

form of composition; as, for instance, that of the City Mouse and the Country Mouse, which, if we follow it from Æsop through Horace to La Fontaine, we shall nowhere find better told than it is by the Archpriest.²¹

* 77 * What strikes us most, however, and remains with us longest after reading his poetry, is the natural and spirited tone that prevails over every other. In this he is like Chaucer, who wrote in the latter part of the same century. Indeed, the resemblance between the two poets is remarkable in some other particulars. Both often sought their materials in the Northern French poetry; both have that mixture of devotion and a licentious immorality, much of which belonged to their age, but some of it to their personal characters; and both show a wide knowledge of human nature, and a great happiness in sketching the details of individual manners. The original temper of each made him satirical and humorous; and each, in his own country, became the founder of some of the forms of its popular poetry, introducing new metres and combinations, and carrying them out in a versification which, though generally rude and irregular, is often flowing and nervous, and always natural. The Archpriest has not, indeed, the tenderness, the elevation, or the general power of Chaucer; but his genius has a compass, and his verse a skill and success, that show him to be more nearly akin to the great

²¹ It begins thus, stanza 1344:—

Mur de Guadaluara un Lunés madrugaba,
Fuese á Monferrado, á mercado andaba;
Un mur de franca barba recibí en su cava,
Convidol' á yantar e diole una faba.

Estaba en mesa pobre buen gesto è buena cara,
Con la poca vianda buena voluntad para,
A los pobres manjares el placer los repara,
Pagos del buen talante mur de Guadaluara.

And so on through eight more stanzas. Now, besides the Greek attributed to Æsop and the Latin of Horace, there can be found above twenty versions of this fable, among which are two in Spanish: one by Bart. Leon. de Argensola, and the other by Samaniego; but I think the Archpriest's is the best of the whole.

English master than will be believed, except by those who have carefully read the works of both.

The Archpriest of Hita lived in the last years of Alfonso the Eleventh, and perhaps somewhat later. At the very beginning of the next reign, or in 1350, we find a curious poem addressed by a Jew of Carrion to Peter the Cruel, on his accession to the throne. In the manuscript found in the National Library at Madrid, it is called the "Book of the Rabi de Santob," or "Rabbi Don Santob."²² The measure is the

²² There are at least two manuscripts of the poems of this Jew, from which, until lately, nothing was published but a few poor extracts. The one commonly cited is that of the Escorial, used by Castro (Biblioteca Española, Tom. I. pp. 198–202), and by Sanchez (Tom. I. pp. 179–184, and Tom. IV. p. 12, etc.). The one I have used is in the National Library, Madrid, marked B. b. 82, folio, in which the poem of the Rabbi is found on leaves 61 to 81. Conde, the historian of the Arabs, preferred this manuscript to the one in the Escorial, and held the Rabbi's true name to be given in it, namely, *Santob*, and not *Santo*, as it is in the manuscript of the Escorial; the latter being a name not likely to be taken by a Jew in the time of Peter the Cruel, though very likely to be written so by an ignorant monkish transcriber. The manuscript of Madrid begins thus, differing from that of the Escorial, as may be seen in Castro, ut sup.:—

Señor Rey, noble, alto,
Oy este Sermon,
Que vyene desyr Santob,
Judío de Carrion.

Comunalmente trobado,
De glosas moralmente,
De la Filosofia sacado,
Segunt que va syguiente.

My noble King and mighty Lord,
Hear a discourse most true;
'T is Santob brings your Grace the word,
Of Carrion's town the Jew.

In plainest verse my thoughts I tell,
With gloss and moral free,
Drawn from Philosophy's pure well,
As onward you may see

The oldest notice of the Jew of Carrion is in the letter of the Marquis of

Santillana to the Constable of Portugal, from which there can be no doubt that the Rabbi still enjoyed much reputation in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The Jews, indeed, down to the time of their expulsion from Spain, in 1492, and even later, often appear in the history of Spanish Literature. This was natural; for the Jews of Spain, from the appearance in 962 of four learned Talmudists, who were carried there by pirates, down to the fifteenth century, were more strongly marked by elegant culture than were their countrymen at the same period in any other part of Europe. Of Hebrew poetry in the Hebrew language, — which begins in Spain with the Rabbi Salomo ben Jehudah Gabirol, who died in 1064, — a history has been written entitled *Die religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, von Dr. Michael Sachs (Berlin, 1845, 8vo). But the great repository of everything relating to the culture of the Spanish Jews is the *Biblioteca of Rodriguez de Castro*, Tom. I., mentioned *ante*, p. 23, note. It may be worth while to add that, during the Moorish occupation of Spain, the Jews partook often of the Arabic culture, then so prevalent and brilliant; — a striking instance of which may be found in the case of the Castilian Jew, Juda ha-Levi, who took also the Arabic cognomen of Abu'l Hassan, and whose poems were translated into German, and published by A. Geiger, at Breslau, in a very small, neat volume, in 1851. Juda was born about 1080, and died, probably, soon after 1140.

A strange but not uninteresting volume on the Hebrew poetry and

* 78 old *redondilla*, * uncommonly easy and flowing for the age ; and the purpose of the poem is to give wise moral counsels to the new king, which the poet more than once begs him not to undervalue because they come from a Jew.

Because upon a thorn it grows,
The rose is not less fair ;
And wine that from the vine-stock flows
Still flows untainted there.

The goshawk, too, will proudly soar,
Although his nest sits low ;
And gentle teachings have their power,
Though 't is the Jew says so.²³

poets of Spain was published at London, in 1851, entitled "Treasures of Oxford ; Containing Poetical Compositions of the ancient Jewish Authors in Spain, and compiled from the MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by H. Edelman and Leopold Dukes, edited and rendered into English by M. H. Bresslau." The translations and notes are not without merit ; but the whole is Hebrew of the Hebrews.

²³ Por nacer en el espino,
No val la rosa cierto
Menos ; ni el buen vino,
Por nacer en el sarmiento.

Non val el aor menos,
Por nacer de mal nido ;
Nin los exemplos buenos,
Por los decir Judio.

These lines seem better given in the Escorial manuscript, as follows : —

Por nacer en el espino,
La rosa ya non siento,
Que pierde ; ni el buen vino,
Por salir del sarmiento.

Non vale el aor menos,
Porque en vil nido siga ;
Nin los exemplos buenos,
Porque Judio los diga.

The manuscripts ought to be collated, and this curious poem published. See App. H.

After a preface in prose, which seems to be by another hand, and an address to the king by the poet himself, he goes on : —

Quando el Rey Don Alfonso
Fyno, fynco la gente,

Como quando el pulso
Falleçe al doliente.

Que luego no ayudava,
Que tan grant mejoría
A ellos fyncaua
Nin omen lo entendia.

Quando la rosa seca
En su tiempo sale,
El agua que della fynca,
Rosada que mas vale.

Asi vos fyncastes del
Para mucho tu far,
Et facer lo que el
Cobdiçaba librar, etc.

One of the philosophical stanzas is very quaint : —

Quando no es lo que quiero,
Quiero yo lo que es ;
Si pesar he primero,
Plaser ayre despues.

If what I find, I do not love,
Then love I what I find ;
If disappointment go before,
Joy sure shall come behind.

The Marquis of Santillana has the same quaintness of expression when writing to his son, a student at the University of Salamanca, a century later. E pues non podemos aver aquello que queremos, queremos aquello que podemos, Obras, 1852, p. 482.

I add from the original : —

Las mys canas teñilas,
Non por las avorrescer,
Ni por desdesyrias,
Nin mancebo parecer.

Mas con miedo sobejo
De omes que bastarian *

* buscarian !

* After a longer introduction than is needful, * 79 the moral counsels begin at the fifty-fourth stanza, and continue through the rest of the work, which, in its general tone, is not unlike other didactic poetry of the period, although it is written with more ease and more poetical spirit. Indeed, it is little to say that few Rabbins of any country have given us such quaint and pleasant verses as are contained in several parts of these curious counsels of the Jew of Carrion.

In the Escorial manuscript, containing the verses of the Jew, are other poems, which were at one time attributed to him, but which it seems probable belong to other, though unknown authors.²⁴ One of them is a didactic * essay, called "La Doctrina * 80 Christiana," or Christian Doctrine. It consists of a prose prologue, setting forth the writer's penitence, and of one hundred and fifty-seven stanzas of four lines each ; the first three containing eight syllables, rhymed together, and the last containing four syllables, unrhymed, — a metrical form not without something of the air of the Sapphic and Adonic. The body of the work contains an explanation of the

En mi seso de viejo,
E non lo fallarian.

My hoary locks I dye with care,
Not that I hate their hue,
Nor yet because I wish to seem
More youthful than is true.

But 't is because the words I dread
Of men who speak me fair,
And ask within my whitened head
For wit that is not there.

²⁴ Castro, Bibl. Esp., Tom. I. p. 199. Sanchez, Tom. I. p. 182 ; Tom. IV. p. xii.

I am aware that Don José Amador de los Rios, in his "Estudios Históricos, Políticos y Literarios sobre los Judios de España," a learned and pleasant book, published at Madrid in 1848, is of a different opinion, and holds the three poems, including the Doctrina

Christiana, to be the work of Don Santo or Santob of Carrion. (See pp. 304–335.) But I think the objections to this opinion are stronger than the reasons he gives to support it ; especially the objections involved in the following facts, namely, that Don Santob calls himself a Jew ; that both the manuscripts of the Consejos call him a Jew ; that the Marquis of Santillana, the only tolerably early authority that mentions him, calls him a Jew ; that no one of them intimates that he ever was converted, — a circumstance likely to have been much blazoned abroad, if it had really occurred ; and that, if he were an unconverted Jew, it is wholly impossible he should have written the Dança General, the Doctrina Christiana, or the Ermitaño.

creed, the ten commandments, the seven moral virtues, the fourteen works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the five senses, and the holy sacraments, with discussions concerning Christian conduct and character.

Another of these poems is called a Revelation, and is a vision, in twenty-five octave stanzas, of a holy hermit, who is supposed to have witnessed a contest between a soul and its body; the soul complaining that the excesses of the body had brought upon it all the punishments of the unseen world, and the body retorting, that it was condemned to these same torments because the soul had neglected to keep it * 81 in due subjection.²⁵ The * whole is an imitation of some of the many similar poems current at that period, one of which is extant in English in a manuscript placed by Warton about the year 1304.²⁶ But both the Castilian poems are of little worth.

We come, then, to one of more value, "La Dança General," or the Dance of Death, consisting of seventy-

²⁵ Castro, *Bibl. Esp.*, Tom. I. p. 201. By the kindness of Prof. Gayangos, I have a copy of the whole. To judge from the opening lines of the poem, it was probably written in 1382:—

Despues de la prima la ora passada,
En el mes de Enero la noche primera
En CCCC e veiynte durante la hera,
Estando acostado alla en mi posada, etc.

The first of January, 1420, of the Spanish Era, when the scene is laid, corresponds to A. D. 1382. A copy of the poem, printed at Madrid, 1848, 12mo, pp. 13, differs from my manuscript copy, but is evidently taken from one less carefully made.

A fragment of the same poem was published at Madrid, in 1856, 18mo, pp. 16. It consists, however, of only thirty-seven lines, and bears so many marks of carelessness and ignorance, that it does not seem possible to determine its age with any degree of precision;—its rudeness of language and spelling resulting as much, probably, from the vulgar incompetency of the

writer and copyist, as from the period in which either may have lived. It has, however, some touch of the Provençal in its language, and is, in any event, among the early specimens of verse in the peninsula. Its editor thinks it was used for the French version, published by Wright, and referred to in the next note. But the Latin is older than either, and more likely to be the prototype of both.

²⁶ *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, Sect. 24, near the end. It appears also in French very early, under the title of "Le Débat du Corps et de l'Âme," printed in 1486. (*Ebert, Bib. Lexicon*, Nos. 5671—5674.) The source of the fiction has been supposed to be a poem by a Frankish monk (Hagen und Büsching, *Grundriss*, Berlin, 1812, 8vo, p. 446); but it is very old, and found in many forms and many languages. See Latin poems attributed to Walter Mapes, and edited for the Camden Society by T. Wright (1841, 4to, pp. 95 and 321). It was printed in the ballad form in Spain as late as 1764.

nine regular octave stanzas, preceded by a few words of introduction in prose, that do not seem to be by the same author.²⁷ It is founded on the well-known fiction, so often illustrated both in painting and in verse during the Middle Ages, that all men, of all conditions, are summoned to the Dance of Death; a kind of spiritual masquerade, probably connected with the pestilence called the black death, in which the different ranks of society, from the Pope to the young child, appear dancing with the skeleton form of Death. In this Spanish version it is striking and picturesque,—more so, perhaps, than in any other,—the ghastly nature of the subject being brought into a very lively contrast with the festive tone of the verses, which frequently recalls some of the better parts of those flowing stories that now and then occur in the "Mirror for Magistrates."²⁸

The first seven stanzas of the Spanish poem constitute a prologue, in which Death issues his summons partly in his * own person, and partly in * 82 that of a preaching friar, ending thus:—

Come to the Dance of Death, all ye whose fate
By birth is mortal, be ye great or small;

²⁷ Castro, *Bibl. Española*, Tom. I. p. 200. Sanchez, Tom. I. pp. 182—185, with Tom. IV. p. xii. I suspect the Spanish Dance of Death is an imitation from the French, because I find, in several of the early editions, the French Dance of Death is united, as the Spanish is in the manuscript of the Escurial, with the "Débat du Corps et de l'Âme," just as the "Vows over the Peacock" seems, in both languages, to have been united to a poem on Alexander.

²⁸ In what a vast number of forms this strange fiction occurs may be seen in the elaborate work of F. Douce, entitled "Dance of Death" (London, 1833, 8vo), and in the "Literatur der Todtentänze," von H. F. Massmann

(Leipzig, 1840, 8vo). To these, however, for our purpose, should be added notices from the Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek (Berlin, 1792, Vol. CVI. p. 279), and a series of prints that appeared at Lubeck in 1783, folio, taken from the paintings there, which date from 1463, and which might well serve to illustrate the old Spanish poem. See also K. F. A. Scheller, *Bücherkunde der Süssisch-niederdeutschen Sprache*, Braunschweig, 1826, 8vo, p. 75. The whole immense series, whether existing in the paintings at Basle, Hamburg, etc., or in the old poems in all languages, one of which is by Lydgate, were undoubtedly intended for religious edification, just as the Spanish poem was.

And willing come, nor loitering, nor late,
 Else force shall bring you struggling to my thrall:
 For since yon friar hath uttered loud his call
 To penitence and godliness sincere,
 He that delays must hope no waiting here;
 For still the cry is, Haste! and, Haste to all!

Death now proceeds, as in the old pictures and poems, to summon, first, the Pope, then cardinals, kings, bishops, and so on, down to day-laborers; all of whom are forced to join his mortal dance, though each at first makes some remonstrance, that indicates surprise, horror, or reluctance. The call to youth and beauty is spirited:—

Bring to my dance, and bring without delay,
 Those damsels twain, you see so bright and fair;
 They came, but came not in a willing way,
 To list my chants of mortal grief and care:
 Nor shall the flowers and roses fresh they wear,
 Nor rich attire, avail their forms to save.
 They strive in vain who strive against the grave;
 It may not be; my wedded brides they are.²⁹

The fiction is, no doubt, a grim one; but for several centuries it had great success throughout Europe, and it is presented quite as much according to its true spirit in this old Castilian poem as it is anywhere.

* 83 * A chronicling poem, found in the same manuscript volume with the last, but very un-

²⁹ I have a manuscript copy of the whole poem, made for me by Professor Gayangos, and give the following as specimens. First, one of the stanzas translated in the text:—

A esta mi Danza traye de presente
 Estas dos doncellas que vedes fermosas;
 Ellas vinieron de muy mala mente
 A oyr mis canciones que son dolorosas.
 Mas non les valdran flores ny rosas,
 Nin las composturas que poner solian.
 De mi si pudiesen partir se querrian,
 Mas non puede ser, que son mis esposas.

And the two following, which have not, I believe, been printed; the first being the reply of Death to the Dean he had summoned, and the last the objections of the Merchant:—

Dice la Muerte.

Don rico avariento Dean muy ufano,
 Que vuestros dineros trocastes en oro,
 A pobres e a viudas cerrastes la mano,
 E mal dependistes el vuestro tesoro.
 Non quiero que estodes ya mas en el coro
 Salid luego fuera sin otra perosa. —
 Ya vos mostraré venir à pobresa. —
 Venit, Mercadero, a la danza del lloro.

Dice el Mercader.

A quien dexaré todas mis riquezas,
 E mercaderias, que traygo en la mar?
 Con muchos trasposos e mas sotilezas
 Gané lo que tengo en cada lugar.
 Agora la muerte vino me llamar;
 Que sera de mi, non se que me faga.
 O muerte tu sierra à mi es gran plaga.
 Adios, Mercaderes, que voyme à finar.

skilfully copied in a different handwriting, belongs probably to the same period. It is on the half-fabulous, half-historical achievements of Count Fernan Gonzalez, a hero of the earlier period of the Christian conflict with the Moors, who is to the North of Spain what the Cid became somewhat later to Aragon and Valencia. To him is attributed the rescue of much of Castile from Mohammedan control; and his achievements, so far as they are matter of historical rather than poetical record, fall between 934, when the battle of Osma was fought, and his death, which occurred in 970.

The poem in question is almost wholly devoted to his glory.³⁰ It begins with a notice of the invasion of Spain by the Goths, and comes down to the battle of Val Pyrre, 967, when the manuscript suddenly breaks off, leaving untouched the adventures of its hero during the three remaining years of his life. It is essentially prosaic and monotonous in its style, yet not without something of that freshness and simplicity which are in themselves allied to all early poetry. Its language is rude, and its measure, which strives to be like that in Berceo and the poem of Apollonius, is often in stanzas of three lines instead of four, sometimes of five, and once, at least, of nine. Like Berceo's poem on San Domingo de Silos, it opens with an invocation, and, what is singular, this invocation is in the very words used by Berceo: "In the name of the Father, who made all things," etc. After this, the history, beginning in the days of the Goths, follows the

³⁰ See a learned dissertation of Fr. Benito Montejo, on the Beginnings of the Independence of Castile, *Memorias de la Acad. de Hist.*, Tom. III. pp. 245-302. *Crónica General de España*, Parte III. c. 18-20. Duran, *Romances Caballerescos*, Madrid, 1832, 12mo, Tom. II. pp. 27-39. Extracts from

the manuscript in the Escorial are to be found in Bouterwek, trad. por J. G. de la Cortina, etc., Tom. I. pp. 154-161. I have a manuscript copy of the first part of it, made for me by Professor Gayangos. For notices, see Castro, *Bibl.*, Tom. I. p. 199, and Sanchez, Tom. I. p. 115.

popular traditions of the country, with few exceptions, the most remarkable of which occurs in the notice of the Moorish invasion. There the account is quite *anomalous*. No intimation is given of the story * 84 of * the fair Cava, whose fate has furnished materials for so much poetry; but Count Julian is represented as having, without any private injury, volunteered his treason to the King of Morocco, and then carried it into effect by persuading Don Roderic, in full Cortes, to turn all the military weapons of the land into implements of agriculture, so that, when the Moorish invasion occurred, the country was overrun without difficulty.

The death of the Count of Toulouse, on the other hand, is described as it is in the "General Chronicle" of Alfonso the Wise; and so are the vision of Saint Millan, and the Count's personal fights with a Moorish king and the King of Navarre. In truth, many passages in the poem so much resemble the corresponding passages in the Chronicle, that it seems certain one was used in the composition of the other; and as the poem has more the air of being an amplification of the Chronicle than the Chronicle has of being an abridgment of the poem, it seems probable that the prose account is, in this case, the older, and furnished the materials of the poem, which from internal evidence was prepared for public recitation.³¹

³¹ Crónica General, ed. 1604, Parte III. f. 55, b, 60. a-65. b. Compare, also, Cap. 19, and Mariana, Historia, Lib. VIII. c. 7, with the poem. That the poem was taken from the Chronicle may be assumed, I conceive, from a comparison of the Chronicle, Parte III. c. 18, near the end, containing the defeat and death of the Count of Toulouse, with the passage in the poem as given by Cortina, and beginning "Ca-

valleros Tolesanos trezientos y prendieron"; or the vision of San Millan (Crónica, Parte III. c. 19) with the passage in the poem beginning "El Cryador te otorga quanto pedido le as." Perhaps, however, the following, being a mere rhetorical illustration, is a proof as striking, if not as conclusive, as a longer one. The Chronicle says (Parte III. c. 18), "Non cuentan de Alexandre los dias nin los años; mas

The meeting of Fernan Gonzalez with the King of Navarre at the battle of Valparé, or Val Pyrre, which occurs in both, is thus described in the poem:—

And now the King and Count were met together in the fight,
And each against the other turned the utmost of his might,
Beginning there a battle fierce in furious despite.

And never fight was seen more brave, nor champions more true;
For to rise or fall for once and all they fought, as well they knew;
* And neither, as each inly felt, a greater deed could do;

So they struck and strove right manfully, with blows nor light nor few. * 85

Ay, mighty was that fight indeed, and mightier still about
The din that rose like thunder round those champions brave and stout:
A man with all his voice might cry, and none would heed his shout;
For he that listened could not hear, amidst such rush and rout.

The blows they struck were heavy; heavier blows there could not be;
On both sides, to the uttermost, they struggled manfully,
And many, that ne'er rose again, bent to the earth the knee,
And streams of blood o'erspread the ground, as on all sides you might see.

And knights were there from good Navarre, both numerous and bold,
Whom everywhere for brave and strong true gentlemen would hold;
But still against the good Count's might their strength proved weak and cold,
Though men of great emprise before and fortune manifold.

For God's good grace still kept the Count from sorrow and from harm,
That neither Moor nor Christian power should stand against his arm, etc.³²

los buenos fechos e las sus cavallerias que fizo." The poem has it in almost the same words:—

Non cuentan de Alexandre las noches nin los dias;
Cuentan sus buenos fechos e sus cavalleryas.

Since the preceding part of this note and the account in the text were published the poem itself has been printed in the "Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española de Libros Raros" (Tom. I., Madrid, 1863, col. 763-803). It makes nearly twenty-nine hundred lines, and so is considerably shorter than the Poem of the Cid. I have read it through, but find no reason to alter my opinion of its merits, formed when I had seen only a part of it. It is a poor *Geste*, and the only copy of it in MS. known to exist is very badly made and imperfect at the end.

³² El Rey y el Conde ambos se ayuntaron,
El uno contra el otro ambos endereçaron,
E la lid campal alli la escomençaron.

Non podrya mas fuerte ni mas brava ser,
Ca alli les yva todo levantar o caer;
El nin el Rey non podya ninguno mas facer,
Los unos y los otros facian todo su poder.

Muy grande fue la façienda e mucho mas el roydo;
Daria el ome muy grandes voces, y non seria oydo.
El que oydo fuese seria como grande tronydo;
Non podrya oyr voces ningun apellido.

Grandes eran los golpes, que mayores non podian;
Los unos y los otros todo su poder facian;
Muchos cayan en tierra que nunca se ençian;
De sangre los arroyos mucha tierra cobryan.

Asas eran los Navarros cavalleros esforçados
Que en qualquier lugar seryan buenos y priados.
Mas es contra el Conde todos desaventurados;
Omnes son de gran cuenta y de coraçon loçanos.

Quiso Dios al buen Conde esta gracia facer,
Que Moros ni Crystyanos non le podian vender, etc.

Bouterwek, Trad. Cortina, p. 160.