

dantly attested by the commendations of contemporary writers, both at home and abroad, who enlarge on his fondness for letters, and for the society of learned men, on his various attainments, and more especially his Latin scholarship, and above all on his disposition, so amiable, as to give promise of the highest excellence in maturer life,—a promise alas! most unfortunately for his own nation, destined never to be realized.⁹

Next to her family, there was no object which the queen had so much at heart, as the improvement of the young nobility. During the troubled reign of her predecessor, they had abandoned themselves to frivolous pleasure, or to a sullen apathy, from which nothing was potent enough to arouse them, but the voice of war.¹⁰ She was obliged to relinquish her plans of amelioration, during the all-engrossing struggle with Granada, when it would have been esteemed a reproach for a Spanish knight to have exchanged the post of danger in the field for the effeminate pursuit of letters. But, no sooner was the war brought to a close, than Isabella resumed her purpose. She requested the learned

The queen's care for the education of her nobles.

⁹ Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 14.

Juan de la Encina, in the dedication to the prince, of his translation of Virgil's *Bucolics*, pays the following compliment to the enlightened and liberal taste of Prince John. "Favoresceis tanto la sciencia andando acompañado de tantos e tan doctísimos varones, que no menos dejareis perdurable memoria de haber alargado e estendido los límites e términos de la sciencia que los del imperio." The extra-

ordinary promise of this young prince, made his name known in distant parts of Europe, and his untimely death, which occurred in the twentieth year of his age, was commemorated by an epitaph of the learned Greek exile, Constantine Lascaris.

¹⁰ "Aficionados á la guerra," says Oviedo, speaking of some young nobles of his time, "*por su Española y natural inclinacion.*" *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 36.

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Peter Martyr, who had come into Spain with the count of Tendilla, a few years previous, to repair to the court, and open a school there for the instruction of the young nobility.¹¹ In an epistle addressed by Martyr to Cardinal Mendoza, dated at Granada, April, 1492, he alludes to the promise of a liberal recompense from the queen, if he would assist in reclaiming the young cavaliers of the court from the idle and unprofitable pursuits, in which, to her great mortification, they consumed their hours. The prejudices to be encountered seem to have filled him with natural distrust of his success; for he remarks, "Like their ancestors, they hold the pursuit of letters in light estimation, considering them an obstacle to success in the profession of arms, which alone they esteem worthy of honor." He however expresses his confidence, that the generous nature of the Spaniards will make it easy to infuse into them a more liberal taste; and, in a subsequent letter, he enlarges on the "good effects likely to result from the literary ambition exhibited by the heir apparent, on whom the eyes of the nation were naturally turned."¹²

Martyr, in obedience to the royal summons, in-

¹¹ For some account of this eminent Italian scholar, see the postscript to Part I. Chap. 14, of this History.

¹² Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 102, 103.

Lucio Marineo, in a discourse addressed to Charles V., thus notices the queen's solicitude for the instruction of her young nobility. "Isabella præsertim Regina magnanima, virtutum omnium maxima

cultrix. Quæ quidem multis et magnis occupata negotiis, ut aliis exemplum præberet, a primis grammaticæ rudimentis studere cæpit, et omnes suæ domûs adolescentes utriusque sexûs nobilium liberos, præceptoribus liberaliter et honorifice conductis erudiendos commendabat." *Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. Apend. 16. — See also Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 36.

stantly repaired to court, and in the month of September following, we have a letter dated from Saragossa, in which he thus speaks of his success. "My house, all day long, swarms with noble youths, who, reclaimed from ignoble pursuits to those of letters, are now convinced that these, so far from being a hindrance, are rather a help in the profession of arms. I earnestly inculcate on them, that consummate excellence in any department, whether of war or peace, is unattainable without science. It has pleased our royal mistress, the pattern of every exalted virtue, that her own near kinsman, the duke of Guimaraens, as well as the young duke of Villahermosa, the king's nephew, should remain under my roof during the whole day; an example which has been imitated by the principal cavaliers of the court, who, after attending my lectures in company with their private tutors, retire at evening to review them with these latter in their own quarters."¹³

CHAPTER
XIX.Labors of
Martyr.

Another Italian scholar, often cited as authority in the preceding portion of this work, Lucio Marinero Siculo, coöperated with Martyr in the introduction of a more liberal scholarship among the Castilian nobles. He was born at Bedino in Sicily, and, after completing his studies at Rome under the celebrated Pomponio Leto, opened a school in his native island, where he continued to teach for five years. He was then induced to visit Spain, in 1486, with the admiral Henriquez, and soon took

Of Lucio Ma-
rineo.¹³ Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 115.

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his place among the professors of Salamanca, where he filled the chairs of poetry and grammar with great applause for twelve years. He was subsequently transferred to the court, which he helped to illumine, by his exposition of the ancient classics, particularly the Latin.¹⁴ Under the auspices of these and other eminent scholars, both native and foreign, the young nobility of Castile shook off the indolence in which they had so long rusted, and applied with generous ardor to the cultivation of science; so that, in the language of a contemporary, "while it was a most rare occurrence, to meet with a person of illustrious birth, before the present reign, who had even studied Latin in his youth, there were now to be seen numbers every day, who sought to shed the lustre of letters over the martial glory inherited from their ancestors."¹⁵

¹⁴ A particular account of Marineo's writings may be found in Nic. Antonio. (*Bibliotheca Nova*, tom. ii. Apend. p. 369.) The most important of these, is his work "*De Rebus Hispaniæ Memorabilibus*," often cited, in the Castilian, in this History. It is a rich repository of details respecting the geography, statistics, and manners of the Peninsula, with a copious historical notice of events in Ferdinand and Isabella's reign. The author's insatiable curiosity, during a long residence in the country, enabled him to collect many facts, of a kind that do not fall within the ordinary compass of history; while his extensive learning, and his familiarity with foreign models, peculiarly qualified him for estimating the institutions he describes. It must be confessed he is sufficiently partial to the land of his adoption. The

edition, referred to in this work, is in black letter, printed before, or soon after, the author's death (the date of which is uncertain), in 1539, at Alcalá de Henares, by Juan Brocar, one of a family long celebrated in the annals of Castilian printing. Marineo's prologue concludes with the following noble tribute to letters. "Porque todos los otros bienes son sujetos a la fortuna y mudables y en poco tiempo mudan muchos dueños passando de unos señores en otros, mas los dones de letras y hystorias que se ofrescen para perpetuidad de memoria y fama son immortales y prorogan y guardan para siempre la memoria assi de los que los reciben, como de los que los ofrescen."¹⁵

¹⁵ Sepulveda, *Democrites*, apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 16. — Signorelli, *Cultura nelle Sicilie*, tom. iv. p. 318.—

The extent of this generous emulation may be gathered from the large correspondence both of Martyr and Marineo with their disciples, including the most considerable persons of the Castilian court; it may be still further inferred from the numerous dedications to these persons, of contemporary publications, attesting their munificent patronage of literary enterprise;¹⁶ and, still more unequivocally, from the zeal with which many of the highest rank entered on such severe literary labor as few, from the mere love of letters, are found willing to encounter. Don Gutierre de Toledo, son of the duke of Alva, and a cousin of the king, taught in the university of Salamanca. At the same place, Don Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, son of the count of Haro, who subsequently succeeded his father in the hereditary dignity of grand constable of Castile, read lectures on Pliny and Ovid. Don Alfonso de Manrique, son of the count of Paredes, was professor of Greek in the university of Alcalá. All ages seemed to catch the generous enthusiasm; and the marquis of Denia, although

CHAPTER
XIX.Scholarship
of the nobles.

Tiraboschi, *Letteratura Italiana*, tom. vii. part. 3, lib. 3, cap. 4. — Comp. Lampillas, *Saggio Storico-Apologético de la Letteratura Spagnuola*, (Genova, 1778,) tom. ii. dis. 2, sect. 5. — The patriotic Abate is greatly scandalized by the degree of influence, which Tiraboschi and other Italian critics ascribe to their own language over the Castilian, especially at this period. The seven volumes, in which he has discharged his bile on the heads of the offenders, afford valuable materials for the

historian of Spanish literature. Tiraboschi must be admitted to have the better of his antagonist in temper, if not in argument.

¹⁶ Among these we find copious translations from the ancient classics, as Cæsar, Appian, Plutarch, Plautus, Sallust, Æsop, Justin, Boëthius, Apulius, Herodian, affording strong evidence of the activity of the Castilian scholars in this department. *Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. pp. 406, 407. — Mendez, *Typographia Española*, pp. 133, 139.

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turned of sixty, made amends for the sins of his youth, by learning the elements of the Latin tongue, at this late period. In short, as Giovio remarks in his eulogium on Lebrija, "No Spaniard was accounted noble who held science in indifference." From a very early period, a courtly stamp was impressed on the poetic literature of Spain. A similar character was now imparted to its erudition; and men of the most illustrious birth seemed eager to lead the way in the difficult career of science, which was thrown open to the nation.¹⁷

Accomplished women.

In this brilliant exhibition, those of the other sex must not be omitted, who contributed by their intellectual endowments to the general illumination of the period. Among them, the writers of that day lavish their panegyrics on the marchioness of Monteagudo, and Doña Maria Pacheco, of the ancient house of Mendoza, sisters of the historian, Don Diego Hurtado,¹⁸ and daughters of the accomplished count of Tendilla,¹⁹ who, while ambas-

¹⁷ Salazar de Mendoza, *Dignidades*, cap. 21.

Lucio Marineo Siculo, in his discourse above alluded to, in which he exhibits the condition of letters under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, enumerates the names of the nobility most conspicuous for their scholarship. This valuable document was to be found only in the edition of Marineo's work, "*De Rebus Hispaniæ Memorabilibus*," printed at Alcalá, in 1630, whence it has been transferred by Clemencin to the sixth volume of the *Memoirs of the Royal Academy of History*.

¹⁸ His work "*Guerra de Granada*," was first published at Madrid,

in 1610, and "may be compared," says Nic. Antonio, in a judgment which has been ratified by the general consent of his countrymen, "with the compositions of Sallust, or any other ancient historian." His poetry and his celebrated *picaresco* novel "*Lazarillo de Tormes*," have made an epoch in the ornamental literature of Spain.

¹⁹ Oviedo has devoted one of his dialogues to this nobleman, equally distinguished by his successes in arms, letters, and love; the last of which, according to that writer, he had not entirely resigned at the age of seventy. — *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 28.

sador at Rome, induced Martyr to visit Spain, and who was grandson of the famous marquis of Santillana, and nephew of the grand cardinal.²⁰ This illustrious family, rendered yet more illustrious by its merits than its birth, is worthy of specification, as affording altogether the most remarkable combination of literary talent in the enlightened court of Castile. The queen's instructor in the Latin language was a lady named Doña Beatriz de Galindo, called from her peculiar attainments *la Latina*. Another lady, Doña Lucia de Medrano, publicly lectured on the Latin classics in the university of Salamanca. And another, Doña Francisca de Lebrija, daughter of the historian of that name, filled the chair of rhetoric with applause at Alcalá. But our limits will not allow a further enumeration of names, which should never be permitted to sink into oblivion, were it only for the rare scholarship, peculiarly rare in the female sex, which they displayed, in an age comparatively unenlightened.²¹ Female education in that day embraced a wider

²⁰ For an account of Santillana, see the First Chapter of this History. The cardinal, in early life, is said to have translated for his father the *Æneid*, the *Odyssey*, *Ovid*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Sallust*. (Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 16.) This Herculean feat would put modern school-boys to shame, and we may suppose that partial versions only of these authors are intended.

²¹ Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 16.—Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., dial. de Grizio. Señor Clemencin has examined with much care the intellectual

culture of the nation under Isabel-la, in the sixteenth *Ilustracion* of his work. He has touched lightly on its poetical character, considering, no doubt, that this had been sufficiently developed by other critics. His essay, however, is rich in information in regard to the scholarship and severer studies of the period. The reader, who would pursue the inquiry still further, may find abundant materials in Nic. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Vetus*, tom. ii. lib. 10, cap. 13 et seq.—Idem, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, (Matriti, 1783-8,) — tom. i. ii. passim.

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compass of erudition, in reference to the ancient languages, than is common at present; a circumstance attributable, probably, to the poverty of modern literature at that time, and the new and general appetite excited by the revival of classical learning in Italy. I am not aware, however, that it was usual for learned ladies, in any other country than Spain, to take part in the public exercises of the gymnasium, and deliver lectures from the chairs of the universities. This peculiarity, which may be referred in part to the queen's influence, who encouraged the love of study by her own example, as well as by personal attendance on the academic examinations, may have been also suggested by a similar usage, already noticed, among the Spanish Arabs.²²

While the study of the ancient tongues came thus into fashion with persons of both sexes, and of the highest rank, it was widely and most thoroughly cultivated by professed scholars. Men of letters, some of whom have been already noticed, were invited into Spain from Italy, the theatre at that time, on which, from obvious local advantages, classical discovery was pursued with greatest ardor and success. To this country it was usual also for Spanish students to repair, in order to complete their discipline in classical literature, especially the Greek, as first taught on sound principles of criticism, by the learned exiles from Constantinople. The most remarkable of the Spanish scholars, who

Lebrija.

²² See Part I. Chap. 8, of this History.

made this literary pilgrimage to Italy, was Antonio de Lebrija, or Nebrissensis, as he is more frequently called from his Latin name.²³ After ten years passed at Bologna and other seminaries of repute, with particular attention to their interior discipline, he returned, in 1473, to his native land, richly laden with the stores of various erudition. He was invited to fill the Latin chair at Seville, whence he was successively transferred to Salamanca and Alcalá, both of which places he long continued to enlighten by his oral instruction and publications. The earliest of these was his *Introducciones Latinas*, the third edition of which was printed in 1485, being four years only from the date of the first; a remarkable evidence of the growing taste for classical learning. A translation in the vernacular accompanied the last edition, arranged, at the queen's suggestion, in columns parallel with those of the original text; a form which, since become common, was then a novelty.²⁴ The publication of his Castilian grammar, "*Grammatica Castellana*," followed in 1492; a treatise designed particularly for the instruction of the ladies of the court. The other productions of this indefatigable scholar, embrace a large circle of topics, independently of his various treatises on philology and criticism. Some were translated into French and Italian, and their republication has been continued to the last

²³ For a notice of this scholar, see the postscript to Part I. Chap. 11, of this History.

²⁴ Mendez, *Typographia Española*, pp. 271, 272.

In the second edition, published

1482, the author states, that no work of the time had a greater circulation, more than a thousand copies of it, at a high price, having been disposed of in the preceding year. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

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century. No man of his own, or of later times, contributed more essentially than Lebrija to the introduction of a pure and healthful erudition into Spain. It is not too much to say, that there was scarcely an eminent Spanish scholar in the beginning of the sixteenth century, who had not formed himself on the instructions of this master.²⁵

Arias Bar-
bosa.

Another name worthy of commemoration, is that of Arias Barbosa, a learned Portuguese, who, after passing some years, like Lebrija, in the schools of Italy, where he studied the ancient tongues under the guidance of Politiano, was induced to establish his residence in Spain. In 1489 we find him at Salamanca, where he continued for twenty, or, according to some accounts, forty years, teaching in the departments of Greek and rhetoric. At the close of that period he returned to Portugal, where he superintended the education of some of the members of the royal family, and survived to a good old age. Barbosa was esteemed inferior to Lebrija in extent of various erudition, but to

²⁵ Nic. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Nova*, tom. i. pp. 132-139. — *Lampillas, Letteratura Spagnuola*, tom. ii. dis. 2, sec. 3. — *Dialogo de las Lenguas*, apud Mayans y Siscar, Origenes, (Madrid, 1737,) tom. ii. pp. 46, 47.

Lucio Marineo pays the following elegant compliment to this learned Spaniard, in his discourse before quoted. "Amisit nuper Hispania maximum sui cultorem in re litteraria, Antonium Nebrissensem, qui primus ex Italiâ in Hispaniam Musas adduxit, quibuscum barbariem ex suâ patriâ fugavit, et Hispaniam totam lingue Latine lectionibus

illustravit." "Meruerat id," says Gomez de Castro of Lebrija, "et multo majora hominis eruditio, cui Hispania debet, quicquid habet bonarum literarum."

The acute author of the "*Dialogo de las Lenguas*," while he renders ample homage to Lebrija's Latin erudition, disputes his critical acquaintance with his own language, from his being a native of Andalusia, where the Castilian was not spoken with purity. "Hablabá y escribía como en el Andalusia y no como en la Castilla." p. 92. See also pp. 9, 10, 46, 53.

have surpassed him in an accurate knowledge of the Greek, and poetical criticism. In the former, indeed, he seems to have obtained a greater repute than any Spanish scholar of the time. He composed some valuable works, especially on ancient prosody. The unwearied assiduity and complete success of his academic labors have secured to him a high reputation among the restorers of ancient learning, and especially that of reviving a livelier relish for the study of the Greek, by conducting it on principles of pure criticism, in the same manner as Lebrija did with the Latin.²⁶

The scope of the present work precludes the possibility of a copious enumeration of the pioneers of ancient learning, to whom Spain owes so large a debt of gratitude.²⁷ The Castilian scholars of the close of the fifteenth, and the beginning of the

Merits of the
Spanish
scholars.

²⁶ Barbosa, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, (Lisboa Occidental, 1741,) tom. i. pp. 76-78. — Signorelli, *Cultura nelle Sicilie*, tom. iv. pp. 315-321. — Mayans y Siscar, *Origenes*, tom. i. p. 173. — Lampillas, *Litteratura Spagnuola*, tom. ii. dis. 2, sect. 5. — Nic. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Nova*, tom. i. pp. 170, 171.

²⁷ Among these are particularly deserving of attention the brothers John and Francis Vergara, professors at Alcalá, the latter of whom was esteemed one of the most accomplished scholars of the age; Nuñez de Guzman, of the ancient house of that name, professor for many years at Salamanca and Alcalá, and the author of the Latin version in the famous Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes; he left behind him numerous works, especially commentaries on the classics; Olivario, whose curious erudition was abundantly exhibited in his illustra-

tions of Cicero and other Latin authors; and lastly Vives, whose fame rather belongs to Europe than his own country, who, when only twenty-six years old, drew from Erasmus the encomium, that "there was scarcely any one of the age whom he could venture to compare with him in philosophy, eloquence, and liberal learning." But the most unequivocal testimony to the deep and various scholarship of the period is afforded by that stupendous literary work of Cardinal Ximenes, the Polyglot Bible, whose version in the Greek, Latin, and oriental tongues was executed, with a single exception, by Spanish scholars. Erasmus, *Epistolæ*, lib. 19, epist. 101. — Lampillas, *Litteratura Spagnuola*, tom. ii. pp. 382-384, 495, 792-794; tom. ii. p. 208 et seq. — Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 37.

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sixteenth century, may take rank with their illustrious contemporaries of Italy. They could not indeed achieve such brilliant results in the discovery of the remains of antiquity, for such remains had been long scattered and lost amid the centuries of exile and disastrous warfare consequent on the Saracen invasion. But they were unwearied in their illustrations, both oral and written, of the ancient authors; and their numerous commentaries, translations, dictionaries, grammars, and various works of criticism, many of which, though now obsolete, passed into repeated editions in their own day, bear ample testimony to the generous zeal, with which they conspired to raise their contemporaries to a proper level for contemplating the works of the great masters of antiquity; and well entitled them to the high eulogium of Erasmus, that "liberal studies were brought, in the course of a few years, in Spain to so flourishing a condition, as might not only excite the admiration, but serve as a model to the most cultivated nations of Europe."²⁸

Universities.

The Spanish universities were the theatre, on which this classical erudition was more especially displayed. Previous to Isabella's reign, there were but few schools in the kingdom; not one indeed of any note, except in Salamanca; and this did not escape the blight which fell on every generous study. But under the cheering patronage of the present government, they were soon filled, and

²⁸ Erasmus, *Epistolæ*, p. 977.

widely multiplied. Academies of repute were to be found in Seville, Toledo, Salamanca, Granada, and Alcalá; and learned teachers were drawn from abroad by the most liberal emoluments. At the head of these establishments stood "the illustrious city of Salamanca," as Marineo fondly terms it, "mother of all liberal arts and virtues, alike renowned for noble cavaliers and learned men."²⁹ Such was its reputation, that foreigners as well as natives were attracted to its schools, and at one time, according to the authority of the same professor, seven thousand students were assembled within its walls. A letter of Peter Martyr, to his patron the count of Tendilla, gives a whimsical picture of the literary enthusiasm of this place. The throng was so great to hear his introductory lecture on one of the Satires of Juvenal, that every avenue to the hall was blockaded, and the professor was borne in on the shoulders of the students. Professorships in every department of science then studied, as well as of polite letters, were established at the university, the "new Athens," as Martyr somewhere styles it. Before the close of Isabella's reign, however, its glories were rivalled, if not eclipsed, by those of Alcalá;³⁰ which combined

²⁹ "La muy esclarecida ciudad de Salamanca, madre de las artes liberales, y todas virtudes, y ansi de cavalleros como de letrados varones, muy ilustre." *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 11.—Chacon, *Hist. de la Universidad de Salamanca*, apud *Semanario Erudito*, tom. xviii. pp. 1—61.

³⁰ "Academia Complutensis,"

says Erasmus of this university, "non aliunde celebritatem nominis auspicata est quam a complectendo linguas ac bonas literas. Cujus præcipuum ornamentum est egregius ille senex, planè que dignus qui multos vincat Nestoras, Antonius Nebrissensis." *Epist. ad Ludovicum Vivem*, 1521. *Epistolæ*, p. 755.

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higher advantages for ecclesiastical with civil education, and which, under the splendid patronage of Cardinal Ximenes, executed the famous Polyglot version of the Scriptures, the most stupendous literary enterprise of that age.³¹

Sacred
studies

This active cultivation was not confined to the dead languages, but spread more or less over every department of knowledge. Theological science, in particular, received a large share of attention. It had always formed a principal object of academic instruction, though suffered to languish under the universal corruption of the preceding reign. It was so common for the clergy to be ignorant of the most elementary knowledge, that the council of Aranda found it necessary to pass an ordinance, the year before Isabella's accession, that no person should be admitted to orders who was ignorant of Latin. The queen took the most effectual means for correcting this abuse, by raising only competent persons to ecclesiastical dignities. The highest stations in the church were reserved for those, who combined the highest intellectual endowments with unblemished piety. Cardinal Mendoza, whose acute and comprehensive mind entered with interest into every scheme for the promotion of science, was

³¹ Cosas Memorables, ubi supra. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 57. — Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, lib. 4. — Chacon, *Universidad de Salamanca*, ubi supra.

It appears that the practice of scraping with the feet as an expression of disapprobation, familiar in our universities, is of venerable antiquity; for Martyr mentions, that

he was saluted with it before finishing his discourse by one or two idle youths, dissatisfied with its length. The lecturer, however, seems to have given general satisfaction, for he was escorted back in triumph to his lodgings, to use his own language, "like a victor in the Olympic games," after the conclusion of the exercise.

archbishop of Toledo; Talavera, whose hospitable mansion was itself an academy for men of letters, and whose princely revenues were liberally dispensed for their protection, was raised to the see of Granada; and Ximenes, whose splendid literary projects will require more particular notice hereafter, succeeded Mendoza in the primacy of Spain. Under the protection of these enlightened patrons, theological studies were pursued with ardor, the Scriptures copiously illustrated, and sacred eloquence cultivated with success.

Other sciences.

A similar impulse was felt in the other walks of science. Jurisprudence assumed a new aspect, under the learned labors of Montalvo.³² The mathematics formed a principal branch of education, and were successfully applied to astronomy and geography. Valuable treatises were produced on medicine, and on the more familiar practical arts, as husbandry, for example.³³ History, which since the time of Alfonso the Tenth, had been held in higher honor and more widely cultivated in Castile than in any other European state, began to lay aside the garb of chronicle, and to be studied on more scientific principles. Charters and diplomas were consulted, manuscripts collated, coins and lapidary inscriptions deciphered, and collections made of these materials, the true basis of authentic

³² For some remarks on the labors of this distinguished juriconsult, see Part I. Chap. 6, and Part II. Chap. 26. of the present work.

³³ The most remarkable of these latter is Herrera's treatise on Agri-

culture, which, since its publication in Toledo, in 1520, has passed through a variety of editions at home, and translations abroad. Nic. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Nova*, tom. i. p. 503.

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history; and an office of public archives, like that now existing at Simancas, was established at Burgos, and placed under the care of Alonso de Mota, as keeper, with a liberal salary.³⁴

Printing introduced.

Nothing could have been more opportune for the enlightened purposes of Isabella, than the introduction of the art of printing into Spain, at the commencement, indeed in the very first year, of her reign. She saw, from the first moment, all the advantages which it promised for diffusing and perpetuating the discoveries of science. She encouraged its establishment, by large privileges to those who exercised it, whether natives or foreigners, and by causing many of the works, composed by her subjects, to be printed at her own charge.³⁵

The queen encourages it.

Among the earlier printers we frequently find the names of Germans; a people, who to the original merits of the discovery may justly add that of its propagation among every nation of Europe. We meet with a *pragmática*, or royal ordinance, dated in 1477, exempting a German, named Theodoric, from taxation, on the ground of being "one of the principal persons in the discovery and practice of the art of printing books, which he had brought with him into Spain at great risk and expense, with the design of ennobling the libraries of the king-

³⁴ This collection, with the ill luck which has too often befallen such repositories in Spain, was burnt in the war of the Communities, in the time of Charles V. Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 16.—Morales, Obras, tom. vii. p. 18.—Informe de Riola, who particularly notices the solicitude of Ferdinand and Isabella for preserving the public documents.

³⁵ Mendez, *Typographia Española*, p. 51.

dom."³⁶ Monopolies for printing and selling books for a limited period, answering to the modern copyright, were granted to certain persons, in consideration of their doing so at a reasonable rate.³⁷ It seems to have been usual for the printers to be also the publishers and venders of books. These exclusive privileges, however, do not appear to have been carried to a mischievous extent. Foreign books, of every description, by a law of 1480, were allowed to be imported into the kingdom, free of all duty whatever; an enlightened provision, which might furnish a useful hint to legislators of the nineteenth century.³⁸

The first press appears to have been erected at Valencia, in 1474; although the glory of precedence is stoutly contested by several places, and especially by Barcelona.³⁹ The first work printed was a collection of songs, composed for a poetical contest in honor of the Virgin, for the most part in

Its rapid
diffusion.

³⁶ Archivo de Murcia, apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. p. 244.

³⁷ Mendez, *Typographia Española*, pp. 52, 332.

³⁸ Ordenanzas Reales, lib. 4, tit. 4, ley 22. — The preamble of this statute is expressed in the following enlightened terms; "Considerando los Reyes de gloriosa memoria quanto era provechoso y honroso, que a estos sus reynos se truxessen libros de otras partes para que con ellos se hiziesen los hombres letrados, quisieron y ordenaron, que de los libros no se pagasse el alcavala. . . . Lo qual parece que redundan en provecho universal de todos, y en enno-

blecimiento de nuestros Reynos."

³⁹ Capmany, Mem. de Barcelona, tom. i. part. 2, lib. 2, cap. 6. — Mendez, *Typographia Española*, pp. 55, 93.

Bouterwek intimates, that the art of printing was first practised in Spain by German printers at Seville, in the beginning of the sixteenth century. (*Bouterwek, Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit*, (Göttingen, 1801-17.) band iii, p. 98.) — He appears to have been misled by a solitary example quoted from Mayans y Sis-car. The want of materials has more than once led this eminent critic to build sweeping conclusions on slender premises.

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the Limousin or Valencian dialect.⁴⁰ In the following year the first ancient classic, being the works of Sallust, was printed; and in 1478 there appeared from the same press a translation of the Scriptures, in the Limousin, by father Boniface Ferrer, brother of the famous Dominican, St. Vincent Ferrer.⁴¹ Through the liberal patronage of the government, the art was widely diffused; and, before the end of the fifteenth century, presses were established and in active operation in the principal cities of the united kingdom; in Toledo, Seville, Ciudad Real, Granada, Valladolid, Burgos, Salamanca, Zamora, Saragossa, Valencia, Barcelona, Monte Rey, Lerida, Murcia, Tolosa, Taragona, Alcalá de Henares, and Madrid.

It is painful to notice amidst the judicious provisions for the encouragement of science, one so entirely repugnant to their spirit as the establishment of the censorship. By an ordinance, dated at Toledo, July 8th, 1502, it was decreed, that, "as many of the books sold in the kingdom were defective, or false, or apocryphal, or pregnant with vain and superstitious novelties, it was therefore ordered that no book should hereafter be printed without special license from the king, or some person regularly commissioned by him for the purpose." The names of the commissioners then follow, consisting mostly of ecclesiastics, archbishops and bishops,

⁴⁰ The title of the book is "Certamen poetich en lohor de la Concecio," Valencia, 1474, 4to. The name of the printer is wanting.

Mendez, *Typographia Española*, p. 56.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-63.

with authority respectively over their several dioceses.⁴² This authority was devolved in later times, under Charles the Fifth and his successors, on the Council of the Supreme, over which the inquisitor general presided *ex officio*. The immediate agents employed in the examination were also drawn from the Inquisition, who exercised this important trust, as is well known, in a manner most fatal to the interests of letters and humanity. Thus a provision, destined in its origin for the advancement of science, by purifying it from the crudities and corruptions which naturally infect it in a primitive age, contributed more effectually to its discouragement, than any other which could have been devised, by interdicting the freedom of expression, so indispensable to freedom of inquiry.⁴³

While endeavouring to do justice to the progress of civilization in this reign, I should regret to present to the reader an over-colored picture of its results. Indeed, less emphasis should be laid on any actual results, than on the spirit of improvement, which they imply in the nation, and the liberal dispositions of the government. The fifteenth

Actual progress of science.

⁴² Mendez, *Typographia Española*, pp. 52, 53.—*Pragmáticas del Reyno*, fol. 138, 139.

⁴³ Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, tom. i. chap. 13, art. 1.

"*Adempto per inquisitiones*," says Tacitus of the gloomy times of Domitian, "et loquendi audientique commercio." (*Vita Agricola*, sec. 2.) Beaumarchais, in a merrier vein, indeed, makes the same bitter reflections. "Il s'est établi dans Madrid un système de

liberté sur la vente des productions, qui s'étend même à celles de la presse; et que, pourvu que je ne parle en mes écrits ni de l'autorité, ni de culte, ni de la politique, ni de la morale, ni des gens en place, ni des corps en crédit, ni de l'Opéra, ni des autres spectacles, ni de personne qui tienne à quelque chose, je puis tout imprimer librement, sous l'inspection de deux ou trois censeurs." *Mariage de Figaro*, acte 5, sc. 3.

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century was distinguished by a zeal for research and laborious acquisition, especially in ancient literature, throughout Europe, which showed itself in Italy in the beginning of the age, and in Spain, and some other countries, towards the close. It was natural that men should explore the long-buried treasures descended from their ancestors, before venturing on any thing of their own creation. Their efforts were eminently successful; and, by opening an acquaintance with the immortal productions of ancient literature, they laid the best foundation for the cultivation of the modern.

In the sciences, their success was more equivocal. A blind reverence for authority, a habit of speculation, instead of experiment, so pernicious in physics, in short an ignorance of the true principles of philosophy, often led the scholars of that day in a wrong direction. Even when they took a right one, their attainments, under all these impediments, were necessarily so small, as to be scarcely perceptible, when viewed from the brilliant heights to which science has arrived in our own age. Unfortunately for Spain, its subsequent advancement has been so retarded, that a comparison of the fifteenth century with those which succeeded it, is by no means so humiliating to the former as in some other countries of Europe; and it is certain, that in general intellectual fermentation, no period has surpassed, if it can be said to have rivalled, the age of Isabella.

CHAPTER XX.

CASTILIAN LITERATURE.—ROMANCES OF CHIVALRY.—LYRIC
CAL POETRY.—THE DRAMA.

This Reign an Epoch in Polite Letters.—Romances of Chivalry.—
Ballads or *Romances*.—Moorish Minstrelsy.—“Cancionero General.”
—Its Literary Value.—Rise of the Spanish Drama.—Criticism on
“*Celestina*.”—*Encina*.—*Naharro*.—Low Condition of the Stage.
—National Spirit of the Literature of this Epoch.

ORNAMENTAL or polite literature, which, emanating from the taste and sensibility of a nation, readily exhibits its various fluctuations of fashion and feeling, was stamped in Spain with the distinguishing characteristics of this revolutionary age. The Provençale, which reached such high perfection in Catalonia, and subsequently in Aragon, as noticed in an introductory chapter,¹ expired with the union of this monarchy with Castile, and the dialect ceased to be applied to literary purposes altogether, after the Castilian became the language of the court in the united kingdoms. The poetry of Castile, which throughout the present reign continued to breathe the same patriotic spirit, and to exhibit the same national peculiarities that had dis-

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This reign
an epoch in
polite let-
ters.

¹ Eichhorn, *Geschichte der Kultur und Litteratur der Neueren Europa*, (Göttingen, 1796 - 1811,) pp. 129, 130. — See also the conclusion of the Introduction, Sec. 2, of this History.

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tinguished it from the time of the Cid, submitted soon after Ferdinand's death to the influence of the more polished Tuscan, and henceforth, losing somewhat of its distinctive physiognomy, assumed many of the prevalent features of continental literature. Thus the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella becomes an epoch as memorable in literary, as in civil history.

Romances of
chivalry.

The most copious vein of fancy, in that day, was turned in the direction of the prose romance of chivalry; now seldom disturbed, even in its own country, except by the antiquary. The circumstances of the age naturally led to its production. The romantic Moorish wars, teeming with adventurous exploit and picturesque incident, carried on with the natural enemies of the Christian knight, and opening moreover all the legendary stores of oriental fable, — the stirring adventures by sea as well as land, — above all, the discovery of a world beyond the waters, whose unknown regions gave full scope to the play of the imagination, all contributed to stimulate the appetite for the incredible chimeras, the *magnanime menzogne*, of chivalry. The publication of "Amadis de Gaula" gave a decided impulse to this popular feeling. This romance, which seems now well ascertained to be the production of a Portuguese in the latter half of the fourteenth century,² was first printed in a Spanish

² Nic. Antonio seems unwilling to relinquish the pretensions of his own nation to the authorship of this romance. (See Bibliotheca Nova, tom. ii. p. 394.) Later critics, and

among them Lampillas, (*Ensayo Historico-Apologético de la Literatura Española*, (Madrid, 1789,) tom. v. p. 168,) who resigns no more than he is compelled to do, are less

version, probably not far from 1490.³ Its editor, Garci Ordoñez de Montalvo, states, in his prologue, that "he corrected it from the ancient originals, pruning it of all superfluous phrases, and substituting others of a more polished and elegant style."⁴ How far its character was benefited by this work of purification may be doubted; although it is probable it did not suffer so much by such a

disposed to contest the claims of the Portuguese. Mr. Southey has cited two documents, one historical, the other poetical, which seem to place its composition by Lobeira in the latter part of the fourteenth century beyond any reasonable doubt. (See *Amadis of Gaul*, pref., — also Sarmiento, *Memorias para la Historia de la Poesía y Poetas Españoles, Obras Posthumas*, (Madrid, 1775,) tom. i. p. 239.) Bouterwek, and after him Sismondi, without adducing any authority, have fixed the era of Lobeira's death at 1325. Dante, who died but four years previous to that date, furnishes a negative argument; at least, against this, since in his notice of some of the best books of chivalry then extant, he makes no allusion to the "*Amadis*," the best of all. *Inferno*, canto v.

³ The excellent old romance "*Tirante the White*," *Tirant lo Blanch*, was printed at Valencia in 1490. (See Mendez, *Typographia Española*, tom. i. pp. 72-75.) If, as Cervantes asserts, the "*Amadis*" was the first book of chivalry printed in Spain, it must have been anterior to this date. This is rendered probable by Montalvo's prologue to his edition at Saragossa, in 1521, still preserved in the royal library at Madrid, where he alludes to his former publication of it in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. (Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, ed. Pellicer, *Discurso Prelim.*)

Mr. Dunlop, who has analyzed these romances with a patience that more will be disposed to commend than imitate, has been led into the error of supposing that the first edition of the "*Amadis*" was printed at Seville, in 1526, from detached fragments appearing in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, and subsequently by Montalvo, at Salamanca, in 1547. See *History of Prose Fiction*, vol. ii. chap. 10.

⁴ The following is Montalvo's brief prologue to the introduction of the first book. "Aqui comienza el primero libro del esforçado et virtuoso cauallero Amadis hijo del rey Perion de Gaula: y dela reyna Elisena: el qual fue coregido y emendado por el honrado y virtuoso cauallero Garciordoñez de Montalvo, regidor dela noble uilla de Medina del campo; et coregiolo delos antiguos originales que estauan corruptos, et compuestos en antiguo estilo: por falta delos diferentes escriptores. Quitando muchas palabras superfluas: et poniendo otras de mas polido y elegante estilo: tocantes ala caualleria et actos della, animando los coraçones gentiles de manzebos belicosos que con grandissimo affetto abrazan el arte dela milicia corporal animando la immortal memoria del arte de caualleria no menos honestissimo que glorioso." *Amadis de Gaula*, (Venecia, 1533,) fol. 1.

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process as it would have done in a later and more cultivated period. The simple beauties of this fine old romance, its bustling incidents, relieved by the delicate play of oriental machinery, its general truth of portraiture, above all, the knightly character of the hero, who graced the prowess of chivalry with a courtesy, modesty, and fidelity, unrivalled in the creations of romance, soon recommended it to popular favor and imitation. A continuation, bearing the title of "Las Sergas de Esplandian," was given to the world by Montalvo himself, and grafted on the original stock, as the fifth book of the Amadis, before 1510. A sixth, containing the adventures of his nephew, was printed at Salamanca in the course of the last-mentioned year; and thus the idle writers of the day continued to propagate dulness through a series of heavy tomes, amounting in all to four and twenty books, until the much abused public would no longer suffer the name of Amadis to cloak the manifold sins of his posterity.⁵ Other knights-errant were sent roving about the world at the same time, whose exploits would fill a library; but fortunately they have been permitted to pass

⁵ Nic. Antonio enumerates the editions of thirteen of this doughty family of knights-errant. (*Bibliotheca Nova*, tom. ii. pp. 394, 395.) He dismisses his notice with the reflection, somewhat more charitable than that of Don Quixote's curate, that "he had felt little interest in investigating these fables, yet was willing to admit with others, that their reading was not wholly useless."

Moratin has collected an appalling catalogue of *part* of the books of chivalry published in Spain at the close of the fifteenth and the following century. The first on the list is the *Carcel de Amor*, por Diego Hernandez de San Pedro, en Burgos, año de 1496. *Obras*, tom. i. pp. 93 - 98.

into oblivion, from which a few of their names only have been rescued by the caustic criticism of the curate in *Don Quixote*; who, it will be remembered, after declaring that the virtues of the parent shall not avail his posterity, condemns them and their companions, with one or two exceptions only, to the fatal funeral pile.⁶

These romances of chivalry must have undoubtedly contributed to nourish those exaggerated sentiments, which from a very early period entered into the Spanish character. Their evil influence, in a literary view, resulted less from their improbabilities of situation, which they possessed in common with the inimitable Italian epics, than from the false pictures which they presented of human character, familiarizing the eye of the reader with such models as debauched the taste, and rendered him incapable of relishing the chaste and sober productions of art. It is remarkable that the chivalrous romance, which was so copiously cultivated through the greater part of the sixteenth century, should not have assumed the poetic form, as in Italy, and indeed among our Norman ancestors; and that, in its prose dress, no name of note appears to raise it

Their pernicious effects.

⁶ Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, tom. i. part. 1, cap. 6.

The curate's wrath is very emphatically expressed. "Pues vayan todos al corral, dixo el Cura, que a trueco de quemar a la Reyna Pinti-quiniestra, y al pastor Darinel y a sus eglogas, y a las endiabladas y revueltas razones de su autor, quemara con ellos al padre que me engendro si andubiera en figura de caballero andante." The author

of the "*Dialogo de las Lenguas*" chimes in with the same tone of criticism. "Los quales," he says, speaking of books of chivalry, "de mas de ser mentirossissimos, son tal mal compuestos, assi por dezir las mentiras tan desvergonçadas, como por tener el estilo desbaraçado, que no ay buen estomago que lo pueda leer." Apud Mayans y Siscar, *Orígenes*, tom. ii. p. 158.

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to a high degree of literary merit. Perhaps such a result might have been achieved, but for the sublime parody of Cervantes, which cut short the whole race of knights-errant, and by the fine irony, which it threw around the mock heroes of chivalry, extinguished them for ever.⁷

Ballads or
romances.

The most popular poetry of this period, that springing from the body of the people, and most intimately addressed to it, is the ballads, or *romances*, as they are termed in Spain. These indeed were familiar to the Peninsula as far back as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; but in the present reign they received a fresh impulse from the war with Granada, and composed, under the name of the Moorish ballads, what may perhaps be regarded, without too high praise, as the most exquisite popular minstrelsy of any age or country.

Early cultivation
in Spain.

The humble narrative lyrics making up the mass of ballad poetry, and forming the natural expression of a simple state of society, would seem to be most abundant in nations endowed with keen sensibilities, and placed in situations of excitement and powerful interest, fitted to develop them. The light and lively French have little to boast of

⁷ The labors of Bowles, Rios, Arrieta, Pellicer, and Navarrete, would seem to have left little to desire in regard to the illustration of Cervantes. But the commentaries of Clemencin, published since this chapter was written, in 1833, show how much yet remained to be supplied. They afford the most copious illustrations, both literary and historical of his author, and exhibit that nice taste in ver-

bal criticism, which is not always joined with such extensive erudition. Unfortunately, the premature death of Clemencin has left the work unfinished; but the fragment completed, which reaches to the close of the First Part, is of sufficient value permanently to associate the name of its author with that of the greatest genius of his country.

in this way.⁸ The Italians, with a deeper poetic feeling, were too early absorbed in the gross business habits of trade, and their literature received too high a direction from its master spirits, at its very commencement, to allow any considerable deviation in this track. The countries where it has most thriven, are probably Great Britain and Spain. The English and the Scotch, whose constitutionally pensive and even melancholy temperament has been deepened by the sober complexion of the climate, were led to the cultivation of this poetry still further by the stirring scenes of feudal warfare in which they were engaged, especially along the borders. The Spaniards, to similar sources of excitement, added that of high religious feeling in their struggles with the Saracens, which gave a somewhat loftier character to their effusions. Fortunately for them, their early annals gave birth, in the *Cid*, to a hero, whose personal renown was identified with that of his country, round whose name might be concentrated all the scattered lights of song, thus enabling the nation to build up its poetry on the proudest historic recollections.⁹ The feats of many other heroes, fabulous as well as real, were

⁸ The *fabliaux* cannot fairly be considered as an exception to this. These graceful little performances, the work of professed bards, who had nothing further in view than the amusement of a listless audience, have little claim to be considered as the expression of national feeling or sentiment. The poetry of the south of France, more impassioned and lyrical in its character, wears the stamp, not merely

of patrician elegance, but refined artifice, which must not be confounded with the natural flow of popular minstrelsy.

⁹ How far the achievements claimed for the *Campeador* are strictly true, is little to the purpose. It is enough that they were received as true, throughout the Peninsula, as far back as the twelfth, or, at latest, the thirteenth century.

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permitted to swell the stream of traditionary verse ; and thus a body of poetical annals, springing up as it were from the depths of the people, was bequeathed from sire to son, contributing, perhaps, more powerfully than any real history could have done, to infuse a common principle of patriotism into the scattered members of the nation.

Resem-
blance to the
English.

There is considerable resemblance between the early Spanish ballad and the British. The latter affords more situations of pathos and deep tenderness, particularly those of suffering, uncomplaining love, a favorite theme with old English poets of every description.¹⁰ We do not find, either, in the ballads of the Peninsula, the wild, romantic adventures of the roving outlaw, of the Robin Hood genus, which enter so largely into English minstrelsy. The former are in general of a more sustained and chivalrous character, less gloomy, and although fierce not so ferocious, nor so decidedly tragical in their aspect, as the latter. The ballads of the Cid, however, have many points in common with the border poetry ; the same free and cordial manner, the same love of military exploit, relieved by a certain tone of generous gallantry, and accompanied by a strong expression of national feeling.

Moorish
minstrelsy.

The resemblance between the minstrelsy of the

¹⁰ One exception, among others, readily occurs in the pathetic old ballad of the Conde Alarcos, whose woful catastrophe, with the unresisting suffering of the countess, suggests many points of coincidence with the English minstrelsy. The English reader will find a version of it in the "Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain" from the pen of Mr. Bowring, to whom the literary world is so largely indebted for an acquaintance with the popular minstrelsy of Europe.

two countries vanishes, however, as we approach the Moorish ballads. The Moorish wars had always afforded abundant themes of interest for the Castilian muse; but it was not till the fall of the capital, that the very fountains of song were broken up, and those beautiful ballads were produced, which seem like the echoes of departed glory, lingering round the ruins of Granada. Incompetent as these pieces may be as historical records, they are doubtless sufficiently true to manners.¹¹ They present a most remarkable combination, of not merely the exterior form, but the noble spirit of European chivalry, with the gorgeousness and effeminate luxury of the east. They are brief, seizing single situations of the highest poetic interest, and striking the eye of the reader with a brilliancy of execution, so artless in appearance withal as to seem rather the effect of accident than study. We are transported to the gay seat of Moorish power, and witness the animating bustle, its pomp

¹¹ I have already noticed the insufficiency of the *romances* to authentic history, Part. I. Chap. 8, Note 30. My conclusions there have been confirmed by Mr. Irving, (whose researches have led him in a similar direction,) in his "Alhambra," published nearly a year after the above note was written.

The great source of the popular misconceptions respecting the domestic history of Granada, is Gines Perez de Hyta, whose work, under the title of "Historia de los Vandos de los Zegries y Abencerrages, Cavalleros Moros de Granada, y las Guerras Civiles que hubo en ella," was published at Alcalá in 1604. This romance, written

in prose, embodied many of the old Moorish ballads in it, whose singular beauty, combined with the romantic and picturesque character of the work itself, soon made it extremely popular, until at length it seems to have acquired a degree of the historical credit claimed for it by its author as a translation from an Arabian chronicle; a credit which has stood it in good stead with the tribe of travel-mongers and *raconteurs*, persons always of easy faith, who have propagated its fables far and wide. Their credulity, however, may be pardoned in what has imposed on the perspicacity of so cautious an historian as Müller. Allgemeine Geschichte, (1817,) band ii. p. 504.

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and its revelry, prolonged to the last hour of its existence. The bull-fight of the Vivarrambla, the graceful tilt of reeds, the amorous knights with their quaint significant devices, the dark Zegrís, or Gomeres, and the royal, self-devoted Abencerrages, the Moorish maiden radiant at the tourney, the moonlight serenade, the stolen interview, where the lover gives vent to all the intoxication of passion in the burning language of Arabian metaphor and hyperbole,¹² — these, and a thousand similar scenes are brought before the eye, by a succession of rapid and animated touches, like the lights and shadows of a landscape. The light trochaic structure of the *redondilla*,¹³ as the Spanish ballad

¹² Thus, in one of their *romances*, we have a Moorish lady "shedding drops of liquid silver, and scattering her hair of Arabian gold" over the corpse of her murdered husband!

"Sobre el cuerpo de Albencayde
Destila líquida plata,
Y convertida en cabellos
Esparce el oro de Arabia."

Can any thing be more oriental than this imagery? In another we have "an hour of years of impatient hopes"; a passionate sally, that can scarcely be outmatched by Scriblerus. This taint of exaggeration, however, so far from being peculiar to the popular minstrelsy, has found its way, probably through this channel in part, into most of the poetry of the Peninsula.

¹³ The *redondilla* may be considered as the basis of Spanish versification. It is of great antiquity, and compositions in it are still extant, as old as the time of the infant Don Manuel, at the close of

the thirteenth century. (See *Cancionero General*, fol. 207.) The *redondilla* admits of great variety; but in the *romances* it is most frequently found to consist of eight syllables, the last foot, and some or all of the preceding, as the case may be, being trochees. (Rengifo, *Arte Poética Española*, (Barcelona, 1727,) cap. 9, 44.) Critics have derived this delightful measure from various sources. Sarmiento traces it to the hexameter of the ancient Romans, which may be bisected into something analogous to the *redondillas*. (*Memorias*, pp. 168-171.) Bouterwek thinks it may have been suggested by the songs of the Roman soldiery. (*Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit*, band iii. Einleitung, p. 20.) — Velazquez borrows it from the rhyming hexameters of the Spanish Latin poets, of which he gives specimens of the beginning of the fourteenth century. (*Poesía Castellana*, pp. 77, 78.) Later critics refer its derivation to