

\*31 \* I cannot pass further without offering the tribute of my homage to two persons who have done more than any others in the nineteenth century to make Spanish literature known, and to obtain for it the honors to which it is entitled beyond the limits of the country that gave it birth.

The first of them, and one whose name I have already cited, is Friedrich Bouterwek, who was born at Oker, in the kingdom of Hanover, in 1766, and passed nearly all the more active portion of his life at Göttingen, where he died in 1828, widely respected as one of the most distinguished professors of that long-favored university. A project for preparing by the most competent hands a full history of the arts and sciences from the period of their revival in modern Europe was first suggested at Göttingen by another of its well-known professors, John Gottfried Eichhorn, in the latter part of the eighteenth century. But, though that remarkable scholar published, in 1796-99, two volumes of a learned Introduction to the whole work which he had projected, he went no further, and most of his coadjutors stopped when he did, or soon afterwards. The portion of it assigned to Bouterwek, however, which was the entire history of elegant literature in modern times, was happily achieved by him between 1801 and 1819, in twelve volumes, octavo. Of this division "The History of Spanish Literature" fills the third volume, and was published in 1804; — a work remarkable for its general philosophical views, and by far the best extant on the subject it discusses; but imperfect in many particulars, because its author was unable to procure a large number of Spanish books needful for his task, and because he knew many considerable Spanish authors only by insufficient extracts. In 1812 a translation of it into French was printed, in two volumes, by Madame Streck, with a judicious preface by the venerable M. Stapfer. In 1823 it came out, together with its author's brief "History of Portuguese Literature," in an English translation made with taste and skill by Miss Thomasina Ross; and, in 1829, a Spanish version of the first and smallest part of it, with important notes, sufficient with the text to fill a volume in octavo, was prepared by two excellent Spanish scholars, José Gomez de la Cortina, and Nicolás Hugalde y Mollinedo, — a work which all

lovers of Spanish literature would gladly see completed. It was, however, attacked in a paper published at Bayonne; but it was defended successfully in a tract entitled "Cuatro Palmetazos bien plantados por el Domine Lucas a los Gazeteros de Bayona," ec. (Cadiz, 1830, 4to, pp. 28), written by Bart. José Gallardo. Puigblanch *Opusculos Gramatico-Satiricos*. Londres [1832], 12mo, Tom. I. p. lxxvi; — a whimsical collection of odds and ends of politics and learning.

Since the time of Bouterwek, no foreigner has done more to promote a knowledge of Spanish literature than M. Simonde de Sismondi, who was born at Geneva, in 1773, and died there in 1842, honored and loved by all who knew his wise and generous spirit, as it exhibited itself either in his personal intercourse, or in his great works on the history of France and Italy, — two countries to which, by a line of time-honored ancestors, he seemed almost equally to belong. In 1811 he delivered in his native city a course of brilliant lectures on the literature of the South of Europe, and, in 1813, published them at Paris. They involved an account of the Provençal and the Portuguese, as well as of the Italian and the Spanish; but in whatever relates to the Spanish Sismondi was even less well provided with the original authors than Bouterwek had been, and was, in consequence, under obligations to his predecessor, which, while he takes no pains to conceal them, diminish the authority of a work that will yet always be read for the beauty of its style, and the richness and wisdom of its reflections. The entire series of these lectures was translated into German by L. Hain, in 1815, and into English with notes, by T. Roscoe, in 1823. The part relating to Spanish literature was published in Spanish, with occasional alterations and additions, by José Lorenzo Figueroa and José Amador de los Rios, at Seville, in two vols. 8vo, 1841-42, — the notes relating to Andalusian authors being particularly valuable.

None but those who have gone over the whole ground occupied by Spanish literature can know how great are the merits of scholars like Bouterwek and Sismondi, — acute, philosophical, and thoughtful, — who, with an apparatus of authors so incomplete, have yet done so much for the illustration of their subject.

## \* CHAPTER III.

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ALFONSO THE WISE. — HIS LIFE. — HIS LETTER TO PEREZ DE GUZMAN. — HIS CÁNTIGAS IN THE GALICIAN. — ORIGIN OF THAT DIALECT AND OF THE PORTUGUESE. — HIS TESORO. — HIS PROSE. — LAW CONCERNING THE CASTILIAN. — HIS CONQUISTA DE ULTRAMAR. — OLD FUEROS. — THE FUERO JUZGO. — THE SETENARIO. — THE ESPEJO. — THE FUERO REAL. — THE SIETE PARTIDAS AND THEIR MERITS. — CHARACTER OF ALFONSO.

THE second known author in Castilian literature bears a name much more distinguished than the first. It is Alfonso the Tenth, who, from his great advancement in various branches of human knowledge, has been called Alfonso the Wise, or the Learned. He was the son of Ferdinand the Third, a saint in the Roman calendar, who, uniting anew the crowns of Castile and Leon, and enlarging the limits of his power by important conquests from the Moors, settled more firmly than they had before been settled the foundations of a Christian empire in the Peninsula.<sup>1</sup>

Alfonso was born in 1221, and ascended the throne

<sup>1</sup> Mariana, *Hist.*, Lib. XII. c. 15, ad. fin. Ferdinand was canonized by Clement X. in 1671, and the magnificent festival that followed — the most magnificent and gorgeous that Seville ever saw — is recorded at length in a folio volume, with numerous plates, published the same year by Fernando de la Torre Farfan, which, notwithstanding the Gongorism of its style, is a book to be read for the history of Spanish art. The remains of St. Ferdinand constitute the peculiar claim of the Cathedral of Seville to the worship of the devout; but it may not be amiss to remember that this is the king who, to show his religious zeal, carried, with his own royal hands, wood for burning a poor

Albigensian heretic, and then kindled the flames; — an act of devotion recorded by Mariana, as if to do him honor (Lib. XII. c. xi.), and glorified in poetry by Calderon (*Auto del Santo Rey*, Parte I.), and in a fresco by Lucas de Valdes, on the walls of the church of St. Paul, at Seville. (Cean Bermudez, *Diccionario*, 1800, Tom. V. p. 106.) It is but just to add that this early spirit of intolerance is not due to the Inquisition, which was not known in Spain till two centuries after Ferdinand's death (see post, Chap. XXIV.); but that this spirit rather itself gave birth to the Inquisition, as its natural result and exponent.

in 1252. He was a poet, much connected with the Provençal Troubadours of his time,<sup>2</sup> and was \* 33 besides so greatly \* skilled in geometry, astronomy, and the occult sciences then so much valued, that his reputation was early spread throughout Europe, on account of his general cultivation and great knowledge. But, as Mariana quaintly says of him, "He was more fit for letters than for the government of his subjects; he studied the heavens, and watched the stars, but forgot the earth, and lost his kingdom."<sup>3</sup>

His character is still an interesting one. He appears to have had more political, philosophical, and elegant learning than any other man of his time; to have reasoned more wisely in matters of legislation, and to have made further advances in some of the exact sciences;—accomplishments that he seems to have resorted to in the latter part of his life for consolation amidst unsuccessful wars with foreign enemies and a rebellious son. The following letter from him to one of the Guzmans, who was then in great favor at the court of the King of Fez, shows at once how low the fortunes of the Christian monarch were sunk before he died, and with how much simplicity he could speak of their bitterness. It is dated in 1282, and is a favorable specimen of Cas-

<sup>2</sup> Diez, *Poesie der Troubadours*, pp. 75, 226, 227, 331–350. A long poem on the influence of the stars was addressed to Alfonso by Nat de Mons (Raynouard, *Troub.*, Tom. V. p. 269); and besides the curious poem addressed to him by Giraud Riquier of Narbonne, in 1275, given by Diez, we know that in another poem this distinguished Troubadour mourned the king's death. (Raynouard, *Tom. V.* p. 171. Millot, *Histoire des Troubadours*, Paris, 1774, 12mo, Tom. III. pp. 329–374.)

<sup>3</sup> *Historia*, Lib. XIII. c. 20. The

less favorable side of Alfonso's character is given by the cynical Bayle, *Art. Castile*. In the *Memorial Historico*, published by the Spanish Academy of History (1851, Tom. I. pp. 257, 258), are two receipts given by Alfonso in 1270 for many MSS. borrowed to be transcribed, among which are Lucan, Statius, the *Eclagues* and *Georgies* of Virgil, Ovid's *Epistles*, Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, etc.,—books which certainly few Spaniards, and, indeed, few persons of any country, regarded, in his time, as worth copying.

tilian prose at a period so early in the history of the language.<sup>4</sup>

"Cousin Don Alonzo Perez de Guzman: My affliction is great, because it has fallen from such a height that \* it will be seen afar; and as it has \* 34 fallen on me, who am the friend of all the world, so in all the world will men know this my misfortune, and its sharpness, which I suffer unjustly from my son, assisted by my friends and by my prelates, who, instead of setting peace between us, have put mischief, not under secret pretences or covertly, but with bold openness. And thus I find no protection in mine own land, neither defender nor champion; and yet have I not deserved it at their hands, unless it were for the good I have done them. And now, since in mine own land they deceive, who should have served and assisted me, needful is it that I should seek abroad those who will kindly care for me; and since they of Castile have been false to me, none can think it ill that I ask help among those of Benamarin.<sup>5</sup> For if my sons are mine enemies, it will not then be wrong that I take mine enemies to be my sons; enemies according to the law, but not of free choice. And such is the good king Aben Jusaf; for I love and value him much, and he will not despise me or fail me; for we are at truce. I know also how much you are his, and how much he loves you, and with good cause, and

<sup>4</sup> This letter, which the Spanish Academy calls "inimitable," though early referred to, is not known by me to have been printed before it appeared from an inexact copy in Pablo de Espinosa (*Hist. de Sevilla*, Segunda Parte, Sevilla, 1630, p. 37). Several old ballads have been made out of it, one of which is to be found in the "*Cancionero de Romances*," por Lorenzo de Sepulveda (Sevilla, 1584, 18mo, f. 104). The letter is found in the preface to the Academy's edition of the *Partidas*, and

is explained by the accounts in Mariana (*Hist.*, Lib. XIV. c. 5), Conde (Dominacion de los Arabes, Tom. III. p. 69), and Mondejar (*Memorias*, Lib. VI. c. 14). The original is said to be in the possession of the Duke of Medina-Sidonia. (*Semanario Pintoresco*, 1845, p. 303.)

<sup>5</sup> A race of African princes, who reigned in Morocco, and subjected all Western Africa. (*Crónica de Alfonso XI.*, Valladolid, 1551, fol. c. 219. Gayangos, *Mohammedan Dynasties*, Vol. II. p. 325.)

how much he will do through your good counsel. Therefore look not at the things past, but at the things present. Consider of what lineage you are come, and that at some time hereafter I may do you good, and if I do it not, that your own good deed shall be its own good reward. Therefore, my cousin, Alonzo Perez de Guzman, do so much for me with my lord and your friend, that, on pledge of the most precious crown that I have, and the jewels thereof, he should lend me so much as he may hold to be just. And if you can obtain his aid, let it not be hindered of coming quickly; but rather think how the good friendship that may come to me from your lord will be through your hands. And so may God's friendship be with you. Done in Seville, my only loyal city, in the thirtieth year of my reign, and in the first of these my troubles.

Signed, "THE KING."<sup>6</sup>

\* 35 \*The unhappy monarch survived the date of this striking letter but two years, and died in 1284. At one period of his life, his consideration throughout Christendom was so great that he was elected Emperor of Germany; but this was only another source of sorrow to him, for his claims were contested, and after some time were silently set aside by the election of Rodolph of Hapsburg, upon whose dynasty the glories of the House of Austria rested so long. The life of Alfonso, therefore, was on the whole unfortunate, and full of painful vicissitudes, that might well have broken the spirit of most men, and that were certainly not without an effect on his.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Alonzo Perez de Guzman, of the great family of that name, the person to whom this remarkable letter is addressed, went over to Africa, in 1276, with many knights, to serve Aben

Jusaf against his rebellious subjects, stipulating that he should not be required to serve against Christians. (Ortiz de Zuñiga, Anales, p. 113.)

<sup>7</sup> The principal life of Alfonso X. is

So much the more remarkable is it that he should be distinguished among the chief founders of his country's intellectual fame,—a distinction which again becomes more extraordinary when we recollect that he enjoys it not in letters alone, or in a single department, but in many; since he is to be remembered alike for the great advancement which Castilian prose composition made in his hands, for his poetry, for his astronomical tables, which all the progress of science since has not deprived of their value, and for his great work on legislation, which is at this moment an authority in both hemispheres.<sup>8</sup>

that by the Marquis of Mondejar (Madrid, 1777, fol.); but it did not receive its author's final revision, and is an imperfect work. (Prólogo de Cerda y Rico; and Baena, Hijos de Madrid, Madrid, 1790, 4to, Tom. II. pp. 304-312.) For the part of Alfonso's life devoted to letters, ample materials are to be found in Castro (Biblioteca Española, Tom. II. pp. 625-688), and in the Repertorio Americano (Londres, 1827, Tom. III. pp. 67-77), where there is a valuable paper, written, I believe, by Salvá, who published that journal.

<sup>8</sup> The works attributed to Alfonso are: IN PROSE: 1. Crónica General de España, to be noticed hereafter. 2. A Universal History, containing an abstract of the History of the Jews. 3. A Translation of the Bible. 4. El Libro del Tesoro, a work on general philosophy; but Sarmiento, in a MS. which I possess, says that this is a translation of the Tesoro of Brunetto Latini, Dante's master, and that it was not made by order of Alfonso; adding, however, that he has seen a book entitled "Flores de Filosofía," which professes to have been compiled by this king's command, and may be the work here intended. 5. The Tábulas Alfonsinas, or Astronomical tables. 6. Historia de todo el Suceso de Ultramar, to be noticed presently. 7. El Espéculo ó Espejo de todos los Derechos; El Fuero Real, and other laws published in the Opúsculos Legales del Rey Alfonso el Sabio (ed. de la

Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, 1836, 2 Tom. fol.). 8. Las Siete Partidas.—IN VERSE: 1. Another Tesoro. 2. Las Cántigas. 3. Two stanzas of the Querellas. Several of these works, like the Universal History and the Ultramar, were, as we know, only compiled by his order, and in others he must have been much assisted. But the whole mass shows how wide were his views, and how great must have been his influence on the language, the literature, and the intellectual progress of his country.

Since the preceding lists were published, Don Pascual de Gayangos, in the fifty-first volume of Rivadeneyra's Biblioteca, 1860, has given the world a curious Castilian version of the Oriental Caliler and Dimna,—"*Calila y Dymna*,"—taken from two early manuscripts which claim that it was made by order of Alfonso X., before he came to the throne in 1254. But whether this be true or not, the version in question seems to have been known early in the next century, and therefore has its value among the primitive documents for a history of Spanish prose.

In 1863 the first two magnificent folios of the "*Libros de Saber de Astronomia del Rey D. Alonso X. de Castilla*" were printed, "*de Real Orden*" in Madrid, with a preliminary Discourse by D. Manuel Rico y Sinobas. This work, it is true, neither now nor when it is finished, can come into the proper domain of the History of Spanish Lit-

\* 36 \* Of his poetry, we possess, besides works of very doubtful genuineness, two, about one of which there has been less question than there ought to have been, and about the other none: his "Cántigas," or Chants, in honor of the Madonna, and his "Tesoro," a treatise on the transmutation of the baser metals into gold.

Of the Cántigas, there are extant no less than four hundred and one, composed in lines of from six to twelve syllables, and rhymed with a considerable degree of exactness.<sup>9</sup> Their measure and manner are Provençal. They are devoted to the praises and the miracles of the Madonna, in whose honor the king founded in 1279 a religious and military order;<sup>10</sup> and in devotion to whom, by his last will, he directed these poems to be perpetually chanted in the church of

Saint Mary of Murcia, where he desired his

\* 37 body might be buried.<sup>11</sup> Only a few \* of them

erature. But one thing is plain from it, that confirms what has been intimated from the "Crónica General" and the "Partidas": I mean, that Alonso X. relied much on the culture of such learned Jews and Arabs as he could bring into his service, the names of many of whom he mentions as having assisted him, like a sort of council, in the arrangements and calculations for this great work.

<sup>9</sup> Castro, Biblioteca, Tom. II. p. 632, where he speaks of the MS. of the Cántigas in the Escorial. The one at Toledo, which contains only a hundred, is the MS. of which a fac-simile is given in the "Paleografía Española" (Madrid, 1758, 4to, p. 72), and in the notes to the Spanish translation of Bouterwek's History (p. 129). Large extracts from the Cántigas are found in Castro (Tom. II. pp. 361, 362, and pp. 631-643), and in the "Nobleza del Andalucía" of Argote de Molina (Sevilla, 1858, fol., f. 151), followed by a curious notice of the king, in Chap. 19, and a poem in his honor.

<sup>10</sup> Mondejar, Memorias, p. 438.

<sup>11</sup> His directions are so minute and so strange concerning the different parts of his body, that I think he hoped for immediate religious honors,—his father, although not canonized till above four centuries after his death, having been invoked as a saint at his tomb from the time of his interment, or directly afterwards (Espinosa, Hist. de Sevilla, folio, Tom. I. 1627, ff. 154-156, and Ribadeneyra, Flos Sanctorum, 1761, fol., Tom. II. p. 194). Thus, Alfonso requests that his *body* may be buried in the Monastery of Sta. Maria la Real de Murcia, unless his executors deem it more for the glory of God to inter it at Seville, or elsewhere,—giving as a reason for his request that "Murcia was the first place it pleased God he should gain in the service and to the honor of the King Don Ferdinand." His *heart* he requires should be buried on Mount Calvary, where, he adds, "lie some of my forefathers"; or, if this cannot be done at once, then he directs that it be put aside, and kept safely till it can

have been printed; but we have enough to show what they are, and especially that they are written, not in the Castilian, like the rest of his works, but in the Galician; an extraordinary circumstance, for which it does not seem easy to give a satisfactory reason.

The Galician, however, was originally an important language in Spain, and for some time seemed as likely to prevail throughout the country as any other of the dialects spoken in it. It was probably the first that was developed in the northwestern part of the Peninsula, and the second that was reduced to writing. For, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, just at the period when the struggling elements of the modern Spanish were disencumbering themselves from the forms of the corrupted Latin, Galicia, by the wars and troubles of the times, was repeatedly separated from Castile, so that distinct dialects appeared in the two different territories almost at the same moment. Of these the Northern is likely to have been the older, though the Southern proved ultimately the more fortunate. At any rate, even without a court, which was the surest

be done. *The rest* of the contents of his body he orders to be carried to Murcia, and this was done; but the body itself was buried at Seville, next to that of his father; and what became of his heart does not appear. The Monastery of Sta. Maria la Real of Murcia, however, belonged to the Knights Templars, and, after their order was suppressed, it fell to decay. In consequence of this, such portions of the remains of Alfonso the Wise as had been deposited there were, by a special and solemn decree of Charles V., in 1525, transferred to the Cathedral of the same city, where Laborde saw their mausoleum about 1798; but from the phraseology of the imperial decree, and from the ridiculous description by Cascales of the occasion that called it forth, in which he makes

the most of what he terms "la esclarecida memoria de las entrañas," I suspect Murcia never got anything of the person of her great patron except these poor *entrañas*. The will of Alfonso, which is well worth reading, is in the Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso que fué par de Emperador (Valladolid, folio, 1554, ff. 55-58); and the decree of Charles V., and the account of the removal of the remains, are in Francisco Cascales, Discursos Historicos de Murcia (folio, Murcia, 1621, ff. 243, 244;—a curious book, written by the scholar-like author of the "Tablas Poeticas," who ought to have spared us the nonsense he has volunteered on this occasion. But these are all *cosas de España*, and deserve notice as such.

centre of culture in such rude ages, and without any of the reasons for the development of a dialect which always accompany political power, we know that the Galician was already sufficiently formed to pass with the conquering arms of Alfonso the Sixth, and establish itself firmly between the Douro and the Minho,— that country which became the nucleus of the independent kingdom of Portugal.

This was between the years 1095 and 1109; and though the establishment of a Burgundian dynasty on the throne erected there naturally brought into the dialect of Portugal an infusion of the French, which never appeared in the dialect of Galicia,<sup>12</sup> still \* 38 the language \* spoken in the two territories under different sovereigns and different influences continued substantially the same for a long period; perhaps down to the time of Charles the Fifth.<sup>13</sup> But it was only in Portugal that there was a court, or that means and motives were found sufficient for forming and cultivating a regular language. It is therefore only in Portugal that this common dialect of both the territories appears with a separate and proper literature;<sup>14</sup> the first intimation of which, with an exact date, is found as early as 1192. This is a document in prose.<sup>15</sup> The oldest poetry is to be sought in three curious fragments, originally published by Faria y Sousa, which can hardly be placed much later than

<sup>12</sup> J. P. Ribeiro, *Dissertações, etc.*, publicadas per ordem da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, Lisboa, 1810, 8vo, Tom. I. p. 180. A glossary of French words occurring in the Portuguese, by Francisco de San Luiz, is in the *Memorias da Academia Real de Sciencias*, Lisboa, 1816, Tom. IV. Parte II. *Viterbo* (Elucidario, Lisboa, 1798, fol., Tom. I., Advert. Preliminar., pp. viii - xiii) also examines this point.

<sup>13</sup> *Paleographia Española*, p. 10.

<sup>14</sup> A Ribeiro dos Santos, *Origem, etc.*, da Poesia Portuguesa, in *Memorias da Lett. Portuguesa*, pela Academia, etc., 1812, Tom. VIII. pp. 248 - 250.

<sup>15</sup> J. P. Ribeiro, *Diss.*, Tom. I. p. 176. It is possible the document in App., pp. 273 - 275, is older, as it appears to be from the time of Sancho I., or 1185 - 1211; but the next document (p. 275) is dated "Era 1230," which is A. D. 1192, and is, therefore, the oldest with a date.

the year 1200.<sup>16</sup> Both show that the Galician in Portugal, under less favorable circumstances than those which accompanied the Castilian in Spain, rose at the same period to be a written language, and possessed, perhaps, quite as early, the materials for forming an independent literature.

We may fairly infer, therefore, from these facts, indicating the vigor of the Galician in Portugal before the year 1200, that, in its native province in Spain, it is somewhat older. But we have no monuments by which to establish such antiquity. Castro, it is true, notices a manuscript translation of the history of Servandus, as if made in 1150 by Seguino, in the Galician dialect; but he gives no specimen of it, and his own authority in such a matter is not sufficient.<sup>17</sup> And in the well-known letter sent to the Constable of Portugal by the Marquis of Santillana, about the middle of the fifteenth century, we are told that \* all \* 39 Spanish poetry was written for a long time in Galician or Portuguese;<sup>18</sup> but this is so obviously either a mistake in fact, or a mere compliment to the Portuguese prince to whom it was addressed, that Sarmiento, full of prejudices in favor of his native province, and desirous to arrive at the same conclusion, is obliged to give it up as wholly unwarranted.<sup>19</sup>

We must come back, therefore, to the "Cántigas" or Chants of Alfonso, as to the oldest specimen extant in the Galician dialect distinct from the Portuguese; and

<sup>16</sup> *Europa Portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1680, fol., Tom. III. Parte IV. c. 9; and Diez, *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, 1836, 8vo, Tom. I. p. 72.

<sup>17</sup> *Bibl. Española*, Tom. II. pp. 404, 405.

<sup>18</sup> Sanchez, Tom. I., Pról., p. lvii.

<sup>19</sup> After quoting the passage of Santillana just referred to, Sarmiento, who

was very learned in all that relates to the earliest Spanish verse, says, with a simplicity quite delightful: "I, as a Galician, interested in this conclusion, should be glad to possess the grounds of the Marquis of Santillana's opinion; but I have not seen a single word of any author that can throw light on the matter." (*Memorias de la Poesia y Poetas Españoles*, Madrid, 1775, 4to, p. 196.)

since, from internal evidence, one of them was written after he had conquered Xerez, we may place them between 1263, when that event occurred, and 1284, when he died.<sup>20</sup> Why he should have chosen this particular dialect for this particular form of poetry, when he had, as we know, an admirable mastery of the Castilian, and when these *Cántigas*, according to his last will, were to be chanted over his tomb, in a part of the kingdom where the Galician dialect never prevailed, we cannot now decide.<sup>21</sup> His father, Saint Ferdinand, was from the North, and his own early nurture there may have given Alfonso himself a strong affection for its language; or, what perhaps is more probable, there may have been something in the dialect itself, its origin or its gravity, which, at a period when no dialect in Spain had obtained an acknowledged supremacy, made it seem to him better suited than the Castilian or Valencian to religious purposes.

But, however this may be, all the rest of his poetical works are in the language spoken in the centre of the Peninsula, while his *Cántigas* are in the Galician. Some of them have considerable poetical merit; but in general they are to be remarked only for the \* 40 variety of their metres, for an \* occasional tendency to the form of ballads, for a lyrical tone, which does not seem to have been earlier established in the Castilian, and for a kind of Doric simplicity, which belongs partly to the dialect he adopted and partly to the character of the author himself; — the whole bearing the impress of the Provençal poets, with whom he was much connected, and

<sup>20</sup> Que tollen  
A Mouros Neul e Xerez,  
he says (Castro, Tom. II. p. 637); and  
Xerez was taken in 1263. But all

these *Cántigas* were not, probably,  
written in one period of the king's  
life.

<sup>21</sup> Ortiz de Zuñiga, *Anales*, p. 129.)

whom through life he patronized and maintained at his court.<sup>22</sup>

The other poetry attributed to Alfonso — except two stanzas that remain of his “Complaints” against the hard fortune of the last years of his life<sup>23</sup> — is to be sought in the treatise called “*Del Tesoro*,” which is divided into two short books, and dated in 1272, in the MS. of them commonly cited. It is on the Philosopher’s Stone, and the greater portion of it is concealed in an unexplained cipher; the remainder being partly in prose and partly in octave stanzas, which, if genuine, are the oldest extant in Castilian verse. But the whole is worthless, and its genuineness more than doubtful.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Take the following as a specimen. Alfonso beseeches the Madonna rather to look at her merits than at his own claims, and runs through five stanzas, with the choral echo to each, “Saint Mary, remember me!”

Non catedes como  
Pequei assas,  
Mais catad o gran  
Ben que en vos ias;  
Ca uos me fesestes  
Como quen fas  
Sa cousa quita  
Toda per assi.  
Santa Maria! nembre uos de mi!

Non catedes a como  
Pequey greu,  
Mais catad o gran ben  
Que nos Deus deu;  
Ca outro ben se non  
Uos non ei eu  
Nen ouue nunca  
Des quando naci.  
Santa Maria! nembre uos de mi!  
Castro, *Bibl.*, Tom. II. p. 640.

This has, no doubt, a very Provençal air; but others of the *Cántigas* have still more of it. The Provençal poets, in fact, as we shall see more fully hereafter, fled in considerable numbers into Spain at the period of their persecution at home; and that period corresponds to the reigns of Alfonso and his father. In this way a strong tinge of the Provençal character came into the poetry of Castile, and remained there a long time. The proofs of this early inter-

course with Provençal poets are abundant. Aiméric de Bellinoi was at the court of Alfonso IX., who died in 1214 (*Histoire Littéraire de la France*, par des Membres de l’Institut, Paris, 4to, Tom. XIX. 1838, p. 507), and was afterwards at the court of Alfonso X. (*Ibid.*, p. 511.) So were Montagnagout and Folquet de Lunel, both of whom wrote poems on the election of Alfonso X. to the imperial throne of Germany (*Ibid.*, Tom. XIX. p. 491, and Tom. XX. p. 557; with Raynourd, Troubadours, Tom. IV. p. 239). Raimond de Tours and Nat de Mons addressed verses to Alfonso X. (*Ibid.*, Tom. XIX. pp. 555, 577.) Bertrand Carbonel dedicated his works to him; and Giraud Riquier, sometimes called the last of the Troubadours, wrote an elegy on his death, already referred to (*Ibid.*, Tom. XX. pp. 559, 578, 584). Others might be cited, but these are enough.

<sup>23</sup> The two stanzas of the *Querellas*, or *Complaints*, still remaining to us, are in Ortiz de Zuñiga (*Anales*, p. 123), and elsewhere.

<sup>24</sup> First published by Sanchez (*Poesías Anteriores*, Tom. I. pp. 148-170), where it may still be best consulted. The copy he used had belonged to Don Enrique de Villena, who was suspected of the black art, and whose books were burnt on that account after his death, temp. John II. A specimen of the

\* 41 \* Alfonso claims his chief distinction in letters as a writer of prose. In this his merit is great. He first made the Castilian a national language by causing the Bible to be translated into it, and by requiring it to be used in all legal proceedings;<sup>25</sup> and he

cipher is given in Cortina's translation of Bouterwek (Tom. I. p. 129). Moratin the younger (Obras, Madrid, 1830, 8vo, Tom. I. Parte I. p. 61) thinks that both the Querellas and the Tesoro were the work of Don Enrique de Villena: relying, first, on the fact that the only manuscript of the latter known to exist once belonged to Don Enrique; and, secondly, on the obvious difference in language and style between both and the rest of the king's known works, — a difference which certainly may well excite suspicion, but does not much encourage the particular conjecture of Moratin as to Villena. Indeed, their style seems to me to be that of an age considerably later than Villena's.

In the first edition of this work I treated Alfonso X. as an alchemist, nobody having questioned it who had discussed the subject of his "Tesoro." It had, however, been doubted whether he wrote that singular poem, though not so strongly as I then doubted it (p. 40). Thus Sanchez, after saying decidedly that he *did* write it, — *escribió también otra poesía intitulada Del Tesoro*, ec. (Poesías Anteriores, Tom. I. p. 152), — questioned afterwards (p. 166) whether it were really his. Quintana, also, in his Poesías Castellanas (1807, Tom. I. p. xx.), put a somewhat stronger doubt into a note, though in the text he had expressed no more doubt than Sanchez had. But Don José Amador de los Ríos, in the *España* newspaper, June 10, 1851, has settled the point by citing two laws of Alfonso X. not before noticed in this connection, namely, Partida II. Tit. v. Ley 13, and Partida VI. Tit. iv. Ley 4, in which alchemy is forbidden, and treated as an impossibility. We cannot, therefore, suppose that Alfonso believed in it, — much less that he wrote a treatise to teach it. It should be added, however, that he believed in Astrology, and protected it by law. (Partida VII. Tit. xxiii. Ley 1.)

<sup>25</sup> Mariana, Hist., Lib. XIV. c. 7; Castro, Bibl., Tom. I. p. 411; Crónica de Alonso, el qual fue par de Emperador, Valladolid, 1554, c. ix.; and Mondejar, Memorias, p. 450. The last, however, is mistaken in supposing the translation of the Old Testament printed at Ferrara in 1553 to have been that made by order of Alfonso, since it was the work of some Jews of the period when it was published.

Of this version, — remarkable in many particulars, and of which two editions, identical except in their dedications and title-pages, were printed the same year, — ample accounts and important extracts may be found in Castro, Biblioteca Española (fol., Tom. I. pp. 401–410). The notion that one of these editions was made for Jews and the other for Christians, as set forth in Brunet and elsewhere, seems to me wholly unfounded; but both were permitted by the Inquisition to be printed, and both were valued by Christians as well as Jews, and freely used by subsequent Spanish translators of the Scriptures. These editions of Ferrara, 1553, were the work of two Portuguese Jews, Abraham Usque and Duarte Pinhel (Barbosa, Bib. Lusitana, Tom. I. pp. 4 and 742); but they used in their Pentateuch a Spanish version, which had been printed at Constantinople with Hebrew characters, in 1547 (Castro, Bib., Tom. I. p. 449), for the benefit of refugee Spanish Jews in Turkey, whose living descendants now publish at Constantinople a periodical in the Spanish of the fifteenth century, but printed in Hebrew characters, and use, to this day, Spanish Bibles and other books printed in the same way, with Hebrew types, for their benefit, by the American Board of Foreign Missions. The Ferrara version being, it is said, made word for word, — never using two words for one, nor changing in the Spanish the collocation of the words in the Hebrew, — is very curious, and the Protestants, Cassiodoro de Reyna and Cypriano de

first, by his great Code and other works, gave specimens of prose composition \* which left a \* 42 free and disencumbered course for all that has been done since, — a service, perhaps, greater than it has been permitted any other Spaniard to render the prose literature of his country. To this, therefore, we now turn.

And here the first work we need to notice, although not the oldest by its author, is one that was rather compiled under his direction than written by himself. It is called "The Great Conquest beyond Sea," and is an account of the wars in the Holy Land, which then so much agitated the minds of men throughout Europe, and which were intimately connected with the fate of the Christian Spaniards still struggling for their own existence in a perpetual crusade against misbelief at home. It begins with the history of Mohammed, and comes down to the year 1270; much of it being taken from an old French version of the work of William of Tyre, on the same general subject, and the rest from other, less trustworthy sources. But parts of it are not historical. The grandfather of Godfrey of Bouillon, its hero, is the wild and fanciful Knight of the Swan, who is almost as much a representative of the spirit of chivalry as Amadis de Gaul, and goes through adventures no less marvellous; fighting on the Rhine like a knight-errant, and mirac-

Valera, used it freely when making their translations of the Bible in 1569 and 1602. Valera says, in his "Exhortacion al Letor," Es un gran Tesoro de la lengua Española. It was reprinted at Amsterdam more than once for the benefit of the Jews there; and, what is very odd, the copy I possess, dated 1606, bears on its title-page, as *vid* the original edition of Ferrara, "Vista y examinada per el oficio de la Inquisicion," just as if the Inquisition

were in Amsterdam. Reyna, in 1569, rendered as full justice to this Jewish version as Valera did in 1602. In the "Amonestacion al Letor," he says he had used it "mas que ninguna otra." But, at the same time, he deprecates its mistranslations, some of which he says were made "en odio de Christo"; thus leaving no doubt that it could never have been, as Brunet and others suppose, accepted by the Christians, or made for them.

ulously warned by a swallow how to rescue his lady, who has been made prisoner. Unhappily, in the first edition, printed in 1503,—and until 1858 the only one of this curious work,—the text has received additions that make us doubtful how much of it may be certainly ascribed to the time of Alfonso the Tenth, in whose reign and by whose order the greater \* 43 part of it seems to have \* been prepared. It is chiefly valuable as a specimen of early Spanish prose.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> La Gran Conquista de Ultramar was printed at Salamanca, by Hans Giesser, in folio, in 1503. That additions are made to it, is apparent from Lib. III. c. 170, where is an account of the overthrow of the order of the Templars, which is there said to have happened in the year of the Spanish era 1412; and that it is a translation, so far as it follows William of Tyre, from an old French version of the thirteenth century, I state on the authority of a manuscript of Sarmiento. The Conquista begins thus:—

“Capitulo Primero. Como Mahoma predicó en Aravia: y gano toda la tierra de Oriente.

“En aq̄. tiēpo q̄ era elius emperador en Roma q̄ fue buē xpiano, et māturo gran tiēpo el imperio en justicia y en paz, levantose Mahoma en tierra de Aravia y mostro a las getes necias sciēcia nueva, y fizo les creer q̄ era profeta y mensagero de dios, y que le avia embiado al mundo por saluar los hombres q̄ele creyessen.” etc.

The story of the Knight of the Swan, full of enchantments, duels, and much of what marks the books of chivalry, begins abruptly at Lib. I. cap. 47, fol. xvii., with these words: “And now the history leaves off speaking for a time of all these things, in order to relate what concerns the Knight of the Swan,” etc.; and it ends with Cap. 185, f. lxxx., the next chapter opening thus: “Now this history leaves off speaking of this, and turns to relate how three knights went to Jerusalem,” etc. This story of the Knight of the Swan, which fills sixty-three leaves, appeared originally in Normandy or Belgium, begun by

Jehan Renault, and finished by Gandor or Graindor of Donay, in 30,000 verses, about the year 1300. (De la Rue, Essai sur les Bardes, etc., Caen, 1834, 8vo, Tom. III. p. 213. Warton's English Poetry, London, 1824, 8vo, Vol. II. p. 149. Collection of Prose Romances, by Thomas, London, 1838, 12mo, Vol. III., Preface.) It was, therefore, inserted after the age of Alfonso X., unless it was taken from some earlier story than that of Renault, which is not very likely, and it was put in because it was supposed to illustrate and dignify the history of Godfrey of Bouillon, its hero. This, however, is not the only part of the work made up later than its date. The last chapter, for instance, giving an account of the death of Conradin of the Hohenstauffen, and the assassination in the church of Viterbo, at the moment of the elevation of the host, of Henry, the nephew of Henry III. of England, by Guy of Monfort,—both noticed by Dante,—has nothing to do with the main work, and seems taken from some later chronicle. There is an excellent copy of this work, which is a fine specimen of typography, in the Imperial Library at Vienna, but the one I have most used is in the British Museum. It is in two volumes, in parts, double columns; the first of 224 ff., and the second of 220. From the Prologo it is plain that the work as it was prepared for Alfonso—“Mandamos trasladar” is the phrase—did not extend beyond the time of St. Louis of France, who died in 1270.

But since the preceding portion of this note was published, a new edition of the Ultramar, with a good biblio-

Castilian prose, in fact, can hardly be said to have existed earlier than that of Alfonso, unless we are willing to reckon as specimens of it the few meagre documents, generally grants in hard, legal forms, that begin with those concerning Oviedo and Avilés, already noticed, and come down, half bad Latin and half unformed Spanish, to the time of Alfonso.<sup>27</sup> The first monument, therefore, that can \* be properly \* 44 cited for this purpose, though it dates from the reign of Saint Ferdinand, the father of Alfonso, is one in preparing which it has always been supposed Alfonso himself was personally concerned. It is the “Fuero Juzgo,” or “Forum Judicum,” a collection of Visigoth laws, which, in 1241, after his conquest of Córdoba, Saint Ferdinand sent to that city in Latin, with directions that it should be translated into the vulgar dia-

graphical preface by Don Pascual de Gayangos, has appeared in the forty-fifth volume of Rivadeneyra's Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1858. Gayangos thinks it was probably ordered to be prepared in the time of Sancho IV., son of Alfonso X.; but his reasons for this opinion are not very strong, and the point is of little importance.

<sup>27</sup> There is a curious collection of documents, published by royal authority (Madrid, 1829–33, 6 Tom. 8vo), called “Coleccion de Cédulas, Cartas, Patentes,” etc., relating to the Northern provinces, where the Castilian first appeared. They contain nothing in that language so old as the Fuero of Oviedo and the letter of confirmation to the Fueros of Avilés by Alfonso the Seventh already noted; but they contain materials of some value for tracing the decay of the Latin, by documents dated from the year 804 downwards (Tom. VI. p. 1). There is, however, a difficulty relating both to the documents in Latin and to those in the early modern dialect; e. g. in relation to the one in Tom. V. p. 120, dated 1197. It is, that we are not certain that we possess them in precisely their original form and integrity. Indeed, in not a few instances, we are sure of

the opposite. For these Fueros, Privilegios, or whatever they are called, being but arbitrary grants of an absolute monarch, the persons to whom they were made were careful to procure confirmations of them from succeeding sovereigns, as often as they could; and when these confirmations were made, the original document, if in Latin, was sometimes translated, as was that of Peter the Cruel published by Marina (Teoría de las Cortes, Madrid, 1813, 4to, Tom. III. p. 11); or, if in the modern dialect, it was sometimes copied and accommodated to the changed language and spelling of the age. Such confirmations were in some cases numerous, as in the grant first cited, which was confirmed thirteen times between 1231 and 1621. Now, it does not appear from the published documents in this Collection what is, in each instance, the true date of the particular version used. The Avilés document, however, is not liable to this objection. It is extant on the original parchment, upon which the confirmation was made in 1155, with the original signatures of the persons who made it, as testified by competent witnesses. See *post*, Vol. III., Appendix (A), near the end.