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Caso González, (no. 83), 211 (note).

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- 21 Arce y Fernández, Joaquín. "Jovellanos y la sensibilidad prerromántica". Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo, XXXVI (1960), 139-177.

In this analysis Arce y Fernández discusses the poetry of Jovellanos from several perspectives: a) neoclassical and preromantic tendencies, especially the latter, b) the major criticism of his poetry, c) influence on his contemporaries and on the Nineteenth Century poets, d) sensibility, e) other significant aspects of his poetry.

Preromanticism and Neoclassicism, coinciding chronologically during the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century and the first decade of the Nineteenth, are for Arce terms which designate tendencies and attitudes rather than movements. Far from antithetical, they share a common rebellious spirit and a yearning for innovation and liberty, he asserts. Here Arce distinguishes between galoclasicismo (pseudoclasicismo), which placed emphasis upon precept, and neoclasicismo, which implied a rebellious and innovative attitude.

Arce reviews and comments upon the major criticism of Jovellanos' poetry to the present time. He points out that Torres Ríoseco has labeled Jovellanos "romántico", but insists that preromanticism is quite different from romanticism. In reality, though, Arce's definitions of romanticism and preromanticism are as imprecise as the ones he proposes for neoclasicismo, seudoclasicismo, and galoclasicismo, and are little more helpful in clarifying the issue.

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Arce assesses Jovellanos' stature among his contemporaries, pointing especially to his influence with the Salamancan group, whom he urged to elevate their poetry, "haciéndola gloria de la patria y del bien de la sociedad".

Living in an age of sentiment when the shedding of tears was no sign of weakness but of a "sensible corazón", Jovellanos displayed his own "alma sensible" in his poetry and especially in his El delincuente honrado. Although in many ways defective, this play is interesting for Arce for its sentimentality and use of gesture which presage the romantic movement, and for its ideas concerning justice, later reflected in the work of the Cortes de Cádiz. Arce sees influences of Jovellanos on his successors, especially el Duque de Rivas and Espronceda. He points to certain romantic themes which recur in don Gaspar's poetry, such as leave-takings, Autumn as a time of parting and sadness, open countryside as a symbol of loneliness, popular picturesqueness, and in places, a certain unaristocratic bourgeois sentiment.

Arce's analysis of literary currents is thought-provoking for his attempt to articulate the nuances of their complexity. His identification of certain romantic themes in Jovellanos' poetry is perceptive.

- 22 Arce y Fernández, Joaquin. "La poesía de Fray Luis de León en Jovellanos". Revista de la Universidad de Oviedo, facsículo de la Facultad

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de Filosofía y Letras, setiembre-diciembre de 1947, 41-45.

Joaquín Arce has analyzed stylistically the poetry of Jovellanos and has shown conclusively its direct relationship to that of Fray Luis de León.

Even though Jovellanos always tended to be apologetic about his verses, feeling such a pursuit unworthy of a magistrate of his standing, Arce believes that a dominant characteristic of Jovellanos was his intellectual cosmopolitanism, his sensitivity and openmindedness to all kinds of tendencies and ideas. Aside from the Latin classics, Jovellanos' two great admirations were for Garcilaso and Fray Luis de León, especially the latter, whose popularity increased greatly during the Neoclassical period: there were three editions of his poetry between 1761 and 1791. Arce finds Jovellanos' poetry imbued with the spirit of Fray Luis, although he does not elaborate on this point. He notes as well that each suffered imprisonment largely because of the envy of his contemporaries.

The writer points out that in his Memoria sobre la educación pública and in his Curso de humanidades Jovellanos recommended the reading of the poetry and prose of Fray Luis over all others.

Admittedly, there is no relationship in metric form, since Fray Luis' liras were ill-adapted to don Gaspar's ~~diff~~use temperament, which led him instinctively to avoid consonantal rhyme, observes Arce.

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The writer carefully analyzes the verses of the two poets and points out dozens of undeniable stylistic and conceptual parallels. The combining of the definite article with a possessive adjective is often used by both, e.g., la su lira. Each uses exclamations such as ¡ay! and ¡oh! with great frequency, as well as bipartition of the final word of a verse, e.g., miserable-mente. It might be observed, however, that these latter two usages were fairly common during both the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

Arce compares Epístola del Paular with Vida Retirada, A Meléndez with A Felipe Ruíz, as well as A sus amigos de Salamanca and Epístola a Batilo with Noche Serena, pointing out many similarities indicating the influence of Fray Luis on Jovellanos.

- 23 Arce y Fernández, Joaquín. "Notas a una poesía desconocida de Jovellanos". Publicaciones de la Real Sociedad Geográfica, Serie S. No. 386, Madrid, 1957, 36 pages.
Bib. ref. in: Caso González (no. 83), 188

- 24 Arco, Ricardo del. "Jovellanos y las bellas artes". Revista de Ideas Estéticas, IV, 1946, 31-64.

In this detailed study Arco analyzes Jovellanos' criticism of art and architecture, and to a lesser extent, his views concerning literature.

Arco feels that although he never professed to be an art expert, Jovellanos was one of the most capable art critics of his day;

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he was perhaps superior to Azara and Mengs, the two leading Eighteenth Century critics. Arco calls Jovellanos a "prerromántico calificado" in his predisposition for the medieval and Gothic in architecture, but declares that this tendency was always at odds with the neoclassicism of his day, which the enlightened Jovellanos rationally accepted. He points out accurately that these romantic leanings have their beginnings much earlier than the period of his imprisonment, as Menéndez Pelayo (no. 387) had assumed. It is true, however, that on Mallorca this romantic predisposition was intensified by his reading of the early English and French romanticists and by his surroundings, especially the Castle of Bellver and other Gothic structures which stimulated his interest in the late Middle Ages.

Although, like his contemporaries, Jovellanos praised Mengs, "el mejor pintor de la tierra" (41), he objected to the German painter's strict neoclassicism, insisting that the artist's primary task is to imitate nature rather than to idealize it. Thus he disagreed with Mengs' assessment of Velázquez, and advised young artists to follow the latter's example:

la verdad es el principio de toda perfección y la belleza, el gusto, la gracia, no pueden existir fuera de ella. Buscadlas en la naturaleza, eligiendo las partes más sublimes y perfectas, las formas más bellas y graciosas, los partidos más nobles y elegantes: pero sobre todo aprended de Velázquez el arte de animarlas con el encanto de la ilusión; con este portentoso encanto, que la naturaleza había vinculado en los sublimes toques de su mágico pincel". (43).

These remarks, made in 1781, indicate that Jovellanos was already moving beyond strict classicism in his assessment of the artist's

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role, and toward a more nearly romantic conception. It is true that a new interest in the Middle Ages was manifesting itself also among Jovellanos' contemporaries, as well as a certain sentimentality which foreshadowed Romanticism. Nevertheless, as Arco perceptively points out, in some respects Jovellanos' romantic tendencies actually preceded the movement elsewhere.

Although Arco has made little attempt to determine the reasons for his judgements, he has done well in summarizing Jovellanos' criticism of the fine arts and in pointing out the struggle for dominance between foreign and traditionally Spanish ideas in his thinking.

- 25 Artigas, Miguel. "Los manuscritos de Jovellanos de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo" (Texto de la conferencia pronunciada en el Paraninfo de la Universidad de Oviedo por el autor, el día 14 de junio de 1921). Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo, Año III, No. 3 (Mayo-junio, 1921), 118-152.

Artigas enumerates and briefly describes all of the material, largely unpublished, by and concerning Jovellanos in the Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo. He affirms that it contains everything written by Jovellanos that has been printed, and the most important of the work of the jovellanistas, as well as most of the manuscripts belonging previously to Cándido Nocedal. Artigas concludes by discussing an unedited discourse by Juan de Herrera concerning Raymundo Llull for

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In an appendix the following documents appear:

- I. Carta latina de Jovellanos a su hermano.
- II. Avisos amistosos de Jovellanos a Saavedra.
- III. Censura de varias obras literarias.
- IV. Carta del Sr. (Juan) Junquera (Huerco) al Sr. D.A.F. Vallín (Gijón, 28 de abril de 1860). (Concerning certain manuscripts of Jovellanos).

26 Artiaño y de Galdácano, Gervasio de. Jovellanos y su España. Madrid: Jaime Ratés, 1913, 186 pages.

This book, which was justly awarded a prize by the Real Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas in the competition of 1912, is especially valuable for its fine background information on Eighteenth Century Europe, on Spain before 1700, and on Eighteenth Century Spain. In addition, the author has included excellent chapters on Jovellanos' social, economic and pedagogical ideas.

Even though he considers briefly the artistic merits of Jovellanos' writings, it is as innovator and man of science with which Artiaño interests himself in this book. The author affirms that Jovellanos was not an expounder of new theories or systems, suggesting that in politics Jovellanos had ever before him the English constitution;

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in economics he followed the lead of Adam Smith and other contemporary economic theoreticians; in the field of morals he could look to Catholic dogma. In the area of education, however, Jovellanos, according to Artiñano, was truly on his own, and was therefore a more independent thinker.

Artiñano confirms the view of others that Jovellanos was not an innovative theoretician but rather a man concerned with directing the pragmatic application of contemporary thought for the betterment of his countrymen.

Artiñano points out that in all of their criticism of society and suggested reforms, the Spanish ilustrados never evinced the slightest disloyalty to their religion or to their monarch. But it was actually a superficial enlightenment for most of the upper class, while the masses remained in total ignorance. Thus well-meant reforms were often incomprehensible or thought to be subversive. Among the loyal band of ilustrados whose attempts at reform and regeneration were thus in large measure thwarted, was Jovellanos, whom Artiñano aptly describes as a man who combined a fine intellect and a love of study and investigation with enthusiasm, self-abnegation, patriotism, a noble character and great religious faith.

This monograph is clearly-written and relatively impartial as well as probing and thought-provoking.

- 27 Artola, Miguel. "América en el pensamiento español del siglo dieciocho". Revista de Indias, Madrid, XXIX, Nos. 115-118.

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Bib. ref. in: Artola, Miguel. "Vida y pensamiento de D. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos", Vol. 85 of BAE. Madrid, 1956 (no. 28).

- 28 Artola, Miguel. "El pensamiento político de Jovellanos según la instrucción inédita a la 'Junta de la Real Hacienda y Legislación' ". Archivum, Oviedo, XII (1962) 210-216.

Artola publishes an unsigned manuscript which he is sure was written by Jovellanos since its title is mentioned in Defensa de la Junta Central. Artola finds here proof of Jovellanos' liberal philosophy and a convincing argument against those who would paint him as a traditionalist. In it Jovellanos advocates a unified political constitution, an integrated legal code, and the abolition of special privileges.

- 29 Artola, Miguel. Los afrancesados. Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1953.

Artola unjustly asserts that Jovellanos' writings reveal his lack of political determination, "que le tuvo varios días a la puerta de Madrid dudando acerca del partido más conveniente". (21). This cynical observation is vehemently refuted by Jovellanos' many assertions of fervent patriotism, e.g., his letters to Cabarrús and to Sabastiani.

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- 30 Artola, Miguel. "Vida y pensamiento de D. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos", preliminary study to Vol. 85 of Biblioteca de Autores Españoles. Madrid, 1956, pp. 1-87.

The first part of this study is devoted to a factual and generally competent biography, although Caso (no. 83) has pointed out several errors, mostly of a minor nature. The second part, concerned with Jovellanos' thought, correctly shows him to be a man of his times, affected to an extent by the ideas of encyclopedism and the Enlightenment. Although in later years he modified his liberal thinking somewhat, he remained essentially an ilustrado.

- 31 Ayala, Francisco. "Jovellanos en su centenario". Experiencia e invención (Ensayos sobre el escritor y su mundo), Madrid: Taurus, 1960, pages 205-256.

In this essay Francisco Ayala has provided his readers with a probing study of the political and religious thought of Jovellanos.

As has been often observed, Jovellanos' at times nostalgic mood and his sensitivity to nature qualify him as a preromantic. Ayala, however, goes a step further, seeing in the historicismo of Jovellanos a presaging of the spirituality of the Nineteenth Century:

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Para él, la Historia se encuentra penetrada de sentido, y esto en un modo tal, que se acerca mucho a las concepciones hoy predominantes (en todo caso a la sensibilidad histórica de nuestros días), resultando así tanto más sorprendente en los que él vivió. (p. 237).

For Jovellanos, then, history represents an indispensable link: "el vínculo secreto que enlaza costumbres y tiempos".

Ayala traces Jovellanos' ideological formation, showing that politically he followed quite closely the ideas of the Encyclopedists, those very ideas which resulted in the French Revolution, even though Jovellanos never espoused such a radical expedient, always advocating prudence and gradualism.

In his discussion of Jovellanos' religious tenets, Ayala reiterates his previously expressed belief (no. 32) that he was a Jansenist sympathizer and that this suspected heresy was the principal cause of his banishment and later imprisonment. Ayala affirms, however, that Jovellanos was a sincere and orthodox Catholic. This is one of the most valuable sections of the essay, for Ayala's lucid discussion of Jansenism helps to clarify this complex issue, quite confusing in the history of the Eighteenth Century.

- 32 Ayala, Francisco. "Jovellanos, sociólogo". Jovellanos, su vida y obra, Homenaje del Centro Asturiano de Buenos Aires en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, con la adhesión de los Centros Asturianos de la Habana y México, Buenos Aires: La Prensa Médica Argentina, 1945, pages 283-330.

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Ayala explores Jovellanos' concept of the nature of Man and his position in the natural order. Man's duty, says don Gaspar, is to study the universe since he is the only creature capable of understanding its immensity and penetrating its laws. Although he warned that this knowledge may be used as a tool of oppression and destruction, he believed that men are generally guided by reason.

Ayala also discusses at length Jovellanos' concept of the role of the nobility in society, as well as that of women. He deals too with Jovellanos' ideas concerning sovereignty and his espousal of constitutional monarchy with balance of power and a bicameral legislature.

Ayala vindicates to a large extent the position of the afrancesados. Like del R o (no. 299) he believes that Jovellanos had strong Jansenist leanings, although he was at the same time a sincere Catholic. He emphasizes as well Jovellanos' insistence on the importance of tradition in preserving the spiritual unity of Spain.

Ayala sees an analogy between Jovellanos' brief service in the Ministry in 1797-98 and his work as a member of the Junta Central a decade later. Each task was assumed through a profound sense of duty, although with grave misgivings, and each was answered with re-
criminations and abuse rather than with gratitude.

Although at times moving outside the strict limits of his subject, Ayala has provided an excellent summation of Jovellanos' views on man's position in society and in the universe.

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- 33 Azcárate, Pablo. "Jovellanos y Lord Holland". Insula, XVIII, No. 197 (1963), 1, 10.

Azcárate in this concise and informative article, recounts the intimate and long-continued friendship between Jovellanos and Lord Holland, the British hispanist and liberal thinker. The writer interests himself principally with biographical and historical aspects of this correspondence, but includes as well an account of the vicissitudes which these letters have undergone. They fortunately survived the bombings of the Second World War and are now the property of the British Museum, from which photocopies were obtained for their recent publication.

- 34 Azcárate, Gumersindo de. "Jovellanos y su tiempo". Conferencia explicada el 24 de agosto de 1911, El Ateneo de Gijón en el primer centenario de Jovellanos, Gijón, 1911, pages 11-24

Azcárate correctly states that Jovellanos was a man of his times in his efforts to harmonize the modern with the traditional, but he exaggerates in declaring that he was never a supporter of the antiguo régimen: in spite of the progressive reforms he advocated, Jovellanos remained essentially an ilustrado and a believer in the enlightened despotism of the reign of Carlos III.

Azcárate accurately points out that the terms "liberal" and "conservative" do not apply during this period, and that com-

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mentators err in their attempts to categorize Jovellanos. Nevertheless, he paints Jovellanos as more radical than he was in actuality.

- 35 Azorín (José Martínez Ruíz). "Jovellanos". Los clásicos redividos, los clásicos futuros, 1945, Obras Completas, 2nd edition, Tomo VIII, Madrid: Aguilar, 1954-63, pages 77-80.

In this unusual and imaginative essay Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos has apparently moved to the Twentieth Century and is conversing with Martínez Sierra concerning drama, especially that of Unamuno. Azorín utilizes Jovellanos and a performance of El delincuente honrado to expound on some of his favorite themes: nonsequential time, Spanish tradition and its static qualities.

- 36 Azorín (José Martínez Ruíz). "Las ideas antiduelistas". Los Valores Literarios, Madrid: Renacimiento, 1913, p. 205-212.

In this thought-provoking essay Azorín ponders man's uneven course toward more humane and civilized behavior, especially in regard to dueling. He observes that in El delincuente honrado Jovellanos expounded a doctrine ironically quite opposed to what he intended to demonstrate.

After reviewing some contemporary treatises against dueling, Azorín observes that in El delincuente honrado Jovellanos was not absolutely opposed to the custom, sanctioning it in the case of a

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grave offense involving one's honor. Thus don Simón, the apparent traditionalist, who argues that both participants should be punished equally, is the truly progressive spirit, while don Justo, who argues for the extenuating circumstances in this case, is really upholding this tradition-worn Spanish custom. Torquato, presented as the epitome of honor and virtue, marries the unsuspecting widow of the man he has killed, admitting: "Te he conseguido por medio de un engaño". But Azorín suspects that Jovellanos may have inadvertently furthered public opinion against dueling through this confused presentation, and muses concerning the ability of successive generations of readers to alter a work of literature according to its own interpretation: "Las obras literarias suelen tener una eficacia distinta de la que imagina el autor . . . las generaciones y generaciones suelen ir formando la verdadera obra" (211).

One could argue in don Gaspar's defense, however, that honor and dueling are only a secondary theme of the play. Jovellanos' purpose was more ample: to promote justice with mercy and a humane moderation in the execution of the law. He actually never entirely rejected don Simón's interpretation of justice nor pretended that either Torquato or his father, don Justo, were always above reproach: they were all three fallible human beings wrestling with a very complicated and perplexing problem, that of the fair and equitable administration of justice.

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- 37 Azorín (José Martínez Ruíz). "Rasgos de Jovellanos". El Español, Madrid, 30 enero, 1943.

In this somewhat rambling series of impressions Azorín asserts that Jovellanos' diaries, being without the affectation of some of his other writing, are his most truly literary work. He points to Jovellanos' endorsement of the liberalism of Christian Wolfe and to his admiration for the Nouvelle Héloïse which one sees reflected in his Mallorcan prose. Azorín may be speaking also for himself when he likens the ideological conflict experienced by Erasmus and Goethe to that of Jovellanos, as he struggled with the "dualismo patético", both ethical and esthetic, which he was never able to resolve. But he exaggerates the extent of Jovellanos' alleged oscillation, at least in regard to his rejection of the blandishments of the Napoleonic regime.

- 38 Azorín (José Martínez Ruíz). "Un poeta". Clásicos y modernos, Madrid, 1913, pages 23-29. Also in Obras Completas, 2nd edition, Vol. II, Madrid: Aguilar, 1954-63, pages 748-52.

In his inimitable style, monotonous yet lilting, with brief subject-predicate sentences, almost devoid of adjectives, adverbs and conjunctions, Azorín evokes the old and pensive Jovellanos gazing out

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The first surprise which the reader encounters is the title, "Un poeta", and the second, Azorín's reaffirmation of this judgement: "Poeta es, ante todo este anciano". Perhaps, however, he overemphasizes the role which nature plays in Jovellanos' verses. Actually, aside from the Epístola del Paular and a few other poems, his poetical production contains few descriptions of nature as such. One would have to conclude that the poetry of Jovellanos is essentially one of ideas rather than of descriptions of nature, his real feeling for the natural world being more fully and more apparently expressed in some of his prose works, such as Castillo de Bellver. But perhaps in the broadest sense a sentiment for nature does dominate all Jovellanos' writing, poetry and prose. From this fundamental concept of nature springs his thirst for knowledge and understanding of natural phenomena, as well as his love of rectitude, justice and humanity.

Azorín concludes by calling attention to a poem in which Jovellanos finds in property the origin of all evil: "día vendrá en que ese obstáculo formidable desaparezca. 'El fatal nombre será detestado primero, y luego desconocido'. 'Infame, funesto nombre---exclama el poeta---, fuente y sola causa de todo mal' ". Yet in his prose works on economics Jovellanos invariably upheld the fundamental right of man to own property. Here is one of the seeming contradictions that make one realize that Jovellanos was not always single-minded, and which make the study of his writings so fascinating. As the practical man of the Eighteenth Century who had read and absorbed Wealth of Nations Jovellanos believed firmly in the right to private property. As a visionary and

sentimental utopian dreamer (and poet) he foresaw on some far-off horizon a better day when men might live in such harmony that private property would no longer be necessary.

This lovely prose poem by Azorín has said more in a few pages about the meaning of the man and the poet than many lengthy dissertations.

- 39 Balbín de Unquera, Antonio. "Jovellanos y la gramática inglesa". Asturias (Revista ilustrada del Centro Asturiano), Madrid, Año XXXV, 4^a época (julio de 1918), 109, 110.

Balbín points to Jovellanos' part-Irish ancestry in an attempt to explain his great interest in English from his earliest youth. He describes the English grammar which Jovellanos wrote for his students in the Instituto de Gijón, noting that he recommended the study of English for commercial rather than literary purposes. He concludes with a passage from Jovellanos' translation of Milton's Paradise Lost.

- 40 Balil, A. "Los manuscritos epigráficos de Jovellanos". Zephyrus, XIV (1963), 101-102.

Jovellanos took great interest in the Roman manuscripts he came upon in his travels through Asturias and León, and often recorded them in his diaries and attempted to decipher them. Present-day epigraphers have found his assumptions concerning their meaning to be surprisingly exact, in spite of the fact that modern tools of investigation were then unavailable.

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- 41 Ballesteros Gaibrois, M. Preliminary note for Colección de Asturias, reunida por D. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, (Ed. y notas por M.G.B.), 4 vols. Madrid: Gráficas Reunidas, 1947-1954, Vol. I, 307 pages.

Volume one contains over two hundred ancient documents copied and assembled by Jovellanos in his travels and investigations throughout his native province. The majority are in Latin, and many others are in old Spanish. That some of these latter are from the early Twelfth Century testifies to don Gaspar's linguistic and paleographic erudition. They form a valuable fount of information for linguists and historians, and some are interesting even to laymen (such as those listing rules for the Chapter of the Cathedral of Oviedo).

After presenting a brief biography of Jovellanos as well as sections on major criticism and on the personality of don Gaspar, Ballesteros Gaibrois continues with a chapter on the historicismo of Jovellanos. He calls attention to the enormous interest in history during the latter part of the Eighteenth Century, and to Jovellanos' great and continuing preoccupation with this discipline.

Ballesteros carefully reviews more than thirty historically oriented works by Jovellanos, dividing these into nine categories:

- 1) Historia del derecho, instituciones, etc.
- 2) Geografía histórica o Historia geográfica.
- 3) La Historia, en tanto precedentes jurídico o institucional.
- 4) Etnología, Arqueología y Arte (unido muchas veces a lo propiamente histórico).
- 5) Historia en sí.
- 6) Crítica histórica bibliográfica.
- 7) Archivos.
- 8) Documentación.
- 9) Filología.

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With this introduction Ballesteros has provided an adequate review and catalogue of Jovellanos' historical writings together with the reasons for his collecting of historical documents.

42 Barcia Trelles, Augusto. El pensamiento vivo de Jovellanos. (Biblioteca del Pensamiento Vivo), 38 Buenos Aires: Losada, 1951, 198 pages.

This volume includes a biography of Jovellanos and several chapters in which his thought in various fields is summarized and explicated by the author. He has carefully selected and included portions of the writings of Jovellanos which he considers representative and significant. Much emphasis is placed on Jovellanos' political thought, although most other areas are included, except those concerned with literature and with jurisprudence which are entirely omitted.

In his biography Barcia agrees almost completely with Angel del Río (no. 297) whom he cites and quotes liberally. Although rather brief, his section dealing with Jovellanos' activities as a censor of literature is noteworthy, this phase of his work having been little discussed elsewhere. Of interest also is Barcia's emphasis on the importance of friendship as a facet of the sensibilidad of Jovellanos. Likewise, Barcia sees as basic to Jovellanos' personality his profound sense of honor and his fortitude and stoicism in the face of adversity: "la fuerza y la grandeza moral de este hombre, que en plena tortura material, sufriendo indescriptibles angustias espirituales, mantiene su mente en niveles de tal elevación y su conciencia en planos de sobrehumana serenidad, donde el propio dolor, no enturbia el sentimiento ni desorienta la idea del pensador y del político". (p. 48)

Most extensively analyzed is Jovellanos' work as a member of the Junta Central, and especially his subsequent defense of this body. Jovellanos in this work painstakingly explores Spanish history and tradition in explaining the legal basis for the formation of this body, declaring that all authority lies ultimately in the people themselves. (But don Gaspar refutes the notion of national sovereignty, since this sovereignty has been delegated by the people to their monarch).

Barcia points out Jovellanos' great philosophical influence on behalf of the emancipation of the colonies, especially Argentina (although don Gaspar probably never realized that his arguments in favor of resistance in the face of injustice and in support of the Junta Central would be used on behalf of this movement for independence). Barcia attempts to explain why Jovellanos supported so vehemently equal representation of the colonies in the Cortes, yet ultimately voted ~~a-~~ gainst it:

Fue Jovellanos víctima, como lo fueron otros hombres de su espíritu y de su temple moral, de esa fatalidad que en la política se produce, separando mediante contradicciones terribles y trágicas políticamente, la idea del hecho, el pensamiento de la vida, el afán puro y sublime de la realidad inmovible e inexorable.
(p. 113)

Barcia continues with informative chapters on Jovellanos' thinking concerning education and the humanities, and concludes with one on economics in which he summarizes and analyzes the Informe de la Ley Agraria. Most noteworthy is the section in which Barcia proves convincingly that Jovellanos, in his opposition to latifundios, did not follow the economic thought of the Physiocrats.

- 43 Barcia Trelles, Augusto. "Jovellanos Político". Jovellanos, su vida y obra, Homenaje del Centro Asturiano de Buenos Aires en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, con la adhesión de los Centros Asturianos de La Habana y México, Buenos Aires: La Prensa Médica Argentina, 1945, pages 57-134.

This fairly complete coverage of Jovellanos' political life and thought has an added section concerning the relations of Spain with her colonies and their rights of representation in the Cortes. In theory Jovellanos considered these areas as integral parts of the Spanish nation and therefore deserving of equal rights, but in practice he felt the problems of fair representation were too great because of the distances involved and the necessity of speed in convening the Cortes.

- 44 Bareño y Arroyo, Felipe. Ideas pedagógicas de Jovellanos (doctoral thesis) Gijón: Imp. La Fe, 1910, 86 pages.
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 597.
- 45 Bauer, Ignacio. Prologue to Obras Selectas de Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Las Cien Mejores Obras de la Literatura Española, Vol. 29, Bibliotecas Populares Cervantes, Madrid: Ibero-americana (C.I.A.P.) n.d., (1928?) 240 pages.

This anthology includes El delincuente honrado and Memoria para el arreglo de la policía de espectáculos y diversiones públicas,

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y sobre su origen en España, plus the first Sátira a Arnesto and six sonnets. In his brief prologue Ignacio Bauer sketches the biography of Jovellanos and lists some of his major works. Bauer notes Jovellanos' influence on Meléndez Valdés, who said of him, "Obra soy tuya", but he exaggerates when he calls Jovellanos "principal mantenedor de la escuela salmantina".

- 46 Bécker, Jerónimo. "La prisión de Jovellanos". La Ilustración Española y Americana, Madrid, Año 48, No. 16 (30 abril, 1904), 246-247.

Bécker recounts the details of Jovellanos' capture by the regente, Lasauca, and his journey to León and thence to Mallorca, quoting extensively from Lasauca's official report. The writer believes that Jovellanos was completely innocent of French sympathies, and that his imprisonment was the result of personal rivalries.

- 47 Bellini, Guiseppe. Saggisti Spagnoli del Secolo XVIII. Milano: La Goliardica, 1965.

This volume contains sample writings from Eighteenth Century Spain translated to Italian and preceded by an introduction in which Bellini discusses briefly the authors of the anthologized works.

In his section concerning Jovellanos the writer lists his principle writings and assesses his importance in Spanish thought and letters. His judgement concerning Jovellanos' poetry is especially favorable:

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Bellini notes that Jovellanos exhibited enthusiastic patriotism, especially during the time of the Napoleonic invasion and of the Junta di Cadice.

This book brings Eighteenth Century Spanish thought within reach of Italian speaking readers, and the introduction serves well to acquaint them with its writers.

48 Berkowitz, H. Chonon and Wofsy, Samuel A. Introduction to El delincuente honrado by Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. New York: The Century Co., 1927, pp. v-xxvi.

This student text contains notes, exercises, questions and vocabulary as well as the text of El delincuente honrado and a generally comprehensive introduction.

Despite the lament of the editors that the Eighteenth Century was formerly condemned by students of Spanish literature without a fair hearing, their commentary concerning its literature is so negative and that concerning Jovellanos' play so luke warm that one wonders why they expended the effort of editing it for students, especially since it would appear to be ill-suited for such use.

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The authors incorrectly characterize the century as one of political decadence. They also make the exaggerated and unduly pejorative assertion that the ineffectual adherence to tradition, productive of worthless indigenous drama, on the one hand, and the blind worship of innovation which resulted in boring neoclassical plays on the other had the effect of interrupting the development of the national theatre. Nevertheless, the writers do except Huerta, Ramón de la Cruz and the Moratíns from this general condemnation. With regard to the Diario de los literatos, one is surprized to learn that the short-lived journal "proved helpful in checking the spread of neoclassicism". (p.xvii).

The writers' assessment of El delincuente honrado, although unenthusiastic, is adequate: they see it as a good model of a sentimental drama and one of the most readable of the neoclassical school.

49 Blasco Garzón, Manuel. "Jovellanos literato". Jovellanos su vida y su obra, Homenaje del Centro Asturiano de Buenos Aires en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, con la adhesión de los Centros Asturianos de La Habana y México, Buenos Aires: La prensa médica argentina, 1945, pp. 435-481.

This essay, although treating principally Jovellanos' literary production, includes biographical material and other non-literary commentary. The author carefully analyzes various definitions of literature and points out that especially with Jovellanos it is difficult, of course, to make a definite division between literary and non-literary works, and to discuss only literary aspects without dealing as well with the ideas expressed.

Blasco Garzón divides Jovellanos' writing into works of invention and ones of exposition, subdividing the first group into lyrical and dramatic works. Jovellanos in his Lecciones de poética defines poetry as "el lenguaje de la pasión o de la imaginación animada, formada por lo común en números regulares (451). In Jovino a sus amigos de Salamanca he affirms the utilitarian purpose of poetry, stipulating what subjects should properly be within its province. Insisting that the ultimate aim of poetry must be essentially esthetic, Blasco asserts that Jovellanos was indeed a noteworthy lyric poet of his time, especially when, according to his own definition, he allowed himself to express his true emotion.

In the dramatic category Blasco discusses El delincuente honrado briefly and, unlike other writers, deals with Pelayo more extensively, judging the latter to be "digna por su asunto, por su versificación, por su planteo y por su realización, del talento innegable del Alcalde del Crimen en la Real Audiencia de Sevilla".

Blasco finds esthetic characteristics in much of Jovellanos' expository writing which would thus qualify it as literature. In this regard he analyzes especially Informe de la Ley Agraria and the Defensa de la Junta Central and outlines Jovellanos' literary theories as expressed in the Elogio de las bellas artes. Blasco finds marked literary value in the diaries of Jovellanos and in his letters, which he finds notable for their dignity. Jovellanos himself, in a letter to Ponz, declared that each person's style is as immutable as his face or his character: "el hombre puede cultivarle, pulirle, mejorarle, pero cambiarle, no." For Blasco, here lies the reason for the literary greatness of

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Jovellanos: "un escritor que sabe lo que dice y dice lo que sabe, con la sirena dignidad de su alma y con la noble tranquilidad de su espíritu superior".

50 Bonet, Joaquín A. Asturias en el pensamiento de Jovellanos. Selección de la obra del gran polígrafo y apunte preliminar de Joaquín A. Bonet. Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, Oviedo: La Cruz, 1947, 280 pages.

Bonet has selected more than sixty brief excerpts from the writings of Jovellanos to compile this anthology of Asturiana.

In his introduction Bonet rightly qualifies the language of Jovellanos as "límpido, claro y de una clásica serenidad". This volume is the first collection exclusively devoted to Jovellanos' writings concerning Asturias. Although it offers only samplings of the voluminous writings of don Gaspar in this area, the editor has chosen carefully in order to provide the reader with a general idea of its content, as well as some notion of the depth of thought and great scope of interests of the author.

The anthology is divided into three sections which contain passages dealing with (1) the history of Asturias and several of its cities, its art and architecture; (2) natural wealth of Asturias, and a rationale for an Asturian institute to promote its industries; (3) the Asturian dialect, Bable, and Asturian folklore.

The selections of this anthology are in general well chosen, but are often too brief to be really significant. The author might well have supplied additional information, indicating the date and circumstances

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under which these fragments were written. In his introduction Bonet, with his affection for his native province and his admiration for his fellow astur, has interpreted sympathetically this phase of Jovellanos' work.

- 51 Bonet, Joaquín A. Grandezas y desventuras de Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Madrid: Afrodisio Aguado, 1944, 358 pages.

This somewhat fictionalized and extremely readable biography was written perhaps with the casual reader in mind rather than the Jovellanos expert. Although the work shows much careful research it often assumes more the aspect of an historical novel than of a scholarly dissertation. The author includes many details and minutiae, often imaginatively recreating extensive conversations and scenes. In essence, however, the known facts of Jovellanos' life and those of his associates are adhered to scrupulously.

Most fascinating and best executed, perhaps, are Bonet's chapters concerning Jovellanos' life at court and his relations with the Royal Family and with Godoy, which the author has vividly and even suspensefully recounted. Jovellanistas, however, may argue with Bonet's insistence that don Gaspar's removal from office was entirely due to the machinations of the Queen and Godoy. Although the writer captures and holds the reader's attention with this tale of palace intrigue and moral laxitude, he fails to take into consideration other powerful behind-the-scenes interests which were at the same time bringing pressure to bear for Jovellanos' dismissal. The author probably gives too much

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emphasis to the personal relationships between Godoy and members of the Royal Family, so that for a time the reader loses sight of Jovellanos. One can only smile at the important role given to the continued efforts of the Queen and Godoy to keep their liason secret from the King.

This chatty and informal biography tends to ignore the broader social, political and ideological forces operating within Jovellanos' life and circumstances, and deals only very sketchily with his thought and writings. However, within the limits set for himself, the author has provided his readers with a gracefully written narrative which in some ways captures the spirit of the man and his times even though it lacks scholarly presentation.

- 52 Bonet, Joaquín A. Jovellanos, biografía escénica en cuatro actos en verso. (Unpublished).
Bib. ref. in: J. A. Bonet. Asturias en el pensamiento de Jovellanos, (no. 50), 280.
- 53 Bonet, Joaquín A. Jovellanos, poema dramático en tres actos y en verso, estrenado en Gijón en 1952. (Unpublished).
Bib. ref. in: J. A. Bonet, Asturias en el pensamiento de Jovellanos, (no. 50), 280.
- 54 Bonet, Joaquín A. La musa didáctica de Jovellanos, loa en dos estampas, dedicada al Centro Asturiano de México, 1951 (Unpublished).
Bib. ref. in: J.A. Bonet. Asturias en el pensamiento de Jovellanos, (no. 50), 280.

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- 55 Bonet, Joaquín A. La poesía en Asturias, discurso leído por el autor en el acto de su solemne recepción académica el día 15 de marzo de 1949. Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos (C.S.I.C.), 1950. Part concerning Jovellanos: pages 7-9.

This speech, delivered on the occasion of Bonet's entrance into the Asturian Academy, deals with several Asturian writers, the first of these being Jovellanos. Bonet situates Jovellanos as historically bridging two contradictory centuries and as temperamentally astride two disparate vocations, one for seeking "verdades útiles", and the other for perceiving and creating beauty. In his poetry, says Bonet, this esthetic bent is often masked by cold and academic rhetoric, but his real poetic propensity is revealed best in his diaries. He quotes Jovellanos' famous description of a spider's web, and also Azorín's defense of Jovellanos as a poet. He concludes by comparing Jovellanos' prose with certain descriptive passages by Ortega y Gasset.

Bonet finds the charm of Jovellanos' prose to be in the use of everyday language, and in its simplicity and purity: "una versión de la Naturaleza astur, al través de un temperamento excelso".

- 56 Bonet, Joaquín A. Mi calle, Gijón, 1948.
Bib. ref.: Pérez de Castro, J.L. "Deseo y esfuerzo de Jovellanos por Gijón", (no. 269), 182.
- 57 Bonet, Joaquín A. Proyección nacional de la villa de Jovellanos. Gijón: Ayuntamiento, 1959, 324 pages. Reviewed by Caso González (no.83), 211.

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- 58 Bonet, Joaquín A. "Semblanza de Jovellanos". Voluntad, Gijón, 6,7, y 8 de enero, 1944.
Bib. ref. in: J.A. Bonet. Asturias en el pensamiento de Jovellanos, (no. 50), 280.
- 59 Buylla, Jose Benito A. "La traducción de Jovellanos del Libro primero del Paraíso Perdido de Milton". Filología Moderna, Año IV, No. 10 (enero de 1963), pages 1-47.

This article, which includes a fully annotated text of the translation, with variants from the three extant manuscripts, discusses stylistically and textually Jovellanos' Spanish version of Paradise Lost, and analyzes his reasons for choosing to put this long work into his native language. Buylla believes that there existed an affinity between the two writers which he describes in terms of ideology, esthetics and personality traits.

The writer observes that, as with his original poetry, Jovellanos revised his translation of Paradise Lost many times. Aside from the beauty and concision of expression in certain passages superior to that of Milton, Buylla says that the translation displays amazing honesty and fidelity. Buylla notes an excessive use of cultismos and a certain coldness caused by Jovellanos' strict adherence to the sense of the original, but in places he observes a romantic tone.

This careful analysis of Jovellanos' translation of Milton provides a new and important perspective on the personality and thought process of Jovellanos.

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- 60 Cabal, Constantino. "Academia". Contribución al Diccionario Folklórico de Asturias, Oviedo, 1951, 77-107.

This article traces the history of the Asturian Academy from its inception to the time of writing (1951), narrating in some detail and in vivid dramatic style Jovellanos' largely unsuccessful efforts to found such an academy.

Jovellanos, in conjunction with his friend, Posada, formed a plan for an academy in 1790, with three projects in mind: a dictionary of the Asturian dialect, Bable, and encyclopedias of Asturian geography and history. Posada left for Ibiza, however, and in Oviedo there was little cooperation or interest, so that most of the investigation was carried out by Jovellanos himself. In his travels throughout Asturias and elsewhere he copied hundreds of historically important documents and collected material concerning customs, folklore and dialect. After 1801 he tried to continue this work even from his prison cell, but without resources he could accomplish little. The plan for an academy had to be abandoned, as well as his research, and was revived only much later by others.

- 61 Cabezas, Juan A. "Glosario provinciano: Gijón contra Jovellanos". El sol, Madrid, 8 de mayo, 1935.

This article emphasizes Jovellanos' great contribution to his native province and the lack of comprehension and gratitude of his fellow Asturians. The writer includes a brief biography and an outline

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of Jovellanos' personality and thought, as well as his activities on behalf of Asturias. His attempts to educate the people were met by the poisonous calumnies of lazy-minded reactionaries who instigated a "perversión colectiva", which Cabezas emotionally likens to the biblical "crucificarle", unnecessarily stretching the analogy by asserting inaccurately that Jovellanos arrived on Mallorca during Holy Week. The writer declares somewhat euphorically that Jovellanos' dreams have been realized: "los sueños andan por el mundo hechos realidades victoriosas". He regrets, nevertheless, that Asturian ingratitude continues to be much in evidence.

- 62 Cabot Llompart, Juan. Jovellanos confinado en Mallorca. Palma de Mallorca: Imp. de F. Soler, 1936, 94 pages.
Bib. ref. in: Simón Díaz and Martínez Cachero (no. 335), 144.
- 63 Camacho y Perea, Angel Maria. Estudio crítico de las doctrinas de Jovellanos en lo referente a las ciencias morales y políticas. Madrid: Jaime Ratés, 1913, 293 pages.

This straight-forward and unemotional exposition of Jovellanos' economic, political, juridical and educational ideas deserved the prize it won in the competition associated with the Jovellanos centenary. The author has lucidly explained each of Jovellanos' tenets in the light of historical precedents as well as current circumstances and thinking, following this in each instance with his own criticism of these ideas. Here Camacho y Perea has been remarkably fair, although he himself admits to the near impossibility of complete impartiality in making such judgments.

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Camacho disagrees with Menéndez Pelayo (no. 389), who saw an evolution in Jovellanos' thought from liberalism to conservatism. He has shown that a quotation cited by Menéndez as contained in Memoria sobre la educación de la nobleza (Tratado teórico-práctico) (1802) was actually from an earlier work, Oración inaugural del Instituto Asturiano, (1794), thus weakening don Marcelino's argument that Jovellanos moved from complete faith in reason as the only source of natural law ethics to a mistrust of its weakness and obscurity. Camacho believes, as does Caso, (no. 80), that Jovellanos always viewed human reason as fallible, and thought that morality must depend rather on divine revelation. Statements made by Jovellanos in support of pure reason, says Camacho, only reflected the spirit of an age in which even orthodox theologians paid homage to it.

Camacho's sound knowledge of political and social philosophy serves him well in his treatment of Jovellanos' ideas, especially as he shows their relation to natural law ethics. He repeatedly points out that Jovellanos must be considered as a man of his times, imbued with economic individualism and other typically Eighteenth Century ideas which have since been modified or discarded. As have other commentators, Camacho assesses Jovellanos to be not a great innovator but an eminently practical man whose ideas, particularly in the fields of education and economics, have had wide-ranging effect.

64 Campoamor, José María. "Tres escritores franceses ante el tema de Jovellanos y su patriotismo". ABC, 3 octubre, 1963.

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Campoamor defends Jovellanos' honor as a staunch patriot against attacks of three French writers who declared him to be sympathetic to the ideals of the French Revolution and the cause of Napoleon.

André Malraux, in a book about Goya entitled Saturno (Pleiade), wrote, "Había (Goya) visto anteriormente en los franceses a los defensores de la Libertad. Su protector, Jovellanos, había sido muerto por servirles". Likewise, Eduard Herriot, in a study of Beethoven, indicated that Jovellanos was among those who welcomed revolutionary ideas enthusiastically and placed their confidence in Napoleon. But the most damning and most patently false was the assertion of Jacques Chastanet in his Manuel Godoy et l'Espagne de Godoy (Chapter IV): "Jovellanos, sociólogo, economista, jurista, autor dramático, poeta y una de las mejores sensibilidades de su tiempo . . . el pueblo le asesinará en 1812 como vendido a los franceses".

Campoamor reviews the many proofs of Jovellanos' complete loyalty to country in an emotional refutation of these accusations.

65 Cantera, Francisco. Preliminary study to Obras Selectas de Jovellanos. Tercera edición ilustrada, Biblioteca Clásica Ebro, XXXI, Zaragoza: Editorial Ebro, 1957.

The introduction to this anthology contains a chronological resumé of Jovellanos' life and of the principal religious, political and literary events of his age. In a brief essay on the philosophical and literary currents of the era Cantera especially decries the advent of French influence, Freemasonry and Jansenism, as well as the expulsion of the Jesuits, implying, quite erroneously that Jovellanos concurred with this opinion.

Cantera's essay on the writings of Jovellanos contains an enumeration, brief description and assessment of his major works. He cites as defects of his Reglamento literario e institucional para el Colegio de Calatrava (1790) his recommending of French-orientated texts and his manifest disregard for scholasticism. Concerning the Ley Agraria, Cantera regards as a grave error "el de juzgar indispensable que se prohibiese a las Ordenes religiosas adquirir por los medios legítimos ordinarios". Obviously, Cantera's criticisms of Jovellanos are dogmatic rather than literary ones, based on political and religious grounds.

Among Jovellanos' special virtues Cantera makes reference to the following:

vió y anunció con tiempo el cáncer que iba en política corroyendo rápidamente el sistema social, moral y religioso de Europa; clamó animoso contra la licencia de filosofar, contra las sectas corruptoras, contra la desenfrenada libertad de imprimir y contra las falsas teorías del Pacto Social.

Here again Cantera has tended to exaggerate, or misjudge Jovellanos' thought in line with his own political and religious convictions.

El delincuente honrado is described as "ensayo de su juventud, con mucha declamación filantrópica, impropia del teatro, pero calor de afectos verdaderos; especie de tragedia ciudadana, de donde nació el moderno drama de costumbres". But the play might be more accurately described as the forerunner of the thesis play than of the drama of customs.

This collection, originally edited in 1941 as a student text, contains several excerpts from Jovellanos' better known works, but few

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annotations. It can be viewed as having been designed more for indoctrination than for elucidation.

- 66 Cardenal y de Iracheta, Manuel. "Jovellanos, autor dramático". Sí, suplemento semanal del diario, Arriba, Madrid, Número homenaje a Jovellanos en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, Año III (9 de enero de 1944), pp. 8-9.

Cardenal reviews the history of El delincuente honrado: the laws against dueling, the polemic concerning this custom, the interest in penal reform sparked by Beccaria, as well as the discussions in the tertulia of Olavide. He suggests that Jovellanos was ashamed not only of his early poetic efforts but of his dramatic ones as well, feeling them beneath the dignity of the philosopher he wished to be. Jovellanos' attitude toward his poetry is well documented by his letter to his brother, Francisco de Paula, but I have never found evidence that he felt the same toward his plays. After all, he did recommend his Delincuente honrado for study in his Curso de humanidades.

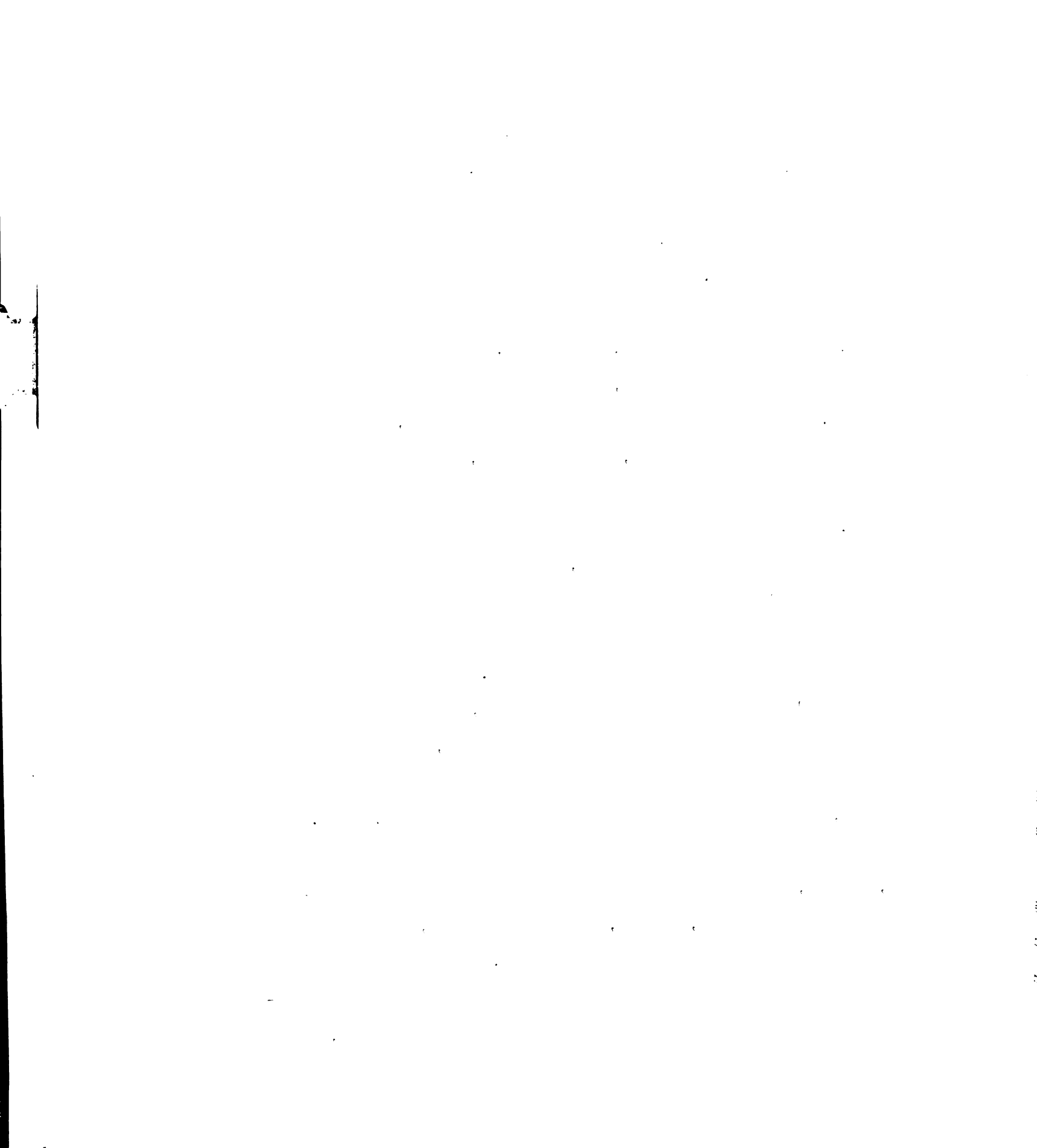
Cardenal discusses Pelayo, "una tragedia de amor con fondo histórico-patriótico-epopéyico", noting that the real protagonist was not Pelayo but the Moor, Munuza. He expresses the thesis of El delincuente honrado succinctly and well as "La justicia y la felicidad en este mundo pasan por la vía del corazón, quien esclarece a la mente".

- 67 Casaldueiro, Joaquín. "El reló y la ley de las tres unidades, (Jovellanos y Moratín)". Cuadernos Americanos, 159 (1959), 167-178.

Casalduero discusses Spanish drama, especially Eighteenth Century drama, in its conception and use of time, dealing specifically with the emphasis on the classical unities found in El delincuente honrado and in the plays of Moratín. He traces the history of the use of clocks in the Spanish theatre, pointing out that in the Eighteenth Century they were used strictly to mark the hour and to confirm the principle of unity of time. El delincuente honrado, for example, begins at seven A.M. and ends at eleven A.M. the next day, the time of each act being specifically indicated. In an ample sense unity of place is observed, since the play takes place entirely in Segovia, says Casalduero, although one could as well understand all its action as occurring within the confines of the Alcázar.

As in the dramas of Moratín, El delincuente honrado forms an allegory of Man's vital trajectory as understood by the Eighteenth Century: he must pass through the dark night of ignorance and error in order to attain the sunrise of truth and reason. The romantic notion of time and Man's course in life is quite different, says Casalduero: "Para el romántico la vida comienza con la ilusión primera, alcanza el momento de plenitud del mediodía solo para caer como el sol en las tinieblas de la noche, en las negruras de la desesperación del suicidio". (178). Romanticism does not end with a lesson but with an agonized yet rebellious cry, he says, and its clock serves only as an instrument of torment. The Eighteenth Century clock, however, served to tell time, to give the position of the ship which Man must himself steer.

Casalduero has contributed here a new and penetrating explanation of the use of classical unities in Eighteenth Century Spain, as



well as a serious analysis of time in Spanish thought and drama.

- 68 Casaldüero, Joaquín. "Las nuevas ideas económicas sobre la agricultura en el siglo dieciocho y el nuevo sentimiento de la naturaleza". La Torre, XXV (1968), 45-60.

Although this article is not specifically about Jovellanos, Casaldüero mentions him frequently, and considers his thinking typical of the age.

Casaldüero briefly traces the history of man's relationship with nature, noting especially the influence of Horace and Virgil on Eighteenth Century thought. In this period there appears a new appreciation of the individual object, "la cosa en sí misma", and of nature in and for itself. Thus the frequent and minute enumerations and descriptions of scenes, buildings, animals, etc.

Jovellanos believed in the natural tendency toward perfection in man as well as in nature, and thought that the role of education and of government is to foster this innate goodness. He therefore advocated popular education and adopted an "estilo llano" in order to be understood by the masses, whose reasonableness he believes in, says Casaldüero.

Jovellanos saw in the natural sciences the possibility of progress, especially in agriculture. His optimism, says the writer, led him to view the wealth thus produced as a source of happiness and of moral perfection:

no sólo se podrá esperar de los labradores la aplicación,
la frugalidad, y la abundancia, hija entrambas, sino que

reinará también en sus familias el amor conyugal, paterno, filial y fraternal, reinarán la concordia, la caridad y la hospitalidad, y nuestros colonos poseerían aquellas virtudes sociales y domésticas que constituyen la felicidad de las familias y la verdadera gloria de los Estados".

The land, for Jovellanos a source of inexhaustible riches, must be tamed and perfected through human industry: "la naturaleza 'de suyo nada produce sino maleza'." The natural world is a gift of God, but it must be civilized through Man's efforts.

Casaldueiro thus delineates the philosophical posture of Eighteenth Century Man concerning nature. Yet one can find in his Descripción del Castillo de Bellver evidence that Jovellanos was not entirely typical of his age, going far ahead of his time in his ideas concerning conservation and the necessity of coexisting with nature rather than merely exploiting it.

69 (Díaz) Casariego, Jesús Evaristo. El marqués de Sargadelos o los comienzos del industrialismo capitalista en España. Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1950, 260 pages.

Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 190.

70 (Díaz) Casariego, Jesús Evaristo. "Jovellanos defensor de la fe y las tradiciones". Sí, suplemento semanal del diario, Arriba, Madrid, Número homenaje a Jovellanos en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, Año III (9 de enero de 1944), p. 5.

Casariego, as elsewhere (no.71) premises his remarks on three basic tenets: 1) that Jovellanos was a perfectly orthodox

Catholic, 2) that he was an avowed enemy of Masonry, of Rousseau's concept of a social contract, and of the French Revolution, 3) that he supported the traditional Spanish monarchy against the liberalism of the constitutionalists of Cádiz.

Taking each of these premises separately, Casariego has reproduced carefully-chosen quotations to support his contentions. He includes as well two opinions concerning Jovellanos' traditionalism and orthodoxy, that of Nocedal and that of Menéndez y Pelayo. Quite obviously, when dealing with a thinker of Jovellanos' innate moderation and deliberation one could find quotations which would seem to prove quite the contrary opinion. This is not to say that Jovellanos was in any way equivocal, but merely to point out that brief quotations seldom tell the whole story, and that Jovellanos modified his ideas in the light of experience and changing times. A careful and unbiased study of Jovellanos would convince one that Jovellanos at no stage of his life was as dogmatic as Casariego paints him.

71 (Díaz) Casariego, Jesús Evaristo Fernández. Jovellanos o el equilibrio. (Ideas, desventuras y virtudes del inmortal hidalgo de Gijón). Madrid: Penitenciaros, 1934, 200 pages.

Professor Casariego's thesis for this study, prepared as a tribute to Jovellanos on the two hundredth anniversary of his birth, is that don Gaspar was politically a traditionalist and religiously completely orthodox.

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Jovellanos, Casariego believes, was connected only socially with the Jansenists, heretics, French sympathizers and non-believers; he was, says Casariego, unalterably opposed to the encyclopedists and constitutionalists, to national sovereignty and freemasonry. This is doubtless all true, at least in reference to his mature (post Mallorcan) years, but it is undeniable that the liberal and open-minded Jovellanos of Seville and Madrid investigated and absorbed influences from some of these credos of which Casariego so vehemently disapproves.

Although he sees great material progress in the Eighteenth Century, Casariego decries the advent of foreign influences:

Y ése es, en resumen, el pecado y el maléfico error que no podemos perdonarle a nuestros tatarabuelos de peluquín y casaca. No fueron, por ejemplo, como aquellos cabales antepasados que nos traían la técnica artillera de los tudescos para atacar con ella a los luteranos, sino que, al contrario, nos importaron la técnica hacendística y naval de París y de Londres, para meter hasta los tuétanos del Estado lo que por francófilo, anglófilo y genebrino teníamos en el mundo la altísima misión histórica de combatir.

The violence of this diatribe seems remarkably different from the spirit of equilibrium and tolerance characteristic of don Gaspar. One wonders if the writer welcomed with equal satisfaction the second gift of German arms and technology which arrived a scant two years after the writing of this book.

Likewise Casariego sees the expulsion of the Jesuits as the "desacierto máximo de la Ilustración", averring (quite erroneously) that Jovellanos was of like mind. He feels that the historians, especially Llorente, have greatly maligned the Inquisition, "uno de los más gloriosos y de los más tremendamente calumniados títulos de la obra de España", and finds no basis for the assumption that Jovellanos was

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opposed to this institution. (Had the writer read the diaries and letters of Jovellanos, notably that addressed to Carlos IV on this subject?) Casariego affirms that the Inquisition was in no way involved in the persecution and imprisonment of Jovellanos, quoting Yaben (no. 366) to the effect that they were the result of Godoy's vindictiveness involving his relations with María Luisa.

Jovellanos was never a scholastic, but, declares Casariego, he was in error in rejecting speculative theology. Here Casariego again cites Yaben: "en ningún ramo de conocimiento humano se manifestó Jovellanos tan pobre y raquítico como en la Filosofía". Jovellanos, says Casariego, had predicted the death of scholasticism, but actually it is today alive and well:

el tiempo mismo ha servido para poner de manifiesto lo equívoco de su posición teológica y filosófica, pues, entre otras cosas, él predijo la muerte del escolasticismo, que hemos visto resurgir potente para mantener su rango y su tradición frente a las diversas y dispares directrices del pensamiento filosófico contemporáneo.

Obviously the interpretation here presented of Jovellanos' political and religious philosophy is greatly at variance with that of contemporary scholars such as Caso, Polt and Del Rí. With his enthusiastic defense of intolerance, scholasticism and the Inquisition and his xenophobic mistrust of foreign influences one could well count him as quite contrary to the man he purports to be describing.

72 (Díaz) Casariego, Jesús Evaristo Prologue to Jovellanos: Patobiografía y pensamiento biológico by Jesús Martínez Fernández, Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1966.

In this prologue the writer reaffirms his conviction of Jovellanos' complete religious orthodoxy, assessing him as the finest figure in Asturian history and one of the most noble and notable of that of Spain and Europe.

Casariego summarizes Jovellanos' political thought as in his previously-published Jovellanos o el equilibrio (no. 71), emphasizing his traditionalism and explicating this political dogma at some length:

Los europeizadores---y nada digamos de los norteamericanizadores---han sido siempre funestos. En la Edad Media nos trajeron el feudalismo, en la Moderna el absolutismo, y en la contemporánea el demoliberalismo. Tres pestes que asolaron al pueblo español, desviándolo de su tradición. Con el primero retrasaron siglos la Reconquista. Con el segundo desviaron nuestra trayectoria nacional y nos arruinaron. Con el tercero nos dividieron y enfrentaron, creando un país de pandereta con guerras civiles, milicia nacional y caciques, y con la desamortización de Mendizábal impidieron una evolución social y entregaron la riqueza a unos cuantos capitalistas y mufidores electorales Frente a todo eso, no hay más remedios que los que nos ofrece la tradición. Por no querer admitirlos España lleva dando tumbos siglo y medio ...¡y los que le queda todavía!. (XVII).

The writer makes plain his own traditionalist leanings and abhorrence of disentanglement, for him a "disparate criminal".

- 73 Casielles, Ricardo. "Jovellanos y Casal". Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, XVII, No. 43 (1963), 137-148.

Dr. Casal, an eminent physician of the first half of the Eighteenth Century, wrote the book, Historia Natural Médica de Asturias, in which he criticized Asturias quite severely, complaining of its unhealthful climate and describing various illnesses typical of the region.

Casielles tells of a letter in his possession written by Jovellanos which is a veritable hymn of praise of Asturias and which refutes most of Dr. Casal's allegations. In it he writes:

De cuantas provincias de España he visto, no hallo otra de tantas primicias, ni que pueda más fácilmente enriquecerse. La Nación es numerosa, fecunda, ágil, robusta, caprichosa, honrada, resuelta, fiel y de genio comerciante y su suelo variado a cada paso, es feraz, dispuesto a todas las producciones naturales.

As a loyal and somewhat prejudiced Asturian, Jovellanos could not bear to hear criticism of his beloved patria chica.

74 Caso González, José. "Cartas inéditas de Jovellanos". Archivum, (Oviedo), XIII (1963), 292-310.

Previous to the publication of the Epistolario in 1970, edited by Caso González, there was no edition of Jovellanos' letters as such. Thus, beginning in 1963 Caso started to edit and publish some of them in Archivum.

Caso declares that since Jovellanos' fine correspondence is filled with ideas and valuable information, it deserves careful and scientific editing. He notes in the first two letters Jovellanos' independence of thought, firmness in defending his opinions, plus a certain lack of flexibility and diplomacy (traits that at times caused don Gaspar some difficulty). Letters three and four deal with Jovellanos' participation in the artistic life of Madrid.

The fifth letter is the only one not by Jovellanos: it is from Campomanes concerning the founding of the economic society in

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León. Elsewhere Caso regrets that more of such letters by don Gaspar's correspondents cannot be included.

There are fourteen letters included in the series, each one pointing up important phases of Jovellanos' political and intellectual activity. These include a request for intervention by the Ordenes Militares in the matter of his banishment, as well as letters concerning his defense of literature and the arts and others which reflect his important position within Gijón and Asturias.

- 75 Caso González, José. "El comienzo de la reconquista en tres obras dramáticas" (Ensayo sobre estilos de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII). El Padre Feijoo y su siglo, Ponencias y comunicaciones presentadas al simposio celebrado en la Universidad de Oviedo: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1966, pages 499-509.

In this stylistic and conceptual study, Caso reviews and compares three Eighteenth Century dramatic treatments of the Pelayo legend: the Hormesinda of Moratín, padre, and the Pelayo of both Quintana and Jovellanos.

Caso notes that although Jovellanos' play is more accurate historically than the other two, and unlike the others, maintains a linear structure without secondary problems, its defects stem from the author's inexperience and his attempts to maintain classical unities which consequently produced a certain unreality and falseness of expression.

Jovellanos' treatment of the Moor, Achmet, subscribes, of course, to enlightened thought: a person of another religion may be virtuous and praiseworthy.

This analysis by Caso is virtually the only study that treats Pelayo in depth.

- 76 Caso González, José. "El delincuente honrado, drama sentimental". Archivum, Oviedo, XIV (1964), 103-133.

Caso González gives the reader a penetrating historical, conceptual and stylistic analysis of a play which, in spite of some obvious defects, may well be considered one of the century's outstanding dramatic works.

In the play Don Simón exemplifies justice according to the letter of the law, while for don Justo what matters is the spirit of the law. Don Simón's concept of justice is to punish the criminal as severely as possible, Caso observes; don Justo, however, although respecting the laws, believes those concerned with dueling to be unjust. But, as Azorín has aptly pointed out (no. 36) don Gaspar may be here revealing his own innate conservatism in his resistance to progressive social legislation, if indeed, as Caso affirms, don Justo represents Jovellanos himself.

Jovellanos has created conditions, not characters, asserts Caso, each person representing a set role: the traditional judge, the unjustly accused prisoner, etc. Yet upon careful analysis, it appears that these are characters of some complexity: a French translator, a strict neo-classicist questioned their "inconsistency". Don Simón, for example, is described as a person of "muy buen corazón pero muy malos principios"; as

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Caso elsewhere observes, don Simón switches from the constructionist magistrate to the aggrieved father reacting to the deception of his son-in-law. The "innocent" Torquato has married the widow of the man he killed without informing her of this fact. Don Justo, the seducer of Torquato's mother, is defined by his son as "recto, ilustrado y humano". Really, all these characters are more complicated, more human and less stereotyped than Caso indicates.

Caso perceptively calls attention to the use of rhythmical speech on the part of Laura, Torquato and don Justo, noting that don Simón and the lesser characters do not speak in this way. He notes also the use of monologue at the end of each act except the last to allow the spectator to participate in the sentiments of the protagonist. The development of the action, says Caso, is extremely simple, many scenes being merely discussions of ideas. He points out also the use of static scenes in the manner of an oil painting, observing that all these dramatic techniques are much in line with the precepts of Diderot.

Aside from Polt's excellent study of five years before, this is the best literary discussion of the play, and includes stylistic analysis not available elsewhere.

77 Caso González, José. "Entretenimientos juveniles de Jovino", Un manuscrito de Menéndez Pelayo y una versión inédita de la "Epístola

del Paular". Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo, XXXVI (1960), 109-138.

In this article Caso attempts to determine the dates of certain poems by Jovellanos and compares the style and content of two versions of these poems. Much of the material of this study was later included in Caso's critical edition of Jovellanos' poetry.

Shortly after the beginning of the Civil War the Instituto de Gijón was burned, and with it the manuscript of a number of youthful poems by Jovellanos which he had sent to his brother, Francisco de Paula, with the admonition that they not be published. Fortunately, there existed a fairly exact copy of these, signed by a certain A.J. Cavanilles, which ultimately came into the possession of Menéndez Pelayo. By an assiduous process of investigation and deduction Caso has been able to show that the manuscript of the Instituto was copied in 1779, and that of Cavanilles somewhat later.

In the light of these and other data, Caso analyzes several of the poems included, showing how they differ from the version published by Necedal, which he had taken largely from Cañedo's earlier edition. Among those discussed are the six Idilios de Anfriso a Belisa, the translation of Milton's Paradise Lost and the Epístola del Paular, differing versions of parts of the latter two works being included.

While the first version was a poem of passion, the second, more restrained and contemplative, was one of introspection. It was,

affirms Caso, a work de gabinete, reconstructed much later with all references to his personal suffering replaced by a quiet melancholy assuaged by the consolations of religion and of nature. Here Caso disagrees with Nocedal (Vida de Jove Llanos, Madrid, 1865), who believed this later version to have been written within the monastery and to have sprung spontaneously from the heart. Caso would agree with Gerardo Diego (no. 119), who pointed to the poem's "ademán clásico y ... las reminiscencias de Fray Luis." Caso notes that where these influences are most obvious is in the forty-nine lines later added to the original. Although the later version is more correct and polished, and is admirable for its intimate relation of nature to the states of the human spirit, the first one, says Caso, "será uno de los más maravillosos poemas amorosos de ese siglo y una joya poética". High praise indeed from a critic not given to hiperbole.

Scholars have often regretted the fact that Jovellanos' poems are largely undated, thus making them more difficult to interpret. Caso has performed an important service in solving this riddle to a great extent. His analysis of the two versions of the Epístola del Paular is outstanding for its sensitivity as well as for its fine scholarship.

78 Caso González, José. "Escolásticos e innovadores a finales del siglo XVIII, Sobre el catolicismo de Jovellanos". Papeles de Son Armadans, XXXVII, no. 109 (abril de 1965), 25-48.

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(1957), 231-259.

Much has been written concerning Jovellanos' alleged heterodoxy. In this article Caso González throws new light on the problem by carefully examining the various editions of supposedly heretical books recommended by Jovellanos in his Reglamento para el Colegio de Calatrava. Two of the works in question pose no special problem, for Caso has shown that Jovellanos advocated only expurgated or otherwise approved editions. But the many and widely different editions of the Curso teológico lugdunense, which Jovellanos also recommended, present greater difficulties. Jovellanos warned that students should use only those texts "que lleven las señales acordadas para acreditar su legitimidad". But on the basis of a very different and much more radical edition than that proposed by Jovellanos he was denounced to Godoy as a Jansenist, and was probably imprisoned partially on these grounds.

The subject of Jovellanos' catholicism is certainly a difficult one to approach from a distance of nearly two centuries, and inevitably critics have tended to discuss this problem in the light of their own social, religious and political situation. Caso has brought his many years of research as a jovellanista to bear fruitfully on this difficult question. He sees in the work of this great "católico ilustrado" or "católico del centro" the essential ideas which have developed into today's advanced religious thinking.

79 Caso González, José. "Jovellanos y la inquisición". Archivum, VII (1957), 231-259.

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In this article Caso González has inquired into the frustrated attempts of the Inquisition to prohibit the publication of Jovellanos' Informe sobre la Ley Agraria in 1797. He quotes at length from the records of the Santo Oficio, and concludes that the principal objection to the document was its advocacy of disentanglement, and that the effort failed either because of the existence of powerful defenders of Jovellanos or because of the weakness of the Santo Oficio.

This study, which treats the reception of the Informe sobre la Ley Agraria, Jovellanos' concern for governmental recognition and reinstatement, and his relationship with Godoy, the Queen, and the Inquisition, is, perhaps, the best yet for its careful documentation of this enigmatic phase of Jovellanos' biography.

80 Caso González, José. "Jovellanos y la nueva religiosidad". Estafeta Literaria, Nos. 402-404 (1968), 14-17.

José Caso González discusses Jovellanos' attitude toward ignorance and superstition, especially superstitious religious practices, as well as don Gaspar's own religious credo, based primarily on diary entries, and the "nueva religiosidad" which he desired for Spain.

In a separate section entitled "La vida religiosa de Jovellanos", Caso affirms that one might assume don Gaspar to be coldly rationalistic and scarcely pious, at least before his imprisonment, but that actually he always heard mass daily, and frequently retired to a monastery during Holy Week. In Bellver, however, he increasingly sought the consolation of religion, as is manifest in such writings

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- 81 Caso González, José. "Las humanidades en el pensamiento pedagógico de Jovellanos". Conferencia editada en el Real Instituto de Jovellanos, Memoria del curso, 1961-62, Gijón, 1963.
- 82 Caso González, José. Review of Menéndez Pelayo y Asturias by Martínez Cachero, José María. Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1957. In Bulletin Hispanique, 1, LX (1958), 407-411. Also in Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo, XXXVI (1960), 205, ff.

In this book on Menéndez Pelayo and Asturias Caso finds most interesting Chapter VIII, entitled "El jovellanismo de Menéndez Pelayo". In it is recounted the contention among jovellanistas concerning the failure to publish the Diarios of Jovellanos.

- 83 Caso González, José. "Notas críticas de bibliografía jovellanista (1950-1959)". Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo, XXXVI (1960) 179-213.

In 1960 Caso González prepared a bibliography of the preceding ten years which analyzed and commented upon many of the works published during this period. Although only about half of the works published during these years are listed, and less than one-third are actually

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discussed, this is a valuable contribution since it brings to bear on many of the more important studies Caso's fine critical judgement and years of research as a jovellanista.

Caso sensitively demonstrates a lively talent for pointing out error, exaggeration and bias, but at the same time shows fairness and readiness to recognize excellence where he finds it.

The dominant theme of Caso's criticism is the fundamental harmony of Jovellanos' thought. Several writers have attempted to see in Jovellanos' thinking dos caras or even multifaceted and constantly changing attitudes. Caso rejects all of these notions, as well as the partisan efforts of writers like Villota (no. 362) to see Jovellanos as a scholastic and a Thomist, or of some others who profess to find in him extreme traditionalism, puritanism, protestantism, rigid catholicism, narrow egotism, etc. Caso here as always rightly maintains that this alleged dichotomy or extremism never existed, but that Jovellanos' goal was ever "el justo medio", equilibrium within diversity.

84 Caso González, José. "Notas sobre la prisión de Jovellanos en 1801". Archivum, Oviedo, XII (1962), 217-237.

Although the complete story will perhaps never be known, Caso here presents a most plausible and convincing explanation for Jovellanos' imprisonment. By means of extensive research among existing documents he has clarified to a considerable extent a very confusing issue, which involves not only Jovellanos, but ultimately the whole history of the period, European as well as Spanish.

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Caso has found many contemporary sources to be inaccurate, notably Llorente and Godoy, the memoirs of the Principe de Paz being quite at variance with the facts as revealed in his own letters written at the time of the events in question. Thus commentators such as Seco Serrano, who have taken these reminiscences at face value, may have been deluded into picturing Godoy more favorably than he deserves. In spite of his later denial, it was really Godoy who, with the aid of Caballero and the inquisitor General, instigated charges against certain liberal-minded bishops and reformers within the government, charges which Caso believes to be entirely unfounded:

El verdadero delito de la condesa de Montijo y de sus contertulios, como el de Jovellanos, era ser más sabios y más virtuosos que aquellos que entonces detentaban el poder. Su crimen de creer que el catolicismo era cosa bien distinta de lo que los ultramontanos y los aristotélicos sostenían; pensar que o se avanzaba o todo era inútil, y que sólo se avanzaba poniéndose a la altura de los tiempos y cristianizando lo que se presentaba como no cristiano, si era cristianizable. (221).

Caso, however, rejects the idea that Jovellanos was involved in Godoy's fall from power. Neither does he give credence to the notion that either the Queen or Godoy was involved in the supposed poisoning of don Gaspar or in his dismissal from the ministry, the causes being ideological rather than personal.

To prove Godoy's complicity in the plot against Jovellanos, Caso quotes from letters of Godoy, among them one to the King and Queen: "Sé, Señora, que los enemigos de VV.MM. y míos aprovechan la ausencia y se hacen corrillos de continuo. Pienso que este mal debe cortarse ahora mismo: Jovellanos y Urquijo son los titulares de la comunidad;

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sus secuaces son pocos, pero mejor es que no exista ninguno". (235)
 Caso, then, concludes that the causes of Jovellanos' imprisonment were both political and religious in nature, and that he himself was blameless.

85 Caso González, José. Introduction to Obras en prosa by Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1969, 345 pages.

This biography and introduction to the thought and writings of Jovellanos is sensitive and probing, reflecting its author's lifelong study of Jovellanos.

The biography is packed with information concerning not only Jovellanos' activities, his reading, his friends and associates, but also with excellent background material concerning the political and social climate of the times. Especially illuminative is his assessment of Jovellanos' exile to Asturias, his appointment to the ministry, his dismissal and subsequent imprisonment.

Caso has chosen for this anthology works which are not only representative of Jovellanos' thought, but complete in themselves. Thus the works included are relatively brief, but well chosen; Caso's intelligent explanations of these selections are helpful and frequently original.

A facet of Jovellanos' technique which has been little commented upon by critics is his frequent use of irony. Caso finds this note especially prominent in his Elogio del Marqués de los Llanos de Alguazas, in which he apparently praises the father who chooses his

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son's profession, and recommends that children of noblemen should attend separate schools in order not to be contaminated by plebeians. Other commentators have taken these remarks at face value, but Caso sees them as subtle irony, since Jovellanos' ideas were quite different.

In the Cartas a Ponz Caso notes in Jovellanos' elegiac descriptions of country life and rural customs an influence of Rousseau, as well as of Platonic ideas:

Me refiero a la insistencia de Jovellanos en la "inocencia" del pueblo campesino, que se puede relacionar con la idea de Rousseau de que la civilización pervierte a los hombres, aunque también con esquemas renacentistas y platónicas, en los que lo natural se consideraba superior a lo artificioso, y por tanto preferible lo que estaba en contacto con la naturaleza a lo que se alejaba de ella, es decir, más puro lo espontáneo natural que lo convencional artificioso. (34).

Caso's analysis of Descripción del Castillo de Bellver is especially revealing, perhaps because the work itself is the most stylistically and artistically innovative of Jovellanos' literary production. Caso points out that it is wrong to consider as neoclassical everything written in the last half of the Eighteenth Century, since really there are three tendencies: rococo, preromantic and neoclassical, in all of which Jovellanos participates. One finds preromantic traces even in his youthful poetry and drama, but this tendency is intensified in Mallorca, especially in his Descripción. But even more important in this work is his feeling for nature, now no longer stilted and bookish, but real and deeply felt:

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This introduction to Jovellanos stands with del Río's (Clásicos Castellanos) (no. 299) as two of the most comprehensive and perceptive works on the subject.

- 86 Caso González, José. Prologue to Obras, I: Epistolario, by Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Textos Hispánicos Modernos, Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1970, 242 pages.

José Caso González has carefully chosen and edited this group of 71 letters from among some thousand extant, attempting to make his selection representative of Jovellanos' life and thought; the collection, he aptly observes, might well be entitled "Ideario de Jovellanos".

Caso divides his discussion among several fundamental themes: biographical, literary, historical, pedagogical, religious and political, delineating them in relation to Jovellanos' correspondence. Of special significance is his treatment of the abuse accorded Jovellanos as a result of the violent reaction against the ilustrados, among whom Jovellanos was generally considered most important. He describes the climate of fear and suspicion following the outbreak of the French Revolution:

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In concluding this prologue Caso discusses Jovellanos as critic of drama and poetry and as a political thinker whose progressive ideas were tempered by prudence and moderation. It is to be hoped that the title, Obras, I, indicates that Caso is planning to extend this series to include others of Jovellanos' works.

- 87 Caso González, José. Introduction to Poesías by Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Diputación de Oviedo, Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, Oviedo: Gráficas Summa, 1962.

This extremely complete and scholarly analysis covers all phases of Jovellanos' poetical production, including a fine study of the literary scene in late-Eighteenth Century Spain and the poetical norms then in vogue, as well as Jovellanos' own esthetic theories.

Caso reviews Jovellanos' reading of other poets and poetic theories, noting his reading of Aristotle (in translation), as well as Horace, Virgil, Juvenal, Ovid, Berceo, Garcilaso and Fray Luis. He analyzes, often even paraphrases, most of Jovellanos' major poetry, starting with the love (and other lyric) poetry, then moving to the satirical, didactic and philosophical poems.

In his discussion of the Sátiras a Arnesto Caso explores Jovellanos' social philosophy and criticism of the nobility, as well as his poetical style, which he calls "sútil y dúctil" combined with a "sagrado ira".

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One of the most valuable chapters of this introduction, and certainly one of the most fascinating, is that devoted to the manuscripts and editions. This excellent introduction combined with the extensive notes accompanying each individual poem make the volume an exceedingly valuable one.

88 Caso González, José. "Rectificaciones y apostillas a mi artículo 'Jovellanos y la Inquisición'". Archivum, Oviedo, IX (1959), 91-94.

In this addendum to a previous study, (no. 74), Caso apologizes for not having given credit to Edith Helman for having previously brought to public attention the attempted suppression of Jovellanos' Informe sobre la Ley Agraria; he was unable to obtain a copy of her article, published in 1952 dealing with the subject.

Caso adds that in investigation subsequent to publication of his 1958 article he has uncovered evidence that Jovellanos was especially charged by Godoy to undertake the reform of education (as well as dealing with disentanglement and the reform of the Inquisition). This, affirms Caso, was one of the decisive reasons that caused his enemies to have him deposed from his ministry.

Because of his research concerning this controversial dismissal, Caso concludes by warning scholars to beware of taking literally statements concerning palace politics that cannot be proved by documents. He points out that one must first analyze carefully all available documents, and turn to personal testimonies only after the facts have been well established.

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- 89 Caso González, José. Prologue and notes to Reglamento para el Colegio de Calatrava by Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Gijón: Stella, 1964, 254 pages.

Caso briefly traces the history of the Eighteenth Century proposals for university reform which culminated in Jovellanos' Reglamento para el Colegio de Calatrava. He describes the decadency into which ecclesiastical education had fallen, noting that promotion was based on favoritism rather than on merit, conditions which resulted in a lethargic and anti-intellectual attitude among students and ultimately in an ill-prepared and inefficient clergy.

The author justly ranks Reglamento as equal to or even more important than his Ley Agraria, asserting that its influence was felt throughout Europe and that its ideas are still applicable.

In preparing this edition Caso has used the Cañedo text of 1830 as well as the official manuscript, which Caso believes to have been hastily prepared because of Jovellanos' precipitous return to Madrid at the time of the imprisonment of his friend, Cabarrús. This is truly a critical edition, for the editor has carefully noted all the discrepancies between the two texts. Explanatory footnotes, however, are, unfortunately, scarce, since the author expresses his intention to explicate Jovellanos' educational ideas in more detail elsewhere. (In Obras en prosa (no. 85) Caso lists as "libro en prensa" Jovellanos y la reforma de la enseñanza, but to my knowledge this work has not yet appeared.)

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Caso has included four valuable appendices which reproduce documents sanctioning Jovellanos' visit and a provisional study on the subject made by Jovellanos.

- 90 Caso González, José. "Teorías métricas de Jovellanos en dos cartas inéditas". Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, XIV (1960), 125-154.

Caso González in this article reproduces two letters concerning poetical criticism from Jovellanos to his friends, Juan Meléndez Valdés and Francisco de Paula Caveda y Solares. These are introduced by an exposition and analysis of don Gaspar's ideas concerning literary criticism as well as his theories on metrics and the cesura.

Caso contrasts neoclassical literary criticism with modern impressionist criticism, pointing out that the former is notable for its rigorous method and severe judgements, as well as its belief in rules which have been deduced from the study of nature and of the best literary models.

In his analysis of poetical technique Caso judges Jovellanos to be far ahead of his time, even entering into the field of so-called literary science.

The printing of these two hitherto unpublished letters and Caso's clear and incisive explication of the literary theories they expound form a welcome addition to the literature concerning a man whose wide-ranging interests and accomplishments never cease to amaze.

- 91 Caso González, José. "Una sátira inédita de Jovellanos". Archivum,

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Oviedo, Tomo III (1953), 49-62.

Caso here publishes a hitherto unedited "Sátira contra los letrados", a poem in which Jovellanos lashes out at the legal profession of his day:

¿Eres locuaz? pues métete a letrado: mente, cita,
vocea, corta y raja, y serás, sin pensarlo, afortunado.

It lacks grace and polish, probably because its author never took time to perfect it. Caso is able to present cogent evidence to support this contention. But, he affirms, if it lacks esthetic beauty it has other redeeming qualities.

Caso remarks that there are two sides to Jovellanos' personality: one is that of the tender-hearted lover of peace and justice; the other is that of the man of action who fights for truth, attacks his enemies directly, and takes part in literary controversies. This second facet of don Gaspar's personality is frequently forgotten, says Caso, pointing especially to a recent dramatic effort (that of Alonso Bonet?):

No podemos estar conformes con el Jovellanos que se nos ha retratado tantas veces. Hay que decir que a fuerza de sublimarle se le ha rebajado, hasta el punto de que en una deplorable versión dramática contemporánea, Jovellanos podría ser un santo, sino fuera un tonto.(50).

The writer points to the "punzantes" and "sangrientas" satires against García de la Huerta as evidence of the more aggressive side of don Gaspar's makeup.

In this thoughtful commentary Caso has not only analyzed the content, style, verseform and intrinsic value of an unfamiliar satire, but also sets in focus an important facet of Jovellanos' personality which this poem serves to accent.

- 92 Caso González, José y Demerson, Georges. "La sátira de Jovellanos sobre la mala educación de la nobleza (versión original corregida por Meléndez Valdés)". Bulletin Hispanique, Tomo LXI, n. 4 (Octubre-Diciembre, 1959), 365-385.

Caso González, today's leading jovellanista, and Demerson, who has made an extensive study of Meléndez Valdés, combine efforts to study a similar cooperative venture on the part of their respective subjects of investigation.

The authors, who label this "Sátira sobre la mala educación de la nobleza" one of the best satires of the whole Eighteenth Century, agree with Gerardo Diego (no. 119) and others in this evaluation. They examine carefully two manuscripts of the poem which vary markedly, one being in the handwriting of Meléndez Valdés. It is likely, they believe, that Jovellanos sent a first draft of the poem to his friend, "Batilo", in Salamanca for revision and polishing before its publication. The two versions are counterpoised by Caso and Demerson, and the alterations noted. These changes, the authors conclude, do not always improve the original, which they believe to be "más seco, más directo", but do make it poetically superior.

- 93 Castañón, Luciano. "Recuerdo de Jovellanos en el aniversario de su fallecimiento". El Comercio, Gijón, 27 de noviembre, 1959.
Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 211.

- 94 Castro, Américo. Semblanzas y estudios españoles. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965, pages 407-411. Reprint from El Sol, Madrid, July 21, 1933.

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This essay deals largely with Jovellanos' basic ideas concerning education, concepts which Castro believes might serve well for present-day Spain.

Jovellanos never propounded any dangerous ideas, asserts Castro, either in the field of religion or of politics; his life was above criticism. But he aroused the envy of those who could not tolerate his "mansa y correcta superioridad", Castro sagely observes: "Requiere más heroísmo ser eclesiástico esclarecido que heterodoxo revolucionario". (408). He concludes by observing that because of the applicability of his ideas to today's problems Jovellanos deserves to be more widely read.

This succinct and well-constructed essay deftly illuminates the importance of Jovellanos for Spain and captures the essence of his personality.

- 95 Castro, Cristobal de. "Glosas a Jovellanos", (El hombre idea,---El hombre acción). Trabajo leído el 27 de noviembre de 1911, El Ateneo de Gijón en el primer centenario de Jovellanos, Gijón (1911), pages 71-75.

The author asserts that, being a man of ideas as well as a man of action, Jovellanos can really qualify as a complete man. One must admit, however, that don Gaspar was never very successful as a man of action, and that he truly excelled only as promulgator of ideas and as a motivator of others.

Misquotations such as "Epístola al Paular" mar this brief essay.

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- 96 Catena, Elena. Introduction to Teatro español del siglo XVIII. Madrid: La Muralla, 1972.

In her introduction to this anthology Catena points out that El delincuente honrado was performed before the King and his court in the theatres of the Reales Sitios in order to present to them the new ideas concerning justice and the punishment of crime. Her brief remarks emphasize the didactic nature of the play and Jovellanos' debt to Beccaria.

- 97 Caveda y Nava, José. "Memorias de varones célebres asturianos" (Manuscrito inédito del siglo XIX). Biblioteca Histórico-Geneológica Asturiana (publicada bajo la dirección de Senén Alvarez de la Rivera Mönckeberg), Vol. I, Santiago de Chile: Cervantes, 1924, 217-223.

This somewhat effusive eulogy and biographical sketch, combined with a brief mention of Jovellanos' principle works, is included in this series concerned with the lives and geneology of famous Asturians. For Caveda Jovellanos is one of Spain's most elegant writers:

Pensador profundo, preciso y lógico en sus deducciones, su talento, sin sobresalir precisamente en la originalidad de los pensamientos, daba novedad a cuanto trataba y era felicísimo para describir y poner en su verdadero punto de vista las relaciones de las ideas, para ampliarlas y perfeccionarlas, para hacer de ellas exactas y luminosas aplicaciones, e imprimiéndoles siempre el sello de la originalidad y de la utilidad pública". (222-223).

Despite the rather antiquated declamatory style, Caveda has quite adequately summarized the contribution of don Gaspar to Spanish thought and letters.

- 98 Ceán Bermúdez A. "Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos". Revista de Economía Política (Instituto de Estudios Políticos, Sección de Economía), No.29 (1961), 847-880.

The Revista de Economía Política has here republished this first biography of Jovellanos as part of its series titled "Perspectiva histórica del pensamiento económico".

This biography was written by Ceán Bermúdez shortly after the death of Jovellanos, his close friend and mentor. Composed in clear, factual prose, it is valuable as a first-hand report of the more important events of don Gaspar's life. Although Caso González (no. 79) has found Ceán to be inaccurate, or perhaps biased in some details, e.g., Jovellanos' relationship with Godoy, this account has served as the basis for a considerable number of subsequent biographies.

- 99 Chamorro, Bonifacio. "Breve historia de la biblioteca de Jovellanos". Bibliografía Hispánica, Madrid, No. 11 (1944), pages 744-776.
Bib. ref. in: No 3995 of Bio-Bibliografía del Cuerpo facultativo de Archivos Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos, 1858-1958, 1958, Madrid: Estades.
- 100 Chamorro, Bonifacio. "Jovellanos y las mujeres". Letras, Año VIII, No. 85 (agosto de 1944), 1-3.

The writer reviews the possible reasons advanced by others for Jovellanos' never having married, suggesting, as does Nocedal, that he concurred with the philosophy of Godwin, who rejected the institution of marriage.

Chamorro indicates that Jovellanos may have been somewhat equivocal with regard to the acceptance of women into the societies of Amigos del País, his belief in the theoretical equality of women being tempered by his practical observation of their frequent pettiness and frivolity. He concludes by quoting from Jovellanos' emotional charge to womankind to fulfill their preordained role as shapers of the heart of their progeny.

- 101 Chiareno, Osvaldo. "Jovellanos economista e la lingua del suo 'Informe sobre la Ley Agraria' ". Bollettino dell' Instituto Estere, Genoa, III (1952-53), 46-60.

Chiareno analyzes linguistically the writings of Jovellanos, which he describes as an harmonious synthesis of form and content. His use of language did not possess the purity of that of the preceding century, since he employed provincialisms to lend picturesqueness, as well as new scientific terminology and lexical and syntactic gallicisms, especially in his earlier works. In his later writings, however, Jovellanos abandoned French usage, says Chiareno, and was more influenced by English culture.

The writer notes the use of architectural terms and a romantic feeling for landscape in Jovellanos' Mallorcan prose, and also the use of antithetical prepositions and the coupling of adjectives and substantives. In his writings, says Chiareno, Jovellanos harmonized functionalism with beauty, the classic with the modern: "... Jovellanos scrive pagine che possono rivaleggiare con quelle dei migliori autori

classici; prosa que pur non senza impurezze, conserva la ricchezza del vocabulario del secolo d'oro aggiungendovi modernità de espressioni e una nuance più personale e colorita, quasi come fusione di stili vari come quelli di Quevedo e di Campomanes, di Cadalso e Feijoo". (57).

- 102 Chiareno, Osvaldo. Review of Poesías of Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, Edición crítica y notas de José Caso González, Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1961. In Studi di Lingue e Letteratura Spagnola, Turin, 1965, 341-349.

The writer reviews the contents of this volume and summarizes the introduction by Caso González, noting that although scholarship has been largely negative concerning Jovellanos' poetry, modern critics are now reassessing it more favorably.

Chiareno believes that the Enarda to whom Jovellanos dedicated some early lyrics conceals an anagrammatic reference to Andrea. He also alludes to a letter of Meléndez Valdés in which a child is mentioned in connection with Alcmena, to whom don Gaspar also wrote verses (although she may have been identical with Andrea-Enarda). In his Patobiografía, however, Martínez Fernández rejects the notion that Jovellanos may have fathered a child. Chiareno, who seems especially interested in the romantic aspects of Jovellanos' poetry, also recounts his brief attraction for Ramona, "la Majestuosa", the daughter of a Leonese friend.

This review, although perhaps demonstrating undue inquisitiveness in inconsequential areas, adequately summarizes and interprets Caso's study.

- 103 Chiareno, Osvaldo. Three chapters on Jovellanos in Scrittori Spagnuoli del Settecento. Genova: Tolozzi & C., 1962, pp. 27-40.

In this monograph on writers of Eighteenth Century Spain Chiareno devotes three chapters to Jovellanos, the first discussing his life and personality, the second his thought, and the third his diaries.

Chiareno mistakenly calls the diaries intimate: "nella quale vediamo muoversi il nostro autore, ne auscultiamo l'intimo battito del cuore"; he aptly points out, however, that the biographical parts are always closely related to the political situation of the country and to the responsibility of Jovellanos toward it.

The writer alludes to a number of Spanish critics, but fails to include bibliographical references.

- 104 Cienfuegos, Francisco. Introduction ("Necesaria explicación") to Jovellanos, antología editada por F.C., Gijón: Artes Gráfica, 1969, 264 pages.

This anthology, sponsored by the Ayuntamiento of Gijón, contains brief extracts from the writings of Jovellanos arranged according to subject and especially designed for the more casual reader. In his introduction Cienfuegos calls Jovellanos a product of the Eighteenth Century with a mentality of the Twentieth in his intense interest in education and in his advocacy of experimental science and the observation of nature.

Cienfuegos has included in his anthology several portraits of Jovellanos and his contemporaries, including Napoleon, Wellington

and Nelson, as well as some members of the Cienfuegos family related to Jovellanos. Especially delightful are several sketches supposedly executed by don Gaspar himself; however, I have never seen mention of them elsewhere.

- 105 Cimorra, Clemente. "La obra asturianista de Jovellanos". Jovellanos, su vida y obra, Homenaje del Centro Asturiano de Buenos Aires en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, con adhesión de los centros Asturianos de la Habana y México, Buenos Aires: La Prensa Médica Argentina, 1945, pages 595-642.

Cimorra asserts that Jovellanos always found comfort and renewed strength in contemplating and recalling the Asturian landscape with its free and simple life, its "calma y eternidad". He calls attention to Jovellanos' frequent trips throughout Asturias during which he studied Asturian history, customs and folklore as well as its economic problems and recorded what he saw and learned in letters and diaries. The writer summarizes Jovellanos' treatise on Asturian economy as well as his Asturian tragedy, Pelayo, making no critical assessment, but attesting to the essential historical accuracy of the play.

- 106 Conde, Lorenzo. Several sections concerning Jovellanos in Letras españolas, Historia ilustrada de la literatura española con adición de fragmentos de diversos ingenios según ordenación de L.C. Barcelona: Ediciones Hyma, 1936, 1038 pages.

Lorenzo Conde concurs with the commonly-held opinion that Jovellanos was in error in advising his Salamancan friends to abandon artificiality, falseness and conventionality in their poetry, yet as the pendulum of poetic style has swung widely during the centuries it is difficult to make this kind of a judgment with any certainty: the change which was doubtlessly inspired by Jovellanos' advice may have seemed disastrous at the moment but ultimately have provided a needed corrective.

- 107 Conde Gargollo, Enrique. "Diario de D. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos en el Balneario de Carlos III". Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Hidrología Médica, Vol. II, No. 4 (junio, 1963).
Bib. ref. in: Martínez Cachero, Jesús. Jovellanos, patobiografía y pensamiento biológico (no. 230), p. 138.
- 108 Cook, John A. Neoclassic Drama in Spain. Theory and Practice.
Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 1959, pages 422-25 and others.

Cook briefly discusses Jovellanos' dramatic theories, his work as a censor of the theatre, the Memoria sobre espectáculos y diversiones, El delincuente honrado as a neoclassical drama and its acceptance by contemporary critics.

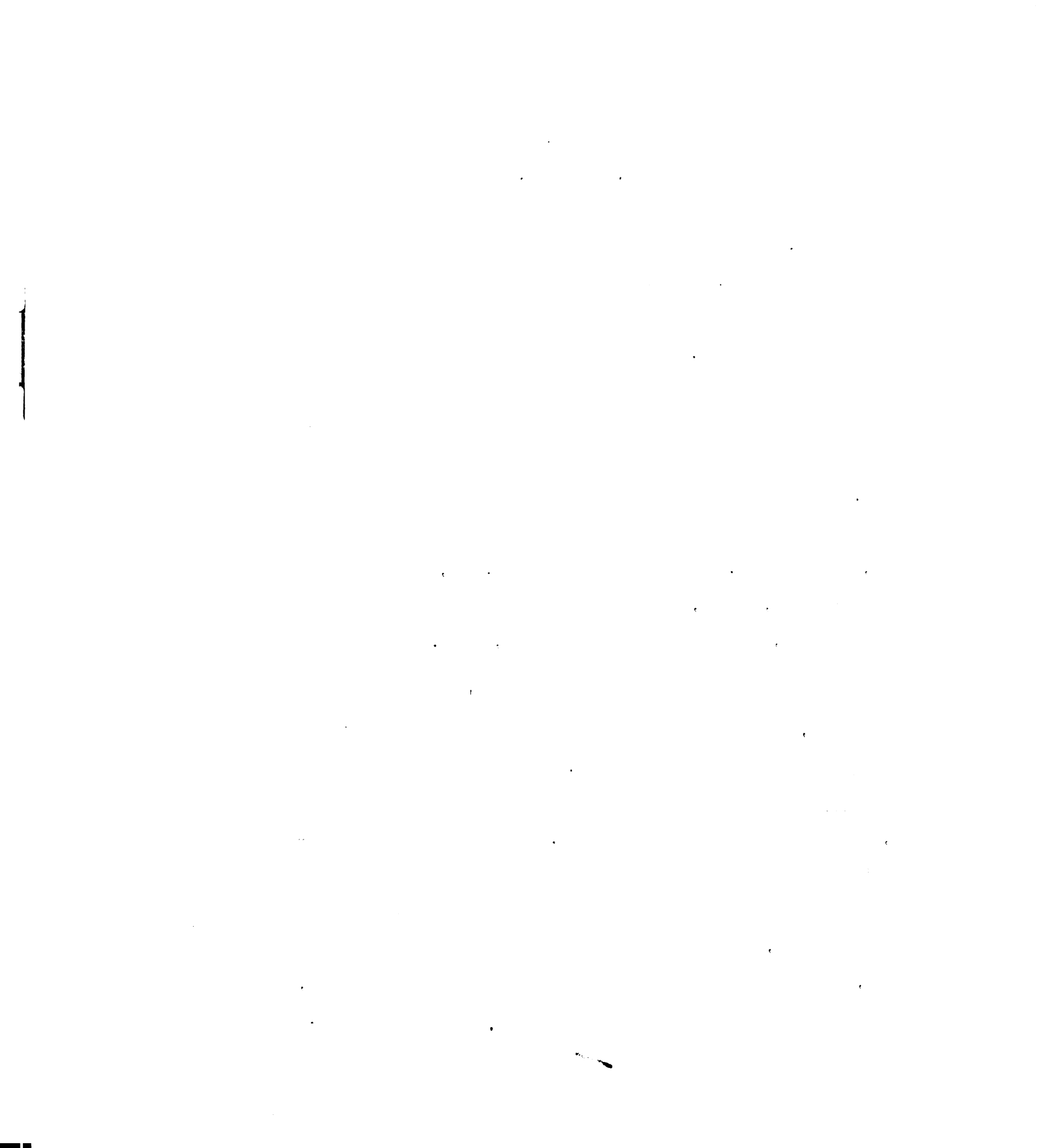
Cook believes that the great critical acclaim for El delincuente honrado was due to the fact that it had a happy ending, tragedy only being threatened, that it observed classic unities, was free from linguistic affectation, and taught a moral lesson. Yet El delincuente

honrado was a sentimental comedy in prose, and thus did not fit entirely into the neoclassical mold, says Cook, but observes that Jovellanos "probably felt that his work met the neoclassical requirements for this genre, since it conformed to the unities and was designed to correct human defects". (423). Cook points out that Moratín called the play a tragi-comedy and believed it to be too far removed from the nature of good comedy.

It is interesting that Cook in his treatise on neoclassic drama fails to mention Felayo (Munuza) which probably better exemplified Neoclassicism than the more romantically inclined El delincuente honrado.

- 109 Cossío, José María de. "Jovellanos y los toros". Sí, suplemento semanal del diario Arriba, Madrid, Número homenaje a Jovellanos en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, Año III (9 de enero de 1944), 16.

Cossío comments succinctly on Jovellanos' expressed aversion to bullfights, reviewing in some detail his Memoria sobre la policía de los espectáculos y diversiones públicas. He declares that its discussion of the Corrida is the slightest and least solidly considered part of the work, yet the best known and most popular. Cossío believes that Jovellanos' best reasoned statement on the subject is contained in a letter to Vargas Ponce in which he questions whether the bullfight is a rational form of diversion, whether it contributes to the glory or benefit of the country, whether it has a salutary influence on the Spanish character, and whether it produces any advantage or disadvantage for the nation.



- 110 Davidson, Marcia Dell. Three Spanish Economists of the Enlightenment: Campomanes, Jovellanos, Flórez Estrada. Duke University, 1962. Unpublished doctoral dissertation.

In this Ph.D. thesis in Economics, Davidson traces the transition from mercantilism in Spain during the last part of the Eighteenth Century and the first part of the Nineteenth as reflected in the writings of its leading economists.

Jovellanos in general agreed with the ideas of Campomanes, whose Industria popular had been published some twenty years before Ley agraria: the concept of wealth as goods and services, the advantage of competition and liberty as a guide to prosperity, and the advocacy of the restriction of large land holding by nobility and clergy, as well as curtailment of guilds, taxation and price-fixing.

- 111 Defourneaux, Marcelin. "Pablo de Olavide et sa Famille (A propos d'une Ode de Jovellanos)". Bulletin Hispanique, 1954, 249-259.

Of all the classical poetry of Jovellanos Defourneaux finds this Ode saphique, "En la muerte de Doña Engracia de Olavide" the most moving. In mythological guise Engracia appears as "Filis" and don Pablo de Olavide as "Elpino". The relationship between the two, however, has never been clear: was she daughter, mistress or illegitimate daughter of the Asistente of Seville, noted founder of the Colonies of the Sierra Morena? Defourneaux establishes that she was actually the daughter of his second marriage, but unfortunately he neglects to divulge Jovellanos' connection with her, nor for what reason he wrote this lovely ode.

- 112 Defourneaux, Marcelin. Pablo de Olavide ou l'afrancesado (1725-1803).

Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, 500 pages.

Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 210.

- 113 Delgado, P. Jesús. "Jovellanos poeta". España y América, XXXI, año IX, Tomo III, No. 18 (1911), 418-492.

The writer briefly but perceptively surveys and evaluates Jovellanos' literary production, discussing in addition to his compositions in verse some prose works which he finds of a poetical nature. Delgado points out that Jovellanos' is not a poetry of imagination nor of description of nature, but rather "poesía interior, profunda" which treats of human misery and injustice, and of virtue humiliated and oppressed.

- 114 Demerson, Georges. "Quatre poèmes inédites de Jovellanos". Bulletin Hispanique, LVIII (1956), pages 36-47.

Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 188.

- 115 De Onis, Federico. Ensayos sobre el sentido de la cultura española, Madrid, 1932.

De Onis makes several allusions to Jovellanos in this collection of essays. He brings out especially his decisive influence over his friends, the poets of the Salamancan group. He also notes that a large proportion of the reformers of Eighteenth Century Spain were, like Jovellanos, Asturians. De Onis might have added that this

was also true of some of its men of letters: Meléndez Valdés, Cienfuegos and Quintana were all of Asturian origin.

Díaz Casariego, Jesús Evaristo. See nos. 69-72.

- 116 Díaz-Jiménez y Molleda, Eloy. Jovellanos en León. Madrid: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1925, 37 pages. Also in Boletín de la Academia de la Lengua, Tomo XII, diciembre de 1925.

In this monograph the author has used the diaries, letters and poems of Jovellanos, together with local records to reconstruct the several extensive visits don Gaspar made to León, as well as his travels throughout the province.

Díaz-Jiménez quotes liberally, especially from the diaries, minute descriptions of buildings, streets, art objects, walks through the city and its environs, views of the countryside, etc. He calls attention to an intriguing aspect of Jovellanos' personality in citing passages from the diaries that allude to a frustrated romance with Romona, "la Majestuosa (also referred to by Jovellanos as "la encantadora fea").

- 117 Diego, Gerardo. "De Asturias a Mallorca". La Nación, Buenos Aires, 6 de agosto de 1944, Sec. 2, pp. 1-2.

Diego points to the frequently poetical descriptions of landscapes, night, storms and other natural phenomena included in the Diarios, noting that Jovellanos was typical of his age with respect to the prosaic nature of his poetry as well as his poetic prose. The writer also

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reviews Jovellanos' selection of texts in the humanities, noting especially his preference for Fray Luis de León and Meléndez Valdés. Jovellanos' move from the North of Spain to Andalucía must have been of great importance, comparable to Goethe's visit to Italy, believes Diego, the two areas being much like foreign countries.

With the change of centuries Diego sees a swing in Jovellanos' style toward romanticism, pointing out ingeniously that the incumbent figure 8 is the sign of infinity. The writer might well have elaborated on this interesting point: is he referring to the Eighteenth Century or to the 1800's?

The style of this article dealing with poetical aspects of Jovellanos' work is itself highly poetic. Although it repeats some of the ideas expressed in an article published in Sí earlier the same year (no. 118) it is a valuable assessment of an Eighteenth Century writer by a sensitive and knowledgeable contemporary poet.

118 Diego, Gerardo. "Jovellanos y el paisaje". Sí, suplemento semanal del diario, Arriba, Madrid, Número homenaje a Jovellanos en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, Año III (9 de enero de 1944), p. 7.

Gerardo Diego assesses Jovellanos as a poet in both verse and prose, calling attention to his descriptions of landscapes and of nature, noting their authenticity, originality and enthusiasm. Diego also points interestingly to the stylistic similarities between the works of Jovellanos and other Spanish authors.

Diego calls Fabio a Anfriso austere and rigid, noting, as have others, the influence of Fray Luis de León. In the diaries he

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notes the similarity to Fray Luis de Granada, and more surprisingly, to Azorín; in this regard Diego quotes Jovellanos' delightful description of a spider web.

The writer affirms that in Oración sobre el estudio de las ciencias naturales one can understand the true spirit of Jovellanos, that here the prose reaches extremes of radiant beauty. But for Diego the loveliest of all is Jovellanos' Descripción de la Catedral de Palma de Mallorca, which displays his "hiperestesia para los mensajes de cielos, auras, mares". Diego sees characteristics in the sensitive and lyrical prose of Jovellanos which remind him of Unamuno and Machado.

- 119 Diego, Gerardo. "La poesía de Jovellanos". Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo, XXII (1946), 209-235.

Diego studies the poetry of his fellow gijonés, interesting himself especially in the influence upon his poetry of predecessors and contemporaries, and to a lesser extent with the techniques employed in the poetry itself.

If poetry is defined as the "arte de escribir en verso con un único propósito de lograr la belleza del espíritu y de la materia verbales", asserts Diego, then Jovellanos was "poeta, pero no fue un poeta". But in terms of Twentieth Century poetry, his verses do not fit at all, for the Eighteenth Century was radically incompatible with the bareness of pure poetic intuition.

Diego quotes and comments upon the description of the night in Epístola del Paular, noting especially the equating of the exterior landscape with the state of the soul, recalling Fray Luis and presaging

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Enrique de Mesa. Diego makes the surprising and possibly exaggerated assertion that Jovellanos, a poet "en potencia peor, menos poeta", ruled over and was the center of Spanish poetry for nearly half a century. In the matter of satires, however, Diego rightly declares that only Leandro Moratín surpassed him.

Diego agrees with Quintana and Valmar that don Gaspar lacked a sense of music, and that he struggled with versification; he once admitted candidly: "no puedo negar que escribiría en consonante si no hallase una resistencia invencible en acomodar a él mis ideas".(232).

Diego concludes by affirming that Jovellanos' loveliest poetry is to be found in his Mallorcan prose, especially in his Descripción del Castillo de Bellver, and in certain passages from his diaries.

Although this study was originally delivered as a speech, and as such tends to be somewhat digressive, it is redeemed by its intimacy and by the profound sensitiveness to lyrical expression that a fellow poet can adequately provide.

- 120 Diego, Gerardo. "Tres hechizados". Estafeta Literaria, nos. 426-428 (1969), 22-24.

The tres hechizados discussed by Gerardo Diego are Jovellanos, Unamuno and Chopin, all three entranced by the beauty of Mallorca. In a few paragraphs Diego characterizes Jovellanos the romanticist (or preromanticist), commenting briefly on his poetry and prose, especially Epístola del Paular and Castillo de Bellver.

- 121 Doering, Johann Anton. "Un precursor español de las ideas modernas sobre el desarrollo de la agricultura: Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos

(1744-1811)". Folia Humanística; ciencias, artes, letras, Barcelona, III, (1965), 631-639.

Johann Doering summarizes and analyzes in detail the Informe sobre la Ley Agraria. This study is preceded by a discussion of politics, commerce, agriculture and ideas concerning land reform during the Eighteenth Century. Doering especially points to the Eighteenth Century conflict between the ideologies of tradition and progress, exacerbated by Spanish passions, which the clear-headed Jovellanos with his equanimity and moderation was called upon to mediate:

Lo extraordinario y único de sus ideas y proyectos de mejora radica justamente en el hecho de que contienen pensamientos y exhortaciones que concuerdan ampliamente con los principios y directrices actuales de la ayuda para el desarrollo, o sea, que se anticipan a estos en casi 200 años. (632).

Aside from the patent modernity of Ley Agraria it is notable as well for its constant recourse to historical precedent in its recommendations, and for its insistence on the role of education for social betterment and the improvement of agriculture in Spain. Doering also calls attention to the constructive nature of Jovellanos' ideas, to his beneficent patriotism and breadth of vision, as well as to his valor in the face of formidable opposition. In regard to his style Doering affirms:

El lenguaje en el que expresa sus pensamientos, que surgieron, en parte, a lo largo de las discusiones en el seno de la "Sociedad de Economía Nacional" de Madrid, pertenece a lo mejor que la prosa castellana puede ofrecer. (639).

Even though he fails to make clear the fact that Jovellanos was in this treatise expressing the ideas of the Economic Society of

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Madrid, which may have been somewhat more radical than his own, Doering succinctly presents a careful and relatively comprehensive study of this important work.

- 122 Domergue, Lucienne. Jovellanos et la société économique des amis du pays de Madrid 1788-1790. Doctoral thesis presented to the Faculté des Lettres of Toulouse. Toulouse 1969 National Union Cat. 1970, Vol. 4, p. 261, no. NUC70-108854.
- 123 Domergue, Lucienne. Review of Jovellanos: Patobiografía y pensamiento biológico, by Jesús Martínez Fernández. Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1966 In Cahiers du monde hispanique et lusobrasílien (Caravelle), 9 (1967), 175-177.

Lucienne Domergue reviews Martínez Fernández' previous jovellanista studies and notes that this biography was doubtlessly inspired by Marañón's biography of Feijoo. She praises highly Martínez Fernández' patobiografía of Jovellanos, noting that the abundance of details serve to supplement the sparse biographical material on Jovellanos. One could as well argue, however, that some of this minutiae serves no purpose except to satisfy the curious. (See my review, no. 230).

Domergue believes most of the information to be factual, but rightly urges caution in regard to the inferences of Martínez Fernández concerning the wife of Meléndez Valdés, whom Georges Demerson has portrayed as completely respectable (Don Juan Meléndez Valdés et son temps, Paris, 1962).

124 Domergue, Lucienne. "Une Censure Inédite de Jovellanos". Mélanges, Madrid: Casa de Velásquez, II (1966), 311-331.

The activities of Jovellanos as a censor of contemporary writing proposed for publication is a subject scarcely touched upon by his commentators. Lucienne Domergue, however, calls attention to a censure by Jovellanos not mentioned by either Ceán Bermúdez or Julio Somoza. She quotes the letter of censure in its entirety, as well as the pamphlet by Pedro Francisco Sotelo which don Gaspar found unworthy of publication. She draws from these documents conclusions concerning the mood of the times as well as Jovellanos' own thoughts on custom, propriety, and literature, especially concerning French influence and classical dramatic precepts.

The tract in question was titled Bando a favor de toda moda y Clorinda sindicada, actually two different treatises combined in one pamphlet.

Domergue points out that in this censure Jovellanos is guilty of some of the faults of which he accuses Sotelo: making unsupported charges and assertions and failing to use moderation. Were Jovellanos' attacks upon Huerta or Forner, or even his Sátiras a Arnesto completely courteous and always moderate? "Avec Sotelo, Jovino a la partie belle; une simple lecture lui donne raison", she observes.

Ironically, Clorinda did not adhere to the unities of time and place which Sotelo and Jovellanos so heatedly discuss. Domergue concludes that Clorinda was a pleasant, witty comedy which Jovellanos happened to like, and besides it maintained unity of action and adhered to Jovellanos' other criteria for a good comedy.

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Domergue's analysis of this hastily-written censure throws new light on Jovellanos' dramatic theories, as well as on his essential human-ness.

- 125 Dotor y Municio, Angel. Jovellanos, Estudio y Antología. (Un autor en un libro) Madrid: Compañía Bibliográfica Española, 1964, 232 pages.

This comprehensive and clearly written study of Jovellanos, his life and works is composed of a factual Esquema biográfico, a chronological presentation of the historical events, European and Spanish, which occurred during Jovellanos' lifetime, and a penetrating and well-thought-out treatise on the life of Jovellanos and on his writings, which Dotor has discussed according to categories: literature, art and architecture, economics, etc. Then follows a brief anthology (63 pages) which includes some important letters and poetry. The book concludes with a select bibliography.

Dotor's analysis of the reasons for Jovellanos' banishment, persecution and imprisonment sheds new light on a subject apparently avoided until recently by Jovellanos scholars, showing by means of quotations from diaries and letters that the causes were complex, involving relations with government and Church officials as well as those with the Santo Oficio.

Jovellanos' much-polemicized Jansenist leanings, which del Ríó (no. 299) and others have shown to have contributed to his ill-treatment, as well as the question of Jansenism in Spain is treated lucidly and dispassionately. Quoting Santullano (no. 323), he

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concludes that because of its wide diffusion during this period, Jansenist doctrines (which Jovellanos never adhered to completely) could not have been the sole reason for his exile.

In his discussion of the Junta Central, Dotor points out that Jovellanos, whose role was that of mediator and harmonizer between the two extreme factions, had three principal preoccupations: the establishment of a bicameral Cortes, freedom of the press (within limitations), and the improvement and dissemination of education. He sees Jovellanos as a regeneracionista, a reformista and an uropeísta, believing that Spain could move into the mainstream of Europe without losing her own individuality: ". . . alguien ha señalado, que es absolutamente actualizable el tipo de europeísmo jovellanista, un europeísmo no 'de fuera adentro', sino enraizado con el peculiar modo de ser español, o sea a Europa desde nuestra tradición".

Dotor discusses also the literary style of Jovellanos, commenting especially on the Informe en el expediente de la Ley Agraria, and he concludes that style was a constant preoccupation of Jovellanos.

This well-organized book forms a worthy addition to Jovellanos studies and qualifies its author as a leading contemporary jovellanista.

- 126 Dowdle, Harold Lowe. The Humanitarianism of Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Unpublished dissertation, Stanford University, 1954, 297 pages.

Dowdle agrees with Ticknor (History of Spanish Literature, Boston, 1872) and Mérimée (no. 392) that humanitarianism was a dominant trait of Jovellanos' character, and refutes Menéndez Pelayo's suggestion

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(no. 388) that this was only an evidence of his compliance with the literary mode of the Enlightenment. The writer includes a brief cultural survey of the Eighteenth Century, then analyzes the humanitarian elements in Jovellanos' published writings. Using a biographical approach, he points to evidence of Jovellanos' concern for his fellow men in his life as a public servant and as a writer. Dowdle investigates also the appraisals of Jovellanos' character made by his contemporaries, and then considers these assessments in the light of the data yielded by his research.

Dowdle supports his thesis concerning the humanitarianism of Jovellanos with a discussion that treats Jovellanos' ideas on the noble class and its role in society, class discrimination, political and ecclesiastical reforms and the Inquisition.

The thesis includes two appendices, one concerning the authorship of "Economía civil", and the other a useful chronological listing of Jovellanos' writings.

This dissertation reflects the assessment of most Twentieth Century critics concerning Jovellanos.

- 127 Durán, Manuel. "Jovellanos, Moratín y Goya: una nueva interpretación del siglo XVIII español". Cuadernos Americanos, Vol. 138 (1965), 193-198.

I am not sure why Jovellanos and Goya were listed in the title of this study since they are mentioned only in passing; it is actually a review of Edith Helman's Trasmundo de Goya. The writer

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mentions Jovellanos as being a friend of Goya (but perhaps not an intimate one, since he is barely mentioned by Jovellanos). He notes also that the ideas for some of the Caprichos were taken from the Diarios and that Goya, Moratín and Jovellanos shared a common indignation in the face of the reactionary and obscurantist forces of the period.

- 128 Entrambasaguas y Peña, Joaquín. "La más alta empresa de Jovellanos". 31, suplemento semanal del diario Arriba, Madrid, Número homenaje a Jovellanos en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, Año III (9 de enero de 1944), p. 3.

The writer discusses Jovellanos' poetry, especially emphasizing its didactic aspects, noting that don Gaspar was ever the utilitarian reformer, even at his most lyrical. Entrambasaguas analyzes especially Jovino a sus amigos de Salamanca, affirming that "la más alta empresa" is succinctly expressed in the stanza of this epístola beginning with "Acaso vais . . .". Jovellanos' contribution, he affirms, lies in his "transparencia científica y moral puesto al servicio del país".

Although the importance of precept in the poetry of Jovellanos is obvious, the writer may go a bit too far: one would perhaps want to except some of the early love lyrics from this judgment.

- 129 Entrambasaguas y Peña, Joaquín. "La musa didáctica de Jovellanos". Revista de la Universidad de Oviedo, No. 4 (1940), pages 5-43.

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In this speech, presented in Oviedo on the occasion of the transferral of the remains of Jovellanos, Entrambasaguas quotes extensively from the sátiras and epístolas, calling attention to their didactic nature.

Entrambasaguas blames most of the ills of modern Spain on foreign influences introduced during the Enlightenment, which served to alienate it from the "authentic" Spain of the Golden Age, forgetting that the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries were great, in part at least, because of the inspiration of new ideas entering Spain from Europe and elsewhere. For him the Eighteenth Century was "ajeno, intruso, falso", "monstruoso de hipocresía y contradicciones"; the Nineteenth, which followed its precepts, was ridiculous, characterized by:

su extranjerismo amanerado, su indecisión cobarde y su resentimiento, culminantes en la rofosa "generación del 98", que también, como una guillotina taimada--- sin brillo valiente del acero, pero con los filos encubiertos del odio, ---intentó cortar las frágiles ataduras que aún unían a la gloria y al ser de otros tiempos. p. 6.

Paying homage to the Falangist hero of the hour, Entrambasaguas indicates that José Antonio represents a generation dedicated to restoring the true Spanish heritage and to undoing the harm wrought by the ilustrados and their successors; he compares the Napoleonic invasion to that of the "rojos", which, he says, Jovellanos would have combatted with equal determination. The Eighteenth Century would not have ended in the disgraceful manner in which it did, says the writer, had there been more men like Jovellanos.

Entrambasaguas, of course, is right in pointing to Jovellanos' desire that Spanish society return to its former simplicity and

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authenticity, but may exaggerate in regard to his casticismo: his cosmopolitanism and internationalism are continuously in evidence in the poetry quoted in the study.

The first half of this article constitutes an impassioned political tract; the second is a somewhat routine literary study which does little to sustain the thesis of what precedes, and really bears little relationship to it.

- 130 Escobar Ulloa, Ramiro. El pensamiento jurídico, político y económico de Jovellanos. Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1959.
Bib. ref. in: Catalog of Library of Congress, no. 62.38783.
- 131 Escribano e Iglesias, Antonio. Nuevas aportaciones al estudio de la personalidad política de D. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Doctoral thesis, 1931. Bib. ref. in:
Dotor, Angel. Jovellanos, Estudio y Antología. Madrid: Compañía Bibliográfica Española, 1964 (no. 125), 228.
- 132 Esperbé de Arteaga, Enrique. Diccionario enciclopédico ilustrado y crítico de los hombres de España. Madrid, 1947. Bib. ref. in:
Dotor (no. 125), 229.
- 133 F. de O. Review of Jovellanos: Manuscritos inéditos, raros o dispersos (nueva serie). Madrid: Hijos de Gómez Fuentenebro, 1913. In Revista de Filosofía Española, Tomo I (1914).

The writer of this review comments upon the story of the vicisitudes of the Diarios throughout the Nineteenth Century.

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- 134 Fernández Almagro, M. Prologue to Jovellanos (Anthology), Brevarios del pensamiento español, Madrid: Ediciones Fe, 1940, 279 pages.

This modest anthology contains brief excerpts, up to three pages in length, from the writings of Jovellanos, grouped under the headings of "Religión", "Patria", "Estado", "Economía", "Educación", and "Temas varios". The selections have been chosen so as to give the casual reader a general notion of Jovellanos' thought. There are no footnotes or editorial comment other than the prologue, although the sources of the quotations are listed in an appendix.

Fernández notes that Jovellanos, as a precursor of the moderates, tried to maintain contact with tradition while seeking to lift Spain from its cultural prostration and provide adequate answers for the blandishments of Encyclopedism and the French Revolution. He shared the preference of other ilustrados for the practical over the speculative, the learned over the created and the municipal over the national, as well as a naive faith in education, all of which Fernández views as weaknesses. The writer is not always sure of his facts (Jovellanos spent seven years on Mallorca rather than eight) and displays evidence of the adulation of Ortega typical of his generation.

- 135 Fita, Fidel and López de Ayala, Jerónimo (El Conde de Cedillo). Prologue to "Numero extra" honoring Jovellanos on the bicentenary of his birth. Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, (Nov., 1911), 5-12.

This prologue describes the process of planning and executing a special commemorative issue of the Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, in honor of Jovellanos.

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- 136 Francés, José. "Jovellanos, escultor de su alma". Madre Asturias, Madrid, 1945, pp. 31-36.

The writer describes busts of Jovellanos placed in his memory in the Castle of Bellver and in Puerto de Vega. He then describes the personality of their subject, attempting to fathom the soul sculptured by Jovellanos himself. He finds here "una optimista ansia estética de la belleza pura, la armonía sana y equilibrio fuerte", as well as "inquietud especulativa, actividad creatriz, desasosiego físico y profundo, suprema serenidad en la supervivencia secular".

- 137 Fucilla, Joseph G. "Relaciones hispanoitalianas". Revista de Filología Española, Madrid, Anejo LIX (1953).
Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 194.

- 138 Galindo García, Francisco. El espíritu del siglo XVIII y la personalidad de Jovellanos (su criterio acerca de la ganadería en el "Informe sobre la Ley Agraria)". Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1971, 309 pages.

The first third of the book consists of a discussion of the ideas current in the Eighteenth Century, a biography of Jovellanos, and an exegesis of his economic and political thought. The author finds applicable to present-day economic problems the ideas promulgated by Jovellanos in his Ley Agraria with which the remainder of the book is concerned.

Galindo may show Jovellanos to be more inimical to the nobility than was actually the case; but in his assessment of French influence

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he is exact: like most of his enlightened colleagues in the Court of Carlos III, Jovellanos was much more deeply affected by the ideas of Rousseau, Montesquieu and other foreign theoreticians than many of his Spanish commentators have wished to admit.

The writer points out Jovellanos' interest in the Mesta and his influence in the curtailment of its privileges. He calls attention also to what he considers fundamental errors in his recommendations: his support of the cultivation of grain to the detriment of cattle raising and his failure to advocate textile production rather than the exportation of wool.

This otherwise well-written and informative book is marred by a number of misprints and bibliographical errors.

- 139 Galino, María Angeles. Tres hombres y un problema, Feijoo, Sarmiento y Jovellanos ante la educación moderna. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid: Instituto "San José de Calasanz", 1953, 423 pages.

This is a factual report which covers all phases of Jovellanos' educational writings. Basically, Galino presents no new ideas, but concludes that Jovellanos' precepts formed the basis for Nineteenth Century educational thinking and that his modernity belies his much-commented moderation: his equilibrium was more apparent than real.

- 140 Gandía, Enrique de. "Las ideas políticas de Jovellanos", Nueva Democracia, Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, New York, 39 (julio, 1959), 36-45.

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From a distance of several thousand miles Gandía has investigated Jovellanos' political thought with a certain freedom and candor not evident in some of his Spanish commentators. Gandía rightly maintains that Jovellanos' biographers have nearly always twisted the truth: "No convenía decir que su ortodoxia no era pura, no convenía, tampoco, divulgar sus choques, casi continuos, con el clero". (37). In a figure of such literary importance and such moral exemplariness it was not fitting, they felt, that he should be less than the perfect believer. Gandía is right in his doubt of Jovellanos' complete orthodoxy, but he certainly exaggerates in his denomination of don Gaspar as "un buen jansenista" and "un perfecto antijesuita". Jovellanos was too tolerant and too much of an eclectic to espouse either of these credos unreservedly; it is well known that he advocated that the Jesuits be permitted to return from exile. I have not been able to ascertain that he ever openly professed Jansenism, as Gandía asserts.

Gandía is somewhat careless as well in some minor details: Obras escogidas (Clásicos Castellanos) comprises three volumes rather than two. Jovellanos' imprisonment did not, of course, follow immediately upon his dismissal from the ministry, as Gandía indicates, and Godoy and Jovellanos were certainly never friends (in spite of some terms of endearment used by the latter in his letters).

Gandía's analysis of the political situation at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century is especially penetrating: the misnamed Revolution of 1810 was really a civil war, he believes, European as well as Spanish. The article is important as well for its emphasis upon the great and continuing influence of Jovellanos' ideas in Latin America and especially in Argentina.

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- 141 García García, José. Review of Poesías de Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Edición crítica, prólogo y notas de José Caso González. Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, Oviedo, (1961). In Archivum, Oviedo, XIV (1964), 300-301.

The reviewer outlines and summarizes the introduction and format of the body of the work, as well as its appendices. He rightly calls this the best edition of Jovellanos' poetry, "Un trabajo minucioso, logrado, impecable en su género".

- 142 García García, José. Review of Reglamento para el Colegio de Calatrava. Primera edición crítica, prólogo y notas de José Caso González. Gijón, 1964. In Archivum, Oviedo, XVI (1964), 302,303.

This review summarizes Caso's introduction and outlines the work itself. The writer concludes by paying just tribute to Caso González: "Es, en resumen, una logradísima edición de este tan interesante como olvidado escrito del ilustre patricio gijonés que tenemos que agradecer a la eficiencia y al talento crítico del entusiasta jovellanista Sr. Caso González".

- 143 García Pelayo, Manuel. "El estamento de la nobleza en el despotismo ilustrado español". Moneda y Crédito, no. 17 (1946). Bib. ref. in: Ritter, Manfred. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744-1811), (no.304), 341.

- 144 García Mercadal, J. Historia del Romanticismo español, Section on Jovellanos in Chapter II, "La escuela salmantina". Madrid: Ed. Labor, 1943, pages 86-88.

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The writer finds considerable evidence of incipient romanticism in Jovellanos' Rousseauvian sentimentality. Relying heavily on the literary history of Valbuena Prat, (1935) he notes romantic tendencies in Jovellanos' art criticism, in his El delincuente honrado, and in certain of his verses.

- 145 García Prado, Justiniano. "Jovellanos en la Rioja". Berceo, Logroño, II (1947), pages 275-302. Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 602.
- 146 García Prado, Justiniano. "Jovellanos geógrafo". Estudios Geográficos, Madrid, X (1949), pages 477-496. Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 602.
- 147 García Prado, Justiniano. "La geografía local en Jovellanos". I & 2. Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, Oviedo, No. XVII (dic. de 1952), 413-424; No. XVIII (abril de 1953), 82-91.

Although Jovellanos never wrote a work specifically on geography, his writings, especially his diaries, are filled with observations and speculations concerning geographic phenomena. He pointed out the many common errors and false notions concerning the geography of Asturias and recommended that a complete geographic survey and description of the area be made, and maps and charts be prepared using modern scientific techniques.

García Prado discusses at length Jovellanos' economic theories, considering them closely related to geography. He appears somewhat

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confused, however, in this area, apparently equating the Physiocrats with the English advocates of a free market whose leader was Adam Smith (c.f., Polt, Jovellanos and his English Sources, no. 279).

García Prado points out certain erroneous arguments forwarded by Jovellanos concerning a ravine which he insisted was man-made, and concerning the oceanic origin of certain mountains.

In these articles García Prado has graphically set in focus another of don Gaspar's interests, and to an extent another of his areas of competence, little mentioned by other commentators.

- 148 García Prado, Justiniano. "Las ideas geográficas de Jovellanos".
Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, Oviedo, No. XI (1950),
 pages 233-291. **Bib ref in:**
 Simón Díaz and Martínez Cachero (no. 335), 144.

- 149 García Puertas, Manuel. Jovellanos. Montevideo: Organización Medina,
 1954 (folleto galardonado con el "Premio Ministerio de Instrucción
 Pública", correspondiente a 1953), 87 pages.

This monograph gives a good overall survey of the thought and writings of Jovellanos, plus a brief biographical sketch. García Puertas begins by giving a concise and informative background study of Eighteenth Century Europe and Spain, its culture and ideology. He then discusses Jovellanos as a poet and dramatist, referring especially to Sátira a Arnesto, with its allusions to the immorality of the Court, and to the love sonnets. Like many others, García sees the influence of Fray Luis in the poems of Jovellanos and in his Descripción del castillo de Bellver, but he is possibly alone in noting also a similarity to Jorge Manrique.

García asserts that Jovellanos' influence in the New World was great: "el más grande precursor ideológico de la Revolución americana". As has been often observed, the effect of one's writings may be quite other than what he intends: Jovellanos, ever the foe of violence and revolution might have been surprised to know of his great influence in this area. Yet his unqualified hatred for injustice and oppression would certainly make him sympathetic to the cause of independence. He did believe in fair and equal representation for the colonies in the Cortes, but, inexplicably, he actually prevented this from becoming a reality. Apparently he believed that at that stage of developments such a harmonious resolution was no longer possible.

In this essay García Puertas, quoting liberally from Valbuena Prat, del Río, Barcia and others, has adequately synthesized the opinions of these scholars and added his own perspective, that of Spanish America.

150 García Rendueles, Enrique. Jovellanos y las ciencias morales y políticas, estudio crítico. Madrid: Jaime Ratés, 1913, 82 pages.

This study was awarded honorable mention in a contest sponsored by the Real Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas, and was one of several published by this body in 1913 on the subject of "Jovellanos y las ciencias morales y políticas".

In separate chapters Rendueles discusses the various facets of Jovellanos' thinking: Jovellanos y el derecho, J. Economista, J. político, J. y la educación pública, J. y las costumbres, J. patriota, J. historiador y crítico de artes, J. religioso.

Although Rendueles is fairly comprehensive and objective in his treatment, he cites Cándido Nocedal frequently, and generally echoes

his traditionalist views. He does, however, criticize Jovellanos for his recommendation that trade guilds be done away with, pointing out that: "es más difícil de llenar el vacío de una institución que se destruye que el amoldarla a las nuevas necesidades". (23). Rendueles differs with Jovellanos in his ideas on disentanglement, but asserts that in later life Jovellanos modified his extreme individualist stance.

Rendueles does not concur with Jovellanos' contention that the study of classical languages should be required only in certain areas, such as study for the priesthood, but asserts that it is of benefit as preparation for most professions.

The writer agrees with Jovellanos (or perhaps fails to note his irony) when he discusses the right of youth to choose a vocation: "¿Qué sería de una república donde fuese lícito a los niños arrojarse inconsideradamente a la profesión que les hiciese preferir su capricho? ¿Qué de males no resultarían de un sistema tan irracional y pernicioso!" (52). Caso González has noted in his introduction to Obras en Prosa (Clásicos Castalia, no. 85) that Jovellanos himself eschewed the ecclesiastical career for which he had been destined.

In this study, the author, while adding little to current understanding of Jovellanos' thought, has provided interesting personal reactions to his writings, which serve to illuminate early Twentieth Century patterns of traditionalist thinking.

151 Garrán, Constantino. "Efemérides nagerinas: Viaje de Jovellanos".

La Rioja, Logroño, mayo a julio de 1925.

Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no.345),602.

- 152 Geneste, Paul. Unpublished study on the sources of El delinciente honrado.

Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 212.

- 153 (Alvarez) Gendín, Sabino. "Jovellanos didáctico". Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, No. 1 (1947), 3-19.

Sabino A. Gendín, director of the Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, gives in this article a fairly comprehensive survey of the writings of Jovellanos in the field of education.

In separate sections he discusses his works on style (grammar, rhetoric, etc.), his general studies on education, his treatises on primary and secondary education, and his works concerning religious and moral instruction. (where Gendín compares don Gaspar's ideas with those of Jaime Balmes). The author continues with discussions of Jovellanos' writings on physical education and higher education, as well as the teaching of the humanities. He concludes with the customary sections concerning Jovellanos' religious and political orthodoxy.

- 154 Giménez Caballero, Ernesto. "El centenario de Jovellanos. Su mensaje a Arnesto". Revista de Estudios Políticos, Vol. IX (1944), 149-169. Also published separately in Afirmaciones sobre Asturias, Oviedo, 1945, pages 25-48.

In this essay Giménez Caballero discusses the five poems addressed to Arnesto, whom Giménez identifies as Vargas Ponce, and analyzes the social satire they contain. He also examines Jovellanos' political

and social ideas, especially his humanism, and relates them to the course of Spanish thought throughout the centuries.

Jovellanos, a "corazón épico" rather than an "alma lírica", says Giménez, sought to reestablish the purely Spanish humanistic tradition interrupted by the Counter-reformation. But did not the humanism of the Renaissance have its origins partially in Greek and Roman culture transmitted to Spain through Italy? Some would assert, e.g., Sánchez Albornoz (no. 320), that the Baroque constitutes the real essence of Spain. There is no doubt that the Counterreformation shifted the course of Spanish thought and expression from humanistic to baroque forms, but it might be more exact to count these two tendencies as both essential aspects of the Spanish literary and cultural tradition, co-existing and often inharmoniously interacting.

Giménez believes that the effects of the Enlightenment in Spain were in final analysis malevolent: "el nuevo medio elegido por Jovellanos y los dieciochistas españoles resultara más catastrófico que el del barroquismo contrarreformista . . . Tan catastrófico que abocaría a la mismísima revolución". (150). But so far as I have been able to ascertain, the ilustrados, especially Jovellanos, always favored reform and gradual improvement rather than insurrection. In his Sátiras a Arnesto Jovellanos pointed to the many ills of Spain, but never advocated violence as a solution, as Giménez seems to indicate:

Los remedios que señala Jovellanos tienen dos etapas. Una, racionalista y científica (neoclásica). Pero, fracasada ésta, no ve otra solución que la violenta y romántica: el barreño en la mina. La revolución inaplazable! (161).

Giménez Caballero invokes an imaginative series of metaphors: Jovellanos is a new Prometheus, another Jove who descends from Olympus,

from the Covadonga of his Instituto to bring enlightenment (the coal from his mountains) to benighted Spain. He is a new Cid bent on the (economic) conquest of Spain: "el don Pelayo de la Economía". But failing to redeem Spain by means of rational evolution, this Asturian Goethe enters into his period of Sturm und Drang, "romántico y atroz", says Giménez, and evokes the "revolución de las masas". But here Giménez is inaccurate: Jovellanos perhaps foresaw the day when the bourgeoisie, and ultimately the proletariat would gain control, but although recognizing the validity of the popular uprising of 1808, he never advocated violence or revolution.

Giménez draws an analogy between Napoleon and "el nuevo tirano rojo de Europa", referring to Spain's recent civil war. He insists upon the European and antioriental ("antiroja") nature of Asturias, taking Jovellanos as exemplary of this tendency. Giménez, with the mind of an historian and the soul of a poet, has approached Jovellanos' poetry of social criticism from a novel viewpoint, but perhaps he was too close to the Sturm und Drang of Spain at the time of writing this study to speak unemotionally on another traumatic period of Spain's history with which he could find so many parallels.

155 Glendinning, Nigel. "Jovellanos en Bellver y su 'Respuesta al mensaje de Don Quijote' ". Mélanges à la mémoire de Jean Sarrailh, París: Centre de Recherche de l'Institut d'Estudes Hispaniques, 1966, pages 379-395.

Nigel Glendinning reproduces a long-lost poem by Jovellanos which the latter wrote while imprisoned in the Castle of Bellver.

The writer points out that although Jovellanos' incarceration brought him much misery, especially during the first years, the last part of his stay was not entirely unpleasant. There were conversations with church and military officials, walks, dinners, visits, opportunities to read and write, etc. In fact, says Glendinning, he led a more or less normal life after mid-1804.

The poem, which was considered lost, was recently found by Glendinning in a compilation of Eighteenth Century poetry in the Biblioteca Nacional. It satirizes the lack of judgment and system of certain writers on historical themes, criticizes the opinions expressed in Nicolás Pérez' Anti-Quijote, and ridicules Astarloa, who believed Basque to be the primitive language of Spain.

Glendinning concludes by asserting that this poem not only reflects Jovellanos' readings and preoccupation with reason, but also something of his intimate life, especially the happy, fun-loving side, so often neglected by commentators. This publication and commentary on a nearly unknown poem thus illuminates a little-discussed facet of don Gaspar's character.

- 156 Gómez, Mariano. "Jovellanos, magistrado". Jovellanos, su vida y obra, Homenaje del Centro Asturiano de Buenos Aires en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, con la adhesión de los Centros Asturianos de la Habana y México, Buenos Aires: La Prensa Médica Argentina, 1945, pages 331-432.

This article traces the history of Church-State relations in Spain, calling attention to the efforts of Carlos III to correct the

excessive domination of the Roman Church, and the political power of the Inquisition. The writer attacks Spanish religious fanaticism, giving credence to the adage that "España es el país mas católico y menos cristiano del mundo". (349). He affirms that Jovellanos was what he was in spite of his religious education. Here as elsewhere in the **work** Gómez bitterly proclaims his own religious bias.

The writer exposes his political sympathies as well by frequently comparing post-Napoleonic Spain to the contemporary post-Civil War scene, both examples, he says, of the "inacable tragedia de España". The writer quotes from Jovellanos' descriptions of rural Spain, pointing to the sad state of justice in these areas, and also from the Epístola del Paular, in which Jovellanos expresses his hatred for oppression and injustice.

Gómez concludes with a long analysis of El delincuente honrado, which he calls "de primorosa factura literaria de fondo atrayente y de trama entretenida e ingeniosa". Its defects, says Gómez, lie in its lengthy deliberations, its difuseness, and its declamatory style.

Caso González may be overly harsh in calling this article "deplorable", but its digressiveness and constantly acerbic political and religious bias leave little to recommend it.

157 Gómez Centurión, José. "Causas del destierro de Jovellanos". Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, LXIV (febrero, 1914), 227-231.

This diffuse and rather vague article discusses Jovellanos' banishment from court, his appointment to the ministry, and his

subsequent dismissal. Gómez Centurión believes that his banishment to Asturias was due to his progressive ideas and to his support of Cabarrús, accused of mismanaging funds of the newly-formed Banco de San Carlos. He declares that Jovellanos' appointment as ambassador to Russia was the work of the Queen, who wished to remove this high-minded reformer as far as possible from the court. Gómez affirms that don Gaspar's appointment to the ministry was through the influence of Cabarrús, who had been restored to favor. His dismissal, he suggests, may have been caused by certain ladies of the court, resentful of Jovellanos' uprightness.

Gómez' analysis of the causes of Jovellanos' persecution does little more than scratch the surface of the vastly complicated political and ecclesiastical reasons for his mistreatment. But without the benefit of Somoza's later research (no. 343), as well as that of del Río (no. 299), Helman (no. 183A), and Caso (no. 84), he should perhaps not be judged too harshly.

- 158 Gómez Centurión, José. "El concepto de la nobleza de linaje, según D. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos". Boletín de la Real Academia de la historia, LXV (julio-agosto, 1914), 5-11.

This essay serves as introduction to the speech made by Jovellanos before the Junta Central concerning the concept of nobility in which don Gaspar gives specific reasons for not sanctioning the founding of a Montepío for the aid of indigent members of the nobility of Madrid, asserting that it would be unconstitutional, useless and prejudicial to the State.

The introduction by Gómez Centurión discusses in somewhat abstruse terms the origin and idea of nobility, and recommends more detailed study of the subject.

Although criticizing Jovellanos' advocacy of disentanglement, he gives him credit for possessing one of the finest talents of his time and for presenting ideas still worthy of consideration in the Twentieth Century.

- 159 Gómez Centurión, José. "Idea general de los actos de Jovellanos resultantes de las sesiones de la Academia". Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, LIX (1911), 13-401.

Gómez Centurión narrates in detail Jovellanos' relations with the Real Academia de la Historia, his election and entrance into membership. He also comments upon Jovellanos' acceptance speech, entitled Sobre legislación española y la necesidad de unir a su estudio el de la Historia y las Antigüedades, noting especially its author's great erudition, lucidity and classic style.

This study would, perhaps, be of interest to those concerned with the annals of the Real Academia de la Historia.

- 160 Gómez Centurión, José. "Jovellanos. Apuntes biográficos inéditos por Ceán Bermúdez". Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, LIX (1911), 483-487.

This brief and factual biography was found in the Biblioteca Nacional by Gómez Centurión, who believes its handwriting to be that

of Ceán Bermúdez. It contained considerable information concerning Jovellanos not current at the time of its publication. It is interesting as well, as a reflection of the worshipful deference with which Ceán wrote of his great mentor and friend.

- 161 Gómez Centurión, José. "Jovellanos en el Real Consejo de las Ordenes Militares". Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, LIX (dic., 1911) 387, 388, 487, LX (enero, abril, mayo, julio-sept., oct, nov, 1912), 322-379, 426, LXI (feb, 1913), 20-101, 233-314, 370-431.

Gómez Centurión offers a traditional panegric in honor of the centenary of Jovellanos' birth. He also calls attention to the fact that Jovellanos was admitted to the Orden Militar de Alcántara and is listed in the catalog of the Order. Gómez indicates his intention of publishing in a future issue of the Boletín the "expediente de probanzas de limpieza de sangre y nobleza", until then unedited in the Archivo Histórico Nacional. This is accomplished in succeeding issues of the Boletín (LX, LXI).

- 162 Gómez Centurión, José. "Jovellanos en la Guerra de la Independencia", Invitación del general francés Horacio Sebastiani y patriótica respuesta. Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, LXIV (febrero, 1914), 231-235.

Gómez Centurión has reproduced here the letter by Horacio Sebastiani inviting Jovellanos to become a part of the French government of occupation and that of Jovellanos rejecting the offer. Gómez Centurión refers to the indignant yet well-reasoned letter as a model of patriotism



and a great source of inspiration for Spaniards to continue their struggle against the invador. He notes that the French withdrawal was as much due to the exigencies of the war elsewhere in Europe as to Spanish resistance. Academic in style, Gómez is fair-minded in his assessment of the total Spanish situation.

- 163 Gómez Centurión, José. Jovellanos y los colegios de las órdenes militares en la Universidad de Salamanca, Colección de documentos interesantes, en su casi totalidad inéditos, con notas y comentarios, insertos en el Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia. Tomos LXVIII-LXIV. Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico de Fortanet, 1913, 389 pages.

This volume, assembled by Gómez Centurión in commemoration of the centenary of Jovellanos' death, and authorized by the Real Academia de la Historia, contains nearly all the documents relative to Jovellanos' work in reorganizing the Colegio de Calatrava in Salamanca. It contains the complete text of the Reglamento, plus many other documents of some interest to researchers. The volume contains as well a collection of letters and documents concerning Jovellanos' imprisonment in Bellver, his statement concerning nobility in connection with the proposed Montepío for nobles, and concludes with the letter of Horacio Sabastiani inviting Jovellanos to join forces with the French invaders and don Gaspar's patriotic reply.

Gómez Centurión has supplied headings for the various documents and letters, but has included almost no footnotes or other explanatory material. His introduction consists largely of a panegyric notable for its academic eloquence.

- 164 Gómez de la Serna, Gaspar. "Asturianismo de Jovellanos: su raíz, su obra, su nostalgia". Estafeta Literaria, Nos. 402-404 (1968), 18-20.

Although in many ways cosmopolitan and well versed in the enlightened thought proceeding from France and England, Jovellanos, says the writer, always remained loyal to his native province and intimately concerned with its problems.

Gómez de la Serna points out don Gaspar's interest in Asturias, mentioning his availability for consultation on Asturian affairs while in Madrid; his study of the arts; his establishing of the Asturian Academy of the Fine Arts; his preparing of a dictionary of Bable as well as one on Asturian geography.

- 165 Gómez de la Serna, Gaspar. Jovellanos entre cuatro fuegos. Madrid: Colegio Mayor Diego de Covarrubias, 1946, 43 pages.

In this probing monograph the writer seeks to situate Jovellanos within the great social, political and ideological currents of Spain and Europe during the last years of the Eighteenth Century and the beginning ones of the Nineteenth.

Jovellanos, says Gómez, was a true prototype of the Spanish ilustrado, but as an eclectic, dispassionately practical, especially in political matters, and essentially tolerant, he was able to accomodate and harmonize seemingly disparate ideas. The War of Independence represented the demise of the Enlightenment in Spain, even though Jovellanos cherished the hope of reviving its ideals after the war; it began as well the liberal-absolutist dichotomy which was to plague

Spain during the next century and even after. This study constitutes a lucid analysis of a complicated historical epoch, and of Jovellanos' position in it.

- 166 González, Julio V. "Jovellanos y la emancipación argentina". Jovellanos, su vida y obra, Homenaje del Centro Asturiano de Buenos Aires en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, con adhesión de los centros Asturianos de la Habana y México, Buenos Aires: La Prensa Médica Argentina, 1945, pages 643-694. (Title listed in index as: "Influencia de las ideas de Jovellanos en la gesta emancipadora argentina").

The writer compares the Spanish revolution to the struggle for independence in Argentina. He traces the course of Spanish liberalism and economic thought in the Eighteenth Century as well as Jovellanos' economic concepts, declaring that the causes of the Argentine rebellion were fundamentally economic. The work of Jovellanos of most influence in Argentina, says González, was his Informe sobre la Ley Agraria, but Memoria sobre la educación pública and Memoria sobre el libre ejercicio de las artes were also much read.

- 167 González Blanco, Andrés. "Cartas de Moratín a Jovellanos". (Prólogo y notas de A.G.B.) La Lectura, Revista de Ciencias y de Artes, Madrid, setiembre y octubre de 1910, Nos. 117, 118. 53-66.

Moratín's letters are discussed and analyzed, but Jovellanos is mentioned little. Moratín once described Jovellanos as "todo miel, y azúcar, y manteca de Flandes, y huebos moles". One might assume that

these purportedly intimate letters were written more with posterity in mind than to communicate with Jovellanos.

- 168 González Blanco, Edmundo. "Asturias en la Diplomacia: Los tratados de España y Jovellanos". Norte, enero de 1931.
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no.345), 603.

- 169 González Blanco, Edmundo. "El patriotismo de Jovellanos". Conferencia explicada el 31 de agosto de 1911, El Ateneo de Gijón en el primer centenario de Jovellanos, Gijón, 1911, pages 25-42.

González Blanco points out that Jovellanos' supreme confidence in education and in material progress was not entirely warranted, for they at times bring war rather than peace and prosperity. In this somewhat oratorical panegyric the writer may exaggerate the similarities of thought between don Gaspar and Joaquin Costa. He asserts that the ideas of these two innovators are finding fruition in contemporary (early Twentieth Century) Spain.

The writer calls attention to the fact that Jovellanos, in spite of possessing the modesty of a truly wise man, never shunned renown. This natural aspiration to be well thought of and remembered by posterity, says González, is a "vasto corolario" of intense patriotism.

- 170 González Blanco, Edmundo. "Glorias asturianas: Jovellanos y la ideología de su época:." Norte, Revista mensual asturiana, Madrid, Año II, no. 4 (febrero, 1930), p. 1, 2.

González sees Jovellanos as completely a man of his time, a posibilista and a reformer, although never a revolutionary. But Jovellanos was not so completely out of sympathy with the antiguo régimen as González implies. Also, his economic philosophy differed somewhat from that of the physiocrats and he was opposed to the principle of national sovereignty, always insisting that supreme power resided in the monarch rather than in the people.

Jovellanos was, as González asserts, in tune with the philosophical thought of the epoch; nevertheless, he remained essentially an eclectic who espoused or rejected ideas and concepts according to his own perspective, enlightened and optimistic, yet at the same time prudent and pragmatic.

171 González-Blanco, Edmundo. Jovellanos, su vida y obra. Madrid: Imprenta Artística, 1911, 154 pages.

González-Blanco affirms in his prologue that in preparing this little book as a tribute to Jovellanos on the centenary of his death he did not aim to analyze his doctrines, but rather simply to outline his personality in its various aspects. He begins with a biographical sketch in which he notes especially Jovellanos' friendship with the progressive Conde de Aranda, who convinced him to perform his judicial duties in Seville without the traditional wig. He mentions the Sevillian writings of Jovellanos in the field of penal reform, in which he advocates humane treatment of criminals.

In his lengthy discussion of Jovellanos' ideas on economics, González-Blanco notes especially the influence of Buckle, and Jovellanos'

objections to baldíos and to the power of the Mesta. In his comments on drama the writer points out the quasi-literal phrases of Montesquieu and Beccaria found in El delincuente honrado, and Jovellanos' imitation of French drama in Pelayo.

González, like other critics of the early Twentieth Century, concludes with little positive to say about the literature of the Eighteenth Century. Except for the prose of Jovellanos and the poetry of Quintana, he finds it a period of "palidez literaria y poesía descolorida", (69) characterized by puerility, frivolity, hypocritical affectation, lack of real emotion, and by the erroneous notion that beauty and symmetry are synonymous. In spite of this negative assertion concerning the century, the book is a relatively comprehensive survey of Jovellanos' life and works.

172 González Cobo, A. "La obra predilecta de Jovellanos". Sí, suplemento semanal del diario Arriba, Madrid, Número homenaje a Jovellanos en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, Año III(9 de enero de 1944), p. 14.

The "obra predilecta" of Jovellanos was public education, declares González, pointing especially to his profound understanding and original ideas in this field. The writer recounts the founding of Jovellanos' Real Instituto Asturiano and outlines the educational ideas propounded by Jovellanos in his speech inaugurating the new school, noting particularly his high hopes for a Spain redeemed from poverty and cultural decadence. The writer, however, is extremely negative concerning the ultimate result of these proposed reforms, asserting bitterly: "La misma memoria del insigne patricio no ha inspirado ni inspira a los

españoles salvo alguna excepción, la admiración y el amor que merece".

- 173 González Galé, J. "Jovellanos y los problemas económico-sociales".
Cursos y Conferencias, Buenos Aires, XXVI (n.d.), pages 177-191.
Bib. ref. in: Ritter (no. 304), 342.
- 174 González García, L. Fabriciano (Fabricio). "Charla semanal semi-jovellanista". El Comercio, Gijón, 29 de enero, 1944.
Bib. ref. in: Simón Díaz and Martínez Cachero (no. 335), 147.
- 175 González García, L. Fabriciano, (Fabricio). "Charlas Jovellanista".
El Comercio, Gijón.
Bib. ref. in: Simón Díaz and Martínez Cachero (no. 335), 145, 146.
- I. Del antiguo Gijón docente. 2-VII-1943.
- II. La familia. 4-IX-43.
- III. Afinidades familiares. 12-IX-43
- IV. Jovellanos: su retrato. 6-X-43.
- V. Primeras orientaciones de Jovellanos. 12-X-43.
- VI. El alcalde del crimen, 17-X-43.
- VII. Jovellanos, asturianista. 17-XII-43.
- VIII. Jovellanos y la misa del gallo. 26-XII-43.
- IX. Sugerencias. 30-XII-43.
- X. El natalicio. 6-I-1944.
- XI. 7 enero 1794. Feal Instituto Asturiano. 7-I-44.
- XII. Del Instituto Asturiano: Efimérides del 8 al 13 enero 1794.
9-I-44.
- XIII. ¿Con qué se lo pagaremos? 16-I-44.

- XIV. Contra envidia, caridad: contra ira, paciencia. 23-I-44.
- XV. Charla jovellanista. 27-I-44.
- XVI. Por los fueros de la verdad. 30-I-44.
- XVII. Jovellanos, pacifista. 8-II-44.
- XVIII. Jovellanos, poeta. 15-II-44.
- XIX. Jovellanos, gijonés. 20-II-44.
- XX. Jovellanos y la Ley Agraria. 15-III-44.
- XXI. Jovellanos y Marzo. 22-III-44.
- XXII. Jovellanos, católico. 18-IV-44.
- XXIII. Labor ministerial. 25-IV-44.
- XXIV. Causas de su exoneración y prisión. 2-V-44.
- XXV. Jovellanos en el destierro. 9-V-44.
- XXVI. Del Instituto. 30-V-44.
- XXVII. Jovellanos, carbonero. 27-VI-44.
- XXVIII. Política carbonera. 4-VII-44.
- XXIX. Jovellanos y la guerra. 11-VII-44.
- XXX. Jovellanos y las mujeres. 25-VII-44.
- XXXI. Las mujeres y Jovellanos. 22-VIII-44.
- XXXII. "De re rústica". 5-IX-44.
- XXXIII. Jovellanos en la escultura. 13-X-44.
- XXXIV. Jovellanos en la pintura. 18-X-44.
- XXXV. Jovellanos, humorista. 8-XI-44.
- XXXVI. Jovellanos, patriota. 10-XI-44.
- XXXVII. Muerte de Jovellanos. 30-XI-44.

176 González García, L. Fabriciano (Fabricio). "La Real Academia asturiana".
El comercio, Gijón, 19 de diciembre, 1943.
 Bib. ref. in Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no.345), 604.

- 177 González García, L. Fabriciano, (Fabricio). "Somoza, jovellanista". Sí, suplemento semanal del diario, Arriba, Madrid, Número homenaje a Jovellanos en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, Año III (9 de enero de 1944), p. 13.

"Fabricio" has here competently delineated the enigmatic personality of Julio Somoza, the great bibliographer to whom jovellanistas owe so much. He offers an opinion concerning the confusion caused by the two different names Somoza used to sign his publications. This is a remarkably revealing vignette of a man without whom Jovellanos studies would be inestimably poorer.

- 178 González Llana, José. "El sistema social de don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos". Revista General de Legislación y Jurisprudencia, Madrid, no. 77, CLII (1928), 540-550.

This article provides a good overall resumé of Jovellanos' thought concerning the nature of man and his relation to society. González Llana emphasizes especially Jovellanos' ideas on man's need for society, his rights and obligations, legal equality but natural heirarchic order.

Somewhat surprisingly the author speaks of Jovellanos' radicalism in juridical matters. Although moderation and equilibrium were essential to Jovellanos' personality, González may be somewhat justified, for Jovellanos' opposition to all unnecessary abridgement of freedom, his advocacy of judicial reform, abolition of torture and improvement of the social status of women must have seemed radical indeed in his day.

- 179 González Palencia, Angel. "Jovellanos y el patriotismo". Consigna, Madrid, Año I, No. 38, pages 37-38.

Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 604.

González Palencia, Angel. "Tonadilla mandada recoger por Jovellanos". Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo del Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Vol. I (abril de 1924), 138-142. Also in Entre dos siglos (Estudios literarios), Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1943, 125-135.

This article reprints a popular tonadilla which Jovellanos heard sung at a theatrical performance he witnessed in 1799 while Alcalde de Casa y Corte in Madrid. Titled Tonadilla del guapo, it was sung by the popular comic singer, Polonia. The theme was an altercation between a contrabandista and a judge, in which the judge became the object of much hilarity.

Offended by the performance, Jovellanos the next day had the tonadilla confiscated and decreed that it should not be used in the theatre again. González Palencia notes that contrabandistas were not commonly considered to be dishonorable unless caught, and that then as now this was a very difficult problem to deal with.

González Prieto, Francisco. Monografía de Jovellanos, Vida y obras del insigne gijonés, gloria de Asturias y honra de España; conmemorando su Primer Centenario dedicado a la Colonia Americana, y precedida de una Oda por su paisano, el autor, F.G.P. Gijón: La fe, 1911, 16 pages.

The monograph, part of an unpublished manuscript concerning Gijón, provides a brief biography and mentions most of Jovellanos' more important writings, examining briefly his criticism of art, architecture and literature. The writer affirms that Jovellanos had great influence on Spanish literature through his elegant prose and his efforts to renovate the Spanish theatre. He seems somewhat confused, however, in speaking of Jovellanos' influence over Moratín, Meléndez, Fray Diego González, Forner, "y otros muchos con quienes fundó la escuela sevillana sobre las tradiciones poéticas de Herrera" (9). The poets of Jovellanos' generation received their inspiration largely from Horace and Fray Luis, while the escuela sevillana, active nearly a quarter century later, although cognizant of the great Golden Age Sevillian poet, was more indebted to Rioja than to Herrera. Jovellanos' influence over Moratín was probably slight, even though they corresponded, and it is well known that Jovellanos and Forner were ideologically much opposed.

The writer criticizes Jovellanos for advocating political and civil liberty and for recommending scientific studies without moral and religious training:

Todo su afán se reducía a hacer de España una nación rica, poderosa, ilustrada y libre; lo cual es imposible sin honradez, nobleza, dignidad, fe virtud y catolicismo práctico. (11).

Had Gonzalez read Jovellanos' treatises on education?

The writer also excoriates the Informe sobre la Ley Agraria, "única obra que no debiera publicarse", especially attacking Jovellanos' statements on disentailment. "Además era semilla perniciosa, la exagerada preferencia que daba al estudio de las ciencias físiconaturales, y la creación de escuelas en vez de seminarios, desterrando de las aulas el

espíritu escolástico, y las prácticas que él llamaba rutinarias". González also finds objectionable Jovellanos' criticism of the guilds and his belief in freedom of work. Religious sentiment and the spirit of Christianity are abandoned, he says, in favor of positivism and "espíritu frío y egoista". He commends the Inquisition for placing Ley Agraria on the Index in 1827 and agrees with the Bishop of Lugo who in 1799 called him liberal and encyclopedist.

This somewhat partisan and ill-informed commentary forms a poignant corroboration of the dictum of a contemporary scholar that the beginning of wisdom is reading the text.

182 Helman, Edith. "Some consequences of the Publication of the Informe de la Ley Agraria by Jovellanos". Estudios Hispánicos (Homenaje a Archer M. Huntington), Wellesley, Mass., 1952, 253-273. (See 183a).

183 Helman, Edith. Jovellanos y Goya, Madrid: Taurus, 1970.

Four essays in this collection by Helman treat Jovellanos:

(a) "Algunos antecedentes de la persecución de Jovellanos", pp. 33-69.

This essay is an amplified version of one originally published in English (no. 182). It discusses the possible reasons for Jovellanos' banishment in 1790, for his appointment to the ministry in 1797 and dismissal nine months later, as well as for his subsequent imprisonment.

The writer points out that Jovellanos was loath to publish his Informe sobre la Ley Agraria and also his Memoria sobre la policía

de espectáculos y diversiones públicas for fear of the Inquisition, but took comfort in the realization that one is better off writing for posterity rather than for his contemporaries.

For the imprisonment of Jovellanos Helman gives the blame to Jovellanos' successor, Caballero, whom Godoy called "hombre de Satanás", supported by other powerful elements, among them the returning Jesuits, the universities, and the Santo Oficio.

(b) "El humanismo de Jovellanos, pp. 15-31, An amplified version of an article with the same title published in Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, XV (1961), 519-528.

In this article Edith Helman draws parallels between the intellectual and philosophical climates of Sixteenth and Eighteenth Century Spain, and between the humanism of Juan Luis Vives and that of Jovellanos two and one-half centuries later.

Both the Renaissance and the Enlightenment were periods when humanism predominated in intellectual circles, says Helman, but in the Eighteenth Century, along with interest in the ancient classics, a new sense of social responsibility developed. Juan Luis Vives, with his lively social consciousness, was not typical of the Renaissance but more akin to enlightened humanists such as Jovellanos. Both Vives and Jovellanos were educators by temperament; both believed in the harmonious development of the total personality and in the articulation of humanism with Christianity, looking toward the perfection of the individual; both were concerned with practical education for all men, as well as in pure science; both sought purer and more authentic religious forms.

Helman points out that both lived in risky times marked by spiritual crisis and the desire to expand Man's horizons. She notes

that both were exiles, Vives from his country and Jovellanos from his time, but one could as well put it the other way: Vives was certainly an exile from his time and Jovellanos from his country, at least during his Mallorcan period (banishment to one's homeland is not really exile). Helman likewise points out that both were keen social critics, Vives using irony and Jovellanos satire, but here again the obverse may be equally true.

The second part of the study deals with the humanism of Jovellanos: his insistence on noblesse oblige, his antimonasticism and criticism of superstitious religious practices. But unlike his French contemporaries, don Gaspar's aim was to strengthen and purify religion rather than destroy it, Helman observes. Jovellanos, she notes, recommended the study of both the sciences and humanities, especially of Spanish antiquity when the nobility and clergy felt real social responsibility. Always believing in reform rather than revolution, Jovellanos looked for gradual progress toward a distant but foreseeable perfection.

In most of the above-mentioned categories Vives and Jovellanos were kindred spirits as well, and one could with little difficulty extend the analogy even further. Helman, in drawing a parallel between these two great thinkers as each viewed and commented upon the ills of his century, has helped Twentieth Century readers to understand not only those distant periods, but perhaps in some measure their own contemporary society as well.

(c) "Una 'Sátira' de Jovellanos sobre teatro y toros"., pp.71-90. Also in Papeles de Son Armadans, LIII (1969), 9-30.

Helman comments upon a satire by Jovellanos published in 1797 in the Diario de Madrid bearing the initials "J. Ll.". This poem, appearing not long after the first public reading of his Memoria para el arreglo de la policía de los espectáculos públicos y sobre su origen en España, expresses virtually the same opinions as the much longer prose work, originally commissioned by the Supremo Consejo de Castilla.

In this article Helman discusses in detail Jovellanos' defense of the theatre and his attacks on the corrida, concluding quite accurately that the criticism of the ilustrados neither served to reform the one nor proscribe the other.

In her commentary on the satirical poem Helman makes an interesting comparison between the social commentary of Jovellanos and the visual one found in Goya's Caprichos.

(d) "Jovellanos y el pensamiento inglés", pp. 91-109.

The author here deals with Jovellanos' English sources, giving especial attention to the personal relations between Jovellanos and the British consul to La Coruña, Alexander Jardine, and to his friendship and correspondence with Lord Vassall Holland.

Based on her own research in England, Helman recounts Jovellanos' relationship and correspondence with Jardine, which continued sporadically between 1793 and 1799.

Helman points out that although Jovellanos and Lord Holland agreed in many areas, the latter was much more vehement in his defense of freedom of the press than was his Spanish friend. Jovellanos, says the writer, became more conservative in his later years, failing to realize that with the new century times had changed, and that after his release from Bellver he continued to repeat ideas formulated in the eighties and nineties which no longer served.

184 Helman, Edith. Trasmundo de Goya. Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1963, 261 pages.

This book studies in depth the painting and drawing of Goya, focusing especially on the Caprichos and relating them to the thought and spirit of the Spanish Enlightenment. Helman believes that when Goya began to receive recognition from the ilustrados he adopted their liberal and reformist way of thought, viewing the life of the common people with a certain detachment. Here the writer is developing an idea propounded by Ortega, with whom she studied, and to whom she gives due credit.

Jovellanos is mentioned frequently throughout the book, and Chapter III, "Perspectiva de la ilustración: Jovellanos y Goya", is devoted almost entirely to an analysis of the Caprichos in the light of Jovellanos' thinking, which Helman believes affected Goya profoundly.

In his Capricho number 2, which Helman calls "uno de los más trascendentales", Goya quotes literally from Jovellanos' first Sátira a Arnesto: "El sí pronuncian y la mano alargan/ Al primero que llega", but Helman is careful to point out that the artist's intention is not to illustrate the text, but rather to "apuntar una situación de la actualidad, análoga a la de la sátira, de una palpitante realidad y de gran trascendencia, para Jovellanos y para la patria". (126).

Helman has been able to show convincingly that in many of the Caprichos and in some of the paintings there is definite influence of Jovellanos, e.g., Resguardo del tabaco and El albañil herido. In the diaries of Jovellanos she finds many social comments which are echoed in the Caprichos. The drawing of the criminal being flogged through the streets bears the title "No hubo remedio" which Helman interprets to

mean that social conditions left the victim no other choice. She also relates this epigraph to Jovellanos' unhappy experience in the Ministry, which he began with the apprehensive remark: "no hay remedio", and to his unsuccessful attempt to reform the Inquisition.

At times it seems that Helman's analogies are a bit strained. Judging from the notable infrequency with which Jovellanos mentions Goya in his diaries and other writings one wonders if the relationship was really as intimate as she implies. But her point is well taken: the similarity of the social comment of the two is undeniable.

The book is illustrated with 138 fine black and white illustrations, but these might have been better indexed to facilitate referring to them as one reads the text.

There is included an excellent bibliography concerning Goya. The appendix, which quotes some of the more important "explanations" of the Caprichos is illustrative of the complete obfuscation offered by Goya's well-meaning but somewhat vapid critics.

This book is indeed a real contribution to the understanding not only of the art of Goya but of Jovellanos' relationship to it.

185 Herr, Richard. The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958, 484 pages.

This fine treatise on Eighteenth Century Spain mentions Jovellanos often; Chapter XV is entitled "Jovellanos, Urquijo, and the Jansenist offensive". Here the author, who has done extensive research in the annals of the Inquisition and in numerous other primary sources,

explores the controversy between the Jansenists and the ultramontanes, who were allied with the Jesuits and the Santo Oficio, and especially Jovellanos' relation to this altercation.

This book not only gives an excellent overall view of political and philosophical currents in Eighteenth Century Spain, but intelligently probes the religious and ideological controversy which led to the persecution of Jovellanos. It presents an important perspective on this and other aspects of Jovellanos' life and thought.

186 Herr, Richard. España y la revolución del siglo XVIII. Translator: E. Fernández Mel, Madrid: Aguilar, 1964.

187 Herrero de Collantes, Ignacio, Marqués de Aledo. Prólogo a Colección de Asturias, reunida por D. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, 4 vols., Madrid: Gráficas Reunidas, 1947-1954. Vol. I, 307 pages.

Volume one contains the transcripts of some 219 documents, over half written in Latin, which were originally collected by Jovellanos, principally between 1790 and 1801, and which are now stored in the archives of the Real Academia de Historia in Madrid. The Marqués de Aledo, who is responsible for their publication has written a brief foreword in which he calls attention to Jovellanos' love of his native province, his interest in its history, traditions and customs, and his vocation and ability as an historian. (See no. 41).

188 Holland, Lady Elizabeth Vassal Fox. The Spanish Journals of Lady Holland, ed. Earl of Ilchester. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1910, 420 pas.

This charming Journal presents a panorama of the years of the War of Independence through the eyes of an intelligent and extremely perceptive young woman. During the two years she spent in Spain with her husband and son, Jovellanos was a frequent visitor in their home, and shared with Lord and Lady Holland all his preoccupations concerning the conduct of the war and the government of Spain.

Lady Holland recounts her husband's efforts to have Jovellanos released from prison, attempts which were always frustrated by the hatred of Godoy, she affirms. She intuitively surmises that the reason for Jovellanos' being transferred from Valdemosa to Bellver was that Godoy resented don Gaspar's appealing directly to the king for a fair hearing. She likewise intuits that the cause of Jovellanos' dismissal from the ministry was the personal relationship between María Luisa and Godoy.

One is continually impressed with the important part played by Jovellanos in the conducting of the war: generals reported to him directly, requesting reinforcements or supplies. Jovellanos is mentioned with great frequency throughout the journals, and always with the greatest affection and admiration.

Lady Holland makes the surprising assertion, perhaps colored by her own boundless devotion, that were he younger, he would destroy the Junta "which is in its form vicious", and direct the government himself. She indicates the popular disgust with the Junta, but excepts Jovellanos from this judgment, noting the esteem of the public for his moderation and firmness.

These diaries are important as the lively account of a discerning although not entirely impartial spectator, privy to much of the correspondence and deliberations concerning a crucial period in Spanish history.

- 189 Holland, Henry Richard Vassall, Third Lord. Further Memoirs of the Whig Party, 1807-1821, with some miscellaneous reminiscences. New York: Dutton, 1905, pages 13, 368-369.

Lord Holland lists the many accomplishments of his "amiable philosophical friend", calling his El delincuente honrado a work of great merit, but referring to Pan y Toros as "generally attributed to him". (The attribution was, of course, erroneous.) Holland mentions as well Jovellanos' versatility of talent, correctness of taste and purity of style, noting also that as a connoisseur of painting Jovellanos published many articles in the Biblioteca de bellas artes.

The sincere and unqualified praise from this foreigner is a fine tribute to Jovellanos' character.

- 190 Iden, Otto. Article concerning Jovellanos in Handwörterbuch der Sozialwissenschaften, Vol. 5, Göttingen, 1956.
Bib. ref. in: Ritter (no. 304), 342.
- 191 Ilie, Paul. "Picturesque Beauty in Spain and England: Aesthetic Rapports between Jovellanos and Gilpin". Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, XIX, No. 2 (Winter, 1960), 167-174.

In this innovative and even brilliant study Ilie demonstrates the depth of his understanding not only of Jovellanos' thought and sensibility, but also of esthetic theory in general.

Ilie points out that despite his fundamental neoclassical-preromantic duality, Jovellanos is notably free from inconsistencies in his thinking, due largely to the persistence of neoclassic principles,

even during his later years. He finds in the earlier Jovellanos (pre-1790) three sets of counterpoised tendencies: a) Sensationalist doctrine and Catholicism, b) the idealism of Mengs and the realism of Velázquez, c) reverence for the classics and the belief in the use of nature for literary and artistic production, with the more staid neoclassical influences and French rationalism in the ascendancy. But with the disillusionment of exile and imprisonment, the more emotional romantic tendencies such as descriptions of untamed nature and scenes of desolation, as well as melancholic introspection became dominant, although still coexisting with thoughts concerning geometrical order and moral beauty, together with philosophical and historical contemplation.

While imprisoned, says Ilie, Jovellanos read Londres et les Anglais by Count Jean-Louis Ferri de Saint Constant, being especially impressed with the author's references to English landscape gardening and the picturesque school of beauty fathered by William Gilpin. Jovellanos was essentially subjective and sensationalist in his view of reality, although like Condillac, he never relinquished belief in a supreme being and in the existence of the soul. The English landscape garden tended to abolish the atemporality and spacial limitations of the formal classical garden, intimating, rather, the awesomeness of nature and man's relative frailty.

Jovellanos the poet intuited the potentialities of this new romantic trend, but as an economist and pragmatist he combined with it a moral-didactic sense and a belief in progress, particularly in agriculture, often essentially equating beauty with fertility. With his

great faith in human potentiality he believed nature could be encouraged to be productive as well as ornamental, and that the natural state could be improved. Believing that rules of aesthetics and proportion apply to nature as well as to art, he found in architecture a way to the understanding of nature, art and even man himself.

Since Jovellanos was deprived of direct participation in nature because of his imprisonment, his attention turned inward, and became a sort of spiritual communication. Ilie asserts, however, that this intimacy with nature, combined with his belief in man's ability to alter it, precludes a sense of awe, essential to the esthetic perception of the beautiful and the sublime.

Although participating in many of its characteristics, Jovellanos remained "on the shores of Romanticism", Ilie declares, "standing at the turn of the century apart from the agitated waters into which picturesque theory was a brief and tentative immersion".

192 Infiesta, Ramón. "Jovellanos y la nacionalidad cubana". Jovellanos, su vida y obra, Homenaje del Centro Asturiano de Buenos Aires en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, con la adhesión de los centros Asturianos de la Habana y México, Buenos Aires: La Prensa Médica Argentina, 1945, pages 695-703. (Title listed in index as: "Jovellanos en los orígenes de la nacionalidad cubana").

The author points out the great influence of Informe sobre la Ley Agraria in the stormy course toward Cuban nationalism, showing that some agricultural producers twisted its intent, and found in it support for their practical mercantilism and at times high-handed practices.

193 Insausti, Sebastián de. "Visita a la iglesia del convento de S. Francisco de Tolosa en compañía de Jovellanos". Boletín de la Real Sociedad Vascongada de Amigos del País, San Sebastián, Tomo IX (1953), pages 537-544.

Bib. ref. in: Caso González, (no. 83), 213.

194 J. I. Review of "Espectáculos y diversiones públicas". El Castillo de Bellver, (Austral, 1937) Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1966, In Pazón y Fe, CLXXV (1967), 105.

"Espectáculos y diversiones públicas" is included in a volume titled El castillo de Bellver, but only Espectáculos is discussed in this review. The reviewer points out that Jovellanos was originally commissioned to write a treatise on public entertainment by the Consejo Supremo de Castilla in 1786. The substance of the review is found in his reference to Jovellanos as "el número uno de los hombres públicos de entonces" and to his work as "un documento histórico inestimable de la riqueza coreográfica de España".

195 J. L. C. Review of Poesías de Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, Edición crítica, prólogo y notas de José Caso González. Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, Oviedo, (1962). In Insula, No. 209 (1964), 3.

The reviewer rightly calls splendid this edition of Jovellanos' poetry, and an "acto de justicia que se debía al gran humanista asturiano". He remarks that much of the material was available, but it remained for Caso with his fortitude and determination to organize it and provide a

definitive critical edition. The author outlines Caso's introduction and the format of the book and concludes with well-deserved praise for Caso's achievement.

- 196 J.P.L. "Movimiento de la Biblioteca Municipal. Donativo jovellanista del Doctor Marco". Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo del Ayuntamiento de Madrid. Vol. I (1924), 263.

The writer recounts the receipt by the Municipal Library of a collection of books by and about Jovellanos, several of them first editions.

- 197 Juderías, Julián. Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, su vida, su tiempo, sus obras, su influencia social. Madrid: Jaime Batés Martín, 1913, 136 pages.

Of the several works concerning Jovellanos published in 1913 by the Real Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas this is one of the more factually presented and one of the more clearly written and readable. The book is also notable for its lucid, yet concise background information and for its explication of some of the basic philosophical and political concepts current in this period, as well as those espoused by Jovellanos.

Love of nature during the Eighteenth Century was much in vogue, thanks to the French philosophes, but in them it was a bit artificial; in Jovellanos, on the contrary, this feeling was entirely sincere and compelling, inspiring his most beautiful pages of both prose and poetry. The writer points out that this passion imbues profoundly all of Jovellanos'

thought. From the love of nature is derived a passion for justice, which Jovellanos sees as the basis for individual happiness and for social prosperity. This system, says Juderías, is much more humane and logical than that proposed by Rousseau: Jovellanos' love of nature, culture and the public good, together with his realism, prevent his falling into the contradictions and exaggerations of the latter. Because of his integrity there never existed in Jovellanos discrepancies between man and writer that are to be found in Rousseau.

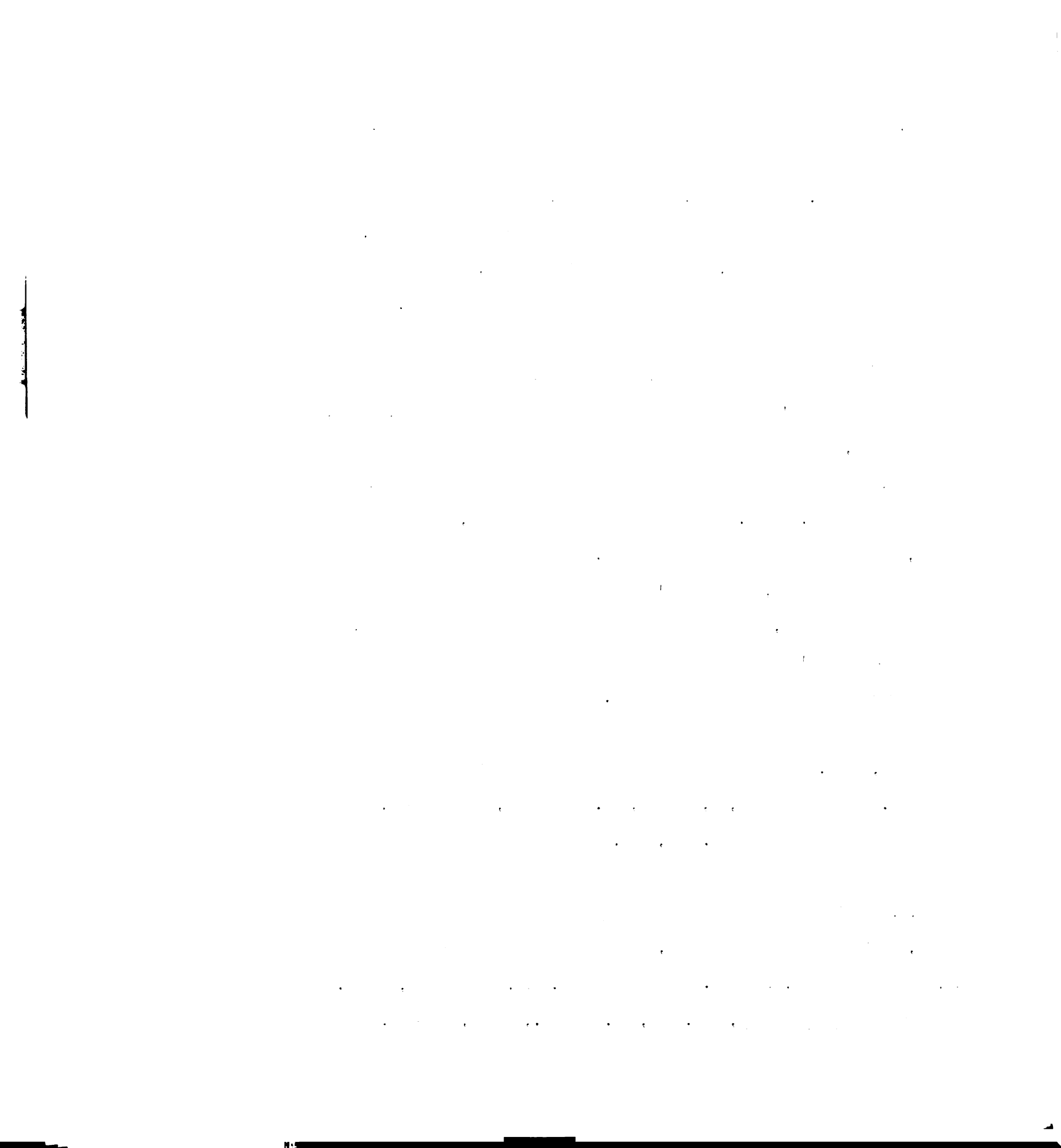
Jovellanos' third great love was for the Enlightenment, which, says Juderías, "es una consecuencia lógica de su amor a la naturaleza y al hombre, de su inclinación hacia lo bello y de su pasión por el bien y por la justicia". (71). The first duty of government, believed Jovellanos, was to promote this enlightenment.

For Juderías, Jovellanos' most outstanding characteristics were his universality, his sense of harmony and serenity of judgment.

Juderías' faculty for clarifying difficult philosophical concepts makes this book well worth reading.

- 198 Juretschke, Hans. "Los supuestos históricos e ideológicos de las Cortes de Cádiz". Nuestro Tiempo, 2, Madrid, no. 18 (1955), pages 13-35.
Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 198.

- 199 Kany C.E. Review of El delincuente honrado by Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, (Edition with introduction, notes exercises and vocabulary by H.C. Berkowitz and S.A. Wofsy. The Century Co. N.Y. and London, 1927). In Modern Language Journal, Vol. XII, no. 3 (Dec., 1927), 238-240.



In this review Kany comments on the style of El delincuente honrado, pointing out that it imitates, but lacks the grace of the French comédie larmoyante. He affirms that its style is usually clear and simple, and the ideas of its author bold and lofty, but "the play . . . , like most of his poetry is mediocre, uninspired and disappointing". Jovellanos, says Kany, was among the first to attempt the thesis play, discussing therein social problems of his time. He finds the play marked by "cloying sentimentality panoplied by a spirit of romanticism". The plot of the drama lacks interest for Kany, and for him the style is cold in spite of the floods of lágrimas. Since it is bereft of humor and of useful modern idiom the reviewer finds it unsuitable for use as a student text.

200 Knowlton, John F. "Two Epistles: Nuñez de Arce and Jovellanos". Romance Notes, VII (1965), 130-133.

Knowlton compares stylistically Jovellanos' "Fabio a Anfriso" with Nuñez de Arce's "La duda" (1868), showing the probable influence of the former on the latter, and more importantly, illustrating the basic differences between the poetry of the early and late Nineteenth Century.

201 Laín Entralgo, Pedro. Prologue to Jovellanos, anthology edited by Francisco Cienfuegos. Gijón: Artes Gráficas, 1969, 264 pages.

In this brief prologue Laín suggests that for Spaniards of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries Jovellanos has represented the missing of a great opportunity for the rational and peaceful transition from the

Antiguo Régimen to the modern world of political pluralism, democracy, religious tolerance, experimental science and industrialization. But, says Laín, his spirit of openmindedness, patriotism, tact, industry, patience, honesty, sense of duty, lives in many Spaniards, and is still potentially useful in solving the problems of late Twentieth Century Spain.

- 202 Lama y Leña, Rafael. Reseña histórica del Instituto de Jovellanos de Gijón. Gijón: Imp. Sangenés, 1902, 167 pages.
Bib. ref. in: Simón Díaz and Martínez Cachero (no. 335), 148.
- 203 Lázaro Carreter, Fernando. "Las ideas lingüísticas en España durante el siglo XVIII". Anejo XLVIII de la Revista de Filología Española, 1949, Paragraphs 25, 26, 68, 69. Also: Las ideas lingüísticas en España durante el siglo XVIII, Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1949.

For his Instituto Asturiano Jovellanos wrote a Curso de humanidades castellanas, which contained guidelines for the teaching of grammar, languages, rhetoric and declamation. Menéndez Pelayo has affirmed that these were merely adaptations of Hugh Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, but Lázaro Carreter refutes this notion, asserting that differences exist, notably ones of a theological nature. Although Blair admitted the possibility of divine origin of language, Jovellanos indicated that it was created by Man himself, with only the oral faculty being received from God: Lázaro somewhat inaccurately views Jovellanos as a complete rationalist, sensualist and nominalist, all departures from strict Catholic dogma, although, he says, we cannot doubt his sincere religiousness. In his Lecciones de retórica Lázaro finds that

Jovellanos follows Blair completely in his explanation of the development of language and is entirely in line with Eighteenth Century rationalist philosophy.

Basing his commentary on Jovellanos' attitude toward the study of Latin and Greek, initially recommending it and eventually attacking it vehemently, Lázaro Carreter sees a steady evolution in Jovellanos' linguistic ideas toward a surprising modernness of thought.

204 Lira Urquieta, Pedro. Jovellanos y Bello (Un paralelo jurídico). Santiago de Chile, 1944, 68 pages.

Bib. ref. in: Simón Díaz and Martínez Cachero (no. 335), 148.

205 Llabrés, Gabriel. "Jovellanos en Mallorca (1801-1808)". Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana, Tomo 4, Nos. 136 and 137 (1961), 112-117.

Gabriel Llabrés discusses Jovellanos' year of confinement in the Cartuja de Valldemosa, where he composed his unfinished Memoria sobre educación pública. The writer describes also the deprivations suffered by Jovellanos during his six-year imprisonment in Bellver and discusses his writings during this period. Llabrés doubts that the courses in French and English grammar promulgated by Jovellanos were actually used in the Instituto de Gijón, as Nocedal supposed.

206 Llabrés Bernal, Juan. "Diario de don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos en el Castillo de Bellver". Bolletí de la Socitat Arqueológica Luliana, XXII, (1929), 373-382; XXIII (1930), 75-79, 173-176, 187-189.

In 1903 Julio Somoza began to publish Jovellanos' diaries written while in Bellver (February 20, 1806 to January 24, 1807) in the

Revista de Huesca founded and directed by Gabriel Llabrés, father of the present writer, but publication was halted the following year. Thus, in 1929 Juan Llabrés Bernal decided to complete his father's work by publishing the remaining entries (July 7, 1806 to January 24, 1807). This was accomplished in several installments, the final one consisting of a useful appendix which lists Jovellanos' reading during this period, friends he mentions, places he visited, etc.

This diary was apparently written by Jovellanos' secretary, Manuel Martínez Marina, and contains little of the "vida íntima" which its editor claims for it.

207 Llabrés y Quintana, Gabriel. "Diarios de Jovellanos". Revista de Huesca, 1903.

Bib. ref. in: Llabrés Bernal, Juan (no. 205), XII, 373.

208 Llorens, Vicente. "Jovellanos y Blanco: en torno al Semanario Patriótico de 1809". Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, XV (1961), 262-278.

This article deals from an historical perspective with the newspaper published from May through August of 1809, and illuminates the political climate of wartime Seville as well as the thinking of Jovellanos during the period of his participation in the Junta Central.

According to Jovellanos, the suspension of the Semanario Patriótico was voluntary on the part of its editor, Blanco White, and was caused by his pique at being reproved for his candidness. Llorens, however, proves with convincing documentation that the facts were somewhat different and much more complicated. The censor of the journal was paradoxically its founder, the liberal-minded Quintana, sympathetic to Blanco,

but eventually forced to bow to the wishes of the Junta Central and order its suspension.

There is no doubt that Jovellanos was misinformed in this matter, says Llorens: "no estaba muy al tanto de las maniobras 'rateras' que otros urdieron contra el Semanario". (273). Thus Llorens in no way imputes Jovellanos' veracity on this point, but does note that his political thought was far more conservative than that of Blanco White or Lord Holland. He mistrusted the liberal-minded young supporters of the Semanario with their revolutionary ideas, believing that education rather than revolution was the answer to Spain's ills.

- 209 López, Francois. Review of Reglamento para el Colegio de Calatrava. Primera edición crítica. Prólogo y notas de José Caso González. Gijón: Stella, 1964. In Bulletin Hispanique, LXXI (1969), 407-408.

The reviewer believes that Reglamento para el Colegio de Calatrava, a work which presents a totally new educational plan, is one of Jovellanos' most important. In his introduction Caso González details the regressive tendencies and disorder reigning in Eighteenth Century preparatory schools of the military orders, a situation which Jovellanos was striving to set straight.

It is interesting that in an 1831 edition of this text certain references to textbooks are omitted, notably the Teología Lugdunense, commonly thought to be Jansenist inspired. Caso, however, believed that this omission was not willful, but due to the use of an earlier manuscript.

López, as have other commentators, praises Caso for his rich contribution to Jovellanos studies.

- 210 López-Cuesta Egocheaga, Teodoro. "El pensamiento económico de Jovellanos". Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, XXI, No. 61 (mayo, agosto, 1967), 67-92.

This text of a lecture given in Gijón deals with Jovellanos' ideas on economics, the economic problems of Asturias at that time, the foreign influences on the economic thought of Jovellanos, and his proposals for the improvement of the Asturian economy. He emphasizes that Jovellanos, "in spite" of the French influences during the period, was very Spanish, owing, of course, to his being an unusual Asturian.

- 211 López Núñez, Juan. "Asturias y la democracia: D. Melchor, Gaspar de Jovellanos". Norte, Revista mensual asturiana, Madrid, Año IV, (diciembre, 1932), n. pag.

In this panegyric and brief biography the author speaks of Jovellanos as the successor of Feijoo and the antecedent of Costa. He mistakenly attributes to Jovellanos a famous pamphlet entitled Pan y toros. López also errs in asserting that Jovellanos "combatió a las humanidades": although he favored practical education and argued against the study of Latin and Greek by technical students, he always urged the study of the humanities, especially the Spanish classics for all students.

- 212 Loredo Aparicio, José. Prologue to Jovellanos. Biblioteca Enciclopédica Popular, 96, México: Secretaria de Educación Pública, 1946, pages I-XXIII.

This modest volume which contains selections from Jovellanos' writings on education, fine arts, political economy, etc., includes a

well-written prologue which contains a brief biography and study of Jovellanos' principal works as interpreted from the relatively dispassionate viewpoint of a resident of another continent.

Loredo discusses the Spanish Enlightenment, which had its origins in Asturias with Feijoo, and continued strong there throughout the Eighteenth Century without much governmental interference because of the relative isolation of this area. He also calls attention to the clear-mindedness of Asturians, a characteristic previously noted by Ortega y Gasset. Loredo points to Jovellanos' efforts on behalf of legal and penal reform, noting his opposition to the excessive deference paid to Roman law.

The writer asserts that Jovellanos' diaries continue to be a valuable prime source for historians, pointing out that this genre was almost completely new in Spain. His great concern for Spanish problems, says Loredo, foreshadowed the loss of her colonies: " como si Jovellanos presintiera que estaba próxima la pérdida del continente americano!".

(XII).

He sees, perhaps with some justification, in the reformism and Jansenism of Jovellanos an Eighteenth Century continuation of the Erasmist tradition. The author's assertion that Jovellanos' romantic tendencies were largely the result of reading Byron is questionable, but he is correct in calling attention to the direct line of descent between Jovellanos and Joaquín Costa.

The writer has relied heavily on Angel del Río (299) for biographical material, especially that concerning the causes of don Gaspar's persecution. Anticipating the work of Jean Sarrailh (no. 326), Loredo

calls for a more complete study of the Spanish Enlightenment, observing correctly that this was a manifestation quite different from its French counterpart.

- 213 Loynaz-Oria, F. de. "Obra pedagógica de Jovellanos". Ecclesia, Madrid, No. 154 (1955) 18-21.

The author summarizes succinctly Jovellanos' ideas concerning education, discussing especially his suggestion, expressed in his Informe sobre la Ley Agraria, that the village priest serve as schoolmaster in rural communities.

- 214 Marañón, Gregorio. Prologue to El Cádiz de las Cortes by Ramon Solís. El Libro de Bolsillo, Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1969, pages 7-31.

The writer in this prologue makes two references to Jovellanos, the first to "las aguafuertes rudas de Campomanes, de Jovellanos, de Cabarrús", and the second, much more favorable, concerning don Gaspar's exemplary patriotism, which he refers to as "españolismo 'jovellanista', que fue más importante para España que el ciego de la multitud". (20).

While defending repeatedly the sincerity of the French sympathizers, Marañón expresses his admiration for the profound yet reasoned love of country exemplified by Jovellanos.

- 215 Marañón, Gregorio. "Jovellanos". Obras completas, Vol. III, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1965, pp. 869-880. (Conferencia pronunciada en el teatro de Jovellanos, de Gijón, el 24 de sept. de 1958).

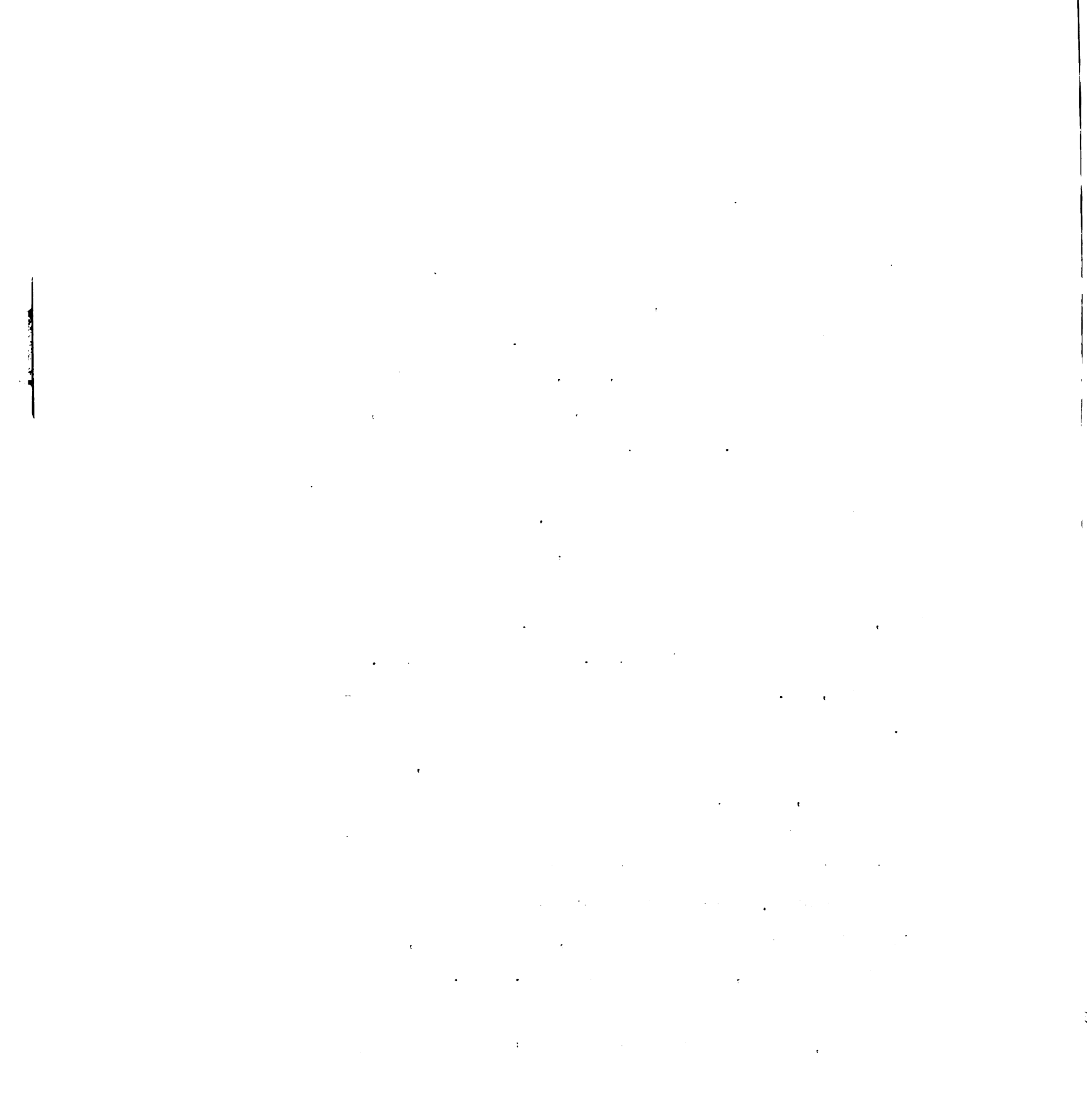
In this speech Marañón assesses the importance of the life and works of Jovellanos and attempts to situate him historically and ideologically within his times.

Marañón judges the Eighteenth Century to be vastly more productive for Spain than historians have customarily admitted. He believes its monarchs to have been excellent, and declares that the material quality of life improved greatly during this period.

The writer calls "sin carácter, soso, como por compromiso" Goya's highly praised portrait of Jovellanos, an unusual assessment, but one shared by this reviewer. Likewise, he disagrees with biographers who have declared that Jovellanos died embittered by the failure of his ideals.

Although not absolving the Inquisition, Marañón asserts that it was no more cruel than other courts of its day, its shortcomings being its tendency to judge as sinful inconsequential nuances of thought and conscience, and its use of anonymous denunciations.

Differing with Torres Ríoseco, (no. 252) Angel del Río, (no. 299) and Joaquín Arce, (no. 21) Marañón insists that Jovellanos was an anti-romantic. Although the sensibility and easy tears of the Eighteenth Century led to the Romanticism of the early Nineteenth Century, the two are quite different, he says. The efficient and practical Jovellanos had none of the egotism and disorderliness of the romantics: "Si Jovellanos hubiera sido un romántico no hubiera podido ser tan eficaz; ni tampoco tan desgraciado. Los románticos decían constatemente que eran desgraciados sin serlo; los varones altruistas, como Jovellanos, suelen ser desgraciados de verdad, pero no suelen decirlo". (875). Marañón has here succinctly stated one of the fundamental differences between the two centuries, and also set in focus Jovellanos' essential nature:



in spite of some romantic tendencies, especially in the sentimentality of his poetry and later prose, he always remained primarily an Eighteenth Century Spanish ilustrado.

Viewing the impact of the program Jovellanos proposed for Spain, Marañón rightly asserts that far from being a failure, it has become more and more applicable and cogent. Reading this study one is impressed by the fine intellect and independence of thought it reveals: that of Marañón as well as that of his subject.

- 216 Marañón, Gregorio. Prologue to Los afrancesados, by Miguel Artola. Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1953, p.XVII.

Marañón asserts that Jovellanos was one of the few true liberals of his epoch: "Verdaderos liberales no hubo en aquella época más que el pequeño grupo que vivió y sufrió persecuciones sin cuenta, acosado por las dos fuerzas extremistas, de Jovellanos y los suyos".

- 217 Marañón, Gregorio. "Pablo de Olavide". Obras Completas, Vol. III, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1965, p. 929.

Marañón notes many groundless accusations brought against Olavide, among them innuendoes concerning an affair with his niece, Gracia (Engracia). Marañón points out that Jovellanos, who, like Olavide, was exiled and unjustly persecuted by both traditionalists and liberals, wrote some verses in memory of the deceased Engracia.

- 218 Marías, Julián. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos: Diarios, Selección y prólogo de Julián Marías. El Libro de Bolsillo, Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1967, 287 pages.

Julián Marías has made an excellent choice of materials for this condensed version of the diaries of Jovellanos (1790-1801). He has thus made them more accessible to the casual reader, as well as to the student of Jovellanos, who can refer as well to the more detailed edition of 1953 (prologue by Angel del Río, no. 297).

Marías traces in his introduction the uncertain history of these writings, pointing out that their relative inaccessibility until 1953 was largely due to political considerations, since they were held by extreme traditionalists who found the liberalism of Jovellanos unacceptable.

Marías calls Jovellanos the first intellectual of his era, pointing out that his formative years took place during the enlightened despotism of Carlos III, but that the great opportunity was lost with the accession of Carlos IV and the advent of the French Revolution and of Napoleon. Ironically, it was almost precisely at this fateful moment when Jovellanos, exiled to Gijón, began his serious literary production, and with it his Diarios. Marías, like Angel del Río (no. 297), considers these diaries Jovellanos' "obra capital", but others might want to give equal status to the Elogios, for example, or perhaps to the best of the Mallorcan prose.

Jovellanos was neither personally nor socially precocious, Marías remarks, his prestige until his banishment extending little beyond the borders of his native Asturias. Sadly, he came into his period of greatest influence only after the great opportunity for Spain was all but lost.

In spite of the subtitle, "memorias íntimas", given to the extremely defective edition of 1915, Marías affirms that they contain few confidences, that Jovellanos was extremely reticent; "veló puderosamente su yo", affirms Marías. But gradually, as one reads, he becomes aware of the wonderfully human personality shining through the narrations and descriptions of what may seem to be minutiae, but in reality form a panorama which serves to illuminate marvelously the last decade of the Eighteenth Century.

Marías points out perceptively that the lack of fiction has impeded the understanding of this period, and that it is only through works like the Diarios of Jovellanos and some of the novel-like prose of Cadalso that its real essence begins to come clear. But perhaps one would find equally revealing certain of Jovellanos' best poems, his Epístolas and Sátiras, for instance, and especially his correspondence.

- 219 Marías, Julián. "Jovellanos: concordia y discordia de España". Los españoles, Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1962, pages 23-71.

This excellent study, included in a volume of essays dealing with Spanish history and concerns, discusses the man Jovellanos as he grapples with Spain's problems during the period of transition between the antiguo régimen and the modern world, and of the beginning of the tragic phenomenon often referred to as "las dos Españas".

Marías correctly affirms that Jovellanos was not a creative thinker, but is unjust in his assertion that he was not a great writer: few writers have achieved the beauty and clarity of Jovellanos' prose style.

The writer avers that Jovellanos was limited by his desire to avoid error, a trait which to my knowledge has not been mentioned by other commentators:

Por esto, intelectualmente, Jovellanos se queda siempre corto. Su claro entendimiento está siempre frenado, no se abandona, está trabado por sus propias virtudes.
(27).

But one might well argue that moral integrity and respect for duty may not be signs of timidity, but of fortitude, and the facts of Jovellanos' life seem to bear out this contention. Mariás makes the thought-provoking assertion that though Jovellanos had doubtless never read Kant, he was in his devotion to duty one of the few Kantians who have ever existed.

The writer explicates in some detail Jovellanos' ideas concerning pedagogy and his founding of the Instituto Asturiano, devoted to the teaching of science, both theoretical and applied. He recounts as well the persecutions which almost immediately thereafter besieged him because of the progressive nature of his undertaking. Mariás rejects the often-expressed notion that by the end of the Eighteenth Century the Inquisition was weak and powerless. Its very existence was a threat to free thought and expression, as Jovellanos fearlessly observed.

Although relations between Jovellanos and Godoy always appeared cordial, Mariás, differing with Seco Serrano (no. 328), believes that Jovellanos was not unhappy with Godoy's temporary fall from grace in March of 1798. Likewise, Godoy never made great efforts to have Jovellanos freed from prison, he asserts.

Mariás quotes extensively from three letters sent by Jovellanos to Carlos IV recommending reforms for the universities and the return of

duties of censorship from the Santo Oficio to the bishops and regular clergy. He analyzes as well the causes both foreign and domestic for Jovellanos' fall from favor and dismissal from the ministry, and for his imprisonment, pointing out that Jovellanos' personal tragedy was far smaller than that of Spain upon being deprived of Jovellanos' guidance during seven crucial years.

Although his essay is weakened by the lack of bibliographical reference, Marías has succeeded well in locating Jovellanos historically and in relating his life and thought to Twentieth Century problems.

- 220 Marías, Julián. La España posible en tiempo de Carlos III. Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1963, 233 pages.

Marías quotes extensively from a treatise in favor of intolerance bearing the initials "L.D.P.L.B." and titled La intolerancia civil. The style of this article, asserts the writer, closely resembles that of the denunciation of Jovellanos to the King and Queen which was the direct cause of his seven-year imprisonment on Mallorca. This interesting supposition, however is not in accord with that of Julio Somoza (no. 343), who believes the author of the attack against don Gaspar to be his distant relative and fellow-Asturian, Jove Navia.

- 221 Marichal, Juan. La voluntad de estilo (Teoría e historia, del ensayismo hispánico), Biblioteca breve, Barcelona: Editorial Seix Barral, 1957, Chapter IX, "La originalidad histórica de Jovellanos", pages 199-214.

This lucid discussion of Jovellanos as ilustrado and as européizante calls attention to the long-standing finisterrismo of Spain which don Gaspar combatted with his enlightened and progressive point of view. Marichal notes especially Jovellanos' distress upon viewing the limitless expanses of Castile: for him true beauty lay in the well delimited and cultivated plots of individually-owned land. His insistence upon order and limited space, characteristic of Eighteenth Century thought, separated Jovellanos, says Marichal, from the romantics, who saw ideal beauty in wild, untamed landscapes.

Marichal points out that Jovellanos was concerned with the redundancy of his own style, yet realized that one's style is a very personal quality which always remains essentially unchanged, even though it may be improved to some extent.

This essay constitutes a valuable contribution to the understanding of Jovellanos' conception of space and of his notions concerning the importance, yet immutability, of style.

- 222 Martín Granizo, León. "De León a Oviedo en 1800". Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, Tomo IX, No. XXIX (1955), 97-122.

In this rambling description and history of the road from León to Oviedo the writer quotes extensively and comments upon Jovellanos' third letter to Ponz, written in 1792.

- 223 Martínez Cachero, José María. Jovellanos ante la poesía. Gijón, 1963.
Bib. ref. in: Dotor (no. 125), 230.

- 224 Martínez Cachero, José María. Menéndez Pelayo y Asturias. Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1957, 322 pages. Chapter 8: "El jovellanismo de Menéndez Pelayo", pages 209-242.

Martínez Cachero reviews the several articles written by Menéndez Pelayo concerning Jovellanos, agreeing with don Marcelino that although don Gaspar was a man of his time and subject to foreign political, economic and social thought of the late Eighteenth Century, these ideas never affected his religious convictions, which were always completely orthodox.

Especially noteworthy is Martínez' account of the efforts of Menéndez Pelayo and of Julio Somoza to have published an acceptable edition of the diaries of Jovellanos, and of the frequently inharmonious relations between the two scholars.

- 225 Martínez Cachero, José María. Review of Modernidad tradicional en el pensamiento de Jovellanos by Patricio Peñalver. Sevilla: Publicaciones de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1953. In Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, Oviedo, No. XXI (abril, 1954), 134-136.

Martínez Cachero points out that Jovellanos has often been labeled falsely impío and enciclopedista, this misconception perhaps beginning with his having been declared benemérito de la Patria by the liberally-oriented Cortes de Cádiz. Peñalver's book, he says, shows that Jovellanos was actually a prudent critic who wished to "conservar el espíritu intacto pero transformar el cuerpo", and to "realizar una integración lo más armoniosa posible". He remarks, as others have done,

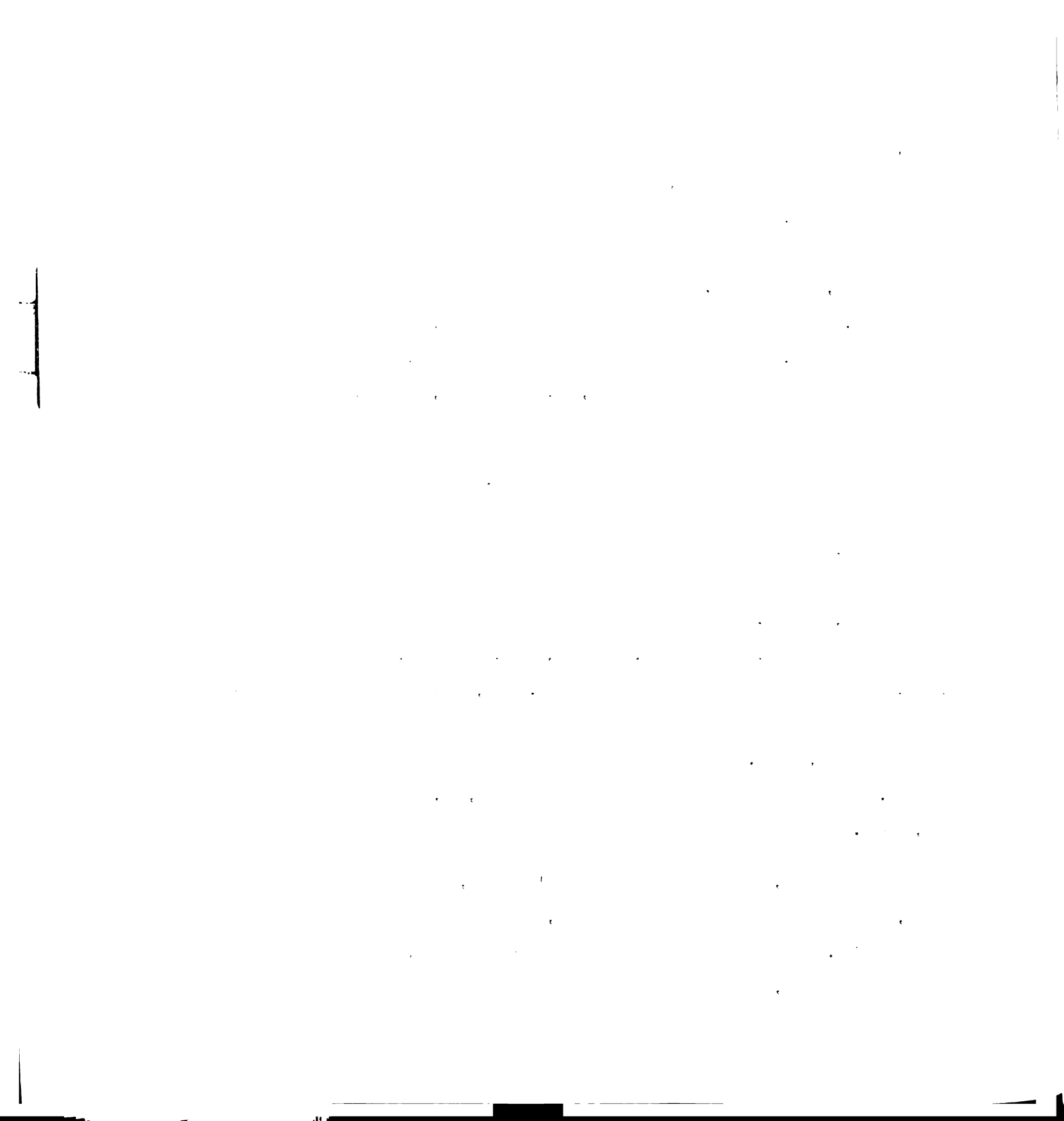
that Jovellanos' Informe de Ley Agraria is one of his least personal writings, since it was composed "con arreglo a las opiniones de los encargados de extender el informe", and may not necessarily represent Jovellanos' own views.

- 226 Martínez Cachero, Luis Alfonso. "Una interpretación del pensamiento de Jovellanos". Review of "Vida y pensamiento de Jovellanos", preliminary study to Vol. 85 of the Biblioteca de autores españoles. In Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, No. XXXI (1957), 332-334.

Luis Alfonso Martínez Cachero provides a resumé of Artola's introduction to the works of Jovellanos included in Vol. 85 of B.A.E. He exaggerates somewhat in qualifying as "splendid" this rather undistinguished work.

- 227 Martínez Elorza, Jesús F. Orígenes y estado actual de la Biblioteca del Instituto Jovellanos. Gijón: Imp. Sangenés, 1902, 200 pages. Bib. ref. in: Simón Díaz and Martínez Cachero (no. 335), 148.
- 228 Martínez Fernández, Jesús. "El primer director del Real Instituto Asturiano". Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, No. 51 (1954), 11-38.

This article, concerned with Jovellanos' brother, Francisco de Paula, speaks of don Gaspar only tangentially, but quotes liberally from his diaries. The writer outlines don Francisco's education, years of service in the Navy, and his activities as first director of the



Real Instituto Asturiano, where he also gave instruction in Mathematics and Astronomy. Don Francisco's marital problems are investigated in great detail, as well as his many illnesses and those of his wife and servant. As elsewhere Martínez appears to have a real penchant for dis-interring the inconsequential, the excessively personal and the pathological.

- 229 Martínez Fernández, Jesús. "El último viaje de Jovellanos" Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 20, lviii (1966), 27-36.

Martínez Fernández, who in 1964 wrote an article on Jovellanos' loyalty (no. 231), now writes on the loyalty of his servant, Francisco García de la Fuente. He tells of their landing at Puerto de Vega where shortly afterward Jovellanos succumbed to an attack of pneumonia. Francisco, who stayed on board to guard the luggage and papers, was caught in a storm and shipwrecked, but escaped to care for his beloved don Gaspar during his last illness, and to guard his belongings until they could be properly disposed of.

Three years later Francisco accompanied those who were commissioned with returning Jovellanos' remains to Gijón. His diary-account book of the trip, which Martínez Fernández has quoted almost in its entirety, serves to illuminate not only the loyalty of the old servant, but the customs and travel conditions of the day.

- 230 Martínez Fernández, Jesús. Jovellanos: patcbiografía y pensamiento biológico. Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1966, 275 pages.



This work deals with the pathological aspects of Jovellanos' life as revealed in writings by and concerning him. Martínez Fernández has availed himself of his medical training to interpret this evidence in terms of modern medicine. He discusses at length Jovellanos' heredity, his illnesses, including his final one, as well as those of other family members. The chapter headings give an idea of the book's contents:

- I. La dimensión de Jovellanos. Su muerte.
- II. Retratos y bustos de Jovellanos. El biotipo: soporte orgánico y carácter.
- III. Los padres y hermanos de Jovellanos. La herencia biológica.
- IV. Las enfermedades de Jovellanos.
- V. Enfermedades circulatorias y reumáticas.
- VI. Afecciones neurológicas.
- VII. Enfermedades ajenas.
- VIII. Vida, enfermedades y muerte en el pensamiento biológico de Jovellanos.
- IX. Los hábitos higiénicos.
- X. Médicos y boticarios en la vida de Jovellanos.
- XI. Jovellanos y el amor.
- XII. Religiosidad, ciencia, virtud y honradez en Jovellanos.

In his attitude toward life, sickness and death Martínez affirms that Jovellanos' thought was completely in line with Catholic dogma. Although he read Descartes, the French Encyclopedists and other nonconformist writers he never accepted their precepts, adhering always to those of the Church. Jovellanos, says Martínez, was much preoccupied with death, but he never feared it, accepting it as a cessation of vital activities, the end of a biological cycle, and believing firmly in the existence of an immortal soul.

It is interesting that Jovellanos never had much good to say concerning doctors, often noting in his diaries the ineffectiveness or contraproductive results of their remedies.

Strangely, Martínez, in his treatment of Jovellanos' biological thought, fails entirely to mention his extensive botanical studies and investigations conducted while confined in the Cartuja of Valldemosa. He does, however investigate extensively Jovellanos' relationships with women, concluding that some mildly scandalous imputations concerning these associations are groundless.

This, to some extent, scientific investigation into the most intimate aspects of Jovellanos' life and personal relations may perhaps be of some value to those interested in the history of medicine, as well as to students of Jovellanos.

- 231 Martínez Fernández, Jesús. "La lealtad de Jovellanos". Boletín del instituto de Estudios Asturianos, no. 53 (1964), 63-82.

This article serves to illuminate the absolute loyalty of Jovellanos in all facets of his existence. The author points out don Gaspar's loyalty to country, quoting especially his famous rebuff to Cabarrús upon being invited to join forces with Napoleon.

Jovellanos' complete loyalty to his religious faith is proven by quoting from several of his writings, notably his will, written while in Bellver. The author points also to Jovellanos' great devotion and preoccupation with death during the last decade of his life.

Martínez Fernández also discusses in detail Jovellanos' unflinching loyalty to his friends, some of whom he lists and quotes extensively.

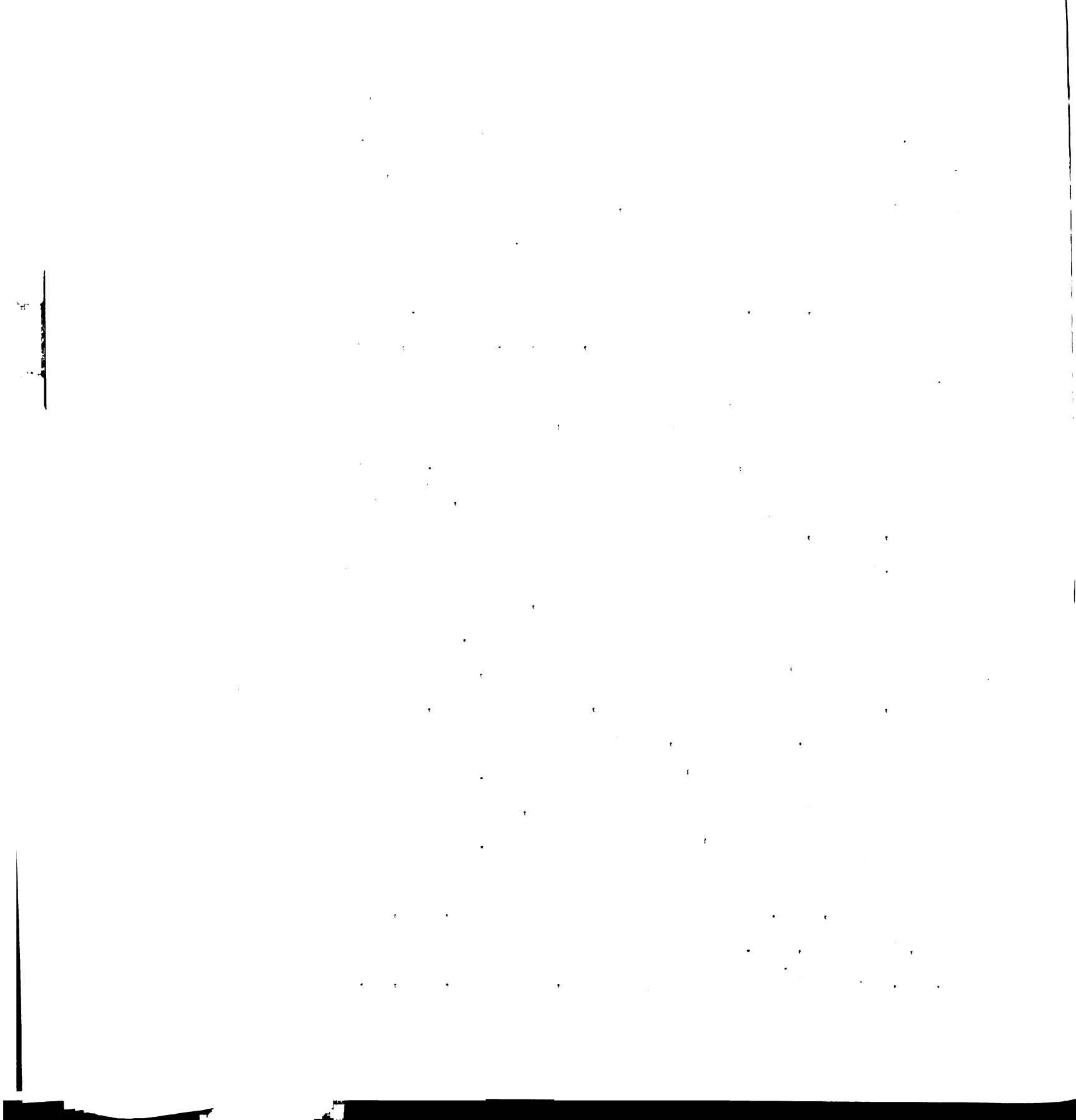
The second half of the article is concerned with Jovellanos' servant, Francisco whom he dearly loved and treated nearly as an equal. In his will Jovellanos not only left him a substantial sum of money, but many of his most valued personal effects, later bequeathing to him as well a property of his in Gijón called "Las Figares".

- 232 Martínez Fernández, Jesús. "Los niños en la obra de Jovellanos". Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, XVII, no. 48 (1963), 106-119.

Martínez Fernández reviews Jovellanos' attitude toward children as revealed in his diaries, letters and treatises on education. He describes the low estate of children in the Eighteenth Century, the malnutrition, illness, raggedness and uncleanliness which was uniformly their lot. The writer then recounts a number of incidents in which Jovellanos displayed his love and concern for children, quoting especially his descriptions of children in the homes where he visited.

Jovellanos' life was a series of renunciations, says Martínez Fernández, imposed by his love for children, for his Instituto, for Gijón and for Spain. Oddly enough, the writer begins his study with a detailed narration of Jovellanos' last illness and death. It is also strange that he fails to mention Constantino Suárez, Martínez Cachero or Simón Díaz among Jovellanos' principal bibliographers.

- 233 Martínez Kleiser, Luis. "Luz y sombra de una figura patria". ABC, Madrid, 11 de abril, 1949.
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV (no. 345), 207.



234 Martínez Noval, P. Bernardo. "Jovellanos". España y América, XXXI, Año IX, Tomo III (1911), 384-395; XXXII, Año IX, Tomo IV (1911), 24-34; XXXII, Año IX, Tomo IV (1911), 503-511; XXXV, Año X, Tomo II (1912), 415-422; XXXV, Año X, Tomo III (1912), 119-129; XXXV, Año X, Tomo III (1912), 300-313; XXXV, Año X, Tomo III (1912), 502-510; XXXVI, Año X, Tomo IV (1912) 313-319; XXXVI, Año X, Tomo IV (1912), 416-426.

This series of nine articles was written by the Augustinian, Father Bernardo Martínez, and published successively in nine installments during 1911 and 1912 as part of the Jovellanos centenary celebration. Beginning with his childhood, each article deals with a successive phase of Jovellanos' life. Besides extensive biographical material, the series treats Jovellanos' ideas in the fields of religion, politics and education as expressed in his prose writings, as well as offering some discussion of his poetry and dramatic works.

Although Father Martínez writes from an ecclesiastical point of view, this work is actually one of the better balanced of the many centenary presentations. He, of course, disapproves of Jovellanos' opposition to his sister Josefa's decision to enter an Augustinian convent in later life, and discredits don Gaspar's suggestion that she may have been unduly influenced by her confessor. Martínez points out that Jovellanos himself was directed by his family toward an ecclesiastical career, but was dissuaded by friends after having completed his theological studies and received his "primera tonsura". In discussing Jovellanos' early poetry Martínez concludes that the love poems were actually directed toward a sweetheart who existed only in fantasy. (Caso, who has studied

this poetry profoundly, would disagree with this idealistic interpretation, nos. 77,78). Martínez concurs with Nocedal, quoting him to the effect that: "murió célibe, por creer que, habiendo recibido la primera tonsura, parecía más digno consagrarse voluntariamente a la castidad" (XXXI, 365).

In discussing poetry Martínez regrets that the dates of the composition of most of his poems are unknown; Caso, however, has recently arrived at a tentative dating, no. 77. Even Juvenal would have envied Jovellanos' poetry, Martínez asserts somewhat euphorically, for, he says, his verses reflect "la grandeza de un alma que sabe sentir y trasladar al papel la inmensidad de su dolor". (XXXII, 32). There is certainly restrained grief expressed in his poem concerning the death of Engracia, and a measure of disillusioned melancholy in his Epístola del Paular, but one could hardly qualify dolor as the dominant motif of don Gaspar's poetry.

Unlike most commentators, Martínez appears to approve of Jovellanos' recommendations in Ley Agraria, even that concerning disentanglement: "Otra sería la situación económica de la Iglesia en España de haberse escuchado algunas de las observaciones del insigne jurisconsulto!" (XXXIV, 416). In speaking of Jovellanos' letter to the King criticizing the activities of the Inquisition, Martínez mentions "expresiones duras y poco respetuosas para los que constituían aquel augusto aunque no impecable Tribunal" (XXXV, 126). Very likely here he is referring to Jovellanos' imputation of inefficiency, ineptitude and lack of education concerning the Holy Office.

Although contributing little new to knowledge or comprehension of the subject, Martínez has clearly and at times sensitively presented to his readers the main facts of Jovellanos' life and a synthesis of his thought.

- 235 McClelland, Inez L. Spanish Drama of Pathos, 1750-1808, 2 vols., Toronto: U. of Toronto Press, 1970. Article on Pelayo, Vol. I, pages 189-191; article on El delincuente honrado, Vol. II, pages 404-423.

In Volume I, "High Tragedy", McClelland treats the play Pelayo, discussing the style and content of this youthful tragedy by Jovellanos and pointing out the influence of Aranda and of foreign literary thought.

Jovellanos composed his tragedy Pelayo in 1769 at the age of twenty-five, but it was revised in 1771 and 1772 and finally produced as Mumuza only in 1792. It is an idealistic work which Jovellanos may have written knowing of Moratín's Hormesinda, suggests McClelland, in order to "reclaim the Asturian hero for the Asturians". "In fact", she affirms, "his patriotic rhetoric is infinitely more convincing than Moratín's and his Pelayo a man of better mental balance". (189).

McClelland believes Jovellanos' model to be a French neo-classical tragedy by DuBelloy, Le Siège de Calais, but she also notes in his best lines the stylistic influence of Tirso, although elsewhere he falls victim to artificial elegance. As with his contemporaries, interest in exterior regularity impeded concentration on thought and content: "Pelayo is a not despicable manifestation of patriotic thunder, but, what with proud local war-cries of Asturias surging up here, and the national war-cries of Spain swelling there, it can scarcely accomodate much reasoning". (191).

The writer finds in Jovellanos' special interest in the villain as a real person with a certain degree of dignity echoes of Shakespere, Voltaire and again Tirso.

The second part of this work deals with "low tragedy", and Chapter 11 is devoted almost entirely to El delincuente honrado, the most worthy representative of this genre, which was distinguished from "high tragedy" by concerning itself with bourgeois themes and problems, by recognizing the tragic potentialities in the commonplace, and by using sentiment and emotion in the manner of the French comédie larmoyante.

Although El delincuente honrado shows foreign influence in the ideas expressed, it presents an intensely Spanish problem of current interest to its audience. In it, says McClelland, Jovellanos employs classical rules sensitively so as to provide a "nervous concentration of urgency" and a "suggestion of the inevitability of explosion". Unfortunately, the external instruments of tension were exaggerated and misused by his followers with disastrous results. El delincuente honrado was far superior to all the other low tragedy produced in the last part of the century, says McClelland, for don Gaspar's contemporaries "never caught up with his inner and most essential intention". (407).

McClelland analyzes the characters of the play carefully, observing that some seemed inconsistent according to French neoclassical standards, but were actually normal men behaving with individuality and humanness: "Certainly Jovellanos produced his most life-like effects when his characters individualistically tried to wrest from him his control over the dramatic partnership he has established with them". (410). Unfortunately the writer does not persue this point or give

examples of this struggle between author and characters. McClelland also points to the use of humor to provide comic relief (although it seems to me the humorous aspects are few and very weak). She notes that humor is very unusual in the Age of Reason, being a technique originating in England but unfortunately employed by few writers of tragedy of the period.

The first three acts of the play, observes McClelland, are extremely coherent and well written, the last two less so: especially during the last act "melodramatic exhibitionism" is allowed to dominate.

Later verse adaptations of the play, says the writer, suffer from a change of emphasis from thought to plot, reasoning, tension and characterization disappearing in the process.

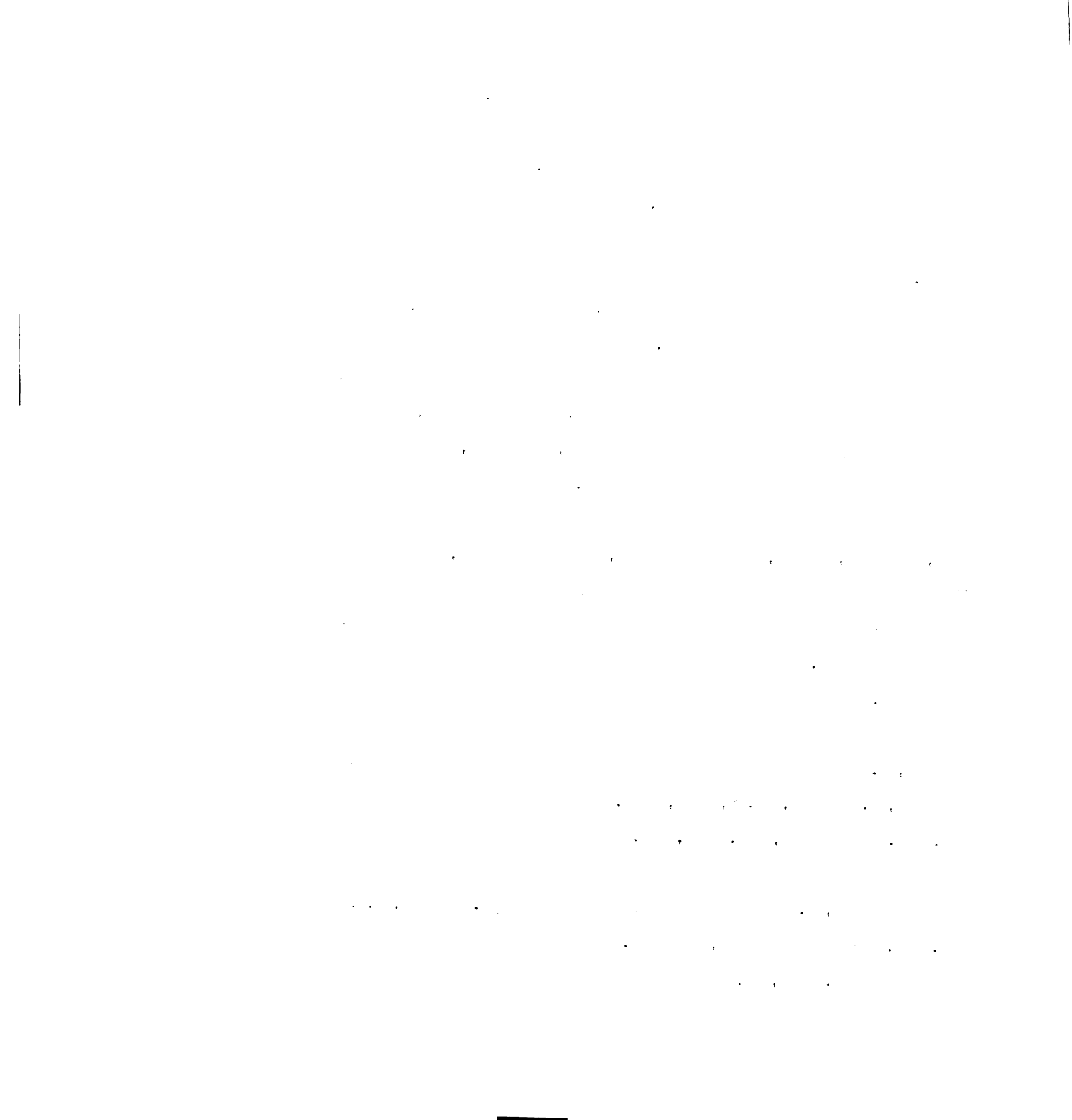
In her complete and assiduous analysis of all aspects of the play, its plot, thesis, characterization, action and style, as well as its later translations and adaptations McClelland has provided the most comprehensive and perhaps the most valuable treatment of this outstanding dramatic work. Her treatment of both plays is knowledgeable and perceptive.

236 Meitzel, C. Article on Jovellanos in Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, 4. Auflage, Bd. 5, Jena, 1923.

Bib. ref. in: Ritter, (no. 304), 344.

237 Méndez Bejarano, M. Historia de la Filosofía en España. Madrid, n.d.

Bib. ref. in: Peñalver Simó, Patricio. Introduction to Obras sociales y políticas (no. 264), 16.



238 Méndez Calzada, Luis. "Vida de Jovellanos". Jovellanos, su vida y obra, Homenaje del Centro Asturiano de Buenos Aires en el bicentenario de su nacimiento con la adhesión de los Centros Asturianos de la Habana y México, Buenos Aires: La Prensa Médica Argentina, 1945, pp. 11-56.

This study, in spite of its title, is not a standard biography as such, but rather a more ample discussion of Jovellanos' ideas as reflected in his life and writings. Like many of the contributors to this collection, this native Asturian unobtrusively makes clear his Republican leanings.

Jovellanos, that rare combination of the intellectual with the man of action, represented the fusion of two epochs: the relatively peaceful enlightened despotism of Carlos III and the reactionary and chaotic reigns of Carlos IV and Fernando VII. Jovellanos qualifies, says Méndez Calzada, as a clásico of Spain because of the literary works of his youth, because of his elegant style which helped to revitalize Eighteenth Century prose, and because of his economic and political ideas.

Méndez Calzada includes in his essay a brief biographical sketch, listing some of the principal Nineteenth Century biographies and editions of the works of Jovellanos.

In a rather extensive analysis of the Ley Agraria Méndez Calzada reiterates the well-known fact that this, like others of Jovellanos' expository writings, was composed by request, expressing to a certain extent the collective thinking of other liberal Spanish economists. Differing from Joaquín Costa in his interpretation, Méndez sees Jovellanos as philosophically an individualist in his desire to limit governmental power

and abolish unjust laws, special privileges (especially those of the Mesta), amortization and entailment. Méndez, however, overestimates the concrete results of Jovellanos' recommendations:

Su mejor elogio consiste en decir que todas las fallas señaladas por él fueron reconocidas y removidas por la posteridad, pocos años después: algunas por las Cortes de Cádiz y, luego por diversas leyes desamortizadoras del siglo 19. (39).

Even from a distance of nearly two centuries it is impossible to ascertain what has been the total result of Jovellanos' proposals. Would that these reforms had occurred (and been made permanent) as Méndez Calzada seems to indicate!

This study forms a worthy introduction to a collection of essays published in Buenos Aires, some of them by expatriates, in honor of the Jovellanos bicentenary. Although of uneven quality, as might be expected in such a cooperative venture, this volume forms an important contribution to Jovellanos studies.

- 239 Méndez y Rodríguez, Manuel Isidoro. Relaciones de Francisco Arango y Parreño con Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos y con Alejandro Ramírez. La Habana; Imp. El Siglo XX, 1943, 383 pages. Included in Vol. II of the works presented at the Primer Congreso de Historia.
Bib. ref. in: *Escritores y artistas asturianos*, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 608.
- 240 Menéndez de Luarca, Alejandrino (W. Franquet). "Apuntes para el prólogo". Diarios (memorias íntimas) 1790-1801, Instituto de Jovellanos de Gijón. Madrid: Imp. de los Sucesores de Hernando, 1915.

This article, originally intended to accompany an edition of Jovellanos' Diarios, was published separately in 1891 in La Victoria de la Cruz, the author using the pseudonym of W. Franquet. During the entire Nineteenth Century the publication of the diaries was prevented by those in control of them, either because of the traditionalist convictions of the latter, or from fear of being judged to be liberal politically. Luarda asserts that the two traditionalists who had considered publishing these diaries, Cándido Nocedal and Vicente Abello, ultimately decided against it because of the Jansenist views they expressed. Nocedal declared, "No haré diablura ninguna con el Tomo III de Jovellanos".

Luarda himself declared that they would never be published in his lifetime unless they were published in their entirety and unaltered (implying that this would be unthinkable). In 1915, however, his widow finally permitted their publication, provided that her husband's prologue accompany them, together with the notes of Abello and Nocedal.

This invective-filled prologue, at times emotional almost to the point of incoherence, accuses Jovellanos of every sort of heresy and radicalism. The author has combed through the diaries, quoting out of context, in an attempt to prove Jovellanos' Jansenism, atheism, regalism and insurrectionism. It is evident, however, that for Luarda Jovellanos' most heinous crime was his advocacy of disentanglement. Caso González has observed concerning Luarda: "apenas encuentra materia que no merezca su condenación". (Notas críticas de bibliografía jovellanista), (no. 83).

This shocking diatribe, which has earned the condemnation of jovellanistas ever since its first publication, stands as a monument to critical infamy.

- 241 Menéndez Pelayo, Marcelino. Bibliografía Hispano-Latina Clásica, Sec. CCXLVII, Vol. II, (Obras, Vol. 45), Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1950, page 416. Originally in Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos, Madrid, (1902), 889 pp.

Menéndez Pelayo records the fact that in 1801 Jovellanos wrote a resumé of Cicero's De Officiis. Don Marcelino quotes Somoza (no. 341) concerning the circumstances under which it was written. Somoza in turn quotes from the Apéndices XXVI of the Memoria en defensa de la Junta Central in which Jovellanos acknowledges his debt to Cicero.

- 242 Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. Introduction to "Defensa de la Junta Central". Antología de prosistas españoles, Quinta ed. corregida, Centro de Estudios Históricos, La Revista de Filología Española, Madrid, 1928, pages 331-333.

Menéndez Pidal points to the decadence of Eighteenth Century prose, its lack of style, its many defects of language, and its extreme use of gallicisms. Jovellanos, however, especially in his later writings, used few cultismos and was without French affectation in either word usage or syntax, says don Ramón, in this brief linguistic analysis of the Defensa de la Junta Central.

Jovellanos' prose, which, asserts Menéndez Pidal, is the best the Eighteenth Century had to offer, mixed classical language with the new elements necessary to express modern thought. Although he sought to restore classical purity, he was never rigid, being the first to use provincialisms as an artistic device.

- 243 Miguélez, P. Manuel Fraile. "Documentos inéditos sobre la Guerra de Independencia y las Cortes de Cádiz". La Ciudad de Dios, El Escorial, LXXXVIII (marzo, 1912), 401-415.

This article serves to introduce several letters and other documents bearing the signature of Jovellanos, el Marqués de Campo Sagrado, Quintana, el Marqués de la Romana, General Blake, Garay, Escosura, etc. concerning the struggle to throw off French domination and to form a workable constitution for Spain. The writer points out two tendencies made apparent by these papers: the poor understanding between generals and the lack of agreement on the part of the legislators of the Cortes de Cádiz, good intentioned men but unduly visionary, especially, given the essential conservatism of the Spanish people.

The letters written by Jovellanos to his good friend, the Mallorcan aristocrat, don Tomás de Veri are illuminating in this regard, since they recount many of the events of the War and the deliberations of the Junta Central. Miguélez has reproduced several of these letters, thus revealing Jovellanos' reaction to the often momentous events they deal with.

- 244 Miguélez, P. Manuel Fraile. "Fisionomía moral de Jovellanos". La Ciudad de Dios, El Escorial, LXXXVII (1911), 241-250; LXXXVIII (1912), 321-332.

I. Miguélez calls Jovellanos the greatest man of his time, lists his varied talents and accomplishments, and recounts his mistreatment and imprisonment, the causes of which had been little investigated at the time

of the writing (1911). He lauds Somoza's extensive investigations and quotes extensively from Menéndez Pelayo.

Of special interest is his reference to the letter of don Gaspar's sister, Sor Josefa, to the prior of the Cartuja de Valdemosa urging him to teach the prisoner to "enamorarse de Dios, a gustar las dulzuras de la soledad, donde se ve cuán suave y bueno es el Señor, y cuán amable cosa es el virir los hermanos en uno". (247). Padre Miguélez adds, perhaps with some exaggeration, that Jovellanos learned these lessons so well that he left Mallorca transformed.

II. Miguélez asserts that Jovellanos lent great service to Religion by helping to eradicate superstitious beliefs and practices, but that he never divorced religion from science, "antes veía ésta siempre como iluminada por los rayos de la fe". (323). He relates Jovellanos' early training, noting especially the fact that he was destined by his family, and perhaps by temperament as well for a religious vocation, receiving three benefices plus scholarship aid so that he might complete his ecclesiastical education. Miguélez believes that Jovellanos must have undergone a violent internal struggle in deciding to forsake the Church for a judicial career and that his friends did him a great disservice in dissuading him from it, since his real calling was the priesthood. He suggests that Jovellanos retained the benefices until 1774 in order to be sure of his choice of vocation, but that his spiritual anguish continued, as evidenced by his celibacy and the religious and even mystical sentiment expressed in Epístola del Paular.

Because of his own religious calling Father Miguélez may have overstated his case; he has, nevertheless, advanced an hypothesis worthy of consideration.

- 245 Ministerio de Comercio. "Jovellanos y la educación pública".
Información Comercial Española, No. 345 (mayo, 1962).
 Bib. ref. in: Ritter (no. 304), 344.
- 246 Miramón, Alberto. "De Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos a Camilo Torres".
Boletín Cultural Bibliográfica, Bogotá, IX (1966), 2,150 - 2,165.

The author of this study points out the influence of Jovellanos on the great Colombian patriot, Camilo Torres, and the many similarities in their lives and thought. Torres' most noted work, Memorial de agravios, one of the immediate causes of the liberation movement in Colombia, was suppressed immediately after being written and was not published until sixteen years after its author's death. In it Miramón sees great stylistic similarities with the writings of Jovellanos, as well as analogous points of view expressed with equal firmness. In their respective countries during their revolutionary periods each served in the role of "un intérprete cabal, una inteligencia más despierta que comprende los fenómenos que en turno suyo se desarrolla". (2,152). More than this, however, the two were joined spiritually by a common concern for justice and well-being in their respective nations, as well as mental independence and dignity. Each suffered persecution and imprisonment because of his beliefs, although Jovellanos died a natural death, albeit in exile, while Torres was executed by firing squad.

This article serves to emphasize the great influence of Jovellanos in the New World, especially with respect to its movement for independence.

- 247 Miramón, Alberto. "Dos originales perdidos de Jovellanos. Un hallazgo inesperado en el Archivo Nacional de Colombia". Boletín Cultural Bibliográfica, Bogotá, X (1967), 1,054 - 1,062.

This article deals with two letters sent by Jovellanos to the King protesting his incarceration in the Cartuja of Valldemosa. The writer recounts the details of don Gaspar's being surprised at night in his home and transported to Mallorca without being informed of the charges against him.

The first letter of protest and inquiry to the King was sent in care of Jovellanos' cousin, the Marqués of Valdecaranza, who never delivered it because of fear of reprisal. Six months later Jovellanos sent another, with a copy of the first one attached, which the chaplain Sampil was to deliver, but the letter was intercepted by the Queen's favorite, Manuel Mallo, and for his loyalty its bearer was sent to jail for seven months.

The whereabouts of these letters was unknown until recently. The author of this article, however, came upon them quite by chance in the National Archives of Colombia while seeking material concerning Napoleon's spies in the Viceroyalty of New Granada. Miramón believes that these embarrassing documents were thus neatly disposed of by Manuel Mallo, "el efímero válido criollo de la reina María Luisa, amigo del Marqués de Caballero y alter ego del todopoderoso Príncipe de la Paz, los encarnizados enemigos del ilustre e infortunado hombre de letras".

The two letters are not only important in their own right, revealing much concerning Jovellanos' situation and reaction to his

imprisonment, but the story of their loss and chance recovery provides an interesting anecdote in the annals of scholarly research.

- 248 Morán Bayo, Juan. Tres agraristas españoles, Jovellanos, Fermín Caballero, Costa. Hacia la revolución española. Córdoba: La Unión, 1931, 126 pages.

One can conclude from the date of publication as well as from the content and attitudes expressed therein that this study was written with the current (1931) Spanish political situation in mind: the study does in essence advocate radical and immediate agricultural reform.

The writer outlines Jovellanos' tenets concerning agriculture as set forth in his Informe sobre la Ley Agraria, exaggerating when he speaks of the "triunfal realización" of these ideas in the succeeding century: he asserts that desamortización was almost completely effective. There still remains, he declares, the problem of the farm too small for successful cultivation, as well as "las furias del interés privado".

This monograph includes no footnotes or other reference material. It is more of a political tract than a scholarly study.

- 249 Mufiz (y) Vigo, Acisclo. Arbol geneológico y rasgos biobibliográficos de Jovellanos. Oviedo: Imp. La Comercial, 1911.
Bib. ref. in: Simón Díaz and Martínez Cachero (no. 335), 149.

- 250 Muñoz de Diego, Alfonso. "Nuestros grandes hombres: Los amores de Jovellanos". Norte, Revista mensual asturiana, Madrid, octubre de 1932, n. pag.

The writer refers to the speculations of various critics concerning Jovellanos' celibacy and his youthful love affair as revealed in his lyrics. Although he avers that the bitter-sweet memory of this passion remained with him, even during his imprisonment, he asserts that far greater was Jovellanos' love for humanity and for his family, especially for his younger sister, Josefa, who, against his will, entered an Augustinian convent in later years.

- 251 Nava Valdés, Antonio. Centenario de Jovellanos, Amores de un Magistrado, Drama. Madrid, 1911.
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 609.
- 252 Nieva y Ayala, Francisco de. Emblema literario. Manuscript in the Instituto de Jovellanos; poetry in his honor. (n.d.).
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 609.
- 253 Oliver (de los Santos) Miguel. . "Jovellanos". Hojas del Sábado, II: Revisiones y Centenarios, Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1918, pp. 5-28.

This monograph was written in 1911 as a contribution to the homage paid to Jovellanos on the centenary of his death. In an oratorical and, at times, turgid style, the author analyzes and comments upon the nature of don Gaspar's political conservatism. The author quotes extensively from a letter written by Jovellanos containing the following lines: "Jamás concurriré a sacrificar seres inocentes a mis opiniones personales". This statement has been quoted many times by those wishing to posit an extreme conservatism for Jovellanos, but one should

note that this letter was written during Jovellanos' last years of life, when he leaned more strongly toward traditionalism than in his earlier years.

Oliver asserts that originally conservatism in Spain was quite different from traditionalism: the conservatives were the reformers of their day who, like Jovellanos, advocated slow steady progress, but were unalterably opposed to violence and revolution. Oliver repeatedly uses the term templado in describing Jovellanos, noting especially his progressive yet moderating influence on the Cortes de Cádiz.

The writer concludes his essay by applying the lessons of the Napoleonic era to the exigencies of his own day, a full century later:

Jovellanos no creía en ninguna mejora que no fuese adaptable al estado actual, conveniente para los hombres de ahora. Poniendo la finalidad del movimiento fuera de nuestro tiempo, queda condenado el mundo a un continuo trastorno y la revolución se hace permanente.

As with many other commentators on Jovellanos, the writer of this piece interprets don Gaspar's moderation as extreme conservatism, thus leading nicely into an extrapolation of his own reactionary political philosophy in which deliberate progress may come to mean no progress at all.

254 Oliver de los Santos, Miguel. "Otro centenario". El Ateneo de Gijón en el primer centenario de Jovellanos, Gijón, 1911, pages 109-125.

Bib. ref. in: Revista de Literatura, 33-34 (1968) 217, no. 36.880.

Oliver sees Jovellanos as the epitome of Spanish conservatism and the spiritual antecedent of present-day moderates and rightists, whose cause Oliver vehemently defends in this article, maintaining that

the true reformers are the conservatives rather than the liberals, who only foment chaos.

The writer makes a curious allegation concerning the nature of Jovellanos' literary and political writings:

Una zona de su mentalidad, por ventura toda la zona estrictamente literaria, poética, de erudición y enciclopedismo, pertenece sin reservas al siglo XVIII. Al siglo XIX corresponde por su concepción política, a partir del Informe de la Ley Agraria, y aun con anterioridad a él, como es fácil de demostrar recurriendo a sus obras. (110).

Most literary critics, e.g., nos. 21, 298, 351, tend to see Jovellanos' literary production as quite Nineteenth Century in its preromanticism, although it must be admitted that both his poetry and drama contain notable neoclassical elements as well. In political philosophy, he was, at least during the post-Bellver years, more Eighteenth Century than Nineteenth and far from representative of the thought of the delegates to the Cortes de Cádiz. At any rate the dichotomy made by Oliver is erroneous both methodologically and factually. Attempting to categorize the thought and writings of Jovellanos by centuries constitutes a serious oversimplification. Standing on the threshold of the Modern Age, Jovellanos represented in both literary and political writings an amalgam of the old and the new, the traditional and the progressive.

255 Oñate, María del Pilar. "La posición de Jovellanos respecto a la cuestión feminista". El feminismo en la literatura española, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1938, pages 189-191.

In this study on feminism the author devotes a section to Jovellanos, who, she declares, took a forward step toward the feminine penetration of the professional world.

In referring to the royal decrees of 1779 and 1784 permitting women the exercise of all professions "que no repugnasen a su delicadeza ni su decoro", Jovellanos remarks that feminine delicacy is largely a matter of custom and education, and that in primitive societies women worked side by side with their men.

The enlightened don Gaspar, however, still looks back nostalgically to the days when a proper lady was never seen on the street unescorted. Miss Oñate wryly notes that this encerramiento femenino is a typically Spanish point of view: "dogma éste tan español que no se libran de profesarlo los pensadores de espíritu amplio y progresivo, como el ilustre político asturiano". (190). She also points out that Jovellanos merely recommends free entrance of women into the oficios (trades), completely avoiding mention of the liberal professions.

256 Ossorio y Gallardo, Angel. "Jovellanos, jurista". Jovellanos, su vida y obra, Homenaje del Centro Asturiano de Buenos Aires en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, con la adhesión de los Centros Asturianos de la Habana y México, Buenos Aires: La Prensa Médica Argentina, 1945, pages 135-162.

The writer emphasizes that Jovellanos as a judge was a realist, never boringly erudite and always opposed to extremes. Ossorio sees a certain dichotomy in Jovellanos' view of Spanish literature: as a moralist he condemned Golden Age drama, but as a lover of beauty he appreciated it and realized that it reflected the society of its time. Ossorio makes an unjustly sweeping evaluation of El delincuente honrado when he calls it a bad play because of its inverisimilitude. Nevertheless, he finds in it interesting juridical ideas which he believes to be challenging and at times prophetic. He analyzes at length Jovellanos' ideas on national

sovereignty and other basic political concepts as well as his studies on political law and his Informe sobre la ley agraria.

- 257 Ovejero y Maury, Eduardo. Prologue to Jovellanos: Obras escogidas. Biblioteca de Filósofos Españoles, Madrid: La Raza (1930), 288 pages.

Ovejero offers a rather complete resumé of Informe sobre la Ley Agraria, although it is not included among the works selected for this volume, concerned with Jovellanos' works of a more philosophical nature. The writer believes that the economic reforms expounded in Ley Agraria, as well as Jovellanos proposals concerning education had strong although indirect influence during the Nineteenth Century.

Ovejero states categorically that a servant was bribed either by the Queen or by officials of the Inquisition to poison Jovellanos, but this allegation has never been proven. It is also unlikely Godoy supported Jovellanos against this and similar attacks as Ovejero alleges. The biographical material presented by the author is otherwise reliable and emphasizes the veneration in which Jovellanos was held by the people after his imprisonment, but also, paradoxically, the abuse to which he was subjected as a member of the despised Junta Central.

- 258 P. de A. "Fe de Erratas cometidas en la transcripción e impresión del Diario de Jovellanos". Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo,
 Año V abril-junio, 1923, no. 2, 102-116
 Año V julio-sept., 1923, no. 3, 141-258
 Año V oct. - dic., 1923, no. 4, 325-339

Año VI enero-marzo 1924, no. 1, 20-35

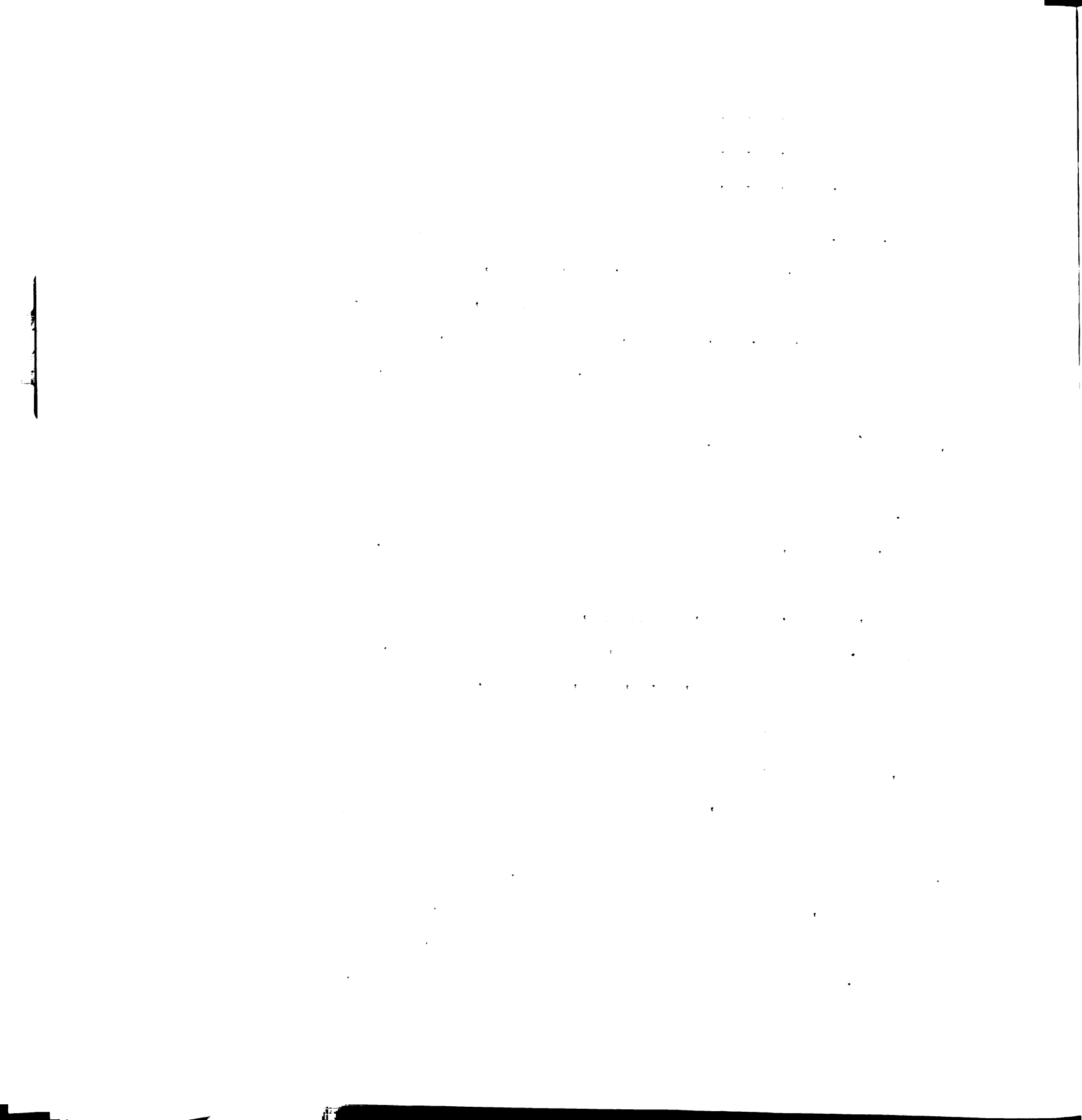
Año VI abril-junio 1924, no. 2, 134-150

Año VI julio-sept. 1924, no. 3, 250-258

P. de A. is reported by Suárez and Martínez Cachero (no. 347) to be Serrano y Puente. Angel del Río (no. 299), however, affirms that the author of this fe de erratas is the great jovellanista, Julio Somoza. (Clásicos castellanos, vol. 110, page 46). These six articles, listing over three thousand errors in the 1915 edition, may well be by Somoza. His own efforts to bring out an adequate edition of the diaries were in vain, and on many occasions (no. 324) he voiced his indignation concerning the one which appeared in Gijón in 1915 and which these articles criticize. It has been a scandal among Jovellanos scholars with its many errors, misprints, inaccuracies and possibly willful alterations.

259 Palacio Atard, Vicente. Derrota, agotamiento, decadencia en la España del siglo XVII. Segunda edición aumentada, Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, Biblioteca del pensamiento actual, no. 3, 1956, 232 pages.

The writer insists that Jovellanos is victim of a fundamental dichotomy, the contradiction between the ideals of the Enlightenment and traditional Spanish values, between the worldly goal of human happiness on Earth and the Catholic aspiration for salvation of the immortal soul. Thus Jovellanos is for Palacio a "pobre iluso", an imprudent and misguided reformer, who blindly espoused modern European ideas, in the process fomenting a revolution whose results were so disastrous. But with Caso (no. 83) one wonders to what revolution Palacio has reference.



- 260 Palacios y Alvarez, José María. La vida de Jovellanos al alcance de los muchachos. Gijón: Tip. Palacio, González y Ca., 1917, 36 pages. Also: Jovellanos. Vida y trabajo de tan excelso patricio al alcance de los muchachos, 2ª ed. ampliada, Gijón: Cabueñes, Ed. Autor, 1970, 185 pages. Bib. ref. in: Simón Díaz and Martínez Cachero., (no. 335), 150.
- 261 Pardo Canalís, Enrique. "Fray Manuel Bayeu y Jovellanos". Revista de Ideas Estéticas, XXIV (1966), 316-327.

This article treats an aspect of Jovellanos' thought and writing which has been given little attention by critics: his esthetic appreciation and criticism of art, especially the technical aspects of painting. The writer quotes extensively from six letters (BAE 46) of Jovellanos to Fray Manuel Bayeu, as well as from the Diario XII (BAE 86) and from Jovellanos' will (Documentos para escribir la biografía de Jovellanos, Madrid 1911). Pardo offers little interpretation or critical comment concerning the material presented. Nevertheless, he has performed an important function in bringing to public attention these little-known documents which serve to illuminate the mood and preoccupations of Jovellanos while a prisoner in Bellver, as well as a new look at his practical criticism of art.

- 262 Patac, Ignacio. "Jovellanos y la minería". Sí, suplemento semanal del diario, Arriba, Madrid, Número homenaje a Jovellanos en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, Año III (9 de enero de 1944), p. 10.

Ignacio Patac, himself a mining engineer, lists the many contributions made by Jovellanos to the economic progress of Asturias. He

points out that before the construction of highways, planned and supervised by Jovellanos, Asturias was practically without communication with the rest of Spain. Patac notes as well Jovellanos' insistence that education in the practical arts and sciences alone could bring prosperity, and for this purpose founded his Real Instituto Asturiano. But in spite of the fine work accomplished by Jovellanos in the fields of mining, education, geography and economics, Spain unfortunately "dejó esterilizarse este enorme esfuerzo", says Patac, thus emphasizing the tragedy of the abandonment of his noble and farsighted plans for both Asturias and Spain.

- 263 Pemán, José María. "Jovellanos, el gran asturiano". Estafeta Literaria, Nos. 402-404 (1968), 12-13.

In this article the author notes the essentially romantic characteristics of most Spanish literature, even that of its classical period. Thus Jovellanos, while basically neoclassical, also partook of a long romantic tradition. Pemán points to Epístola al Paular (sic) as the best of Jovellanos' poetical production, affirming that it is "transida de un absoluto romanticismo", its "funeralismo" foreshadowing Lamartine and Zorilla.

Although some critics prefer to make a more definite distinction between romanticism and preromanticism, Pemán avoids the problem. For him Jovellanos' writings while in the Castle of Bellver belong fully to historical romanticism, reflecting Eighteenth Century Spain's interest in "conocerse a sí misma" and her renewed sensitiveness to natural beauty and to the past.

The author recounts Jovellanos' frustrated efforts to promote a viable constitutional monarchy for Spain, and his noble and patriotic refusal to hold office in the government of Joseph Bonaparte.

Pemán concludes with the well-known incident of the wrecked carriage, where Jovellanos became painfully aware that the villagers were concerned only with saving "los suyos", ignoring the better-dressed upper-class passengers. He now fully realized that enlightened despotism must inevitably give way to democracy and even to a dictatorship of the proletariat. Peman may go a bit far on this point, for to envisage such a future would be extreme pessimism in Jovellanos' way of thinking, and he was ever the optimist.

The author notes that since Jovellanos was born on Twelfth Night he was christened with the names of the three Magi: a sort of Christmas gift for Spain. But like all playthings, this toy was broken to see "lo que llevaba dentro". What was inside, declares Pemán, was the future. The article, which illuminates Jovellanos' historical and literary import for his country, concludes with this novel and somewhat emotional or even irrational analogy.

264 Peñalver, Simó, Patricio. Introduction to Jovellanos, Obras sociales y políticas. Madrid: Publicaciones Españolas, 1962, 356 pages.

Peñalver reviews the criticism of Jovellanos in the Nineteenth Century and the first half of the Twentieth pointing out that the pendulum has swung widely between those who saw in Jovellanos a liberal with advanced political and social ideas and those who attempted to find in him

only complete traditionalism. Those critics of the 1935-56 era whom Peñalver criticizes for their interpretation of "Presunto progresismo social" are Angel del Río, Santillano (sic) and Méndez Bejarano (no.237). Peñalver, however, lists his own monograph of 1953 (no. 265) among those which have arrived at a new objectivity, although Caso (no. 83) would scarcely agree. Peñalver makes clear his own traditionalism and finds in the writings of Jovellanos a belief in the structural hierarchy of society, the necessity to submit to sovereign authority, and a thoroughgoing traditionalism akin to his own. Thus, while attacking partiality and claiming objectivity for his own work, Peñalver manages to continue in the time-honored tradition of seeing in the writings of Jovellanos exactly what one wants to see.

This anthology contains fragments of the Elogio de Carlos III, Sobre el establecimiento de un Montepío para los nobles de la Corte, Informe sobre la Ley Agraria, and several poems of social import, as well as parts of the Memoria sobre la Educación Pública and the Defensa de la Junta Central.

265 Peñalver, Simó, Patricio. Modernidad tradicional en el pensamiento de Jovellanos. Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, Colección "Mar adentro", LXX, Sevilla: Seminario de Historia del Pensamiento, 1953, 159 pages.

This interpretation of the social, religious and philosophical thought of Jovellanos is written from a rigidly Catholic point of view. The writer agrees with Menéndez Pelayo that Jovellanos was a thoroughgoing traditionalist, and argues that he was a fideísta, although so far as I

know, there exists only one passage written by Jovellanos that would lend credence to this assertion (Memoria sobre la educación pública, B.A.E. p. 231); elsewhere Jovellanos expressed considerable reliance upon rationalism and empiricism.

Peñalver declares that Jovellanos was little affected by foreign thought, and as he increased in maturity even these influences, noxious in the opinion of Peñalver, were eliminated.

The thesis of the book is that while embracing traditionalism, placing his faith in historical precedent (restauracionismo) and in Catholic doctrine, Jovellanos was at the same time "modern", although it is unclear what the meaning of this term is to thinkers of Peñalver's conservative persuasion.

266 Peñuelas, Marcelino C. "Los diarios de Jovellanos, ¿memorias íntimas?". Insula, XX, 224-225 (1965), 12, 20.

Peñuelas here examines the Diarios and wonders why such critics as Ceán, Adellac and Menéndez y Pelayo have insisted upon labeling them "memorias íntimas" or even "confesiones" when they are really nothing of the sort. They could be more accurately called "la obra menos impersonal", although even then, Peñuelas notes, they possess such coolness and reserve that one seeks in vain for intimate glimpses of the writer. But in this respect Jovellanos is very Spanish: intimacy is something reserved for one's dearest friends. Peñuelas, quoting Unamuno, observes: "Los diarios íntimos son los enemigos de la verdadera intimidad. La matan". (12).

In his very copious correspondence, about half of which has been preserved, there is likewise small indication of intimacy or of personal revelations. Peñuelas quotes a notation in Jovellanos' diary of 1794: "A Jardines, prevenciones sobre nuestra correspondencia: que no se puede tratar de todo; que sólo privada y confidencial se deben exponer libremente las ideas . . .". The writer interprets this as the remark of a man sure of himself; he did not need "el incierto calor de la confesión pública, de la confidencia justificativa", believes Peñuelas. Other jovellanistas, e.g., Polt, (no. 284), Helman (nos. 182, 183 a), however, have attributed Jovellanos' statement to his caution, since he was well aware that his mail was being opened and perused by certain authorities.

In this examination of his diaries the author has attempted to analyze Jovellanos' personality, and by extrapolation, the general characteristics of the Spanish people.

267 Penzol, Pedro. "Jovellanos en el diario español de Lady Holland". Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, Oviedo, VII, No. XX (diciembre de 1953), 570-576.

Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 190.

268 Penzol, Pedro. "Jovellanos, padre de la patria, (1744-1811)". Erudición Ibero-Ultramarina, Madrid, IV (1933), 148-162.

This somewhat discursive article, which has little to do with the announced subject, sheds some interesting sidelights on the biography of Jovellanos. In it, however, are a number of rather glaring inaccuracies.

The writer begins by stating: "No conocemos de él otra efigie que la pintada por Goya . . ." (148). Actually, Jovellanos sat for his portrait several times; a number of fine ones are reproduced in a recent anthology edited by Cienfuegos (no. 104) including another purportedly by Goya.

Elsewhere the author states: "Si hubiéramos de dividir en etapas representativas la existencia de Jovino, pondríamos la primera en Sevilla, con su labor poética y artística; en seguida la de Madrid, siendo Ministro de Gracia y Justicia, que culmina en las memorias e informes de carácter económico; . . ." Jovellanos served from 1778 to 1790 as Alcalde de Casa y Corte and in other advisory capacities in Madrid, but it was only after a seven-year exile in Asturias that he was appointed Ministro de Gracia y Justicia, and then for a period of only eight months.

Penzol seems to admire greatly Menéndez de Luarda, to whom he refers as the editor of the Diarios, although it was in fact Miguel Adellac who finally edited them. Penzol quotes Luarda liberally, but what he refers to as a biography of Jovellanos is nothing more than a scurrilous attack which has been denounced by most critics ever since.

Penzol describes Jovellanos' poetry as decidedly neoclassical, cold and affected, declaring that his real poetry appears in prose. The author, however, is impressed with Jovellanos' poetical theories, and carefully explicates his ideas concerning blank verse.

Penzol quotes from the diaries of Lady Holland, who believed that had Jovellanos been younger he would have dissolved the Junta Central and assumed the reins of government. He quotes as well from the diaries

of Jovellanos regarding his relations with his servants. El delincuente honrado is also discussed, along with his linguistic theories.

This monograph, although diffuse and often inaccurate, presents some minor biographical material as well as an unusual literary assessment.

269 Pérez de Castro, J.L. "Deseo y esfuerzo de Jovellanos por Gijón".
Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, LXI y LXII, No. 21 (1967),
93-126, 157-182.

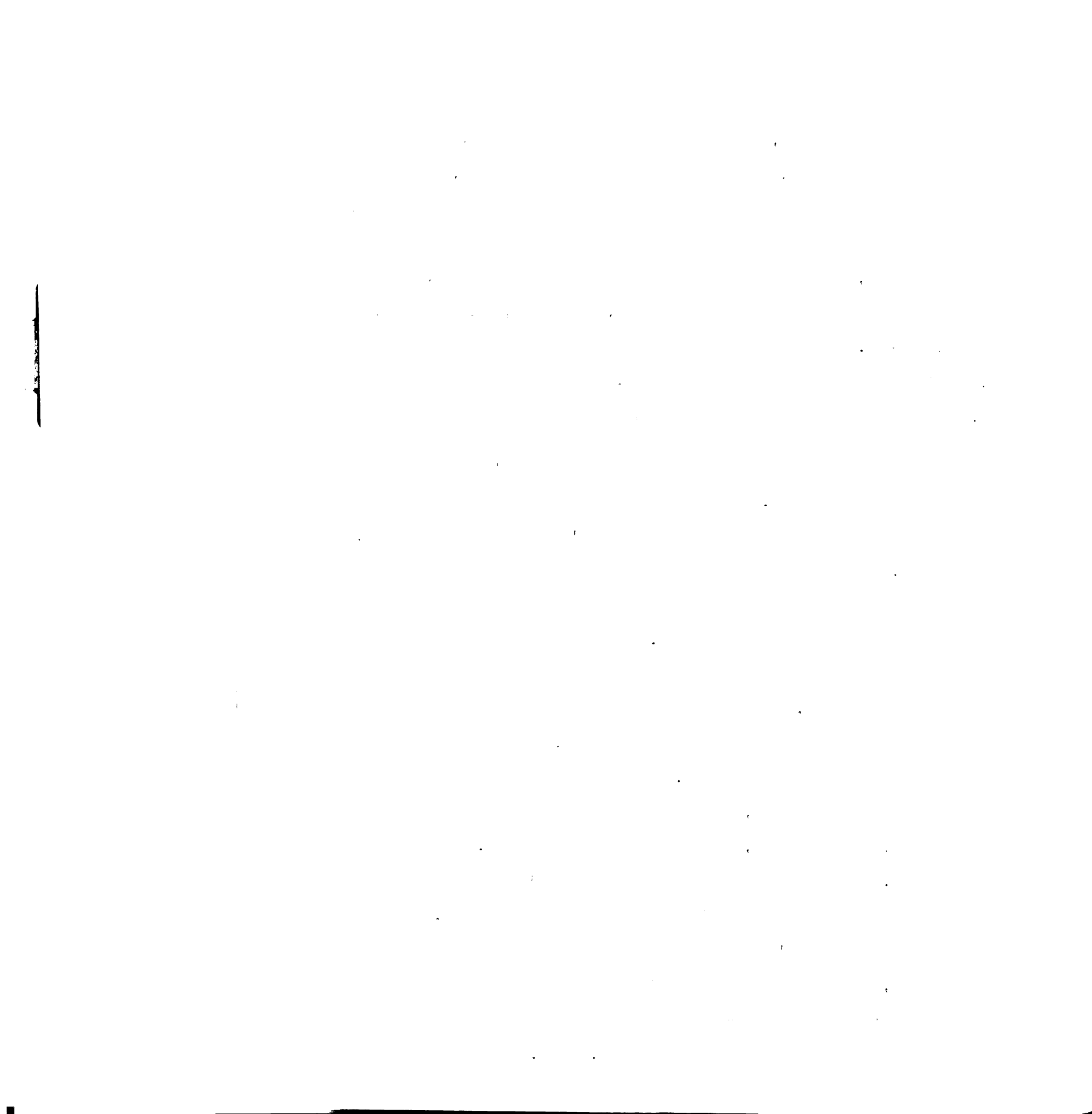
I. Epistolario sobre las obras portuarias.

II. Apuntes sobre algunas obras públicas.

These two articles recount in detail Jovellanos' activities on behalf of his native Gijón. The author insists that Asturias and especially Gijón were ever uppermost in Jovellanos' thoughts and affections.

I. During the years of Jovellanos' public service in Seville and in Madrid he was constantly involved in the promotion of the construction of a port for his native city. Pérez has presented here the nearly complete correspondence of Jovellanos concerning this project with its promoters in Gijón. The article is accompanied by seven finely detailed drawings and plans for this port facility, which Jovellanos was finally able to see become a reality. Jovellanos also planned and promoted a new church for Gijón, to replace one torn down to make way for the new port. Unfortunately, this dream was never realized.

II. The second article recounts Jovellanos' activities in the promotion and construction of a highway between Gijón and Oviedo. It also tells of Jovellanos' plans for a fine stone gate at either end of the new road, a proposal which Pérez quite unjustly suggests was indicative of Jovellanos' desire for self-aggrandizement: "Su vanidad de romper el olvido ante la Historia al golpe de su nombre". (171).



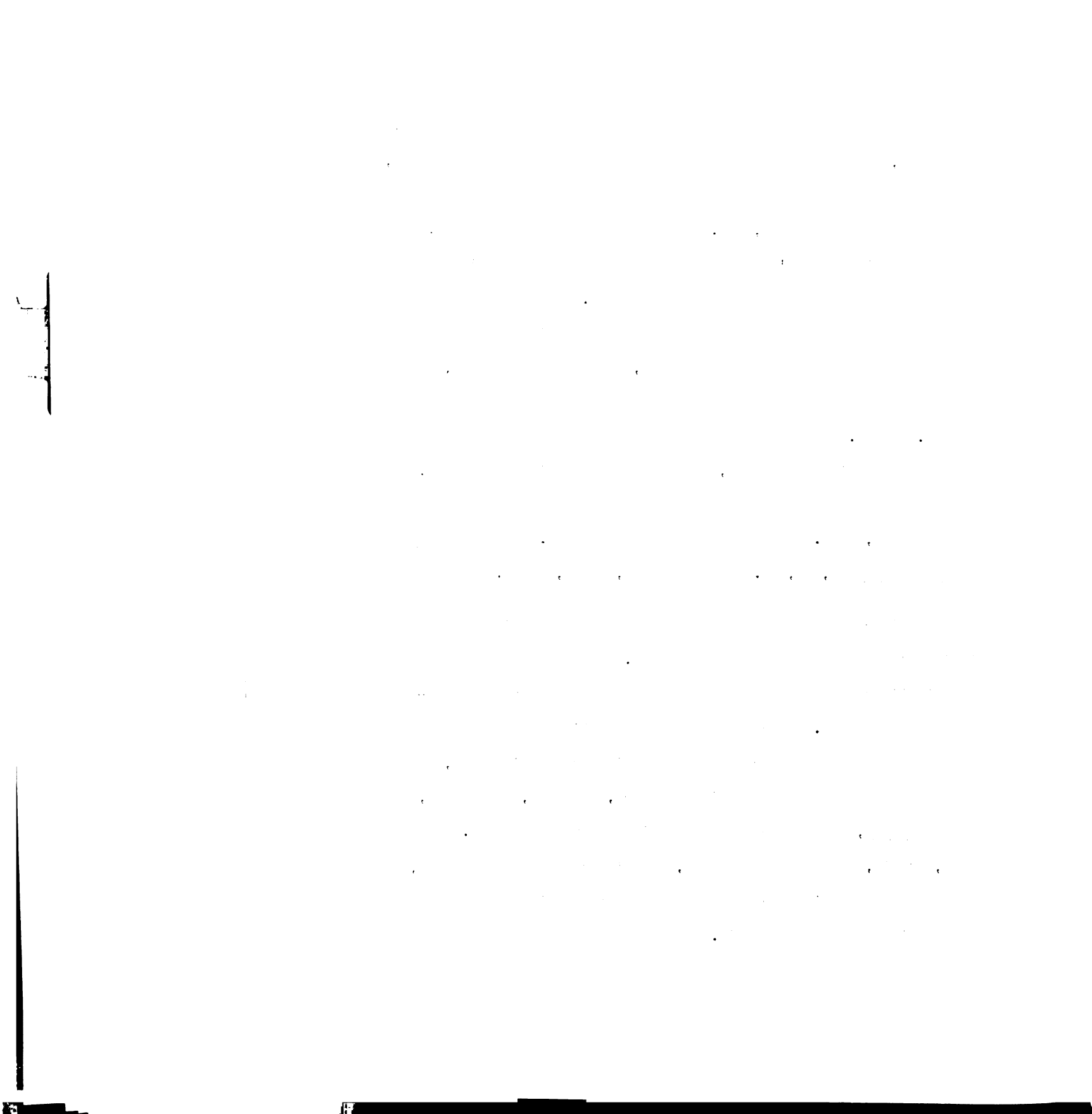
- 270 Pérez de Castro, José Luis. El Diccionario Geográfico Histórico de Asturias por Dr. D. Francisco Martínez Marina bajo el patrocinio de la Real Academia de la Historia, Tomo I, Génesis y colaboradores. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1959, 316 pages. Chapter 5 concerning Jovellanos.
Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 210.
- 271 Pérez de Castro, José Luis. "Hallazgo e identificación de un manuscrito de Jovellanos. Instrucción para la formación de un diccionario geográfico de Asturias", Publicaciones de la Real Sociedad Geográfica de Asturias, Serie Boletín, No. 386 (1957), 36 pages.
Bib. ref. in: Pérez de Castro, J.L. "Deseo y esfuerzo de Jovellanos por Gijón" (no. 269), 125.
- 272 Pérez de Castro, José Luis. "Un asturiano internacional: Jovellanos, preocupación e inquietud (Los libros de don Gaspar Jovellanos y sus amigos)". Asturias (Boletín del Centro Asturiano de Madrid), V, No. 42 (1955), 13-16.
- Pérez de Castro discusses Jovellanos' celibacy, his collateral descendants, friends and correspondents as well as his library. Especially mentioned are Pinciano's Philosofía antigua poética and the Historia de la vida del hombre by Hervás y Panduro.
- 273 Pérez Embid, Florentino. Review of Jovellanos, pensador tradicional y moderno, by Patricio Peñalver, Vol. I de la colección "Mar adentro", Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispánicos, XXXII, 1953. In Arbor, Madrid, XXVI (1953), 307-313.

This review of Peñalver's monograph on Jovellanos' political, sociological, economic and philosophical thought is generally laudatory, although this book has been severely criticized elsewhere by Caso González in his bibliography, (no. 83) for its lack of objectivity. Pérez notes that Peñalver's conclusions concerning Jovellanos' religious orthodoxy correspond to those of Menéndez Pelayo. The conclusions of Peñalver are synthesized by Pérez Embid in the following terms: "Jovellanos fue un moderno tradicionalista, o lo que es lo mismo, un hombre moderno que quiere serlo sin romper con la tradición nacional y cultural". (313).

This review is lengthy, uncritical and at times confusing.

274 Pérez de Guzmán, Juan. "El centenario de Jovellanos". La Ilustración Española y Americana, 74, No. XXIX (8 agosto, 1911), 71-74.

This centenary panegyric compares the chaotic situation in Spain in 1811 to that a hundred years later. Pérez narrates in detail the frustrations and bad treatment accorded the members of the well-meaning Junta Central. Forced to move their meeting place to the Island of León because the French occupation of Seville seemed imminent, they were set upon enroute by the hostile populace, urged on, says Pérez, by the facciosos, and had to take refuge in a nearby monastery. Un-thanked, unpaid, and nearly destitute, Jovellanos turned toward home, discouraged by the failure of the Junta Central and mistrustful of the newly constituted Cortes de Cádiz.



In his review of Jovellanos' major writings Pérez refers to his report on the "reglamento de Policía", apparently meaning the Memoria para el arreglo de la policía de espectáculos y diversiones públicas y sobre su origen en España.

This author offers an emotional and at times inexact tribute, which nevertheless serves to delineate the last unhappy phase of Jovellanos' life.

- 275 Pérez Sánchez, Alfonso E. Instituto de Jovellanos, Catálogo de la colección de dibujos. Madrid: Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, 1969.

Bib. ref. in: British Museum General Catalog of Printed Books, Vol. 119, no 11902.bbb5

- 276 Pitollet, Camille. " 'El delincuente honrado' de Jovellanos et 'L'Honnête criminel' ". Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes des Professeurs des Langues Méridionales, Paris, XXX (1935) No. 87, 19-21.

Pitollet briefly comments on the similarity of title between the verse drama by Fenouillot de Falbaire, L'Honnête Criminel and the prose work by Jovellanos, El delincuente honrado. Although the writer points out that Fenouillot's work was first performed at Versailles in 1778 and that of Jovellanos was translated and performed in French the preceding year, he does not suggest any direct connection between the two plays. Polt (no. 280), however, has averred more recently that Jovellanos may have been familiar with the French play, written in 1767, six years before his Delincuente honrado. Valcreti6n (BAE XLVI, 78),

Ticknor (III 324, n. 12) and Sarrailh (no. 324) find no connection between the two plays, but Caso (no. 76) sees certain correspondence of phraseology, although he concedes that these may have been coincidental, as well as the similarity of title.

- 277 Planas Koechert, Rolf-Erich. Gerónimo de Uztáriz und Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos: ein Beitrag zur Dogmengeschichte der spanischen Sozialökonomie des 18. Jahrhunderts. (Diss. Zurich), Zurich, 1940.
Bib. ref. in: Polt, John H.R. Jovellanos and his English Sources (no. 279), 72.
- 278 Polt, John H. R. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. New York: Twayne, 1971, 163 pages.

This comprehensive study of Jovellanos' life and works by a man who is now considered as a leading jovellanista comes as a very welcome addition to the field. One might well assume that this volume would utilize the several fine studies already published by Polt on Jovellanos' economic, philosophical and political thought, as well as on his work as a dramatist and educational theorist. But actually Polt has repeated himself surprisingly little and has added many fresh insights into an area of criticism that has at times become tired and repetitious.

I find especially stimulating Polt's discussion of Jovellanos as poet. English translation of all quotations is standard in the Twayne series, Polt's rendition of Jovellanos' verse is true to the sense of the original and displays considerable esthetic charm. Although

indebted to Caso (no. 87) (to whom he gives due credit), his conceptual and stylistic analysis of the Epístola de Jovino a Anfriso is particularly well done. Somewhat perplexing is Polt's assertion that "sincerity is the most overrated virtue, and in poetry no virtue at all". (56). But what of the poetry of Antonio Machado and certain of the verses of Juan Ramón Jiménez, for instance? Polt does admit that Jovellanos' poetry is at its best when it springs from some enthusiasm---moral or esthetic. But is this not true of all poetry? One could add that polishing alone never raised any poetry beyond "discreet mediocrity", not just that of Jovellanos.

Polt has carefully and perceptively analyzed Pelayo, a play almost completely neglected by critics. Munuza, the most complex and interesting character, although not the most admirable, is not a successful tragic hero, says Polt, for he is "essentially a small man buffeted by events" who bends with changing circumstances. Neither is Pelayo admirable since his friendship with the unworthy Munuza has compromised his position. Like El delincuente honrado, the ending of the play is contrived, Polt points out.

Polt's chapter on the Arts is likewise informative and thought-provoking. He shows that there existed in Jovellanos' concepts of art a certain ambivalence, since his neoclassical background, in which symmetry, proportion and order were the supreme criteria, never could be completely harmonized with his preromantic sentiment, his love of nature and his faith in originality rather than imitation. Like Paul Ilie (no. 191), however, Polt believes Jovellanos to be essentially neoclassic in his artistic and literary tastes.

Polt's chapters on education, economics, philosophy and politics are equally informative, although containing less new material, since he has already studied these areas comprehensively (nos. 279, 281). He modestly expresses doubt that this book "can say much if anything new to specialists in Jovellanos and his work". Yet there are certainly new ideas expressed here, and the synthesis which Polt has provided is valuable indeed. One would have to qualify it as one of the best recent works on the subject.

- 279 Polt, John H. R. Jovellanos and his English Sources: Economic, Philosophical and Political Writings. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, December, 1964, 74 pages.

This excellent study explores Jovellanos' contacts with Englishmen and with works written in English, and it evaluates the influence of British ideas on his economic, political and philosophical thought.

While still in Seville Jovellanos learned English and soon became acquainted with Locke's Essay on Human Understanding and his works on education and government, as well as some other writings of the Enlightenment. In Madrid, as a member of the Academia de Historia, Jovellanos was permitted to acquire and read otherwise proscribed books, among them Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, a work which he read at least four times, as well as many English works in other areas, Polt affirms.

In Gijón his meeting with the British consul, Alexander Jardine, an exponent of civil and religious liberty, began a fruitful correspondence,

Jardine supplying Jovellanos with many English books and periodicals. Thus Jovellanos became familiar with the writings of Godwin, Paine, Burke and others. In 1792 he met the democratically-minded Lord Holland, who sent him English books and even translated and published his Memoria sobre espectáculos y diversiones públicas. Their correspondence (1808-1811) comprises nearly two-hundred letters.

Rejecting mercantilist theory, Jovellanos was much influenced by Adam Smith, believing that economic policy should aim at increasing individual consumption, and that private interests and property should be protected. In his practical liberalism he advocated agrarian reform, limitation of mortmain and entailment, and the encouragement of manufacturing.

In his chapter on the philosophy of Jovellanos Polt deals principally with epistemology, where he sees Locke and Condillac as his chief mentors. Jovellanos, he says, emphasized observation, analysis and reasoning, attacking scholasticism for impeding the dissemination of learning. Unlike most of Jovellanos' Spanish commentators, Polt entirely avoids the matter of Jovellanos' religious convictions.

Like Adam Ferguson, Jovellanos rejected Locke's (and Rousseau's) notion of a social compact, believing that society and government are Man's natural state. A constitution was for him institutionalized tradition, says Polt, which must provide liberty through political balance. Polt asserts that Jovellanos came to believe that insurrection was justified under certain conditions, but so far as I know, he indicated this belief in only one or two euphoric letters; it perhaps should not be taken as typical of his thinking in more contemplative moments.

Polt, with his fine knowledge of both English and French Eighteenth Century philosophers as well as of the writings of Jovellanos has made an important contribution with this work.

280 Polt, John H.R. "Jovellanos' El delincuente honrado". Romanic Review, L (1959), 170-190.

Polt reviews the circumstances under which El delincuente honrado was written and evaluates its position in the history of the Spanish theatre. He briefly summarizes the (mostly unfavorable) criticism of the play, noting especially the Nineteenth Century attempts to find in it support for either Liberal or Carlist political and religious thinking. He calls attention to the play's obvious shortcomings: its weak, largely irrelevant ending and its lack of characterization: "The characters do not seem to have any core of personality; rather they slip suddenly and sharply from one role into another, always fitting perfectly the preconceived norms of that role. Their personalities have facets, but no depth; like the title, they remain at the stage of unresolved paradox. (182). Caso González (Archivum, 1964) (no. 76) agrees with this assessment, but one must remember that characterization has not usually been considered an important aspect of the Spanish theatre prior to Jovellanos, and that don Gaspar was far more interested in presenting ideas than in developing personality.

Polt asserts that the play does not adhere in form to either neoclassic or romantic modes: "some liberties with the unities, as well as the precision of the setting, separate it from the former, while the number of acts and the relative adherence to unities separate

it from the latter, and contemporary setting from both". (171). Conceptually, the play conforms to European thought of the late Eighteenth Century, an optimistic period in which it was believed that Reason, accompanied by a sentimental compassion for the unfortunate, could ultimately solve the world's problems, and that literature must play its useful part in the process. Polt points out that the old precept of "utile dulci" is here still operative, but now the sweetness has almost entirely given way to the usefulness. Jovellanos has sacrificed the potential dramatic effect of the moral conflict involved in the decision which Torcuato and don Justo must make to the legal-philosophical aspects of the situation.

Although outwardly, in its tears, sentiment and melodramatic contrasts it resembles Romanticism, and in its adherence to classical precepts it reflects Neoclassicism, it is ultimately social rather than esthetic in intent, says Polt. His assertion that both of these movements adhere to the principle of art for art's sake may be debatable, but he is doubtless correct in his belief that the play is not the direct antecedent of romantic drama. Rather one must look for its successors in the social realism of late-Nineteenth Century thesis plays, with their contemporary setting and mixture of sentiment and moralizing.

In this carefully considered analysis Polt has competently situated the play in relation to both its antecedents and its progeny.

- 281 Polt, John H. R. "Jovellanos y la educación". El padre Feijoo y su siglo, Cuadernos de la Cátedra Feijoo, No. 18, Vol. III, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Oviedo, 1966, 315-338.

John Polt in this informative study reviews the deplorable state of education in late Eighteenth Century Spain and then outlines the educational reforms proposed by Jovellanos and his attempts at practical application of these principles.

Jovellanos believed that the first requisite for the proper function of an enlightened despotism, or for the constitutional monarchy which he envisaged for Spain, was the careful preparation of its directors, making mandatory the proper education of its upper and middle classes. But since agriculture, for him the basis of national wealth, is dependent upon instruction, the lower classes must also receive free and universal education at public expense in order to promote "una nación justa, instruida y rica". Instruction must include teaching of civic and moral virtue, thus contributing to man's physical and intellectual perfection and leading eventually, Jovellanos optimistically thought, to "una confederación universal y la paz perpetua". (321).

Agreeing with Locke, Jovellanos indicated his mistrust of the study of metaphysics, of Thomistic theology and of the deductive methods of Scholasticism, and turned to the secondary schools, badly depleted by the expulsion of the Jesuits, with the intention of stimulating here interest in the experimental and practical sciences, as well as economics, business and history (historia civil).

Unhappily, says Polt, Jovellanos' educational reforms were largely abandoned, but he provided above all a new approach to the problems of instruction and a live model of modern education in his Instituto. Assessing the extent of influence of a thinker such as Jovellanos is extremely difficult, of course, but Polt's judgement at this point is

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probably sound, even though it is true that the Instituto. reverted to a standard secondary school shortly after his death. But one would be wrong to underestimate the long-term results of Jovellanos' attempts to awaken his fellow countrymen to the needs and potentialities of education for Spain.

- 282 Polt, John H. R. Review of Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, Obras en Prosa, Edición, Introducción y Notas de José Caso González. (Clásicos Castalia, 18.) Editorial Castalia, Madrid, 1969. In Hispanic Review, 40 (Summer, 1972).

Polt justly praises this fine selection of Jovellanos' works, noting especially the use of new data in the prologue and the avoidance of useless speculation.

The reviewer sees an evolution in the emphasis placed upon certain ideas by Jovellanos, and is likewise accurate in insisting, as does Caso, that there was never any basic contradiction among them, and that the process was one of synthesis and harmonizing of divergent ideas rather than the dichotomy and intransigence some have averred.

- 283 Polt, John H. R. Review of Poesías by Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, Edición crítica, prólogo y notas de José Caso González, and Reglamento para el Colegio de Calatrava by Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, Edición según el manuscrito oficial, prólogo y notas de José Caso González. In Hispanic Review, XXXVI (1968), 177-181.

Polt points to the inadequacy and near illegibility of many previous Eighteenth Century texts, especially those of the works of

Jovellanos, and congratulates Caso on these assiduously edited and annotated volumes. Although calling attention to a few misprints and taking issue on some minor issues and interpretations in the Poesías, he rightly labels the work otherwise definitive. He finds Reglamento especially interesting for its support of royal rather than papal authority, and of Spanish rather than Roman law, and for its mistrust of the methods of education then used in Spanish universities.

284 Polt, John H. R. "Una nota jovellanista. Carta 'A desconocida persona' ". Homenaje a Rodríguez Moñino (69), II (1966), 81-86.

In this article Polt continues with the investigation of an enigma which has long puzzled jovellanistas: the intended destination and the import of a certain letter known as "A desconocida persona" which appeared in Vol. L of B.A.E., edition of Nocedal. Somoza and others had for some time agreed that Jovellanos had written this letter to Alexander Hardings. It remained for Edith Helman to identify this person as Alexander Jardine, British Consul to La Coruña.

By carefully examining the diaries and other letters, Polt has concluded that this letter was a first draft of one written to Alexander Jardine on May 21, 1794, but never sent. It appears that Jovellanos wrote another letter to replace it, which was sent to Jardine on May 24. It is possible, believes Polt, that Jovellanos, realizing that his mail was being opened, may have felt that he had spoken too freely concerning the Inquisition or about Danton and the French Revolution.

It is evident that the political and religious differences between Jovellanos and Jardine were too great, and that the correspondence

was interrupted not long afterward. Polt believes that Jovellanos, fearing the Inquisition, destroyed all Jardine's letters, together with the first drafts of his own. Since this letter was never sent, it must have been kept separately from this file of correspondence, and thus escaped destruction.

The evidence which Polt has presented is extremely convincing and represents a fine piece of detective work on the part of a careful scholar. Perhaps more significant, however, is the mood of fear and repression which this investigation serves to illuminate.

285 Prados Arrarte, Jesús. "Jovellanos, economista". Jovellanos, su Vida y Obra, Homenaje del Centro Asturiano de Buenos Aires en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, con la adhesión de los Centros Asturianos de la Habana y México, Buenos Aires, 1945, pages 163-282.

The author concludes that Jovellanos was not a physiocrat, nor did he follow exactly the ideas of Adam Smith. He was rather a post-mercantilist, defending agriculture as the best means of improving the productivity of the economy, and insisting that the wealth of a nation lies in its annual labor product. He believed in free domestic trade, but in some control over foreign exchange. However, he went beyond the postmercantilists in his concern for social welfare. Because of its lucid exegesis of Eighteenth Century economic theory and Jovellanos' relationship to it this study is the most valuable one on the subject before Polt's (no. 278).

286 Prados Arrarte, Jesús. Jovellanos, economista. Madrid: Taurus, 1967, 139 pages.

This is a reprint in book form of the same study published in Buenos Aires in 1945 (no. 285). The only additions are chapter titles and an index, both of which are helpful.

287 Prieto, Ramón. "Campomanes y Jovellanos ante el régimen agrario de Asturias". Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español, Madrid, XXX (1964), 269-280.

Bib. ref. in: Revista de Literatura, 1966, 306.

288 Pulgar, Manuel García (Pulgarín). "Un elogio". Correo de Asturias, Buenos Aires, 30 de noviembre, 1935.

Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 610.

289 Real de la Riva, Cesar. "La escuela poética salmantina del siglo XVIII" Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo, XXIV (1948), 321-364.

In a section of this article bearing the epigraph "El magisterio incomprensible de Jovellanos", the author discusses the strange domination Jovellanos seems to have had for a time over the Salamancan poets, some of whom he had never met. He urged Fray Diego González to use his talents to write about moral philosophy, Meléndez Valdés to exalt glorious deeds of Spanish history and Fernando de Rojas to restore the Spanish theatre. These recommendations of Jovellanos, says Real, did a great disservice to his Salamancan friends, ill-adapted to such lofty purposes:

Ni el epicureísmo fácil y elegante de fray Diego era adecuado para la poesía filosófica, ni la sensibilidad exquisita de Meléndez para escribir sobre temas guerreros, de los que había abominado cien veces en sus graciosas letrillas, ni el ingenio y agudeza del padre Rojas para vestir "el contorno trágico" y restaurar de este modo la escena española. (360).

But in spite of don Gaspar's authoritarian protection his influence may not have been as pervasive as Real assumes: neoclassicism during these years was sweeping all before it. It is possible, too, that these poets were not as respectfully submissive as Real indicates, but themselves may have felt the need for new directions. The poetry subsequently produced by them was doubtless inferior, but the change may have furnished a needed corrective for the Arcadianism which had begun to run its course. Nevertheless, the undeniable influence of a man of only ordinary poetic endowment over some very talented poets is a tribute to his persuasive powers, as well as to the wide-ranging respect he commanded.

290 Redondo, Emilio. "La tendencia secularizadora de Jovellanos". Revista Española de Pedagogía, No. 95 (1966), 195-212.

Redondo provides a rather comprehensive study of Jovellanos' conception of the educational process and of his plan for a free and universal system of public instruction for Spain. The author relies for material on two basic texts by Jovellanos, Memoria sobre la educación pública, written in 1802 while he was a prisoner in Bellver, and Bases para la formación de un Plan General de instrucción pública, composed in 1809 while he was a member of the Junta Central. For the purposes of comparison he might well have included in his sources Jovellanos' earlier and more radical Plan para el reglamento del Colegio de Calatrava.

The program of education proposed by Jovellanos was so advanced, says Redondo, that he not only opened the Nineteenth Century, but in a sense closed it as well, since nothing more modern was suggested for many decades.

The writer points out that all Jovellanos' proposals tended toward a state-regulated and financed system of education, even on the university level. But universities, which originally functioned as training institutions for ecclesiastics to direct the medieval theocratic state, could not be expected to train scientists and technicians for the modern age, Jovellanos believed; thus this function must be assumed by lay institutions for the teaching of the exact and applied sciences.

Redondo's analysis is quite complete, although he fails to mention that along with a patent tendency toward secularization Jovellanos still recommended that primary instruction, since it should include moral indoctrination, could well be handled by the clergy.

291 Ricard, Robert. "De Campomanes a Jovellanos. Les courants d'idées dans l'Espagne du XVIII^e siècle d'après un ouvrage récent". (Sánchez Agesta, no. 317). Les Lettres Romanes, Lovaina, XI (1957), 31-52. (Université Catholique de Louvain).

Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 203.

292 Ricard, Robert. "Jovellanos et l'Afrique de Nord". Tamuda, Tomo V (1957), 315-323.

Reviewed by Caso González, no. 83, 202.

293 Ricard, Robert. "Jovellanos y la nobleza". Atlántida, III (1965), 456-472.

This study provides a careful analysis of Jovellanos' attitude toward the nobility, as well as a comparison and criticism of two discussions of the same subject, one El pensamiento político del despotismo ilustrado by Luis Sánchez Agesta, and the other L'Espagne éclairée de la seconde moitié de XVIII^e siècle by Jean Sarrailh. In general the writer finds acceptable the conclusions of Sánchez Agesta concerning Jovellanos' ideas, but finds certain deficiencies in the interpretation of Sarrailh, who, says Ricard, misinterprets Jovellanos' stand on disentailment as expressed in his Informe sobre la Ley Agraria, as well as his general attitude toward the nobility. Sarrailh criticizes don Gaspar for taking such a weak stand against a group whom he found decadent. But actually Jovellanos was restrained by his prudence and good sense, as well as by a naturally aristocratic taste and sense of "justo medio". He believed that since the nobility can no longer conquer wealth militarily it is only fair that they should be allowed to live on their inheritance, but mayorazgos should nevertheless be limited to an essential minimum. Nobility should be respected as necessary to the conservation and splendor of the monarchy, but must maintain its former virtue and remember the principle of noblesse oblige. Jovellanos decried the laziness, inefficiency and immorality of certain members of the nobility, but Sarrailh has misread or misinterpreted him at this point, assuming that he condemned the nobility on principle, Ricard observes. Sarrailh's faulting of Jovellanos for the weakness of his stand in this matter seems to constitute a value judgement unworthy of an historian of his reputation.

But it must be pointed out that neither Sánchez Agesta nor the writer of this article, Robert Ricard, are completely accurate in their assessment of Jovellanos: the former sees don Gaspar as a man of two faces, while Ricard would divide his personality even farther. But as one studies more deeply into the life and writings of Jovellanos it becomes evident that such a dichotomy is more apparent than real, and that he was a truly integrated person who was able to find harmony and equilibrium in seemingly disparate ideas.

It should be noted that Ricard is inexact in stating that Jovellanos advocated that the Cortes be divided into three segments: he wanted two, one for the nobility and clergy and the other for the people.

Ricard has well illustrated the pitfalls of hasty reading and ill-considered judgements, his own as well as those of others.

294 Ricard, Robert. "L'Espagne et la fabrication des "bonnets tunisiens". A propos d'un texte de XVIII^e siècle". Revue Africaine, Tomo C, Nos. 446-449 (1956), 423-432.

Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 202.

295 Ricard, Robert. Review of Obras en Prosa, Edición, introducción y notas de José Caso González. Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1970. In Lettres Romanes, XXIV (1970), 281-282.

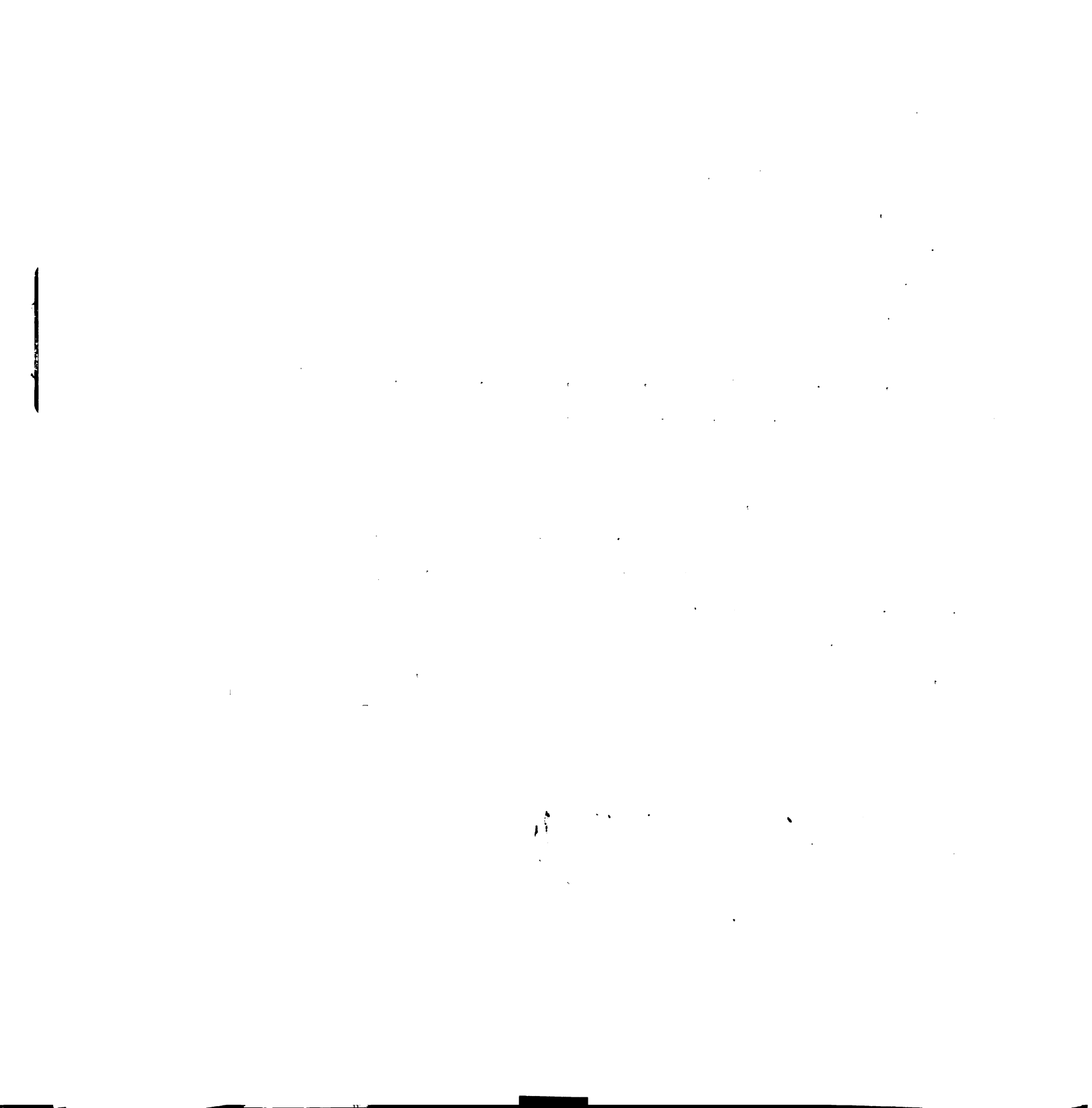
Ricard, who rightly regards José Caso González as one of the most knowledgeable jovellanistas, calls this new edition elegant, and especially interesting for containing Jovellanos' less-known works. Although he fails to share Caso's predilection for "Descripción del castillo

de Bellver", he chooses as his favorites "Dos diálogos sobre crítica económica" (because it shows that the thinking in Ley Agraria may not have been entirely Jovellanos' own), and the paraphrase of the psalm, "Judica me Deus", where Jovellanos' religious feeling is most eloquently expressed. Ricard congratulates Caso for his inclusion of adequate bibliography, but confesses perplexity concerning his references to preromanticism.

- 296 Riera Clavillé, Manuel. Acción Europeísta, Cultura, Economía, Política. Barcelona: Editorial Barna, S. A., 1963, 130 pages.

This series of essays discusses Spain's tentative steps toward participation in the political, economic and cultural affairs of Europe and urges more positive action in this regard. Part I, "Cultura europea", Chapter III discusses such "doctrinarios europeístas" as Jovellanos, Feijoo, Balmes, Maragall and Olavide.

The writer, who is Vice President of the Instituto de Estudios Europeos, correctly asserts that Modern Spain begins with Jovellanos, but is unrealistic in his assessment of the positive effects of his recommendations: "Representa el hombre cuyas ideas son tan fecundas que rápidamente se transforman en realidades al modo del proyectista que ve convertidos sus diseños en magníficas construcciones". (43). Riera recounts biographically Jovellanos' concrete attempts toward reform and europeanization but does not concern himself with the basic concepts and philosophy which motivated this course of action.



- 297 Río, Angel del. Preliminary study to the Diarios of Jovellanos. Tomo I Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1953, pages 1-112. Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 194. See also no. 298 of this bibliography.
- 298 Río, Angel del. "El sentimiento de la naturaleza en los diarios de Jovellanos". Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, VII (1953), 603-637.

This article, which has also formed part of del Río's "Estudio preliminar" to the 1953 edition of the Diarios (no. 297), deals with Jovellanos' love of nature as revealed in minutely detailed descriptions of landscapes and natural phenomena in his diaries. They are, as del Río asserts, without doubt the only great diary in the Spanish language, but whether they are his most important work may be debatable.

Because of its very sobriety the style of the diaries acquires enormous expressiveness, says del Río. He points out the unusual but harmonious conjunction of the economist with the poet. Beauty is equated with fertility, and both with Man's well-being and earthly happiness.

Although he criticized them severely, Jovellanos apparently was profoundly affected by Rousseau's Confessions, especially in the attitude toward the natural world they convey. Del Río sees in the sensitivity to the beauty of nature displayed in the diaries of Jovellanos not only strong traces of preromanticism, but also echoes of Horace and Fray Luis. The austerity and sobriety of style foreshadow Antonio Machado, he believes. Interestingly, like other sensitive commentators, del Río finds in this lyrical prose of Jovellanos analogies with great poets of both preceding and subsequent centuries.

The Diarios have been a much-neglected phase of Jovellanos' work, since the extremely faulty edition of 1915 was apparently little read. But with the edition of 1953 they are receiving well-deserved critical attention. Angel del Río's keen assessment and sensitive analysis are, of course, an important contribution in this area.

299 Río, Angel del. Introduction to Jovellanos, Obras escogidas. Clásicos Castellanos, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1955, pages VII-CXXXV.

This biography and analysis of the thought and works of Jovellanos, first published in 1935, is perhaps the best relatively brief study available. Although not comprehensive (he has excluded many areas, notably the poetry, and only touched on others), his judgements are uniformly sound. He is perhaps the most quoted of any modern critic of Jovellanos.

Jovellanos, says del Río, represented in his life and works the complex interlacing of often contradictory ideas of the Eighteenth Century ideological revolution. Nineteenth Century critics, however, in their efforts to categorize him within some particular ideology, have failed to notice the essential eclecticism which led him to attempt to harmonize these conflicting currents.

Del Río, better perhaps than any other critic, has recognized and dealt with Jovellanos' sensitiveness, which affected every phase of his thought and writing. Although he sees here a trace of French influence, he believes that this sensibilidad became in Jovellanos more free and original, reflecting Spain's literary heritage, his love of nature and of regional culture and folklore.

The work done by Jovellanos as a literary censor, says del Ríó is one as yet little studied and worthy of greater attention.

More dispassionately than any of his predecessors del Ríó has studied the reasons for Jovellanos' banishment from court, his appointment to the ministry and subsequent fall from power, followed two and one-half years later by his imprisonment on Mallorca. Jovellanos, he says, was doubtlessly a Jansenist sympathizer and a foe of the Inquisition; his acerbic criticism of court life, attacks against ecclesiastical landholding and his attempts to establish secular control and practical studies in the universities were further causes of his unpopularity.

Del Ríó minimizes the effects of Rousseau on Jovellanos and asserts that by the time of his imprisonment he had become wholly Spanish in his Christian stoicism, devoid of the worldly pride exemplified by the ilustrados.

During this period of oppression, del Ríó notes, the Spanish people looked upon Jovellanos as a symbol of patriotism and hope of regeneration, and fervently prayed for his liberation.

Jovellanos, del Ríó believes, was not an especially original thinker, but is great rather for his intelligent devotion to the noblest ideals. His prose style, with its fluidity and richness of vocabulary, with its abstract turns and personal tendencies, can be compared favorably with that of the best Spanish classical writers.

This introduction is written in clear precise prose, and gives evidence of the careful research and literary acumen of its author.

- 300 Ríó, Angel del. "Jovellanos: vida y personalidad". La Nueva Democracia, XXXV, iii (1955), 90-101. (Part of chapter on Jovellanos in Historia general de las Literaturas Hispánicas, IV, 1^a ed., Barcelona, 1956, pp. 169-201).

Del Ríó calls Jovellanos a "síntesis de la época", the first economist and political theoretician, the finest art critic of his day and the best representative of Spanish encyclopedism. He believes that Jovellanos' imprisonment (seven years rather than eight) was the work of the reactionary element who saw in him a visible symbol of the reform movement. As have other subsequent commentators, del Ríó here repeats much of what he had previously written for his Clásicos Castellanos edition of 1935 (no. 299).

- 301 Ríó, Angel del. "Los estudios de Jovellanos sobre el dialecto de Asturias. (Notas acerca de la dialectología en el siglo XVIII)". Revista de Filología Hispánica, Buenos Aires, V, No. 3 (1943), 209-243.

Angel del Ríó here investigates in detail Jovellanos' interest in dialectology and his studies of Bable, the dialect of Asturias, as well as his encouragement of other scholars in this area.

In his probings in the field of dialectology Jovellanos shared an interest of many Eighteenth Century philologists, especially those of France. The attention of Jovellanos, however, was focused especially on language as a source of understanding of the history and culture of its speakers, his inclination being more toward the use of experimentation and the study of particular phenomena than to abstract reasoning.

In 1800 with his friends Posada and Caveda, Jovellanos tentatively founded an Asturian Academy with the expressed purpose of compiling a dictionary of Bable as well as a dictionary of Asturian geography. These plans were frustrated shortly afterward by his imprisonment, but even from Bellver he corresponded with Posada concerning the projects and wrote an Apuntamiento sobre el Dialecto. But more than two hundred sheets filled with words in Bable which Jovellanos had collected and studied are probably lost, believes del Ríó.

The importance of Jovellanos' dialectical investigations lies in his contribution to methods of linguistic research and in his conception of language as a means of understanding the culture of a people:

Es de notar, por ejemplo, su rigor en el razonamiento; su escrupulosidad en ceñirse al fenómeno lingüístico puro, desechando las conjeturas poco fundadas y la pesada e impertinente erudición que hace hoy ilegibles obras como Orígenes de Mayans o, aun en otro terreno, muchos de los ensayos de Feijoo. (241).

This comprehensive study contributes to the understanding of Jovellanos as a brilliant yet practical man who could turn his mind profitably to diverse fields of investigation, and points up as well his predominantly historical and sociological orientation.

302 Ríó, Angel del. "Una nota de Jovellanos sobre el artículo en Mallorquín". Revista de Filología Hispánica, Buenos Aires, V (1943), 367-368.

Del Ríó opines that Jovellanos' observations concerning the article es, sa, son are among the first attempts to explain these linguistic forms scientifically.

- 303 Ríó Alonso, Francisco del. Ideas pedagógicas de Jovellanos. León, 1909, 23 pages. Pamphlet.
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 611.
- 304 Ritter, Manfred. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744-1811), Seine Persönlichkeit und sein Werk in der Geschichte der spanischen Aufklärung, Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Würde eines Doktors der Wirtschaftswissenschaften der Wirtschaftshochschule Mannheim. Ludwigshafen am Rhein: Joseph Ruzicka, 1965, 350 pages.

This study of the life and writings of Jovellanos was presented as a doctoral thesis in the field of Economics, and therefore deals much more fully with the economic and political phases of his thought than with the esthetic and literary ones, although all areas are discussed to some extent.

The first part of the book deals with the political, economic and social conditions of Spain and its history during the Hapsburg regime as well as that of the Bourbon kings, and includes a factual and comprehensive biography of Jovellanos, emphasizing especially his political activities.

The second part, titled "Der Gedanke der Reform in den Arbeiten von Jovellanos- Versuch seiner Systematisierung", deals largely with Jovellanos' proposed social and political reforms, his plan for a constitutional monarchy for Spain, and his ideas concerning the improvement of education and the development of a free and vigorous economy. It also studies his Memoria sobre espectáculos y diversiones públicas

and his criticism of art, architecture and literature. Ritter explains Jovellanos' esthetic theories rather extensively, but mentions his poetical and dramatic production only briefly, refraining from making any independent judgements, but quoting such critics as Angel del Río, Torres Ríoseco and Menéndez Pelayo.

The final section of the book discusses the possible influences of the work of Jovellanos in the Nineteenth Century. It deals with the reforms proposed by the Cortes de Cádiz and with the political history of the following decades, as well as the agricultural reforms proposed by Jovellanos, disentanglement, public works, irrigation, and the suppression of the Mesta.

Pitter concludes that Jovellanos' proposals for economic reform had greater impact during the succeeding century than those in the political sphere. He remarks that many of the basic problems which plagued Spain in Jovellanos' day have yet to be resolved, asserting that today Spain is well developed in the field of artistic creation but lags behind seriously in the area of popular education, commerce and political development.

Ritter's study is fully annotated and includes an excellent bibliography containing a number of books and articles not on other lists; it has been useful in compiling the present bibliography.

Ritter's analysis of the economic, political and sociological theories of Jovellanos is a significant contribution, and his study of the influence of Jovellanos on subsequent generations is unique, although necessarily speculative.

- 305 Rosales, Luis. "La poesía de Jovellanos". Si, suplemento semanal del diario, Arriba, Madrid, Número homenaje a Jovellanos en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, Año III (9 de enero de 1944), p. 11.

Rosales calls Jovellanos typical of his century, a time of great self-consciousness and self-assurance in regard to poetry. His poetry is, he says, "atildada, acendada, pedagógica, de buen gusto, desprovista de invención, de riqueza anímica y cordial, y aun muy dudosa la eficacia y legitimidad de sus recursos expresivos, sobre todo en sus romances amorosos". Rosales believes Jovellanos' most successful poetry to be his satires, which show liveliness and originality, possessing "riqueza de vocabulario popular, plasticidad, precisión del dibujo (y) delicadeza del color".

In this analysis Rosales is, in general, somewhat negative, but one must confess that it well reflects the commonly held opinion of the poetry of Jovellanos' day.

- 306 Rossi, Giuseppe Carlo. "Ancora su Jovellanos e l'emancipazione sudamericana". Filología Romanza, Turin, Anno I, Fasc. 4^o (ottobre-dicembre, 1954), 48-88.
Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 196.
- 307 Rossi, Giuseppe Carlo. Review of El pensamiento político del despotismo ilustrado by Sánchez Agesta. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, (1953). In Filología Romanza, Turin, No. 6 (1955), 212-219.
Bib. ref. in: Caso González, (no. 83), 193.

- 308 Rossi, Giuseppe Carlo. "Jovellanos e l'emancipazione sudamericana". Filologia Romanza, Turin, Anno I, Fasc. 4^o (ottobre-dicembre, 1954), 79-83.
Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 196.
- 309 Rossi, Giuseppe Carlo. "Jovellanos nella storia del 'despotismo ilustrado' in Spagna". Filologia Romanza, Turin, Anno I (1954).
- 310 Ruiz Lagos, Manuel. Avila y Jovellanos (Datos para una biografía). Temas Abulenses, Avila: Instituto "Gran Duque de Alba", 1966.

In this brief monograph Ruiz Lagos performs an important service in rectifying a misapprehension concerning Jovellanos' education. He reports the discovery of documents showing that Cándido Nocedal (Vida de Jovellanos, Madrid, 1865) was in error in asserting that Jovellanos went to Avila at about the age of thirteen and studied there the career of Leyes y Cánones. It is evident that he spent at most a few weeks there in 1793, taking examinations in Canon Law. He had already received his degree from the University of Osma, and had come to Avila perhaps at the invitation of his relative, the prelate, Romauldo Velarde y Cienfuegos.

The writer errs in calling Nocedal one of Jovellanos' first biographers: his introduction to the BAE edition of his works appeared in 1858, after many other similar studies. Like most of these, he was merely repeating the apparently erroneous assertion of Jovellanos' first biographer, Ceán Bermúdez.

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- 311 Ruiz Peña, Manuel. "La recta vida de Jovellanos". Sí, suplemento semanal del diario, Arriba, Madrid, Número homenaje a Jovellanos en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, Año III (9 de enero de 1944), p.4.

The author supplies a brief factual biography of Jovellanos, emphasizing that his outstanding qualities were rectitude, patriotism, stoicism, moderation and pride of race. He accurately infers that the memoirs of Godoy are not entirely reliable, especially in the parts dealing with his relations with Jovellanos.

- 312 S.A. Review of "Consequences of the Publication of the Ley Agraria". by Edith F. Helman. Estudios Hispánicos Wellesley, (Homenaje a Archer A. Huntington), pages 253-273. In Revista de Filología Española, XXXVII (1953), 362.

The reviewer summarizes Helman's study without commenting on the validity of its thesis (no. 183a). He points out, however, that present-day problems were foreseen in the Eighteenth Century and solutions suggested, but that the group of ilustrados was so small and their ideas so little known that their influence was slight.

- 313 Sabater, Gaspar. El Castillo de Bellver. Su arte y su historia. Mallorca, 1962, pages 68-69.
Bib. ref. in: Alvarez Solar-Quintes, J. "Jovellanos en Mallorca". Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, XIX (1965), (no. 16), 108.

- 314 Sainz de Robles, F.C. Introduction to El delincuente honrado in Teatro Español del Siglo XVIII (Vol. V of El Teatro Español, historia y antología Desde sus orígenes hasta el Siglo XIX). Madrid: Aguilar, 1943.

The author quotes the judgements of Menéndez Pelayo and Valbuena Prat concerning the merits of the writings of Jovellanos and adds his own assessment that his style was the best of his time, although it was somewhat cold and lacked "inspiración feliz". He points out that Jovellanos was a poet only by avocation, and that his writings are representative of the struggle between authentic Spanish thought and French education and tastes characteristic of the Eighteenth Century.

- 315 Salas, Javier de. "Dos cartas de Jovellanos". Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología, 1933, 65-67.

Salas has transcribed for publication two letters written by Jovellanos to Ceán Bermúdez, his friend and first biographer, who was also an art historian of some repute. In the first letter dated August 2, 1795, Jovellanos tells of finding a book by Lázaro Díaz del Valle written in 1659 concerning artists of the day. The second, dated August 8, 1795, concerns a manuscript listing artists employed in Toledo, probably in decorating the Basílica de Santa Leocadia, although this is not made clear by Salas. In his brief commentary Salas fails to mention the date of the second manuscript.

- 316 Salinas, Pedro. Chapter on the poetry of Meléndez Valdés in Ensayos de la literatura hispánica, del "Cantar de Mío Cid" a García Lorca. Madrid: Aguilar, 1958, pages 236-271.

The author makes several references to Jovellanos, pointing out that he served as friend, protector and advisor to Meléndez Valdés. Jovellanos recommended encyclopedist and philosophical themes typical of the century: humanity, beneficence and justice. Salinas finds it strange that Meléndez chose the French side, since his enemies, Moratín and Hermosilla were afrancesados, while his friends, Jovellanos and Quintana, remained patriotic.

- 317 Sánchez Agesta, Luis. El pensamiento político del despotismo ilustrado, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1953, 317 pages.
Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 192.
- 318 Sánchez Agesta, Luis. "España y Europa en el pensamiento español del siglo XVIII". Cuadernos de la Cátedra Feijoo de la Universidad de Oviedo, 1955, 28 pages.
Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 198.
- 319 Sánchez Agesta, Luis. "Jovellanos y la crisis del despotismo ilustrado". Archivo de Derecho Público, Granada, IV, 1951, 89-122.
Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 191.
- 320 Sánchez Albornoz, Claudio. De ayer y de hoy. Colección Persiles, No. 4, Madrid: Taurus, 1958, 163 pages. This book includes "Jovellanos historiador", 57-64, (no. 322) and "Tres fobias de Jovellanos", 65-71.
Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 206.

- 321 Sánchez Albornoz, Claudio. "Jovellanos y la historia". Españoles ante la historia, Biblioteca Contemporánea, Buenos Aires: Losada, 1958, pp. 161-212. Also in: Jovellanos, su vida y obra (Homenaje del Centro Asturiano de Buenos Aires en el bicentenario de su nacimiento), Buenos Aires, 1945, pp. 547-593.

In this essay Sánchez Albornoz explores the historical aspects of the writings of Jovellanos, attempting to decide if don Gaspar could rightly be called an historian, and if so, to what extent and in what aspects of his work.

In a style at times reminiscent of Azorin's, Sanchez Albornoz invokes the history-imbued atmosphere of his native Avila, where Jovellanos is reported to have studied during his adolescent years. Though never a student of history as such, don Gaspar read voraciously in all fields and in many languages (Spanish, French, English, Italian and Catalan). The Eighteenth Century, says Sanchez, may well be called the century of history for its enormous interest in this field, and Jovellanos, as a child of this century and of the Enlightenment, shared this enthusiasm, but with a difference:

Pero español hasta la médula, al escribir de historia Jovellanos siguió fiel a la línea temática y metodológica en que se movieron en su época los historiadores españoles. Y las llamaradas de su genio le llevaron a imaginar la teoría de la historia que habían de desenvolver los románticos y liberales del siglo XIX con que se anticipó varias décadas a los historiógrafos de allende el Pirineo.

Sánchez-Albornoz has carefully researched the writings of the leading Eighteenth Century historians, as well as the historical and literary works which Jovellanos is known to have read. (He regrets

that don Gaspar could not have read the Libro de buen amor, which would have served him well.)

Sánchez points out that in some areas Jovellanos' knowledge of history was deficient, and that his historical writings, especially those concerning the Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, are notably inaccurate. He tended to over-romanticize life in the Middle Ages, says Sánchez, and gave too little credit to the Moors in the formation of Spanish culture.

After careful analysis Sánchez concludes that, strictly speaking, Jovellanos was not an historian, but in spirit he must certainly qualify as one:

Pero como negarle latu sensu la condición de historiador, como negarle un honroso lugar en la cofradía de los que han amado la historia, la han estudiado con celo y han escrito sobre ella con devoción y constancia? No, cometeríamos injusticia con él al regatearle tan merecido puesto.

Combining an historical perspective and method which recall Menéndez Pidal and Ortega with careful research into the writings and reading of Jovellanos and others, this leading historian has made a valuable contribution to Jovellanos studies.

- 322 Sánchez Diana, José María. "Ideas españolas sobre la ciencia de la historia en el siglo XVIII". Theoría, Madrid, Nos. 7-8 (1954), 51-64. Reviewed by Caso Gonzalez (no. 83), 196.
- 323 (Alvarez) Santullano, Luis. Jovellanos, Siglo XVIII. Madrid: Aguilar, n.d., 1936, 260 pages.

This anthology, which contains several of the more important treatises by Jovellanos, together with a number of letters, has been

edited by Luis Santullano. He has also written the brief prologue and extensive introduction, which includes a biography of Jovellanos and a discussion of his more important writings, as well as an explication of his ideas.

Jansenism was extremely widespread during the reign of Carlos III, especially within the universities and other intellectual circles. Santullano believes, as does del Río, whom he cites, that Jovellanos was sympathetic to Jansenist ideas, but he was too broadminded to ever be trapped into espousing one special ideology. He does not believe that Jovellanos' supposed Jansenism could be the entire cause for his fall from favor. One must take into account as well anti-intellectual sentiments, together with personal envy and animosity against a vigorous and firm-minded reformer.

Santullano finds Jovellanos' prose "llena y fácil", and his poetry, though uneven in quality, is at times inspired and equal to the best written in his time, he believes.

Santullano describes the inventory of books which Jovellanos carried with him to Puerto de Vega, an enumeration which testifies to the breadth and catholicity of Jovellanos' reading.

This study, while providing little new information, furnishes a good overall introduction to Jovellanos.

- 324 Sarrailh, Jean. "Apropos du 'Delincuente honrado' de Jovellanos".
Mélanges d'études portugaises offerts a M. Georges Le Gentil, Chartres:
 Imprimerie Durand, 1949, pages 337-351.
 Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 189.

325 Sarrailh, Jean. L'Espagne éclairée de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954, 779 pages (See no. 326).

326 Sarrailh, Jean. La España ilustrada de la segunda mitad del Siglo XVIII. (Translated by Antonio Alatorre) México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1957, 786 pages.

Reviewed by Caso González (no. 83), 196.

327 Sebold, Russell P. Review of Jovellanos and his English Sources: Economic, Philosophical and Political Writings, by John H. R. Polt. Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 1964. In Hispania, XLIX (1966), 888-889.

Sebold rightly praises Polt's book as "solid, useful, well-written", calling it the "first systematic book-length study of the English sources of a major eighteenth-century Spanish writer". He notes that Polt's systematic exposition of the thought of Jovellanos is one of the most valuable parts of the book, calling attention especially to its objectivity. Polt, he says, gives a clear idea of Jovellanos' originality in naturalizing his borrowings, as well as his modernness, practical sense, judgement, maturity and forbearance. The reviewer adds that English influence on Jovellanos' criticism of art and literature can be seen especially in his La naturaleza y el arte.

Sebold points out correctly that studies similar to that of Polt are needed concerning other Eighteenth Century authors, especially since scholarship is in the process of reevaluating this period. Formerly it had been thought of as a period of overzealous French imitation, but now is beginning to be seen as one of cosmopolitanism and international orientation.

328 Seco Serrano, Carlos. "Godoy y Jovellanos". Archivum, Oviedo, XII (1962), 238-266.

The political situation in Spain during the last decade of the Eighteenth Century and the first decade of the Nineteenth as it relates to Jovellanos is the subject of this study.

Although the writer does not attempt to vindicate Godoy, he shows him to be much less of an ogre than some other historians have presented him, and absolves him completely of guilt in the matter of Jovellanos' deposition from the ministry and imprisonment. Seco asserts that this first dictator of modern times was a man of good will, whose mistakes in renewing the Family Pact and agreeing to the partition of Portugal were caused by poor judgement rather than by real malevolence.

In attempting to show a similarity between Godoy and Jovellanos, Seco points to Godoy's optimistic efforts to seek equilibrium from the scene of contention and chaos resulting from the polarization of Spain into two groups of traditionalists and young intellectual reformers. The similarity that Seco refers to is found in a belief in the possibility of social and political regeneration and in the potentiality of education for achieving this end.

Seco further discusses the relation between Godoy and Jovellanos mentioning the correspondence of Jovellanos and his expressed desire to be exonerated from the blemish of exile in Gijón. Seco contends that Godoy even intervened, but in vain.

With the end of the war with France (1797), Godoy sought a tenuous equilibrium in external affairs and a resumption of the enlightened reformism of the days of Carlos III. Thus Jovellanos was appointed a

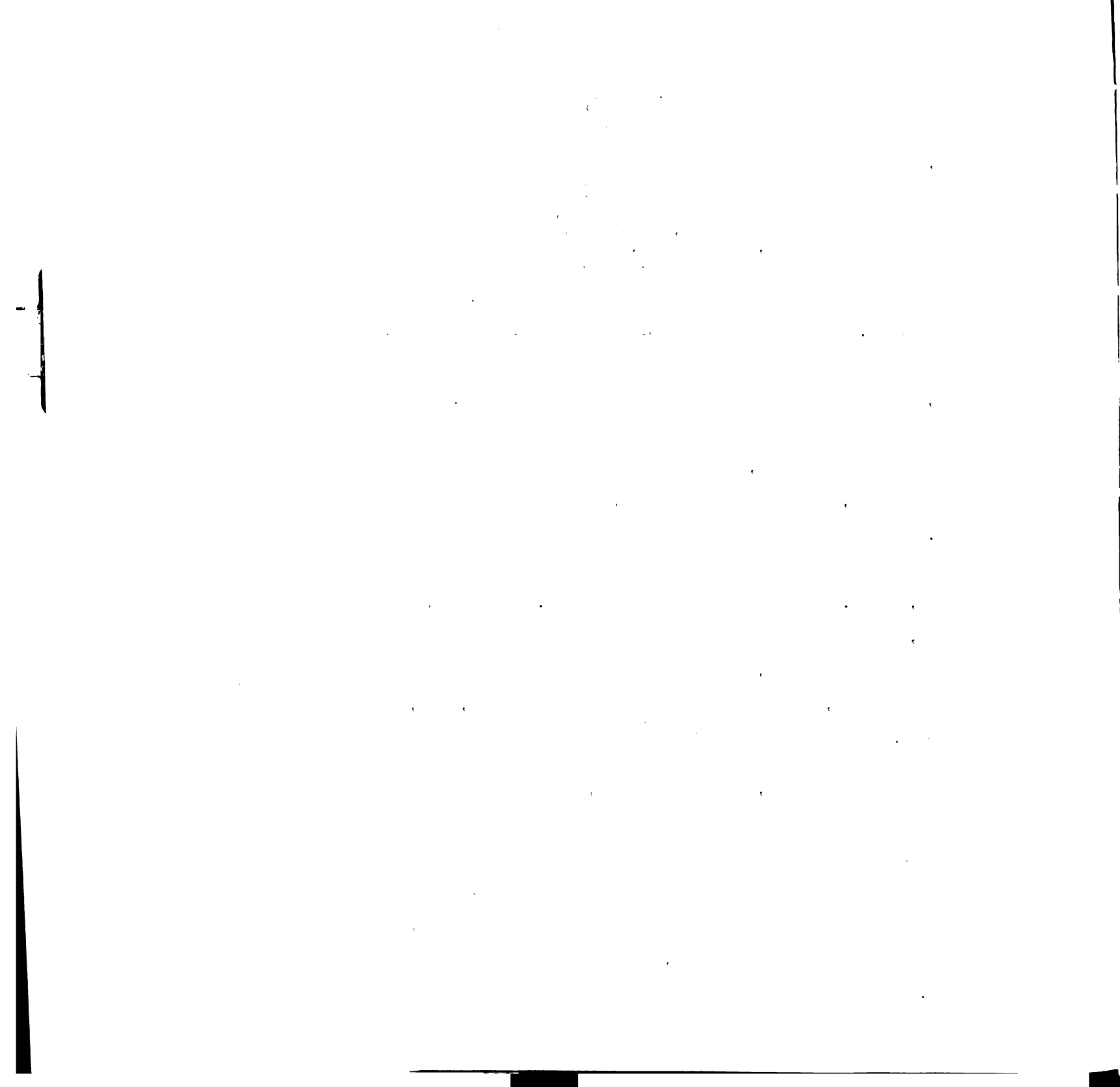
member of the new "Directorio Monárquico". But with increasing submission to French pressures and a trend toward rigid dictatorship and inquisitorial practices, Jovellanos was necessarily forced from office:

Ese fracaso supuso que en el horizonte de una España mediatizada por las exigencias napoleónicas, estuviese ausente la dignidad objetiva, equilibrada, del único que pudo ser piloto, y no náufrago, en la tremenda tempestad política que haría crisis en 1808. (266).

Seco in this study may have been overly kind to Godoy, whose memoirs Caso (no. 79) has shown to be entirely unreliable. Nevertheless, the writer has done well to clarify the relationship between Jovellanos and Godoy, a matter so often the subject of scurrilous conjecture. He has likewise assessed with a certain degree of fairness the motives and posture of the Príncipe de Paz, a man who suffered from the very human defects of ambition, sensuality and imprudence, but who was not completely a villain.

- 329 Serra Moret, Manuel. "Jovellanos y la reforma agraria". Jovellanos, su vida y obra, Homenaje del Centro Asturiano de Buenos Aires en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, con la adhesión de los centros asturianos de la Habana y México, Buenos Aires: La Prensa Médica Argentina, 1945, pages 483-546.

The writer grapples, as does Jovellanos, with the fundamental paradox inherent in Informe sobre la Ley Agraria and in the general problem of land distribution: how to justify disentanglement without at the same time negating the concept of the right to private property. Serra Moret sees gradual progress toward more equitable distribution of land, thanks in part the efforts of Jovellanos, and he is optimistic concerning the future.



- 330 Serrano y Sanz, Manuel. "Biografía de Josefa de Jovellanos y correspondencia entre Josefa y Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos". Apuntes para una biblioteca, Biblioteca de escritores españoles, 1401-1833, Madrid: Suc. de Rivadeneyra, 1903, pages 610-628.

Serrano y Sanz has written a brief biography of Josefa Jovellanos. This is followed by a correspondence of 19 letters between Jovellanos and his sister.

- 331 Serrano y Sanz, Manuel. "Cartas y memoriales de don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos y de sus hermanas sor Josefa y doña Catalina de Sena Jovellanos". Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos, Madrid, 1906, 112-117.

Serrano y Sanz has edited nine letters written by don Gaspar and his sisters. The first is written by sor Josefa and doña Catalina and addressed to the King asking for clemency on behalf of their brother. The others concern family affairs, health, etc. and are notable for their extreme tenderness and affection. All were written during the years of don Gaspar's confinement on Mallorca.

- 332 Serrano y Sanz, Manuel. "El consejo de Castilla y la censura de libros en el siglo XVIII". Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, Madrid, XV (1906), p. 45, ff. and XVI (1907), p. 45, ff.

Serrano y Sanz analyzes some of the currents of thought in Eighteenth Century Spain as revealed by the censure of its literature. He notes much evidence of continuing scholasticism and narrowly religious

refutations of new scientific theory, but he also finds new directions in investigation and criticism, and a desire to enter into the currents of European science.

The introduction is followed by examples of Jovellanos' censure of contemporary works: the Poesías lírico-sagradas of the Marqués de Palacios (1784) and the Memorias del Marqués de Pombal (1785).

- 333 Silva Melero, Valentín. "Actualidad del pensamiento de Jovellanos". Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, XIV (1960), 183-194.

This transcription of a speech delivered at the Instituto de Jovellanos in Gijón offers a compendium of Jovellanos' thought, especially in the political field, and a comparison of his ideas with those current in the second half of the Twentieth Century.

Silva points out that the three great European events of Jovellanos' lifetime were the Encyclopedist "euphoria", the French Revolution, and the Napoleonic Wars. Before this period philosophy had been the servant of theology, but during the Eighteenth Century the roles were reversed, and religious dogma was forced to undergo examination by philosophy. Thus the Eighteenth Century, like the Twentieth, was a time of social, technical and ideological upheaval, and of a radical changing of systems of values.

In accord with the utopianism of the Eighteenth Century, Jovellanos hoped for "una humanidad perfecta y pacífica, con la unidad de religión", expressing an idealism similar to that embodied in the United Nations, observes the author.

In most areas Silva sees Jovellanos as a conservative, possibly less liberal than he actually was, e.g., he was probably a more convinced feminist than Silva paints him. He characterizes Jovellanos as anti-revolutionary, and anti-extremist, favoring only limited freedom of the press. He believed in the right to private property, says Silva, but opposed craft guilds; religiously he was always completely orthodox.

Silva concludes his comparison between the ideas of this Eighteenth Century thinker and those current in Twentieth Century Spain by affirming, as have other contemporary Spanish commentators, that "se puede ser moderno sin dejar de ser tradicional".

- 334 Simón Díaz, José. "Una pretensión fracasada de Jovellanos". Aportación Documental para la Erudición Española, Recopilación y transcripción de J.S.D. Primera serie, Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1947, page 6.

In 1772 Jovellanos was recommended for the position of Director of the Reales Estudios de San Isidro, a former Jesuit institution, but unfortunately another was named in his place.

- 335 Simón Díaz, José and Martínez Cachero, José María. "Bibliografía de Jovellanos (1902-1950)". Boletín de Estudios Asturianos, Oviedo, No. XIII (agosto, 1951), pages 131-152.

This bibliography lists most of the works published by and about Jovellanos during the first half of the Twentieth Century. Although it is fairly complete and accurate, it includes no description of the works listed or critical commentary.

- 336 Smith, Robert Sidney. "Economists and the Enlightenment in Spain, 1750-1800". The Journal of Political Economy, Chicago, August, 1955, 345-348.

The writer briefly summarizes the Informe sobre la Ley Agraria and notes Jovellanos' distress at Campomanes' abandonment of economic liberalism in 1790.

- 337 Smith, Robert S. Review of Informe de Ley Agraria. Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, LVIII (1966), 202-203.
Bib. ref. in: Revista de Literatura, 1968, 217.

- 338 Smith, Robert Sidney. "The Wealth of Nations in Spain and Hispanic America", 1780-1830. Journal of Political Economy, 65 (1957), 104-125.

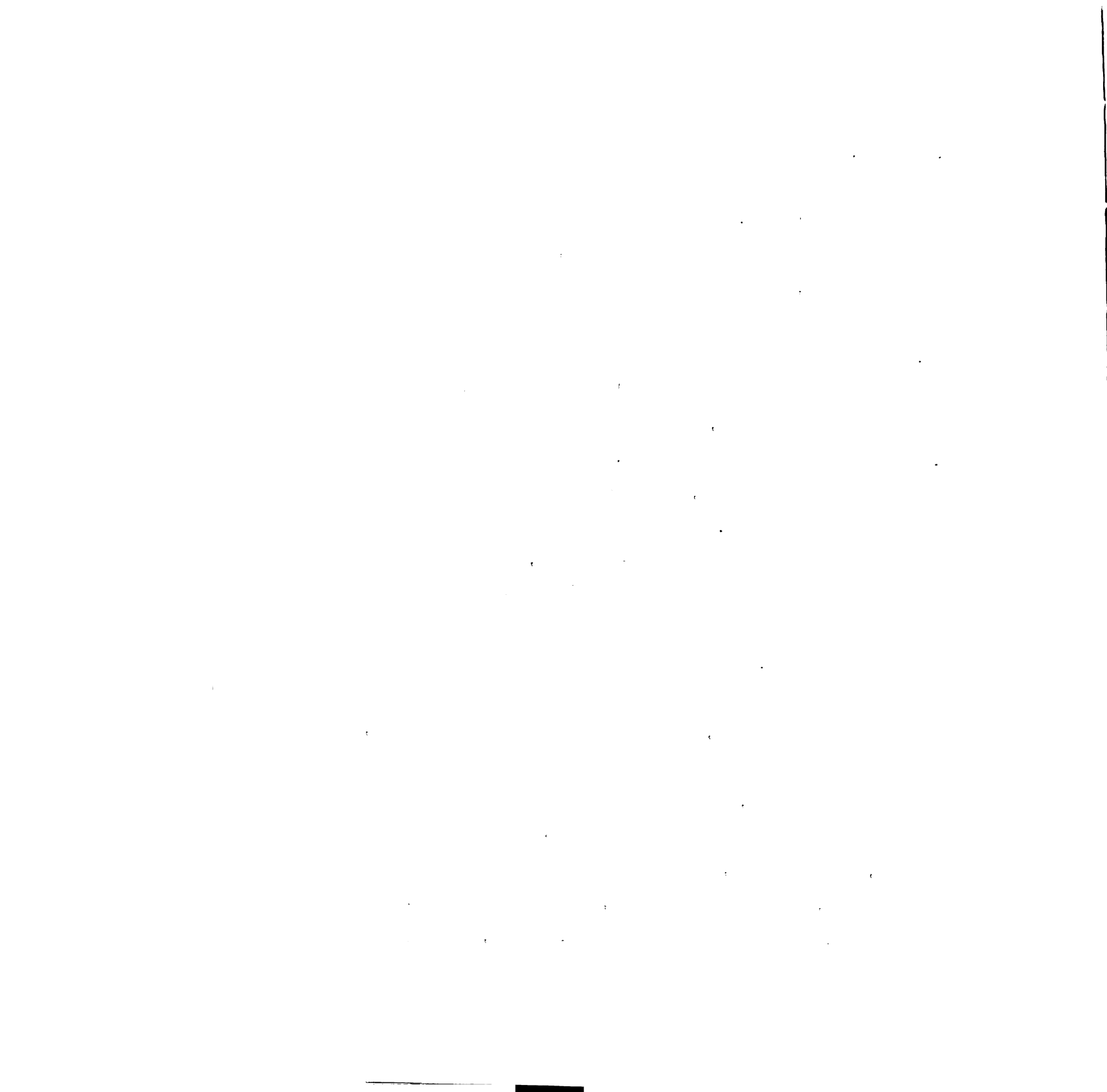
The author points out that Jovellanos' economic thought, although not the product of a single influence, was profoundly affected by Adam Smith, whose Wealth of Nations he read at least four times. Yet long before his acquaintance with Smith Jovellanos had doubted the efficacy of restrictive commercial policies. He advocated liberty in trade and attacked the restrictive influence of the guilds. The author briefly summarizes the Informe de Ley Agraria, showing that it was much in line with the precepts of Adam Smith.

- 339 Somoza de Montsoriú (García Sela), Julio. Prologue to Cartas de Jovellanos y Lord Vassall Holland sobre la guerra de la Independencia (1808-1811). Madrid: Fuentenebro, 1911.

These two volumes of correspondence between Jovellanos and Lord Holland, compiled, edited and annotated by Julio Somoza García Sala (formerly Somoza de Montsoriú) were published on the occasion of the centenary of Jovellanos' death. Somoza failed in his attempt to exchange the letters of Lord Holland for those of Jovellanos, but was eventually able to copy the latter, now located in the British Museum; his efforts in this regard form an interesting chapter in international literary diplomacy.

The last three years of Jovellanos' life (1809-1811), those following his release from prison, were decisive ones in Spain's turbulent history. In order to understand this period, as well as to comprehend the thinking of two of its finest minds, one could do no better than to read these nearly two hundred letters. Although quite naturally interspersed with unimportant material concerning day-to-day events, the comments and judgements of these two intellectuals concerning the war and the Spanish (and international) political scene make a rich contribution to the comprehension of the period.

Somoza has provided his readers with a carefully detailed relation of the events of the war, the rivalries between Spanish generals, the often antagonistic or neutralist stances of the provincial juntas (especially that of Asturias), and the largely frustrated efforts of the Junta Central in Seville to form a stable government. Their failure is understandable, declares Somoza, when one considers that their enemies included the English, the Consejo de Castilla, the provincial juntas, the French sympathizers, the centralists and the press. Somoza, however, at times tends to see things with a conservative bias: the English and the



press may not have been enimical, but merely more liberal. In a like vein Somoza interprets Jovellanos as believing freedom of the press to be counterproductive and even dangerous, commenting: "La libertad de la prensa, trajo su abyección; la universalidad del sufragio, su corrupción". (62). Jovellanos was doubtless less traditionalist than Somoza paints him: he certainly advocated at least limited freedom of the press. Strange that such a dedicated jovellanista as Somoza should at times let his own political leanings color his interpretation of the thinking of his subject. Jovellanos, as the champion of equilibrium and adaptation, of evolution rather than revolution, never espoused any political party. It is a pity that his commentators have wished to make him appear to do so.

340 Somoza de Montsoriú (García Sala), Julio. Documentos para escribir la biografía de Jovellanos recopilados por Julio Somoza. Madrid: Imp. de Gómez Fuentenebro, 1911, 2 vols. 590 pages.

Julio Somoza, with his usual care and dedication has compiled this collection of 191 documents, mostly of a somewhat personal nature, arranged chronologically thus forming in themselves a sort of proto-biography.

This uncritical and often adulatory prologue describes Jovellanos' style in the following terms:

El verbo jovellanista, subyuga de un modo avasallador. Dicción pura y castiza; período conciso y claro rayando a veces en lacónico, que forma el especial estilo de sus Diarios: giros adverbiales llenos de novedad y elegancia: orden admirable en la exposición, en el desarrollo, y al finalizar: argumentación sólida y nutrida, no exenta del tono patético, cuando el asunto lo requiere (como en la

Descripción del panorama de Bellver): y alguna que otra vez, del declamatorio, cual se percibe en la patriótica Carta a Cabarrús. La persuasión, saturada de bondad, y el razonar sereno, nutre e inflama sus brillantes páginas. (5,6).

The prologue extolls at some length Jovellanos' undeniable civic virtues and moral integrity, justly reproaching those narrow partisans of the Nineteenth Century bent on classifying him according to some particular ideology: "en las deleznales agrupaciones de nuestras miserables taifas políticas, sojuzgando, con pasión de bandería, el sentir y obrar de quien fue superior a todas ellas". (7).

Much of this prologue is devoted to a fervent and at times declamatory plea for a fitting memorial to Jovellanos on the first centenary of his birth, and to a bitter attack on those in possession of many important writings of Jovellanos and unwilling to release them for publication. The author lists the missing documents and names some of the culprits, berating them in language bordering on vituperation.

Volumes have been written concerning the causes for Jovellanos' unjust treatment, his exile and imprisonment, Somoza himself having engaged in much investigation and speculation on this issue. But in concluding this essay he sets the problem in more ample perspective, declaring that then as now events answer to the dominant spirit of the times and are largely sanctioned by society: "Que el fanatismo no es rasgo vinculado en ninguna clase, corporación, ni grupo, sino en todos nosotros, como signo típico de raza, carácter y temperamento . . . Que las pasiones, eternas y violentas en todos los seres, difícilmente son domadas, y reprimidas, como no sea entre los más superiores y virtuosos". (21).

This great bibliographer, with his quaint oratorical style and predilection for long periods and rhetorical questions, is by no means free from the passion he decries. But reading this eloquent panegyric one feels himself captured by the spirit of dedication and devotion of this supreme jovellanista.

341 Somoza de Montsoriú, (García Sala) Julio. Inventario de un jovellanista. Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1901, 205 pages.

This excellent and definitive bibliography of Jovellanos includes practically everything written by and about Jovellanos until the date of its publication in 1901. A few studies published outside of Spain are virtually the only omissions. The book is divided into the following sections:

- I. Impresos coleccionados
- II. Impresos dispersos y ediciones parciales
- III. Manuscritos publicados e inéditos
- IV. Biógrafos, comentadores, panegiristas, etc.
- V. Publicaciones periódicas
- VI. Traductores y publicaciones extranjeras
- VII. Dedicatorias
- VIII. Pintura, grabado y escultura, etc.
- IX. Epigrafía (lápidas e inscripciones)
- X. Geneología
- XI. Poesías, por orden alfabético
- XII. Escritos, por orden alfabético y cronológico
- XIII. Supletoria

In his "Preliminar" Somoza points out the hitherto little appreciated value of bibliography and explains his reasons for wishing to provide one for future scholars. He notes that only about a third of Jovellanos' writings have been published, and that much of the criticism concerning him has been valueless. He suggests that rather than continuing to repeat Ceán Bermúdez it would be better to expend the effort in editing some of Jovellanos' unpublished works, or in adding something useful to current knowledge through careful research. He asserts that the facts are available and even lists possible topics for study, e.g., Jovellanos as economist, as critic, or as man of letters; his relation to the fields of art, erudition or antiquities.

Somoza bemoans the poor quality of the works concerning Jovellanos, and his complete neglect by some literary historians. Many of the manuscripts of Jovellanos have been lost or mislaid, says Somoza, and those published have been filled with errors and improvisations. Somoza, however, may be to some extent supporting his own conservative leanings when he insists that Aranda, Olavide, Urquijo, Quintana and Tavira were never special friends of don Gaspar. Critics, he says, have used these associations to impute to Jovellanos extreme liberalism or Jansenism, categorizing all as regalistas, doceañistas, and ultrarevolucionarios. For this reason, says Somoza, the Informe de Ley Agraria was unjustly included in the Indice Expurgatorio of 1827.

This introduction was written by Somoza in 1892, some nineteen years before the centenary of Jovellanos' death. Somoza suggests that rather than statues, monuments, plaques and buildings, a more fitting memorial would be a written one. He modestly professes with his Inventario to have provided but one stone for this living monument. All jovellanistas will agree that his contribution is a very important one.

342 Somoza García-Sala, Julio (also Somoza de Montsoriú). Preliminary study to Manuscritos inéditos, raros o dispersos of Jovellanos. Nueva serie, Madrid: Hijos de Gómez Fuentenebro (1913), 432 pages.

Somoza's introductory essay provides background information and analysis for each of the seventeen informes, memorias and letters included in this volume.

The first treatise, dealing with economics, Somoza proves to be not original with Jovellanos but merely a translation. Elsewhere Somoza points out that Jovellanos was assigned most of the investigatory work for the Council of the Military Orders since its other members were incompetent or ill-disposed to perform such duties, considering their membership as strictly honorary.

In his discussion of Velásquez' sketch for Las Meninas upon which Jovellanos comments in one of the essays in this collection, Somoza traces the history of this preliminary study, and argues convincingly for its authenticity in spite of the doubts of some critics.

From this series of documents the reader cannot fail to be convinced of Jovellanos' great love for his native province, his amazing versatility, and his tact in dealing with difficult and demanding assignments, e.g., his secret investigation of public works projects throughout the Northwest of Spain. For his part, Somoza reveals the care and accuracy of his own investigation and analysis, as well as his despair at the backwardness of Asturias and his conviction that the Eighteenth Century was in nearly all respects superior to the Twentieth.

An appendix contains Menéndez de Luarca's "Apuntes para un prólogo", which was scheduled to appear shortly thereafter as a

preliminary study to the Gijón edition of the diaries (no. 240). In a refutation more than three times as long as Menéndez' prologue, Somoza vehemently disagrees with its author on almost every point, accusing him of prevarication, ineptitude and vulgarity. Somoza states that Necedal and Abello omitted some parts of the original text of the diaries, and that Menéndez de Luarda added other apocryphal ones, so that the version soon to be published, based on the 1868 version, which was printed but not released to the public, was far different from the original manuscript. Somoza convincingly refutes point by point all of Menéndez' allegations against Jovellanos. Although he himself may exaggerate in some instances, e.g., the problem of Jovellanos' attitude toward Jansenism, and even though his attack upon his adversary is often unduly violent this refutation supplies a much-needed corrective to the injustices done to Jovellanos by some Nineteenth Century editors and commentators.

- 343 Somoza de Montsoriu (Garcia Sala), Julio. Prologue to Miscelanea de trabajos inéditos, varios y dispersos de D. G. M. de Jovellanos. Barcelona: Nagsa, 1931, 311 pages.

This volume contains some eighteen letters, plus other interesting papers, many of them first drafts, and some unfinished. Their editor, Vicente Huici Miranda, with the aid of Julio Somoza, has chosen them to give emphasis to the breadth of interests and activities of Jovellanos. Thus he has included documents concerning the construction of roads, docks, canals and public buildings, as well as others showing his active interest in architecture, mining, metalurgy, etc.

Somoza's prologue, however, deals largely with the intrigues and calumnies which led to Jovellanos' dismissal from office and later imprisonment. He has delved extensively into letters, diaries and public documents in order to ascertain the real causes of this persecution, being careful to always note the source of his information. Many of the events he relates seem at first trivial, but it becomes evident as one reads that they are all part of a malicious plot being woven around don Gaspar.

By a process of detective-like deduction Somoza concludes that it was Jovellanos' distant relative, Jove Navia, who actually wrote the letter of denunciation to Caballero which caused don Gaspar's imprisonment, although several others, ironically all Asturians, were indirectly involved.

Despite a rather declamatory style marked by the overuse of epithets (mostly derogatory), and a tendency to omit no detail, Somoza has researched and possibly solved an enigma that has long troubled jovellanistas.

344 S.S.S. Review of Jovellanos: Patobiografía y pensamiento biológico by Jesús M. Martínez Fernández. Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, (1966), 275 pages. In Papeles de Son Armadans, XLVII (1967), 221-222.

The reviewer, S.S.S., finds interesting and well-documented this medical history of Jovellanos and discussion of his ideas concerning biology. He rightly observes that, "Un Jovellanos vivo y humanísimo, con sus temores y aprensiones, sus flaquezas y su orgullo, su idealismo y su

grandeza de alma, surge a través de esta acertada selección de sus escritos interpoladas y diagnosticados con admiración y afecto". The admiration and affection are certainly there, but some may find this investigation altogether too intimate, with its probing into very delicate and often irrelevant aspects of don Gaspar's personal life. Even the great and famous have a right to some degree of privacy.

S.S.S. closes with the somewhat inane criticism that the author should have incorporated the very lengthy footnotes into the body of the text.

345 Suárez, Constantino. Escritores y artistas asturianos, Índice bibliográfico, edición, adiciones y prólogo de José María Martínez Cachero, Tomo IV, (G-K), Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1955. Article on Jovellanos, pages 528-621.

This is the most complete and factual biography available. The writer relies on the biography written by Ceán Bermúdez and quotes extensively as well from such recognized jovellanistas as Julio Somoza and Angel del Río. Very little reference is made to the writings of Jovellanos, and no attempt is made to explicate his ideas, but in this article Suárez has assembled and presented in clear, readable prose a large proportion of the relevant facts concerning the life of don Gaspar.

This article is preceded by biographies of don Gaspar's father, Francisco Gregorio de Jovellanos and his brother, Francisco de Paula Jovellanos.

Following the biography of Jovellanos is an extensive bibliography which includes most of the important works by and about him published

between 1811 and 1955. After the death of Constantino Suárez in 1941 Martínez Cachero completed and brought up to date the bibliographical work which he had undertaken, but neither bibliographer has included any critical commentary.

- 346 Suárez-Llanos, Camilo González. Prologue to Espectáculos y diversiones públicas by Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Biblioteca Anaya 77, Autores españoles, Salamanca: Ediciones Anaya, 1967, 129 pages.

Following sections on the life and works of Jovellanos and on his importance, Suárez-Llanos analyzes the Memoria para el arreglo de la policía de los espectáculos y diversiones públicas, y sobre su origen en España from three points of view: the historical and erudite, the ideological and the literary.

Although Jovellanos' knowledge of the Middle Ages was in some respects deficient, he has contributed to a real understanding of the Spanish past through his descriptions of everyday life, Suárez affirms. But Memoria is also a pragmatic work, he says, written for the purpose of improving the lot of the people, who led existences of abismal boredom.

Agreeing with Francisco Ayala (no. 32), Suárez sees unresolved conflicts between the thinking of Jovellanos the theoretician and Jovellanos the pragmatist, and a "spiritual evolution", as he witnessed the subversion of the ideals of the Enlightenment by the French Revolution and the events which followed it.

The critic sees in Jovellanos' poetic and sentimental evocations of history a link with the generation of 1898; a pertinent analogy, for

Jovellanos' style often calls to mind that of Unamuno, Machado, and even Azorín; his concern for the problems of Spain as viewed from an historical perspective is likewise typical of thinkers and writers a full century later.

347 Sureda y Blanes, José. "Jovellanos en Bellver". Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, Oviedo, No. 1 (1947), 29-105.

This well-written paper, part of which was originally delivered in Bellver itself, serves to evoke the mood of the ancient castle and the personality of Jovellanos, whose six-year stay there added to its renown.

The author believes that although on Mallorca Jovellanos was deprived of freedom of movement, he found there an inner liberty, a "secreta fuerza interior", which, communicated through his writings and through the quality of his life, turned his imprisonment into a sort of victory: "Jamás amargado de la vida, hizo de ella una obra de arte, muy superior a su obra literaria que, tantos y tan elevados valores contiene" (31). Without doubt Jovellanos' religious faith became more fervent and more profound during this time, as witnesses his paraphrase of the psalm. "Judica me Domine".

During his first months in Bellver, Jovellanos was very badly treated, being denied books and writing materials. Sureda believes that in this period there occurred in Jovellanos a fundamental change: ". . . acaso llegaron para él gravidos de la angustia precursora de la máxima revolución que puede experimentar un alma: que en la morosa lentitud de aquellas horas solitarias quien era un gran escritor pudo haberse convertido en un genio con proyección universal". (36). Although Aranguren (no.19)

and Caso (no. 85) would disagree, Sureda affirms that Jovellanos became less radical during this period in Bellver:

Qué lejos está el Tratado teórico-práctico de enseñanza del Reglamento de estudios del Colegio de Calatrava "lleno de resabios jansenistas y enciclopedistas!" y en política, cómo ha cambiado el sentido de la Ley Agraria si se consideran muchas páginas de la Memoria en Defensa de la Junta General! (sic.). (35).

Sureda believes that during this period Jovellanos abandoned much of his severe neoclassicism and, as Menéndez Fidal points out (no. 242), began to adopt provincialisms of Asturias and Mallorca, and brief picturesque expression, as well as the grace and sensitiveness characteristic of preromanticism. Now there is an emotional quality and a new lyricism in his style, together with an interest in the Middle Ages, and also an increasing melancholy and disillusionment, which, as Sureda points out, Goya has well captured in his portrait.

The last part of the article includes a finely detailed description of Jovellanos' quarters in Bellver, of his friends, his books, and of the art objects and paintings which brightened his drab surroundings.

Sureda has provided an excellent stylistic and conceptual study of this period, as well as a vivid recreation of a traumatic, yet enormously productive phase of Jovellanos' life.

348 Tamayo, Juan Antonio. "Jovellanos y el romanticismo". Sí, suplemento semanal del diario, Arriba, Madrid, homenaje a Jovellanos en el bicentenario de su nacimiento, Año III (9 de enero de 1944), p. 6.

Tamayo discusses the romantic tendencies found in Jovellanos' prose, poetry, drama, and in his life itself. The writer points out that

Jovellanos was thoroughly a man of the Eighteenth Century, who saw Spain's backwardness and believed his mission was to awaken her from her "modorra secular". Although he exhibited romantic tendencies, especially in his later writings, his prose was "frío y razonador", says Tamayo, and it is doubtful if he ever subordinated thought to feeling, even in his most romantic moments.

Jovellanos was fundamentally an essayist, says Tamayo, since he never attempted to exhaust the materials discussed and employed a clear, elegant and literary style with few quotations and needless details.

Although Tamayo may exaggerate with respect to don Gaspar's lack of sentimentality, his assessment is well organized and in general successful, his observations concerning Jovellanos as essayist being especially cogent.

349 Teatro y poesía del siglo XVIII, (anon.). Portion of prologue on Jovellanos. Madrid: Nuevos Editoriales Unidos (Gráficas Unidas), n.d., 1958, 240 pages.

Bib. ref. in: Bibliografía Hispánica, 1958, no. 16, 234. No. 74.936.

350 Teatro y Poesía del Siglo XVIII, (anon.) Portion of prologue on Jovellanos. Madrid: Orion, 1950, pages 18, 19.

The writer calls Jovellanos "patriota animoso" and "decoroso poeta lírico" who cultivated melancholy, elegiac and sentimental poetry as well as philosophical and social themes. Meléndez Valdés himself admitted Jovellanos' influence, but that of Jovellanos over Cadalso, alleged by the writer, is extremely doubtful.

351 Torres-Ríoseco Arturo. "Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, poeta romántico". Revista de Estudios Hispánicos, Madrid, I (1928), pages 146-161.

In this perceptive and convincing analysis of the poetry of Jovellanos Torres-Ríoseco shows don Gaspar to be a romantic, even, in a sense, modern, in the sensitivity of his poetical expression. The fervor with which he presents his reformist ideals, his bold and direct expression, his complete sincerity and piquant sensibility all point to a new esthetic orientation in Castillian letters, he declares.

Jovellanos expressed a deep sensitiveness to nature in its concrete form, describing it lovingly and realistically, often imbuing it with a subjective melancholy which was typically romantic. Torres notes also his picturesque descriptions, his popular and regional realism, his love of liberty, his utopianism and egalitarianism, as well as his "humanitarismo socialista a la manera de Rousseau". (158). (It is perhaps worth pointing out here that these liberal ideals represent only one phase of Jovellanos' thought, and that in later life he became much more conservative in his thinking).

Probably Torres-Ríoseco goes too far in referring to some of don Gaspar's poetry as "lúgubre, tenebrosa, macabre". Also, it is only fair to remember that Jovellanos' poetry possessed marked, even perhaps predominant, neoclassical tendencies as well as romantic elements. Even though Torres has overstated his case, his point is well taken: he was certainly one of the first to call attention to these important romantic traits in the poetry of Jovellanos.

352 Trusso, Francisco Eduardo. "Jovellanos y su pensamiento". Cuardenos del idioma, (Buenos Aires), No. 4 (1966), 77-88.

Many critics have categorized Jovellanos' political thought as "liberalismo ilustrado". Trusso, however, rejects this classification, preferring rather to call him antirationalist, romanticist, and traditionalist. The author affirms that, unlike Jovellanos, the Encyclopedists, because of their failure to understand historical process, were entirely oblivious to the creative aspects of history. The progressivism and liberalism espoused by these enlightened thinkers lead ultimately to absolutism, declares Trusso. The romanticists, on the other hand, focused their attention on natural law, derecho histórico, and tradition. The writer quotes Guizot in this regard:

. . . la tradición es la razón perseverante, que ha durado porque ella es la razón, y que prueba que ella es la razón por el hecho mismo que ella ha durado. No necesita de otra prueba, de otra justificación ni de otro título. Durar es mostrar su derecho a ser.(80).

Trusso also lucidly discusses the meaning of the term soberanía as used by Jovellanos. Don Gaspar believed that sovereignty resides completely in the monarch, since it has been delegated to him by the people. This pact between monarch and nation, involving reciprocal rights and responsibilities, forms a "pacto constitucional", superior to either the governor or the governed.

This essay, although reflecting the author's traditionalist leanings, is well thought out and informative, especially in regard to the question of sovereignty, a concept basic in Jovellanos' political thinking.

- 353 Valdés-Solís, Martín Andreu. Review of Proyección nacional de la villa de Jovellanos by Joaquín A. Bonet, Gijón: Ayuntamiento, 1959. In Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, Oviedo, No. XL (agosto de 1960), 344-348.

The writer offers extravagant praise to Bonet for this article concerning Jovellanos' efforts to make Gijón a sort of model city. He even claims to see in Bonet a sort of double of Jovellanos: "Es tal la compenetración entre Bonet y Jovellanos que con mayor exactitud no puede darse". (344). Valdés-Solís uses this review as an occasion for expounding his own traditionalist ideology, and arguing against technological progress. To some extent one must agree with him: the alterations he decries have brought with them pollution of both air and water to the region described.

- 354 Valero de Cabal, M. Review of Jovellanos: patobiografía y pensamiento biológico by Martínez Fernández, Jesús María. Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, Oviedo, LVII (1966), 196-199.
Bib. ref. in: Revista de Literatura, 1968, 217.

- 355 Vázquez de Mella y Fanjul, Juan. Discurso pronunciado en Oviedo el 30 de abril de 1916. Obras Completas, Vol. II, Junta del Homenaje a Mella, Ideario I, Segunda edición, Barcelona: Casa Subirana, 1933, 223-226.

This strongly traditionalist writer points out Jovellanos' "flaquezas y desvaríos" in economic thought, influenced by the thinking of Campomanes and Smith, whom, says Vázquez, he read in the version published by Ortiz.

Actually Jovellanos read the Wealth of Nations in the original, as he records in his diaries: he had no need of translations, since he read English well.

Vásquez praises Jovellanos for favoring an internal, historical constitution for Spain rather than an external, idealistic French-style one. But Vásquez errs in assuming that Jovellanos was ever a delegate to the Cortes de Cádiz.

- 356 Vela, Fernando. "Un día de Jovellanos en Gijón". El grano de pimienta, No. 984 de la colección "Austral", Buenos Aires, 1950, pages 28-30.

In a lilting poetical style the writer recreates the hour-by-hour events of the imaginary day in the life of Jovellanos, obviously during his years of exile in Gijón between 1790 and 1797.

Although the author quotes extensively from the diaries of Jovellanos, his excessive reliance on imagination and speculation causes one to consider this more a work of fiction than a serious study.

- 357 "Velada necrológica". El Ateneo de Gijón en el primer centenario de Jovellanos, Gijón, 1911, pages 85-96.

This article describes the proceedings of the Ateneo de Gijón in planning for the commemoration of the centenary of the death of Jovellanos and lists those who took part. The eulogistic speeches of the Bishop of Placencia, Fermín Canella and Miguel Adellac are extracted.

- 358 Velasco Díaz, Felix. "Jovellanos y Asturias". Sí, suplemento semanal del diario, Arriba, Madrid, Número homenaje a Jovellanos en el bicentenario de su nacimiento Año III (9 de enero de 1944), p. 12.

Velasco enumerates Jovellanos' many contributions to his native province and factually records the unquestioned loyalty and affection of Jovellanos for his patria chica. He recounts the founding of the Real Instituto, and Jovellanos' regret at having to leave shortly after the inauguration of its new building to become Minister of Grace and Justice. The writer notes Jovellanos' great interest in local speech and customs, calling attention to his description of provincial fiestas and romerías in his Memoria sobre espectáculos y diversiones. Jovellanos likewise did much to promote Asturian economy, especially concerning himself with its mines and highways, and founding societies of Amigos del País to stimulate interest in these areas. Velasco notes Jovellanos' efforts toward founding an Asturian academy, and his loyal participation in the Junta Central, refusing to accept a salary for this service.

- 359 Vergnes, R. "Dirigisme et libéralisme économique à la Sociedad Económica de Madrid (De l'influence de Jovellanos)". Bulletin Hispanique, LXX (1969), 300-341.

The author examines the various treatises on agriculture formulated during the latter part of the Eighteenth Century by the Economic Society of Madrid. The Memorial ajustado ... para la ley agraria, published in 1777 under the direction of Campomanes, recommended rather strict control of agricultural production. The Informe sobre la Ley Agraria, however, authorized ten years later by the Society to be written by Jovellanos, but published only in 1794, advocated much greater liberalism. The author suggests that this evolution from authoritarianism to

a policy of *laissez-faire* was due to the influence of Jovellanos, whose economic liberalism was at least partially due to his reading of Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations and of the works of other English economists.

- 360 Viera y Clavijo. Cartas familiares escritas por don Viera de Clavijo a varias personas esclarecidas, por sus dignidades, clase, empleos, literatura, o buen caracter de amistad o virtud. Santa Cruz de Tenerife, (n.d.). Contains allusions to Jovellanos.
Bib. ref. in: Arce y Fernández, Joaquín. "Jovellanos y la sensibilidad prerromántica", BBMP, XXXVI (1960), (no.21), 176.
- 361 Villar Granjel, Domingo. Jovellanos y la reforma agraria. Madrid, 1912, 35 pages. Lecture at the Ateneo de Madrid. Pamphlet.
Bib. ref. in: Dotor, (no. 125), 232.
- 362 Villota Elejalde, Juan Luis. Doctrinas filosófico-jurídicas y morales de Jovellanos. Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1958, 219 pages.

Although it is undeniable that Jovellanos was a man of complete integrity who was seldom, if ever, equivocal in his political and religious convictions, it is also true that commentators have been able to support all sorts of diverse assumptions concerning these tenets by quoting from his writings. Thus Villota in this carefully explicated dissertation has been able to propound convincing arguments for Jovellanos' complete adherence to scholasticism and Thomism.

It must be allowed that Jovellanos was greatly influenced by both of these related systems of thought, but Villota is guilty of

exaggeration: Jovellanos on many occasions bitterly criticized scholasticism as being responsible for Spain's educational backwardness. As Caso (no. 83) points out, most of the doctrines alluded to by Villota in proof of Jovellanos' Thomism are tenets of orthodox Catholicism as well, and no one can deny that Jovellanos was ever a true believer.

Villota is likewise in error in denying all influence of the Encyclopedists and of Rousseau on the thought of Jovellanos. Although he ultimately rejected most of their thinking, especially after the debacle of the French Revolution, to categorically state that Jovellanos was immune to liberal thought is a gross exaggeration.

Villota's work is valuable, nevertheless, for its explication of the relation of Jovellanos' juridical ideas to natural law ethics.

363 Wardropper, B. W. "An early English Hispanist". Bulletin of Spanish Studies, No. 96 (October, 1947), 259-268.

In this study Wardropper deals with Jovellanos' British friend, Lord Vassall Holland, concentrating especially on his criticism of Spanish literature.

Speaking of Lord Holland's relationship with Jovellanos, he asserts that theirs was a friendship of "men whose minds were essentially critical, but neither of whom found occasion to criticize the other" (262). He observes that Quintana's literary influence on Lord Holland was probably greater than that of Jovellanos, since he was more directly concerned with literature.

364 Yaben Yaben, Hilario. "Algo más sobre Jovellanos". Ecclesia (Madrid), 4, No. 158 (12 de julio, 1944), 17, 20.

Hilario Yaben, vicario general of Sigüenza, is extremely knowledgeable concerning Catholic dogma, and should therefore be well qualified to speak about Jovellanos' religious orthodoxy. As in his book-length study on Jovellanos, written nearly three decades before, Yaben insists on don Gaspar's complete and sincere religious faith. Yaben feels constrained to write again on the subject, he says, since many are still unconvinced on this point. He mentions two main sources for this doubt: one the "Apuntes para un prólogo" by Menéndez de Lueza, (no. 240), and the other the appearance of Ley Agraria on the Index of Rome.

Yaben, although decrying Jovellanos' regalism, asserts that this was an attitude quite widespread among the ilustrados of his day, and did not involve any deviance from Christian faith. He cites the example of other loyal Catholics who have embraced similar opinions.

The Memoria sobre la Ley Agraria was placed on the Index, says Yaben, because of its advocacy of disentanglement. Although here also Yaben does not completely absolve Jovellanos, he does assert that his views on this issue were moderate ones, and that he insisted only that new acquisitions of real property be limited rather than existing ones be disposed of. Yaben argues quite vehemently, however, that the Church is a supreme and independent society whose rights the State has no power to curtail, and that Jovellanos was in error for having suggested such

limitation. The Church's stance on this age-old confrontation, still not completely resolved even today, is competently defended by Yaben. But in spite of his disagreement with Jovellanos on this issue he is equally firm in his defense of Jovellanos' religious orthodoxy.

- 365 Yaben Yaben, Hilario. "El centenario de Jovellanos". Ecclesia, Madrid, No. 151 (3 de junio, 1944), 15-16.

The author reiterates his contention that Jovellanos was always a believing Catholic, never departing from complete orthodoxy. He declares, however, that his two defects were his philosophical empiricism and his regalism. He cites the letter written by Jovellanos to Charles IV advising that bishops assume papal prerogatives in the event of the death of Pío VI, observing that this would have caused a serious schism in the Church. Caso (no. 79), however, has shown that this advice was prudent and well-considered, given the existing critical situation and the designs of Napoleon on the Holy See.

- 366 Yaben Yaben, Hilario. Juicio crítico de las doctrinas de Jovellanos en lo referente a las ciencias morales y políticas. Madrid: Jaime Ratés, 1913, 414 pages.

This rather lengthy treatise is divided into three parts: the first deals with the moral doctrines of Jovellanos, the second with his political doctrines, and the third is concerned with those relating to economics.

Yaben begins with a somewhat involved chapter entitled "Sistemas principales sobre los fundamentos de la Moral", in which he

traces the history of moral philosophy, dividing the subject, in the manner of Comte, into its theological, metaphysical and positivist phases. Through deft argumentation the author refutes the concept of morals of Emmanuel Kant, as well as that of Spencer and other positivist thinkers.

Yaben continues by examining the moral philosophy of Jovellanos, commencing his study by affirming don Gaspar's complete Catholic orthodoxy. He believes that the chief defect in Jovellanos' philosophy lies in his empiricism, and in his theological and judicial regalism.

Yaben questions Jovellanos' ability as a philosopher, calling him "pobre y raquítico", declaring that the Eighteenth Century in general, although called the Century of Philosophy, was equally deficient in this regard: "Precindiendo de Kant y de su extraordinaria labor filosófica, la Filosofía del siglo XVIII fue muy pobre y mezquina". (73). Here Yaben sees Jovellanos as a disciple of Locke and Condillac, who believed that speech was necessary for thought, the two being practically indistinguishable. Yaben refutes this idea, as well as Jovellanos' definitions of sensation as the impression that the mind receives of objects, and idea the image that remains of objects which are not present. (Yaben objects to confusing the image with the idea, a notion which would lead logically to a negation of Christian spiritualism).

Jovellanos, says Yaben somewhat inaccurately, rejected the idea of adding courses in experimental science to the curriculum of the universities, advocating rather the establishment of special institutes for these studies. In his Peglamento para el Colegio de Calatrava he recommended such a reform for the universities, until that time largely dedicated to classical and theological studies; it was only later, when,

disilusioned by the recalcitrance of these reactionary institutions, he admitted somewhat ruefully in his Informe sobre la Ley Agraria:

"Mientras sean lo que son y lo que han sido hasta aquí, mientras estén dominados por el espíritu escolástico, jamás prevalecerán en ellas las ciencias experimentales". (BAE, Tomo L, page 366).

In his chapter on Jovellanos' political doctrines Yaben discusses the origin of the state, national sovereignty, and the liberties proclaimed by the French Revolution. He paraphrases, extensively and usually with accuracy, Jovellanos' thoughts on jurisprudence and the state. He concludes by showing the need for economic prosperity, to be founded upon a firm basis of morality.

367 Zavala, Iris M. "Jovellanos y la poesía burguesa". Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, XVIII (1965-66), 47-64.

The writer believes that Jovellanos' influence upon contemporary poets was great, and that actually he changed the course of poetry written in Spain at the end of the Eighteenth Century.

Paradoxically, Jovellanos seldom followed his own advice, but this was because he never considered himself a professional poet, as were his Salamancan friends, but wrote verses only for diversion. After his epístola to his friends in Salamanca, however, Cadalso's image was replaced by that of Jovellanos, who had much more influence, Zavala affirms, than even Meléndez Valdés. Poetry now assumed a social, bourgeois orientation, and the poets themselves, especially Meléndez, Cienfuegos and Quintana, expressed concern for Spain and its problems, and even became politically active.

Zavala declares that this was a period of great confusion in which an aristocratic belief in reform desde arriba was at least partially contradicted by a bourgeois sentiment, and she defines burgués in the following terms:

Creo todos estaremos de acuerdo si definimos al burgués como el hombre que sabe orientarse en el mundo, sabe qué significa algo y quiere hacer valer sus peticiones acá abajo. La misma muerte pierde, para el burgués mucho de su misterio: comienza a despojarse de sus características religiosas; es un especie de sentir sin creer. La vida, por el contrario, pierde su sentido negativo. El burgués sabe para qué vive; su vida tiene una finalidad aquí abajo.

The writer points out as well the bourgeois belief in pacificism and in progress, his confidence in his potential as a class and in his own perfectability.

Zavala disagrees with Caso (no. 87) and Arce (no. 21) that the themes of Jovellanos' poetry are preromantic, affirming that they are bourgeois instead, but I doubt that either of these critics would find a real contradiction in the two terms. Both attitudes shared a common sentimentalism, a tendency to break with Classical precepts, a popular picturesqueness almost democratic in tone, and a special feeling for nature.

Studies on Jovellanos prior to 1902 not listed by Julio Somoza in his Inventario de un jovellanista.

(I have reviewed a few of these pre-1902 articles which I consider of special importance for the understanding of subsequent criticism on Jovellanos. Many of the other studies in this group are unavailable.)

368 Amador de los Ríos, J. "Biografía de Jovellanos". El Laberinto, Madrid, 1845, page 49, ff.

Bib. ref. in: Dotor, (no. 125), 227.

369 Balbín de Unquera, Antonio. "Jovellanos y los libros de texto". Soluciones Católicas, Valencia, (feb., 1898), 730-733.

Balbín discusses Jovellanos' far-sighted proposals for educational reform and his efforts to provide adequate textbooks, especially ones for the study of French and English.

Expressing the preoccupations of his generation, Balbín points to the decadence of Spain, to the loss of her colonies, and to the current war (of Eighteen ninety-eight). Although Jovellanos' ideas were advanced for his day, Balbín regrets that educators have been unable to move beyond this point in their thinking.

370 Baumgarten, H. Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Madrid, 1865.

371 Blanco White, Joseph (José María) (Leocadio Doblado, pseudonym). The Life of The Reverend Joseph Blanco White. Chapter titled "His Life in Spain". London: J. Chapman, 1845.

This fabulous radical-leaning native of Seville who later fled to England speaks with bitterness of his experiences in Seville during the first years of the Nineteenth Century. He is derisive in speaking of the members of the Junta Central, but excepts Jovellanos, whom he respects, although accusing him of "a deep-seated jealousy of everything popular". He ridicules him for engaging in historical research concerning the ancient

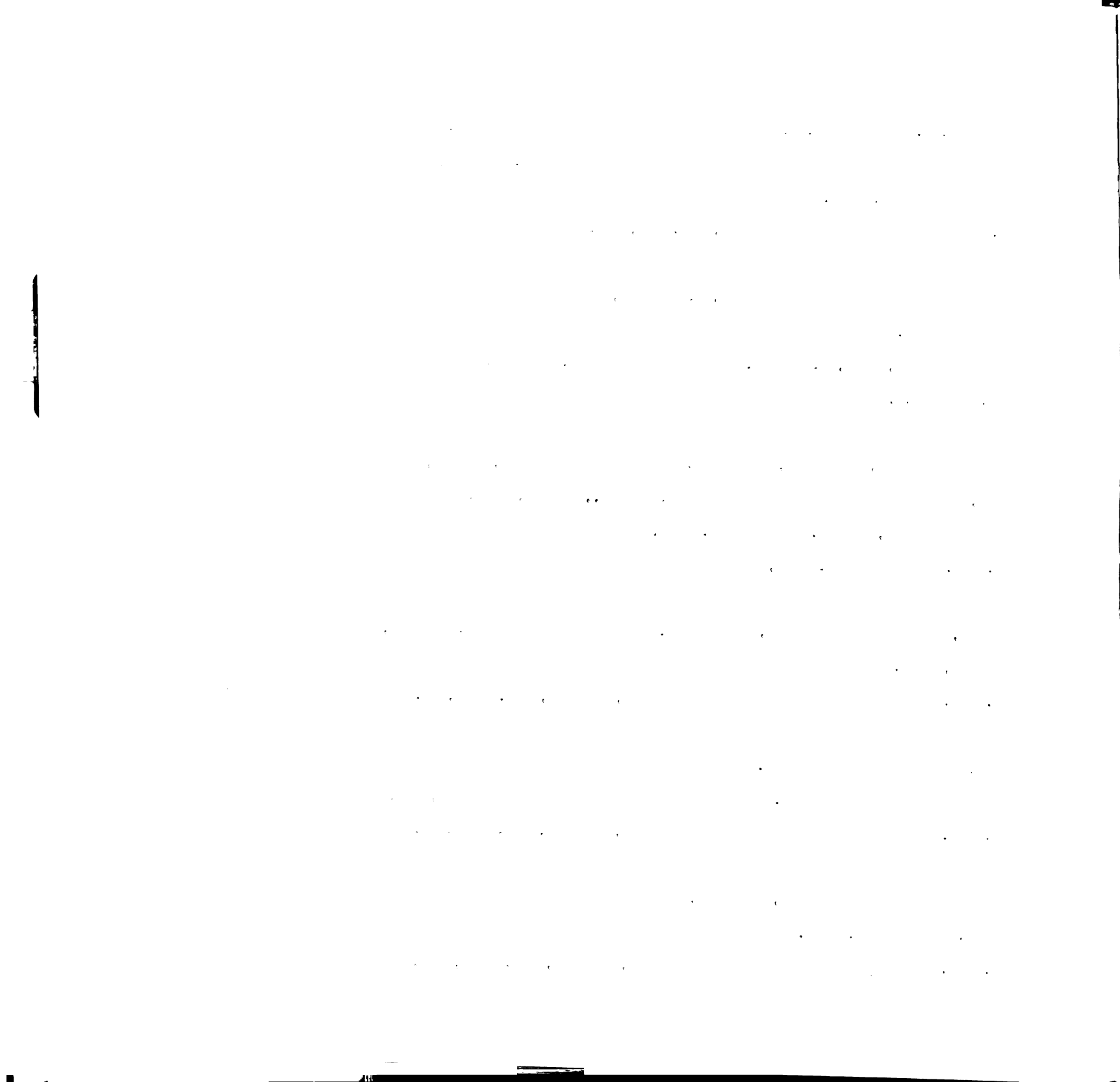
Cortes when the French were threatening to overrun Andalucía. On principle Blanco declined an appointment to the commission preparing the convocation of the Cortes offered him by Jovellanos.

This witty and acerbic commentary by the editor of the short-lived *Semanario Patriótico* reveals the perspective of a liberal whose thinking was much too democratic for traditional Spanish conservatism.

- 372 Calzada, Rafael. "Un boceto biográfico". Galería de españoles ilustres, Buenos Aires, 1893-94.
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 597.
- 373 Canella y Secades, Fermín, and Belmut, Octavio. "Un estudio biográfico". Asturias, Tomo I, Gijón, 1894.
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 598.
- 374 Costa, Joaquín. "Oposición formidable de Jovellanos". Colectivismo agrario en España. Madrid, 1898, Chapter III, Parts I and II: "Doctrinas y hechos".
Bib. ref. in: *Polt*, (no. 279), 70.
- 375 Delmonte y Aponte, Domingo. "Memorias de la Sociedad económica de la Habana". Cartas del Sr. D. Gaspar de Jovellanos, Habana: Imp. del Faro industrial, 1848.
Bib. ref. in: *Catalog of Library of Congress*, no. AS71.H3.
- 376 Estela, Pedro. Discurso sobre la comedia antigua y moderna. Madrid: Sancha, 1794. Allusion to Jovellanos, p. 43.



- 377 Esterlich, P. and Rosello, G. Illustrations and notes to Obras de D. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos relativas a la isla de Mallorca. Tomo I, Palma de Mallorca, 1889.
Bib. ref. in: Alvarez Solar-Quintes, (no. 16), 109.
- 378 García de Villanueva Hugalde y Parra, M. Origen, épocas y progresos del teatro español. Progresos del Teatro Español: Discurso histórico, Madrid: Sancha, 1802, p. 318 (n.) (In libraries of U. of Mich. and Mich. State U.).
- 379 Hardings (Jardine, Jardines), Alexander. Letters from Barbary, France, Spain, Portugal etc. by and English Officer, 2 vols., London, 1788.
(Concerning name, see no. 183d and no. 284).
Bib. ref. in: Polt (no. 279), 71
- 380 Holland, Henry Richard Vassall, third Lord. Foreign Reminiscences. London, New York, 1850.
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 605.
- 381 J.A.R. (Juan Alonso del Real). Biographical notes preceding Jovellanos: Colección de obras escogidas. Barcelona; Biblioteca Clásica Española, 1884.
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 605.
- 382 Jovellanos y Ramírez de Jove, Gregorio. Historia de la familia de Jovellanos. Manuscript, 1718.
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 605.



- 383 Le Brun, Carlos. Retratos políticos de la revolución de España. Philadelphia, 1826.
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 606.
- 384 López Acevedo, Ramón María. Oda en la muerte del Excmo. Sr. D. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Oviedo, 1811.
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 606.
- 385 Maceira, A. G., "Ideas filosóficas y políticas de Jovellanos".
Revista contemporánea, 17, tomo 87, 1892, pages 386-395.
Bib. ref. in: Dotor, (no. 125), 230.
- 386 Meléndez Valdés, Juan. "Al Sr. D. Gaspar de Jovellanos, Oidor en Sevilla. Sobre mi amor", (Silva poética en verso blanco endecasílabo). Published by R. Foulché Delbosc, Revue Hispanique I, 1894, pages 167-179.
Bib. ref. in: Arce y Fernández, Joaquín. "Jovellanos y la sensibilidad prerromántica", BBMP, XXXVI (1960) (no. 21), 156.
- 387 Menéndez Pelayo, Marcelino. "Artes del diseño" +, Capítulo IV. Historia de las ideas estéticas en España. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1947, pp. 571-580. (Obras completas, Tomo III).
Originally published: Madrid: A. Pérez Dubrull, 1886.

This study by Menéndez Pelayo contributes to the understanding of Jovellanos' esthetic theories, especially through dividing his thinking into two distinct periods, the first, a classical phase and the second, a + Reviewed briefly by Somoza

romantic or preromantic one beginning with his imprisonment on Mallorca. Actually, this trend had begun much earlier, however, even with his Epístola del Paular, where marked romantic sentiment is expressed. As I have noted elsewhere, there was a doubtless evolution or at least a change of emphasis in the thought and attitude of Jovellanos, but it is inaccurate to make such a complete dichotomy as that postulated by don Marcelino.

In his Elogio de las bellas artes (1781) Jovellanos reflected the thinking of Mengs, advocating a return to the art of Greece and Rome for models. But a few years later, in his Elogio de don Ventura Rodríguez (1788), Jovellanos was indicating already an interest in the life and art of the Middle Ages, an interest which was later to characterize his more fully romantic writings. Menéndez Pelayo ridicules as "tan peregrina y fantástica como ingeniosa" (573) Jovellanos' theory that the inspiration for Gothic art had been brought from the East by the returning crusaders, although the validity of this judgement has since been largely accepted by critics.

Likewise Jovellanos may not have been so incorrect as Menéndez Pelayo believes in calling the architecture of the first churches of the reconquest arquitectura asturiana. For don Marcelino it was "una prolongación decadente y empobrecida del arte latino usado por los visigodos". (595).

Menéndez Pelayo quotes Jovellanos' eulogistic assessment of the painting of Murillo, but is astounded that he fails to mention the religious aspect of the work of the great Sevillian: "Todas las cualidades externas de Murillo están aquí: solo falta (inexplicable olvido en hombre tan

creyente como Jovellanos!) el alma del pintor, su inspiración cristiana". (576). Late Twentieth Century critics might be more inclined to agree with Jovellanos than with his late Nineteenth Century commentator.

Menéndez Pelayo may exaggerate somewhat in affirming that in Bellver Jovellanos lost all traces of his old classicism, but he was without doubt moving toward a precocious romanticism during nearly all the latter part of his life.

- 388 Menéndez Pelayo, Marcelino. Treatise on Jovellanos. In Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, + Libro VI, Capítulo 3, Tomo VI, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1947, pages 341-354. Originally published: Madrid: V. Maroto e hijos, 1881.

In his inquiry into the heterodoxy of the Eighteenth Century Menéndez Pelayo saves Jovellanos for last, since, although disagreeing with some aspects of his political thought, he does not consider him to be heterodox.

Jovellanos, says Menéndez Pelayo, was a man of his century, bowing in the direction of its enlightened ideas, especially in his younger years. Most reprehensible, he thinks, was Jovellanos' espousal of disentailment, which he believes to be a grave error, since this would necessarily infringe upon the right of private property. "¿Con qué justicia se exceptúa de la ley común a las congregaciones religiosas, privándolas de la facultad de adquirir por medios legítimos y ordinarios?" (342) asks don Marcelino, agreeing with most writers of both the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries on this highly emotional issue.

+ Listed by Somoza but not reviewed.



Menéndez Pelayo also criticizes Jovellanos' remarks concerning superstition, ignorance and fanaticism, reflecting an attitude which for him "macula la ortodoxia de Jovellanos" (343). But don Marcelino excuses him by noting that these were terms in common usage in that period. Besides, he was an economist, which perhaps explains many of don Gaspar's deviations: "Ya hemos confesado que Jovellanos fue economista, y no es éste leve pecado, como que de él nacen todos los demás suyos". (344). Is don Marcelino serious at this point, or does this constitute an attempt at satire?

Menéndez Pelayo absolves Jovellanos, pointing out that his mature works show much more conservative tendencies and that he placed his trust in divine revelation rather than in ontology and metaphysics. He notes also that Jovellanos rejected the political ideas of Rousseau and the Encyclopedists, expressing his abhorrence for all revolution.

Sumarizing his vindication of Jovellanos don Marcelino describes him in the following terms:

. . . austero moralista, filósofo católico, desconfiado hasta con exceso de las fuerzas de la razón, . . . tradicionalista en filosofía, reformador templado y honradísimo, como quien sujeta los principios y experiencias de la escuela histórica a una ley superior de eterna justicia; quizá demasiado poeta en achaques de economía política . . . (353).

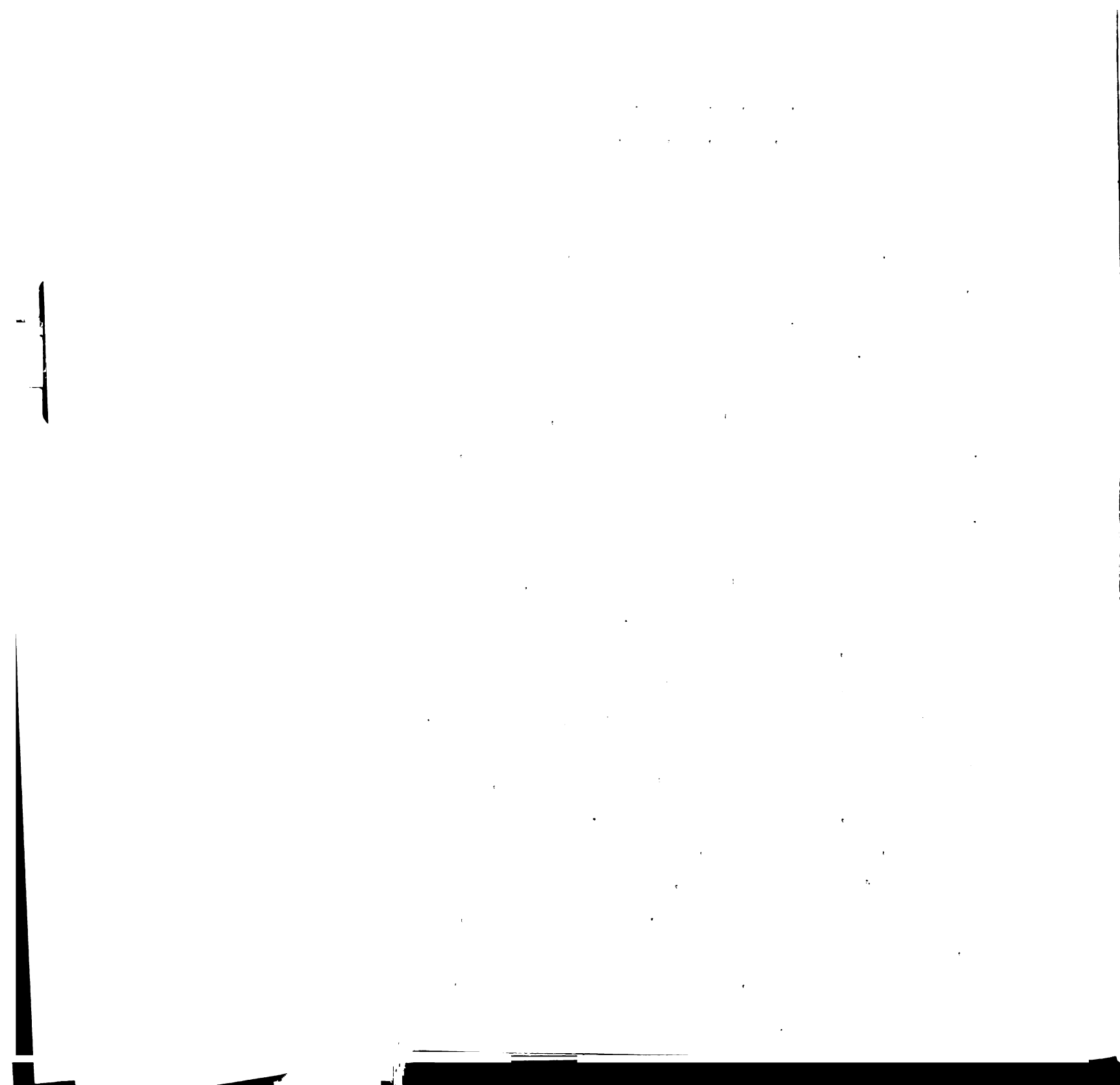
Thus Menéndez Pelayo characterizes "aquella alma heroica y hermosísima (quizá la más hermosa de la España moderna). (352). In this fine study he has proved beyond doubt the orthodoxy and deep religious conviction of don Gaspar.

Investigaciones Científicas, 1942, pp. 223-226. Originally in Boletín de la Academia de la Historia, Madrid, feb, 1891.

This article criticizes a memoria submitted to the Real Academia de Historia by an unidentified writer concerning Jovellanos' work in the field of history. The memoria has some fine qualities, says Menéndez Pelayo, but its author was unfamiliar with many important historical and otherwise pertinent studies, among them the Diarios and the many writings concerning Mallorca.

Don Marcelino points out that the years on Mallorca marked a profound modification in Jovellanos' historical thinking, as in other areas. His first writings were very much of the Eighteenth Century, possessing a certain intolerance for the art and institutions of other times. But especially during the Mallorcan period Jovellanos gradually changed from the "abstracciones optimistas" of Eighteenth Century ideology to a belief in the nation's "constitución interna", an idea he extrapolated in his Defense de la Junta Central. Likewise in the field of education he moved, says Menéndez Pelayo from the Jansenism and Encyclopedism of his Reglamento de estudios del Colegio de Calatrava to the near-traditionalism of the Tratado teórico-práctico de enseñanza. But at this point Caso González would disagree with Menéndez Pelayo: he sees no fundamental change in Jovellanos' ideas on education, nor in his political thought, but only a shift in emphasis.

In art, says Menéndez Pelayo, Jovellanos first admired the classicism of Mengs and Ventura Rodríguez, but later developed a passion for medieval and Gothic art and architecture. He rightly concludes, however, that this apparent dualism is in no way in opposition to the "superior unidad de su fisionomía, la más clásica de España moderna".



Menéndez Pelayo is obviously well attuned to Eighteenth Century thought. Although he may have gone somewhat too far in the change he notes in Jovellanos from classicist to romantic and from liberal to conservative, his judgements are generally sound in this area, and by far the most perceptive of their time (the last two decades of the Nineteenth Century).

- 390 Menéndez Pelayo, Marcelino. "Jovellanos y Mallorca". Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria, Tomo IV, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1942, pages 227, 228. Originally in Boletín de la Academia de la Historia, Madrid, feb., 1891.

Here Menéndez Pelayo discusses the influence of Mallorca on Jovellanos' spirit. In this romantic place where don Gaspar could inhale the poetic atmosphere of the Middle Ages, he declares, his artistic education was in a sense completed. In a time of misfortune and extreme loneliness he found not only consolation and peace of mind, but experienced a new poetic flowering in the "numen ignoto de aquella fortaleza cuyo silencio no se había interrumpido en más de dos siglos". Here he became enchanted by the spirit evoked by the old castle, envisioning the knights and ladies, the troubadors and minstrels of bygone days:

Era una verdadera fiesta del espíritu la que Jovellanos se daba a sí propio, en páginas dignas de una crónica del siglo XV. Otros adivinaron en pleno siglo pasado otras formas y manifestaciones del futuro romanticismo; pero el romanticismo caballeresco, el romanticismo de Walter Scott, el mundo de las costumbres feudales, Jovellanos fue el primer español que le descubrió, saludándole con voces de júbilo, en que se mezclaban el entusiasmo y la inexperiencia. (228).

Thus Jovellanos left Mallorca completely transformed, declares don Marcelino.

Once again in this brief study Menéndez Pelayo has managed to capture the spirit of the great Asturian in its evolution from neoclassicism to romanticism.

- 391 Menéndez Pelayo, Marcelino. "Preceptiva literaria", + Capítulo III. Historia de las ideas estéticas en España, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1947, pages 396-402. (Obras completas, Tomo III). Originally published: Madrid: A. Pérez Dubrull, 1886.

Menéndez Pelayo here discusses Jovellanos as literary critic, as poet and dramatist, and as educational theoretician.

Although he possessed aesthetic sensitivity, Jovellanos' thought turned more to truth than to beauty, but, paradoxically, he was a better poet than critic, affirms Menéndez Pelayo: "En la poesía reflexiva, en cierto género de sátira, que es la función social, oficio de magistrado aún más que creación poética, tiene ardor, elocuencia, y a veces ímpetu casi lírico. Poseía la facultad preciosa de apasionarse contra el escándalo y la injusticia, y esta es la fuente primera de su inspiración, y la que en dos o tres ocasiones le hizo gran poeta". (396,397).

Jovellanos was somewhat scornful of the lyric verses of his youth, believing that poetry should be an instrument for social reform, filled with lofty moral and philosophical sentiments, ideas which he communicated to his poet-friends in Salamanca, over whom he had a surprising influence.

In discussing the theatre, don Gaspar rejected not only contemporary dramatic efforts but also those of the preceding century, finding even the works of Lope, Calderon and Moreto unsuited for the

+ Reviewed briefly by Somoza

moral instruction which he believed the stage should provide. He would substitute a new moral-didactic drama which could be censured or rewarded by the government or by the Academia Española.

Menéndez Pelayo discusses Jovellanos' educational theories in the last part of this article, noting that his Reglamento para el Colegio de Calatrava is the best plan de estudios of the present century.

Don Marcelino has provided here a brief but lucid and informative assessment of Jovellanos as a man of letters.

392 Mérimée, Ernest. "Estudes sur la litterature au XIX^e siècle, Jovellanos". Revue Hispanique, I, 1894, 34-68.

Although Jovellanos lived most of his life in the Eighteenth Century, Mérimée sees him as a fitting writer with whom to begin a history of Nineteenth Century Spanish letters. Along with Meléndez Valdés, Quintana and Moratín he represents the transition from the traditional forms and aspirations of the Eighteenth Century to the new and modern spirit of the Nineteenth. He was a writer whose greatest masterpiece was his own life, Mérimée observes. For him truth, justice and utility were only three aspects of the same entity, just as individual happiness and prosperity and well-being of the nation and of humanity were completely compatible and for him completely attainable.

The social philosophy expressed by Jovellanos, says Mérimée, is really a "mélange assez incoherent" of the ideas of Locke, Hume and Condillac. His method, like that of Montesquieu and Rousseau, involved deducing social or economic generalizations from the observation of particular facts, but being much more pragmatic than these two French

thinkers, he arrived at practical suggestions for reform rather than abstract theories. Mérimée notes especially the influence on Jovellanos' thinking of the Encyclopedists and English economists, as well as such enlightened Spaniards as Campomanes, Peñaflores, Olavide and Cabarrús.

Mérimée reviews with care Jovellanos' political thinking, especially as revealed in Memoria en defensa de la Junta Central, as well as in his proposals for a constitutional monarchy. His social thought was also revolutionary, says Mérimée: the policy of Felipe II and his successors had been to see to Man's well-being in the world beyond, but Jovellanos believed the function of government was to promote the happiness of the nation on earth, and to concern itself with material interests such as commercial and industrial wealth.

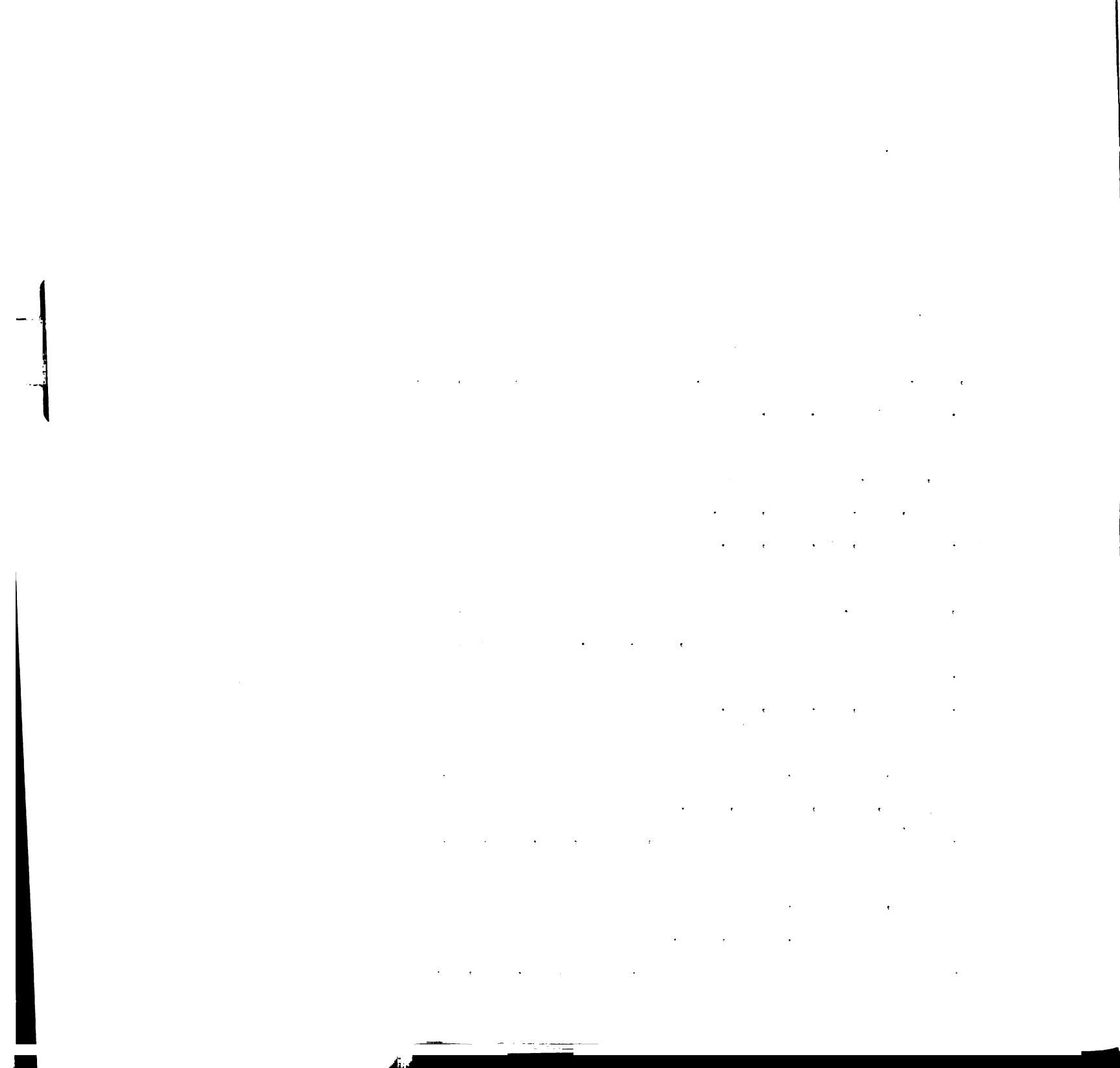
Mérimée is perhaps unjustly scornful of Jovellanos' early verses, calling them "claires mais froides et d'une fadeur aujourd'hui insupportable". (57). Possibly expressing a particularly French viewpoint, he sees Pelayo as composed completely according to the pattern of Racine and Voltaire, and lacking in originality. El delincuente honrado, he says, represents one of the first appearances on the Spanish stage of the French drame sentimentale, "qui developpe dans les coeurs les utiles sentiments d'humanité de bienveillance". (64). Mérimée justly gives Jovellanos high marks as a literary and art critic, noting his independence of thought and his insistence that writers and artists look to nature itself for their models as the great Spanish masters of the past had done.

Although Jovellanos was not outstanding as an original thinker or as a great poet, his strength lay in his ability to point out new

routes and to offer wise advice which might have served to avoid grave errors for Spain.

This comprehensive and dispassionate assessment of Jovellanos' contribution to Spanish letters and of his importance as the voice of transition and conciliation between the old and the new is especially valuable for having been written by an observer from beyond the Pyrenees.

- 393 Michaud, L. G. Memoires politiques de D. Gaspar de Jovellanos, Paris, 1825.
Bib. ref. in: Ritter (no. 304).
- 394 Morel-Fatio, Alfred. La satire de Jovellanos contra la mauvaise educación de la noblesse, 1787. Bordeaux, 1899. Published and annotated by A.M.F.
Bib. ref. in: Dotor, (no. 125), 230.
- 395 Quintana, Manuel José. "Sobre la poesía castellana del siglo XVIII". Colección de poesías selectas castellanas, 1807, 1830. Also in B.A.E. Tomo XIX.
Bib. ref. in: Dotor, (no. 125), 231.
- 396 Rendueles Llanos, Estanislao. "Jovellanos y los carbones de Asturias". El Faro Asturiano, Oviedo, 14 junio, 1864.
Bib. ref. in Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 611.
- 397 Rendueles Llanos, Estanislao. Biografías de asturianos ilustres: Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Gijón, 1866.
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 611.



- 398 Sánchez Cifuentes, Victoriano. Memoria elevada al ministro don Pedro José Pidal, sobre la reforma de estudios del Instituto Asturiano. Gijón, 1845.
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no.345),612.
- 399 Soldevilla, F. Prologue to Obras escogidas de Jovellanos. Paris: Garnier hermanos, 1887. (Jovellanos: sus obras y su tiempo).
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345),613.
- 400 Toreno, Conde de (Francisco de B. Queipo de Llano). "Juicio crítico sobre Jovellanos". La agricultura española en el siglo XIX, Madrid, 1883.
Bib. ref. in: Escritores y artistas asturianos, Tomo IV, (no. 345), 614.
- 401 Valdés Grunda, J. González. Oración fúnebre. Madrid, 1842.
Bib. ref. in: Catalog of British Museum, no. 9180.ccc.8(21).
- 402 Ventura Rodríguez. Elogio leído en la Real Sociedad de Madrid por el socio de d. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos en la junta ordinaria del sábado 19 de enero de 1788. Madrid: Imp. de la viuda de Ibarra, 1790.
Bib. ref. in: Catalog of Library of Congress, no. NA1313.R6J6.

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Addenda

1. Anes, Gonzalo. "El Informe sobre la Ley Agraria y el Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País". Homenaje a don Ramón Carande, Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1963, 21-56.
Bib. ref. in: Vergnes, R. "Dirigisme et liberalisme économique à la Sociedad Económica de Madrid". Bulletin Hispanique, LXX (1969), 300-341, (no. 359).

2. Cano, José Luis. Review of Jovellanos y Goya by Edith Helman, Madrid: Taurus, 1970. In Insula, No. 294 (1971), 8-9.

Cano summarizes and comments upon the first four chapters of the book, all of which deal with Jovellanos, as well as the remaining chapters, which deal with Goya and his relations with others of the ilustrados. Cano emphasizes Jovellanos' ability to harmonize humanism and Christianity, individual perfection with social obligation, and pure science with technology. He points also to Jovellanos' essential conservatism and English orientation in political matters.

3. Domergue, Lucienne. Jovellanos a la Société Economique des amis du pays de Madrid (1778-1795). Toulouse: France-Ibérie Recherche. Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1971.
Bib. ref. in: Revista de Literatura, Tomo XXXVI, nos. 71-72 (1970), 288.

4. Gallego, Julián. Review of Jovellanos y Goya by Edith Helman, Madrid: Taurus, 1970. In Revista de Occidente, No. 99 (1971) 376-379.

The reviewer calls attention to the keenness and sympathy exhibited by Helman in her four studies on Jovellanos, but points also to some repetition and the poor coordination of the illustrations with the text.

5. Glendinning, Nigel. The Eighteenth Century. A Literary History of Spain, London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1972. Section on the drama of Jovellanos, pages 102-104.

Glendinning calls attention to Jovellanos' preoccupation with absolutism and the infringement of human rights by occupying powers as expressed in Pelayo and relates these injustices to contemporary criticism of the treatment of the Indians by the conquistadores. He is the first to note similarities between Pelayo and El delincuente honrado: the honor theme, the friendship of Anselmo and Torcuato, the mutual love of Laura and Torcuato, the affection of don Justo for Torcuato, even before he knows he is his son, all have counterparts in Pelayo. He points out, as has Caso (no. 76), that parts of the prose of El delincuente honrado are scannable and are not too different from Pelayo's hendecasyllables.

In El delincuente honrado, says Glendinning, Jovellanos expresses many ideas typical of the Enlightenment, e.g., observing the spirit rather than the letter of the law, condemnation of torture, behavior as due to a combination of birth and education, self-fulfillment through virtue rather than through God or religion, etc. Nevertheless, Jovellanos' support of monarchy and of honor as its requisite, as well as faith in universal order reveal him to be more nearly traditionalist than his progressive theories and recommendations would indicate, says the writer.

6. Helman, Edith. Review of Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos and his English Sources by John H. R. Polt. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1964. In Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica. XVIII (1965-66), 495-99.

Bib. ref. in: Revista de Literatura, Tomo XXXVI, nos. 71-72 (1970), 288.

7. Hernández Esteban, María. Review of Jovellanos y Goya by Edith Helman, Madrid: Taurus, 1970. In Estafeta Literaria, No. 460 (1971).

The reviewer praises Helman for her analysis of the most significant aspects of the personality of Jovellanos: his humanism and integrity, his desire for social and spiritual reform and his preoccupation with education, all of which characteristics may be deduced from his literary production, his letters and from his exemplary life.

8. Hornedo Si, R.M. Review of Obras en Prosa, ed. José Caso González, Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1970. In Razón y Fe, No. 878 (1971) 328-29.

Caso's introduction, says Hornedo, is precise and dense and accurately situates Jovellanos within his epoch. He agrees with Caso as to Jovellanos' attempt at ideological synthesis, but accepts also del Río's assertion that his writings reflect certain personal and historical contradictions. Hornedo praises Caso's selection, noting that this edition well complements del Río's (no. 299) in Clásicos Castellanos.

9. Hueso Cheroles, Ricardo. "En torno a Jovellanos". Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, XXV (1971), 349-70.

Bib. ref. in: Revista de Literatura, Tomo XXXI, nos. 71-72 (1970), 288.

10. Martínez Hernández, Jesús. "La traslación de los restos mortales de Jovellanos". Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, XXIV (1970), 75-81.
Bib. ref. in: Revista de Literatura, Tomo XXXI, nos. 71-72 (1970), 289.
11. Morodo, Raul. "La reforma constitucional de Jovellanos y Martínez Marina". Boletín Informativo del Seminario de Derecho Político, Nos. 29/30 (1963), 79-93.
Bib. ref. in: Zavala, J. M. "Jovellanos y la poesía burguesa", Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, XVIII (1965-66), (no. 367).

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