

After all, however, the "Dial for Princes" is *16 little *worthy of the excitement it occasioned.

It is filled with letters and speeches, ill-conceived and inappropriate, and is written in a formal and inflated style. Perhaps we are now indebted to it for nothing so much as for the beautiful fable of "The Peasant of the Danube," evidently suggested to La Fontaine by one of the discourses through which Guevara endeavored to give life and reality to his fictions.³⁴

In the same spirit, though with less boldness, he wrote his "Lives of the Ten Roman Emperors"; a work which, like his Dial for Princes, he dedicated to Charles the Fifth. In general, he has here followed the authorities on which he claims to found his narrative, such as Dion Cassius and the minor Latin historians, showing, at the same time, a marked desire to imitate Plutarch and Suetonius, whom he announces as his models. But he has not been able entirely to resist the temptation of inserting fictitious letters, and even unfounded stories; thus giving a false view,

Thos. North, the well-known English translator, translated the "Relox" in three books, adding, inappropriately, as a "fowerth," the "Despertador de Cortesanos," and dedicating the whole, in 1557, to Queen Mary, then wife of Philip II. It was the work of his youth, he says, when he was a student of Lincoln's Inn; but it contains much good old English idiom. My copy is in folio, 1568.

³⁴ La Fontaine, Fables, Lib. XI. fab. 7, and Guevara, Relox, Lib. III. c. 3. The speech which the Spanish Bishop, the true inventor of this happy fiction, gives to his Rústico de Germania is, indeed, too long; but it was popular. Tirso de Molina, after describing a peasant who approached Xerxes, says in the Prologue to one of his plays,

In short,
He represented to the very life

The Rustic that so boldly spoke
Before the Roman Senate.

Cigarrales de Toledo, Madrid, 1624, 4to, p. 102.

La Fontaine, however, did not trouble himself about the original Spanish or its popularity. He took his beautiful version of the fable from an old French translation, made by a gentleman who went to Madrid in 1526 with the Cardinal de Grammont, on the subject of Francis the First's imprisonment. It is in the rich old French of that period, and La Fontaine often adopts, with his accustomed skill, its picturesque phraseology. I suppose this translation is the one cited by Brunet as made by René Bertaut, of which there were many editions. Mine is of Paris, 1540, folio, by Galliot du Pré, and is entitled "L'orloge des Princes, traduit Despaingnol en Langaige François," but does not give the translator's name.

if not of the facts of history, at least of some of the characters he records. His style, however, though it still wants purity and appropriateness, is better and more simple than it is in his romance on Marcus Aurelius.³⁵

* Similar characteristics mark a large collec- *17
tion of Letters printed by him as early as 1539. Many of them are addressed to persons of great consideration in his time, such as the Marquis of Pescara, the Duke of Alva, Iñigo de Velasco, Grand Constable of Castile, and Fadrique Enriquez, Grand Admiral. But some were evidently never sent to the persons addressed, like the loyal one to Juan de Padilla, the head of the *Comuneros*, and two impertinent letters to the Governor Luis Bravo, who had foolishly fallen in love in his old age. Others are mere fictions, among which are a correspondence of the Emperor Trajan with Plutarch and the Roman Senate, which Guevara vainly protests he translated from the Greek, without saying where he found the originals,³⁶ and a long epistle about Laïs and other courtesans of antiquity, in which he gives the details of their conversations as if he had listened to them himself. Most of the letters, though

³⁵ The "Decada de los Césares," with the other treatises of Guevara here spoken of, except his Epistles, are to be found in a collection of his works first printed at Valladolid in 1539, of which I have a copy, as well as one of the edition of 1545. Guevara seems to have been as particular about the typographical execution of his works as he was about his style of composition. Besides the above, I have his Epistolas 1539, 1542, 1543; his Oratorio de Religiosos, 1543, 1545, and his Monte Calvario, 1543, 1549, — all grave black-letter folios, printed in different cities and by different printers, but all with an air of exactness and finish that is quite remarkable, and, I suspect, quite characteristic of the author.

The translation of the "Década," by Edward Hellowes, published 1577, and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, is not so good as North's translation of the "Relox," but it is worth having. I have Italian versions of several of Guevara's works, but they seem of no value.

³⁶ These very letters, however, were thought worth translating into English by Sir Geoffrey Fenton, and are found ff. 68-77 of a curious collection taken from different authors and published in London, (1575, 4to, black-letter,) under the title of "Golden Epistles." Edward Hellowes had already translated the whole of Guevara's Epistles in 1574; which were again translated, but not very well, by Savage, in 1657.

they are called "Familiar Epistles," are merely essays or disputations, and a few are sermons in form, with an announcement of the occasions on which they were preached. None has the easy or natural air of a real correspondence. In fact, they were all, no doubt, prepared expressly for publication and for effect; and, notwithstanding their stiffness and formality, were greatly admired. They were often printed in Spain; they were translated into all the principal languages of Europe; and, to express the value set on them, they were generally called "The Golden Epistles." But, notwithstanding their early success, they have long been disregarded, and only a few passages that touch the affairs of the time or the life of the Emperor can now be read with interest or pleasure.³⁷

* 18 * Besides these works, Guevara wrote several formal treatises. Two are strictly theological.³⁸ Another is on the Inventors of the Art of Navigation and its Practice;—a subject which might be thought foreign from the Bishop's experience, but with which, he tells us, he had become familiar by having been much at sea, and visited many ports on the Mediterranean.³⁹ Of his two other treatises, which are all

³⁷ *Epistolas Familiares de D. Antonio de Guevara*, Madrid, 1673, 4to, p. 12, and elsewhere. Cervantes, *en passant*, gives a blow at the letter of Guevara about Lais, in the Prólogo to the first part of his *Don Quixote*.

³⁸ One of these religious treatises is entitled "*Monte Calvario*," 1542, translated into English in 1595; and the other, "*Oratorio de Religiosos*," 1543, which is a series of short exhortations or homilies, with a text prefixed to each. The first is ordered to be expurgated in the Index of 1667, (p. 67,) and both are censured in that of 1790.

³⁹ Hellowes translated this, also, and printed it in 1578. (Sir E. Brydges, *Censura Literaria*, Tom. III. 1807, p.

210.) It is an unpromising subject in any language, but in the original Guevara has shown some pleasantries, and an easier style than is common with him. Much interest for the sciences connected with navigation was awakened at Seville by the intercourse of that city with America in the time of Charles V., when Guevara lived there. It is believed that the first really useful maritime charts were made there. (Havemann, p. 173.) The "*Arte de Navegar*" of Pedro de Medina, printed at Seville in 1545 and early translated into Italian, French, and German, is said to have been the first book published on the subject. See *Literatura Española . . . en el Prefacio de N. Antonio*, ec., 1787, p. 56, note.

that remain to be noticed, one is called "Contempt of Court Life and Praise of the Country"; and the other, "Counsels for Favorites and Teachings for Courtiers." They are moral discussions, suggested by Castiglione's "Courtier," then at the height of its popularity, and are written with great elaborateness, in a solemn and stiff style, bearing the same relations to truth and wisdom that Arcadian pastorals do to nature.⁴⁰

All the works of Guevara show the impress of their age, and mark their author's position at court. They are burdened with learning, yet not without proofs of experience in the ways of the world;—they often show good sense, but they are monotonous from the stately dignity he thinks it necessary to assume on his own account, and from the rhetorical ornament by which he hopes to commend them to the regard of his readers. Such as they are, however, they illustrate and exemplify more truly, perhaps, than anything else of their age, the style of writing most in favor at the court of Charles the Fifth, especially during the latter part of that monarch's reign.

But by far the best didactic prose work of this period, though unknown and unpublished till two centuries afterwards, * is that commonly cited * 19 under the simple title of "The Dialogue on Languages";—a work which, at any time, would be deemed remarkable for the naturalness and purity of its style, and is peculiarly so at this period of formal and elaborate eloquence. "I write," says its author, "as I speak; only I take more pains to think what I have to say, and then I say it as simply as I can; for, to my mind, affectation is out of place in all languages." Who

⁴⁰ Both these treatises were translated into English; the first by Sir Francis Briant, in 1548. Ames's *Typog. Antiquities*, ed. Dibdin, London, 1810, 4to, Tom. III. p. 460.

it was that entertained an opinion so true, but in his time so uncommon, is not certain. Probably it was Juan de Valdés, a person who has sometimes been said, but not, I think, justly, to have embraced the opinions of the Reformation. He was educated at the University of Alcalá, and during a part of his life possessed not a little political consequence, being much about the person of the Emperor. It is not known what became of him afterwards; but he probably died in 1540, six years before Charles the Fifth attempted to establish the Inquisition in Naples, where Valdés lived long, and, therefore, it is not likely that he was seriously molested while he was there, although his opinions were certainly not always such as the Spanish Church exacted.⁴¹

The Dialogue on Languages is supposed to be carried on between two Spaniards and two Italians, at a country-house on the sea-shore, near Naples, and is an acute discussion on the origin and character of the Castilian. Parts of it are learned, but in these the author sometimes falls into errors;⁴² other parts are lively and entertaining; and yet others are full of good sense and sound criticism. The principal personage — the one who gives all the instructions and explanations — is named Valdés; and, from this circumstance, * 20 as well as from some intimations in the * Dialogue itself, it may be inferred that Juan de Valdés was its author, and that it was written before

⁴¹ Llorente (*Hist. de l'Inquisition*, Tom. II. pp. 281 and 478) makes some mistakes about Valdés, of whom accounts are to be found in McCrie's "*Hist. of the Progress, etc., of the Reformation in Italy*," (Edinburgh, 1827, 8vo, pp. 106 and 121.) and in his "*Hist. of the Progress, etc., of the Reformation in Spain*" (Edinburgh, 1829, 8vo, pp. 140-146). Valdés is

supposed to have been an anti-Trinitarian, but McCrie does not admit it.

⁴² His chief error is in supposing that the Greek language once prevailed generally in Spain, and constituted the basis of an ancient Spanish language, which, he thinks, was spread through the country before the Romans appeared in Spain.

1536;⁴³ — a point which, if established, would account for the suppression of the manuscript, as the work of one inclined to heresy. In any event, the Dialogue was not printed till 1737, and therefore, as a specimen of pure and easy style, was lost on the age that produced it.⁴⁴

⁴³ The intimations alluded to are that the Valdés of the Dialogue had been at Rome; that he was a person of some authority; and that he had lived long at Naples, and in other parts of Italy. He speaks of Garcilasso de la Vega as if he were alive, and Garcilasso died in 1536. Llorente, in a passage just cited, calls Valdés the author of the "*Diálogo de las Lenguas*"; and Clemencin — a safer authority — does the same, once, in the notes to his edition of *Don Quixote*, (Tom. IV. p. 285.) though in other notes he treats it as if its author were unknown.

⁴⁴ The "*Diálogo de las Lenguas*" was not printed till it appeared in *Mayans y Siscar*, "*Orígenes de la Lengua Española*," (Madrid, 1737, 2 tom. 12mo.) where it fills the first half of the second volume, and is the best thing in the collection. Probably the manuscript had been kept out of sight, as the work of a heretic. *Mayans* says that it could be traced to *Zurita*, the historian, and that, in 1736, it was purchased for the Royal Library, of which *Mayans* himself was then librarian. *Gayangos* says it is now in the British Museum, but this is a mistake. It is a modern copy that is there, numbered "9939, 4to, Additional MSS." One leaf was wanting, — probably an expurgation, — which *Mayans* could not supply; and, though he seems to have believed Valdés to have been the author of the Dialogue, he avoids saying so, — perhaps from an unwillingness to attract the notice of the Inquisition to it. (*Orígenes*, Tom. I. pp. 173-180.) *Iriarte*, in the "*Aprobacion*" of the collection, treats the "*Diálogo*" as if its author were quite unknown.

Since the preceding part of this note, and what relates to the same subject in the text, were published, in 1840, more has become known about it, and I will, therefore, give the result as it stands in 1864.

There were two brothers Valdés, — Juan and Alfonso, — twins, and so remarkably alike in character as well as in external appearance that Erasmus, speaking of them in a letter dated March I, 1528, says they did not seem to be twins, but to be absolutely one person, — "*non duo gemelli, sed idem prorsus homo*." They were both secretaries to Charles V.; both went with him to Germany and Italy; and they both were men of talent and power, who wrote and taught in a liberal and wise spirit, rare always, and especially in a period like the troubled one in which they lived. From such a remarkable series of resemblances, and from the fact that opinions such as they entertained could not, in their own times, be very frankly and fully set forth, the two twin brothers have not infrequently been confounded as to the events of their lives and as to the authorship of their respective works.

That Juan wrote the remarkable Dialogue on the Language there can be no just doubt. Since the account given of it in the text was published in 1849, a much better edition of the work has been published with the imprint of Madrid, 1860, prepared from the manuscript preserved in the National Library there, which is the one used by *Mayans* in 1737, and the only old one known to exist. It settles this question of the authorship, and renders it probable that the work itself was originally entitled, as it ought to be, "*Diálogo de la Lengua*," in the singular number, and not "*Diálogo de las Lenguas*," in the plural, — relating, as it really does, to the Spanish language alone, although reference is necessarily made in its discussions to other languages. But, besides the well-considered examination of these points in the preface of this edition, it contains above a thousand different readings, important and unimportant, all noted in the margin, and

*21 *For us it is important, because it shows, with more distinctness than any other literary monument of its time, what was the state of the Spanish language in the reign of the Emperor Charles the

showing, as does everything in relation to the preparation of the work, great care and patience.

Juan de Valdés wrote other works that are chiefly or wholly, like his expositions of St. Paul, religious and theological. Of these, the most important, I suppose, are his "Alfabeto Cristiano" and his "Ciento y Diez Consideraciones," both intended for Christian edification, and the last very comprehensive in its character. But unhappily we possess neither of them as their author wrote them in his pure Castilian; for having been prepared especially for the benefit of Italian friends, the first was published in Italian, without date of place, in 1546, and the last at Basle in 1550, from which they have passed successively into the other modern languages, and, among the rest, into the Spanish. His "Consideraciones," in the English version of Nicholas Ferrar, was published at Oxford in 1638, and at Cambridge in 1646, with notes by Herbert, the pious poet of the Temple. See Izaak Walton's *Life of Herbert*, 1819, p. 266, noting, however, that good Izaak is mistaken in what he says about Valdés.

Of the works of Alfonso Valdés, two are especially worth notice, which, until lately, were supposed to have been written by his *alter ego*, Juan, and which, even in the new edition of the "Diálogo de la Lengua," are claimed, on internal evidence, to be partly from his hand.

They commonly appear under the simple title of "Dos Dialogos," as they were originally published s. d. about 1530. The first of them is a dialogue between Mercury, Charon, and sundry souls newly arrived on the banks of the Styx, and must have been written as late as 1528, since it contains a letter from Charles V. dated in that year. The other is a dialogue between a young man named Lactancio, who may represent the author, and an ecclesiastic in a military dress fresh from Rome, where, amidst the confusion and violence of its recent capture, monks and

priests served and dressed as soldiers. These two persons, both Spaniards, meet accidentally in a public square of Valladolid, and, retiring for quietness into a neighboring church, carry on a free and full discussion of the troubles of their time, the report of which constitutes the substance of the "Diálogo." It was probably written in 1528, and was certainly known in 1529, because in that year Alfonso Valdés is rebuked as its author for his heretical opinions by Castiglione, the Pope's Nuncio in Spain, who tells him that if he were to visit Germany he would be heartily welcomed by Luther.

Both of these curious and interesting discussions were intended to defend the Emperor in whatever relates to the capture of Rome and the challenge of Francis I., — recent events which were then in the mouths of all men. In each we have not a few important facts touching what had occurred within their author's knowledge, and still more frequently glimpses of the state of opinion and feeling at a period of the greatest excitement and anxiety. In each, too, there is a large admixture of the spirit of religious controversy; but though the vices of the priesthood and the low condition of Christianity in the world are freely exposed in many passages, I do not think that Valdés can be accounted a Protestant, as he has often been; for although the tone of his mind and character is eminently spiritual, and although his opinions are full of temperance and wisdom, still his admiration for the Emperor is unbounded and his submission to the Pope and the Church complete. The charm of both the Dialogues, therefore, consists in their pure and spirited style, their point and humor, and their exhibition, by quaint details and remarkable facts, of the very form and pressure of the extraordinary times to which they relate. They were prepared and published anew in 1850, without date of place, but I suppose in Madrid, by the same person who in 1860 prepared and edited the "Diálogo de la Lengua."

Fifth; a circumstance of consequence to the condition of the literature, and one to which we therefore turn with interest.

As might be expected, we find, when we look back, that the language of letters in Spain has made material progress since we last noticed it in the reign of John the Second. The example of Juan de Mena had been followed, and the national vocabulary had been enriched during the interval of a century, by successive poets, from the languages of classical antiquity. From other sources, too, and through other channels, important contributions had flowed in. From America and its commerce had come the names of those productions which half a century of intercourse had brought to Spain, and rendered familiar there, — terms few, indeed, in number, but of daily use.⁴⁵ From Germany and the Low Countries still more had been introduced by the accession of Charles the Fifth,⁴⁶ who, to the great annoyance of his Spanish subjects, arrived in Spain surrounded by foreign courtiers, and speaking with a stranger accent the language of the country he was called to govern.⁴⁷ A few words, too, had come acci-

For what relates to the brothers Valdés, see the editions of the "Ciento y Diez Consideraciones," 1855 and 1863, the edition of the "Alfabeto Cristiano," 1861, that of the "Diálogo de la Lengua," 1860, and that of the "Dos Diálogos," 1850, — all, I suppose, printed in Madrid, though not all so designated by their editors, Don Luis de Usóz y Rio and Benjamin B. Wiffen, a Quaker gentleman living near Bedford, and brother of the translator of Garcilasso de la Vega. See, also, the interesting discussion relating to the brothers Valdés in M. Young's "Life and Times of Aonio Paleario," London, 1860, 8vo, Vol. I. pp. 201-238 and 547-551.

A *Life of Juan de Valdés*, containing everything that can probably be known

of him, was written by Friend Wiffen and published in London in 1865; but I had not the benefit of it when the preceding remarks were prepared, as that was a year earlier. Indeed, though the *Life* by Wiffen contains much that is important about the political and religious character of Valdés, I found nothing in it to add to my notice of him as a man of letters.

⁴⁵ Mayans y Siscar, *Orígenes*, Tom. I. p. 97.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁴⁷ Sandoval says that Charles V. suffered greatly in the opinion of the Spaniards, on his first arrival in Spain, because, owing to his inability to speak Spanish, they had hardly any proper intercourse with him. It was, he adds, as if they could not talk with him at

dentally from France; and now, in the reign of Philip the Second, a great number, amounting to the most considerable infusion the language had received since the time of the Arabs, were brought in through the intimate connection of Spain with Italy and the increasing influence of Italian letters and Italian culture.⁴⁸

* 22 * We may therefore consider that the Spanish language at this period was not only formed, but that it had reached substantially its full proportions, and had received all its essential characteristics. Indeed, it had already for half a century been regularly cared for and cultivated. Alonso de Palencia, who had long been in the service of his country as an ambassador, and was afterwards its chronicler, published a Latin and Spanish Dictionary in 1490; the oldest in which Castilian definitions and etymologies are to be found.⁴⁹ This was succeeded, two years later, by the first Castilian Grammar, the work of An-

all. Historia, Anvers, 1681, folio, Tom. I. p. 141. When he undertook to hear causes in chancery he found himself still more uncomfortably situated. (Argensola, Anales de Aragon, Zaragoza, 1630, folio, Tom. I. p. 441.) The Cortes, perhaps, remembered this when Philip II. came to the throne, and they made it their very first petition to him to live always in Spain. Capítulos y Leyes, Cortes de Valladolid, Valladolid, 1558, f. 1.

⁴⁸ Mayans y Siscar, Orígenes, Tom. II. pp. 127-133. The author of the *Diálogo* urges the introduction of a considerable number of words from the Italian, such as *discurso*, *facilitar*, *fantasia*, *novela*, etc., which have long since been adopted and fully recognized by the Academy. Diego de Mendoza, though partly of the Italian school, objected to the word *centinela* as a needless Italianism; but it was soon fully received into the language. (Guerra de Granada, ed. 1776, Lib. III. c. 7,

p. 176.) A little later, Luis Velez de Guevara, in Tranco X. of his "Diablo Cojuelo," denied citizenship to *fulgor*, *purpurear*, *pompa*, and other words now in good use. So, too, Figueroa (in his *Pasajero*, 1617, f. 85. b) complains of the additions to the Spanish of his time: "Se han ido poco a poco convirtiéndose en propios muchos meramente Latinos, como *repulsa*, *idoneo*, *lustró*, *prole*, *posteridad*, *astro*, y otros sin número." But all he enumerates are now recognized Castilian. Gayangos cites Francisco Nuñez de Velasco, in his "Diálogos de Contención entre la milicia y la ciencia," as complaining that Italian words and phrases were introduced needlessly into the Castilian. But Nuñez reckons Estala (stable) and Estival (boot) among them, not knowing they are Teutonic. (Spanish Translation, II. 513.)

⁴⁹ Mendez, *Typographia*, p. 175. Antonio, *Bib. Vetus*, ed. Bayer, Tom. II. p. 333.

tonio de Lebrixa, who had before published a Latin Grammar in the Latin language, and translated it for the benefit, as he tells us, of the ladies of the court.⁵⁰ Other similar and equally successful attempts followed. A purely Spanish Dictionary by Lebrixa, the first of its kind, appeared in 1492, and a Dictionary for ecclesiastical purposes, in both Latin and Spanish, by Santa Ella, succeeded it in 1499; both often reprinted afterwards, and long regarded as standard authorities.⁵¹ All these works, so important for the consolidation of the language, and so well constructed that successors to them were not found till above a century later,⁵² were, it should be observed, produced under the direct and personal patronage of Queen Isabella, who, in this, as in so many other ways, gave proof at once of her far-sightedness in affairs of * state, and * 23 of her wise tastes and preferences in whatever regarded the intellectual cultivation of her subjects.⁵³

The language thus formed was now fast spreading throughout the kingdom, and displacing dialects some of which, as old as itself, had seemed, at one period, destined to surpass it in cultivation and general prevalence. The ancient Galician, in which Alfonso the Wise was educated, and in which he sometimes wrote, was now known as a polite language only in Portugal, where it had risen to be so independent of the stock from which it sprang as almost to disavow its origin. The Valencian and Catalanian, those kindred dialects of the Provençal race, whose influences in the thir-

⁵⁰ Mendez, *Typog.*, pp. 239-242. For the great merits of Antonio de Lebrixa, in relation to the Spanish language, see "Specimen Bibliothecæ Hispano-Mayansianæ ex Museo D. Clementis," Hannoveræ, 1753, 4to, pp. 4-39.

⁵¹ Mendez, pp. 243 and 212, and Antonio, *Bib. Nova*, Tom. II. p. 266.

⁵² The Grammar of Juan de Navidad, 1567, is not an exception to this remark, because it was intended to teach Spanish to Italians, and not to natives.

⁵³ Clemencin, in *Mem. de la Academia de Historia*, Tom. VI. p. 472, notes.

teenth century were felt through the whole Peninsula, claimed, at this period, something of their earlier dignity only below the last range of hills on the coast of the Mediterranean. The Biscayan alone, unchanged as the mountains which sheltered it, still preserved for itself the same separate character it had at the earliest dawns of tradition, — a character which has continued essentially the same down to our own times.

But, though the Castilian, advancing with the whole authority of the government, which at this time spoke to the people of all Spain in no other language, was heard and acknowledged throughout the country as the language of the state and of all political power, still the popular and local habits of four centuries could not be at once or entirely broken up. The Galician, the Valencian, and the Catalonian continued to be spoken in the age of Charles the Fifth, and are spoken now by the masses of the people in their respective provinces, and to some extent in the refined society of each. Even Andalusia and Aragon have not yet emancipated themselves completely from their original idioms; and, in the same way, each of the other grand divisions of the country, several of which were at one time independent kingdoms, are still, like Estremadura and La Mancha, distinguished by peculiarities of phraseology and accent.⁵⁴

* 24 * Castile, alone, and especially Old Castile, claims, as of inherited right, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, the prerogative of speaking absolutely pure Spanish. Villalobos, it is true, who was always a flatterer of royal authority, insisted that

⁵⁴ It is curious to observe that the author of the "Diálogo de las Lenguas," (Orígenes, Tom. II. p. 31,) who wrote about 1535, — Mayans, (Orígenes, Tom. I. p. 8,) who wrote in 1737, — and

Sarmiento, (Memorias, p. 94,) who wrote about 1760, all speak of the character of the Castilian and the prevalence of the dialects in nearly the same terms.

this prerogative followed the residences of the sovereign and the court;⁵⁵ but the better opinion has been that the purest form of the Castilian must be sought at Toledo, — the Imperial Toledo, as it was called, — peculiarly favored when it was the political capital of the ancient monarchy in the time of the Goths, and consecrated anew as the ecclesiastical head of all Christian Spain, the moment it was rescued from the hands of the Moors.⁵⁶ It has even been said that the supremacy of this venerable city in the purity of its dialect was so fully settled, from the first appearance of the language, as the language of the state in the thirteenth century, that Alfonso the Wise, in a Cortes held there, directed the meaning of any disputed word to be settled by its use at Toledo.⁵⁷ But, however this may be, there is no question that, from the time of Charles the Fifth to the present day, the Toledan has been considered, on the whole, the normal form of the national * language, and * 25 that, from the same period, the Castilian dia-

⁵⁵ De las Fiebras Interpoladas, Metro I., Obras, 1543, f. 27.

⁵⁶ See Mariana's account of the glories of Toledo, Historia, Lib. XVI. c. 15, and elsewhere. He was himself from the kingdom of Toledo, and often boasts of its renown. Cervantes, in Don Quixote, (Parte II. c. 19,) implies that the Toledan was accounted the purest Spanish of his time. It still claims to be so in ours.

⁵⁷ "Also, at the same Cortes, the same King, Don Alfonso X., ordered, if thereafter there should be a doubt in any part of his kingdom about the meaning of any Castilian word, that reference thereof should be had to this city as to the standard of the Castilian tongue, [como á metro de la lengua Castellana,] and that they should adopt the meaning and definition here given to such word, because our tongue is more perfect here than elsewhere."

(Francisco de Pisa, Descripción de la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo, ed. Thomas Tamaio de Vargas, Toledo, 1617, fol., Lib. I. c. 36, f. 56.) The Cortes here referred to is said by Pisa to have been held in 1253; in which year the Chronicle of Alfonso X. (Valladolid, 1554, fol., c. 2) represents the king to have been there. (See, also, Paton, Elocuencia Española, 1604, f. 12.)

A similar legal as well as traditional claim for the supremacy of the Toledan dialect is set up in the "Historia de Tobias," a poem by Caudivilla Santaren, 1615, Canto XI., where, speaking of Toledo, he says: —

Entre otros muchos bienes y favores
 Quel soberano Dios hizo a esta gente
 Fue darle la facundia y los primores
 De hablar su Castellano castamente.
 Y assi por justa ley de Emperadores,
 Se orden , que, si alguno, estando ausente,
 Sobre qualquier vocablo porfiase,
 Quel que se usa en Toledo guardase.

f. 190, a.

lect, having vindicated for itself an absolute supremacy over all the other dialects of the monarchy, has been the only one recognized as the language of the classical poetry and prose of the whole country.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ From the time of Charles V., too, and as a natural result of his conquests and influence throughout Europe, the Spanish language became known and admired abroad, as it had never been before. Marguerite de Valois, sister of Francis I., who went, in 1525, to Madrid and consoled her brother in his captivity there, says: *Le Langage Castillan est sans comparaison mieux déclarant cette passion d'amour que n'est le François* (Heptaméron, Journée III., Nouvelle 24, ed. Paris, 1615, p. 263). And Domenichi, in Ulloa's translation of his *Razonamiento de Empresas Militares*, (Leon. de Francia, 1561, 4to, p. 175,) says of the Spanish, "Es lengua

muy comun a todas naciones," — a striking fact for an Italian to mention. Richelieu liked to write in Spanish (Havemann, p. 312). The marriage of Philip II. with Mary Tudor carried the Spanish to the English Court, where for a time it had some vogue, and Charles himself, as Emperor, spread it through Germany, as he did, in other ways and from other similar influences, through Flanders and Italy. Other curious facts of the same sort, showing the spread of Spanish in Italy and France about the middle of the sixteenth century, may be found in the Prologo to Paton's *Eloquencia Española*, 1604, pp. 7, sqq.

* CHAPTER VI.

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CHRONICLING PERIOD GONE BY.—CHARLES THE FIFTH.—GUEVARA.—OCAMPO.—SEPÚLVEDA.—MEXIA.—ACCOUNTS OF THE NEW WORLD.—CORTÉS.—GOMARA.—BERNAL DIAZ.—OVIEDO.—LAS CASAS.—VACA.—XEREZ.—ÇARATE.

AT the beginning of the sixteenth century, it is obvious that the age for chronicles had gone by in Spain.¹ Still it was thought for the dignity of the monarchy that the stately forms of the elder time should, in this as in other particulars, be kept up by public authority. Charles the Fifth, therefore, as if his ambitious projects as a conqueror were to find their counterpart in his arrangements for recording their success, had several authorized chroniclers, all men of consideration and learning. But the shadow on the dial would not go back at the royal command. The greatest monarch of his time could appoint chroniclers, but he could not give them the spirit of an age that was past. The chronicles he demanded at their hands were either never undertaken or never finished. Antonio de Guevara, one of the persons to whom these duties were assigned, seems to have been singularly conscientious in the devotion of his time to them; for we are told that, by his will, he ordered the

¹ One proof that the age of chronicling was gone by may be found in the burlesque chronicle of a court-fool, in the early part of the reign of Charles V., entitled "Crónica de Don Francesillo de Zuñiga, criado privado bienquisto y predicador del Emperador Carlos V. dirigida a su Majestad por el mismo Don Francés." It was first published in Vol. XXXVI. of the Bib-

lioteca de Autores Españoles, 1855. It was no fool that wrote it, nor the few letters that follow, though he bore that title at court, and enjoyed its privileges. The style is easy and the language pure, but there is less finish than wit in it, and more sense than historical facts. It is what its title implies, a caricature of the chronicling style then going out of fashion.