

one of the witnesses of the king's will at Christmas, yet on the death \* of Henry he retired to Madrid, his native place, where he spent the last four or five years of his life, and where, in 1412, he was buried in the convent of Saint Francis, with his fathers, whose chapel he had piously rebuilt.<sup>36</sup>

His travels will not, on the whole, suffer by a comparison with those of Marco Polo or Sir John Mandeville; for, though his discoveries are much less in extent than those of the Venetian merchant, they are, perhaps, as remarkable as those of the English adventurer, while the manner in which he has presented them is superior to that of either. His Spanish loyalty and his Catholic faith are everywhere apparent. He plainly believes that his modest embassy is making an impression of his king's power and importance, on the countless and careless multitudes of Asia, which will not be effaced; while in the luxurious capital of the Greek empire he seems to look for little but the apocryphal relics of saints and apostles which then burdened the shrines of its churches. With all this, however, we may be content, because it is national; but when we find him filling the island of Ponza with buildings erected by Virgil,<sup>37</sup> and afterwards, as he passes Amalfi, taking note of it only because it contained the head of Saint Andrew,<sup>38</sup> we are obliged to recall his frankness, his zeal, and all his other good qualities, before we can be quite reconciled to his

<sup>36</sup> Hijos de Madrid, Ilustres en Santidad, Dignidades, Armas, Ciencias, y Artes, Diccionario Histórico, su Autor D. Joseph Ant. Alvarez y Baena, Natural de la misma Villa; Madrid, 1789-1791, 4 tom. 4to; — a book whose materials, somewhat crudely put together, are abundant and important, especially in what relates to the literary history

of the Spanish capital. A Life of Clavijo is to be found in it, Tom. IV. p. 302.

<sup>37</sup> "Hay en ella grandes edificios de muy grande obra, que hizo Virgilio," p. 30.

<sup>38</sup> All he says of Amalfi is, "Y en esta ciudad de Malfa dicen que está la cabeza de Sant Andres." p. 33.

ignorance. Mariana, indeed, intimates that, after all, his stories are not to be wholly believed. But, as in the case of other early travellers, whose accounts were often discredited merely because they were so strange, more recent and careful inquiries have confirmed Clavijo's narrative; and we may now trust to his faithfulness as much as to the vigilant and penetrating spirit he shows constantly, except when his religious \* faith, or his hardly less religious loyalty, in- \* 186 terferes with its exercise.<sup>39</sup>

But the great voyagings of the Spaniards were not destined to be in the East. The Portuguese, led on originally by Prince Henry, one of the most extraordinary men of his age, had, as it were, already appropriated to themselves that quarter of the world, by discovering the easy route of the Cape of Good Hope; and, both by the right of discovery and by the provisions of the well-known Papal bull and the equally well-known treaty of 1479, had cautiously cut off their great rivals, the Spaniards, from all adventure in that direction; leaving open to them only the wearisome waters that were stretched out unmeasured towards the West. Happily, however, there was one man to whose courage even the terrors of this unknown and dreaded ocean were but spurs and incentives, and whose gifted vision, though sometimes dazzled from the height to which he rose, could yet see, beyond the waste of waves, that broad continent which his fervent imagination deemed needful to balance the world. It is true, Columbus was not born a Spaniard. But his spirit was eminently Spanish. His loyalty, his re-

<sup>39</sup> Mariana says that the Itinerary contains "muchas otras cosas asaz maravillosas, si verdaderas." (Hist., Lib. XIX. c. 11.) But Blanco White, in his "Variedades" (Tom. I. pp. 316-

318), shows, from an examination of Clavijo's Itinerary, by Major Rennell, and from other sources, that its general fidelity may be depended upon.

ligious faith and enthusiasm, his love of great and extraordinary adventure, were all Spanish rather than Italian, and were all in harmony with the Spanish national character, when he became a part of its glory. His own eyes, he tells us, had watched the silver cross, as it slowly rose, for the first time, above the towers of the Alhambra, announcing to the world the final and absolute overthrow of the infidel power in \* 187 Spain;<sup>40</sup> and from \* that period, — or one even earlier, when some poor monks from Jerusalem had been at the camp of the two sovereigns before Granada, praying for help and protection against the unbelievers in Palestine, — he had conceived the grand project of consecrating the untold wealth he trusted to find in his westward discoveries, by devoting it to the rescue of the Holy City, and of the sepulchre of Christ; thus achieving, by his single power and resources, what all Christendom and its ages of crusades had failed to accomplish.<sup>41</sup>

Gradually these and other kindred ideas took firm possession of his mind, and are found occasionally in his later journals, letters, and speculations, giving to

<sup>40</sup> In the account of his first voyage, rendered to his sovereigns, he says he was in 1492 at Granada, "adonde, este presente año, á dos días del mes de Enero, por fuerza de armas, *vide poner las banderas reales de Vuestras Altezas en las torres de Alhambra.*" etc. Navarrete, Colección de los Viajes y Descubrimientos que hicieron por Mar los Españoles desde Fines del Siglo XV., Madrid, 1825, 4to, Tom. I. p. 1; a work admirably edited, and of great value, as containing the authentic materials for the history of the discovery of America. Old Bernaldez, the friend of Columbus, describes more exactly what Columbus saw: "E mostraron en la mas alta torre primeramente el estandarte de Jesu Cristo, que fue la Santa Cruz, de plata que el rey traia siempre en

la santa conquista consigo." Hist. de los Reyes Católicos, Cap. 102, MS. The same striking account of the first symbol of conquest that was raised to mark the fall of Granada — the *crúz de plata* — is to be found in Marmol's *Rebelion de los Moriscos* (1600, f. 25. a.), where we are told that it was raised at the orders of Ferdinand and Isabella, by the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo.

<sup>41</sup> This appears from his letter to the Pope, February, 1502, in which he says he had counted upon furnishing, in twelve years, 10,000 horse and 100,000 foot soldiers for the conquest of the Holy City, and that his undertaking to discover new countries was with the view of spending the means he might there acquire in this sacred service. (Navarrete, Colección, Tom. II. p. 282.)

his otherwise quiet and dignified style a tone elevated and impassioned like that of prophecy. It is true that his adventurous spirit, when the mighty mission of his life was upon him, rose above all this, and, with a purged vision and through a clearer atmosphere, saw, from the outset, what he at last so gloriously accomplished; but still, as he presses onward, there not unfrequently break from him words which leave no doubt that, in his secret heart, the foundations of his great hopes and purposes were laid in some of the most magnificent illusions that are ever permitted to fill the human mind. He believed himself to be, in some degree at least, inspired; and to be chosen of Heaven to fulfil certain of the solemn and grand prophecies of the Old Testament.<sup>42</sup> He wrote to \* his sovereigns, in 1501, that he had been \* 188 induced to undertake his voyages to the Indies, not by virtue of human knowledge, but by a Divine impulse, and by the force of Scriptural prediction.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Navarrete, Colección, Tom. I. pp. xviii, xlix. But Navarrete is wrong in referring to the *Eighteenth* Psalm, as he does. It is the *Nineteenth*, as is exactly stated in the Giustiniani Polyglott Psalter, Genoa, 1516, fol., where the *fourth* verse is referred to, — "Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world"; adding, as a commentary to it, a notice of Columbus, his life and his discoveries, in which the editor and commentator may sometimes have been inexact, as Ferdinand Columbus, in his life of his father (Cap. 2), complains that he was; but in which, as a contemporary of Columbus, and publishing his work in the city of which he declares the great admiral — who had then been dead only ten years — to have been a native, his account is very important. On this particular verse of the 19th Psalm, he says: "Columbus *frequentur* predicabat se a Deo electum ut per ipsum adimpletur hæc prophetia." In Navarrete (Tom.

II. pp. 262–273) there is other curious matter to the same effect, from the hand of Columbus himself. I owe the correction of Navarrete's error to my friend, George Livermore, Esq., of Cambridge, who has in his precious library a copy of the Giustiniani Polyglott, which, when he pointed out the mistake to me, I did not own.

<sup>43</sup> Ya dije que para la execucion de la impresa de las Indias no me aproveché razon ni matematica ni mapamundos; llenamente se cumplió lo que dijo Isaías, y esto es lo que deseo de escribir aquí por le reducir á V. A. á memoria, y porque se alegren del otro que yo le dije de Jerusalem por las mesmas autoridades, de la qual impresa, si fe hay, tengo por muy cierto la vitoria." Letter of Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella (Navarrete, Col., Tom. II. p. 265). And elsewhere in the same letter he says: "Yo dije que diria la razon que tengo de la restitucion de la Casa Santa á la Santa Iglesia; digo que yo dejo todo mi navegar desde edad nueva y las pláticas

He declared that the world could not continue to exist more than a hundred and fifty-five years longer, and that, many a year before that period, he counted the recovery of the Holy City to be sure.<sup>44</sup> He expressed his belief that the terrestrial paradise, about which he cites the fanciful speculations of Saint Ambrose and Saint Augustin, would be found in the southern regions of those newly discovered lands, which he describes with so charming an amenity, and that the Orinoco was one of the mystical rivers issuing from it; intimating, at the same time, that, perchance, he alone of mortal men would, by the Divine will, be enabled to reach and enjoy it.<sup>45</sup> In a remarkable letter of sixteen pages, addressed to his sovereigns from

\* 189 Jamaica in 1503, \* and written with a force of style hardly to be found in anything similar at the same period, he gives a moving account of a miraculous vision, which he believed had been vouchsafed to him for his consolation, when at Veragua, a few months before, a body of his men, sent to obtain salt and water, had been cut off by the natives, thus leaving him outside the mouth of the river in great peril.

"My brother and the rest of the people," he says,

que yo haya tenido con tanta gente en tantas tierras y de tantas setas, y deo las tantas artes y escrituras de que yo dije arriba; solamente me tengo á la Santa y Sacra Escritura y á algunas autoridades proféticas de algunas personas santas, que por revelación divina han dicho algo desto." (Ibid., p. 263.)

<sup>44</sup> "Segund esta cuenta, no falta, salvo ciento e cincuenta y cinco años, para cumplimiento de siete mil, en los quales digo arriba por las autoridades dichas que habrá de fenecer el mundo." (Ibid., p. 264.)

<sup>45</sup> See the very beautiful passage about the Orinoco River, mixed with prophet-

ical interpretations, in his account of his third voyage, to the King and Queen (Navarrete, Col., Tom. I. pp. 256, etc.), a singular mixture of practical judgment and wild, dreamy speculation. "I believe," he says, "that there is the terrestrial paradise, at which no man can arrive except by the Divine will." — "Creo, que allá es el Paraiso terrenal, adonde no puede llegar nadie, salvo por voluntad divina." The honest Clavijo thought he had found another river of Paradise on just the opposite side of the earth, as he journeyed to Samarcand, nearly a century before. (Vida del Gran Tamorlan, p. 137.)

"were in a vessel that remained within, and I was left solitary on a coast so dangerous, with a strong fever and grievously worn down. Hope of escape was dead within me. I climbed aloft with difficulty, calling anxiously and not without many tears for help upon your Majesties' captains from all the four winds of heaven. But none made me answer. Wearied and still moaning, I fell asleep, and heard a pitiful voice which said: 'O fool, and slow to trust and serve thy God, the God of all! What did He more for Moses, or for David His servant? Ever since thou wast born, thou hast been His especial charge. When He saw thee at the age wherewith He was content, He made thy name to sound marvellously on the earth. The Indies, which are a part of the world, and so rich, He gave them to thee for thine own, and thou hast divided them unto others as seemed good to thyself, for He granted thee power to do so. Of the barriers of the great ocean, which were bound up with such mighty chains, He hath given unto thee the keys. Thou hast been obeyed in many lands, and thou hast gained an honored name among Christian men. What did He more for the people of Israel when He led them forth from Egypt? or for David, whom from a shepherd He made king in Judæa? Turn thou, then, again unto Him, and confess thy sin. His mercy is infinite. Thine old age shall not hinder thee of any great thing. Many inheritances hath He, and very great. Abraham was above a hundred years old when he begat Isaac; and Sarah, was she young? Thou callest for uncertain help; answer, Who hath afflicted thee so much and so often? God or the world? The privileges and promises that God giveth, He breaketh not, nor, after He hath received service, doth \* He \* 190

say that thus was not His mind, and that His meaning was other. Neither punisheth He, in order to hide a refusal of justice. What He promiseth, that He fulfilleth, and yet more. And doth the world thus? I have told thee what thy Maker hath done for thee, and what He doth for all. Even now He in part showeth thee the reward of the sorrows and dangers thou hast gone through in serving others.' All this heard I, as one half dead; but answer had I none to words so true, save tears for my sins. And whosoever it might be that thus spake, he ended, saying, 'Fear not; be of good cheer; all these thy griefs are written in marble, and not without cause.' And I arose as soon as I might, and at the end of nine days the weather became calm."<sup>46</sup>

Three years afterwards, in 1506, Columbus died at Valladolid, a disappointed, broken-hearted old man; little comprehending what he had done for mankind, and still less the glory and homage that through all future generations awaited his name.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> See the letter to Ferdinand and Isabella concerning his fourth and last voyage, dated Jamaica, 7 July, 1503, in which this extraordinary passage occurs. (Navarrete, Col., Tom. I. p. 303.)

<sup>47</sup> To those who wish to know more of Columbus as a writer than can be properly sought in a classical life of him, like that of Irving, I commend as precious: 1. The account of his first voyage, addressed to his sovereigns, with the letter to Rafael Sanchez on the same subject (Navarrete, Col., Tom. I. pp. 1-197); the first document being extant only in an abstract, which contains, however, large extracts from the original made by Las Casas, and of which a very good translation appeared at Boston, 1827 (8vo). Nothing is more remarkable in the tone of these narratives than the devout spirit that constantly breaks forth. 2. The account, by Columbus himself, of his third voyage, in a letter to his sovereigns, and in a letter to the nurse of

Prince John; the first containing several interesting passages, showing that he had a love for the beautiful in nature. (Navarrete, Col., Tom. I. pp. 242-276.) 3. The letter to the sovereigns about his fourth and last voyage, which contains the account of his vision at Veragua. (Navarrete, Col., Tom. I. pp. 296-312.) 4. Fifteen miscellaneous letters. (Ibid., Tom. I. pp. 330-352.) 5. His speculations about the prophecies (Tom. II. pp. 260-273), and his letter to the Pope (Tom. II. pp. 280-282). But whoever would speak worthily of Columbus, or know what was most noble and elevated in his character, will be guilty of an unhappy neglect if he fail to read the discussions about him by Alexander von Humboldt; especially those in the "Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent" (Paris, 1836-38, 8vo, Vol. II. pp. 350, etc., Vol. III. pp. 227-262), — a book no less remarkable for the vastness of its

But the mantle of his devout and heroic spirit fell on none of his successors. The discoveries of the new continent, \* which was soon ascer- \* 191  
tained to be no part of Asia, were indeed prosecuted with spirit and success by Balboa, by Vespucci, by Hojeda, by Pedrarias Dávila, by the Portuguese Magellanes, by Loaisa, by Saavedra, and by many more; so that in twenty-seven years the general outline and form of the New World were, through their reports, fairly presented to the Old. But though some of these early adventurers, like Hojeda, were men apparently of honest principles, who suffered much, and died in poverty and sorrow, yet none had the lofty spirit of the original discoverer, and none spoke or wrote with the tone of dignity and authority that came naturally from a man whose character was so elevated, and whose convictions and purposes were founded in some of the deepest and most mysterious feelings of our religious nature.<sup>48</sup>

*Romantic Chronicles.* — It only remains now to speak of one other class of the old chronicles; a class hardly represented in this period by more than a single specimen, but that a very curious one, and one which, by its date and character, brings us to the end of our present inquiries, and marks the transition to those that are to follow. The Chronicle referred to is that called "The Chronicle of Don Roderic, with the Destruction of Spain," and is an account, chiefly fabulous,

views than for the minute accuracy of its learning on some of the most obscure subjects of historical inquiry. Nobody has comprehended the character of Columbus as Humboldt has, — its generosity, its enthusiasm, its far-reaching visions, which seemed watching beforehand for the great scientific discoveries of the sixteenth century.

<sup>48</sup> All relating to these adventures and voyages worth looking at, on the score of language or style, is to be found in Vols. III., IV., V., of Navarrete, Coleccion, etc., published by the government, Madrid, 1829-37, but, unhappily, not continued since, so as to contain the accounts of the discovery and conquest of Mexico, Peru, etc.

of the reign of King Roderic, the conquest of the country by the Moors, and the first attempts to recover it in the beginning of the eighth century. An edition is cited as early as 1511, and six in all may be enumerated, including the last, which is of 1587; thus showing a good degree of popularity, if we consider the number of readers in Spain in the sixteenth \* 192 century.<sup>49</sup> Its author is quite unknown. \* According to the fashion of the times, it professes to have been written by Eliastras, one of the personages who figures in it; but he is killed in battle just before we reach the end of the book; and the remainder, which looks as if it might really be an addition by another hand, is in the same way ascribed to Carestes, a knight of Alfonso the Catholic.<sup>50</sup>

Most of the names throughout the work are as imaginary as those of its pretended authors; and the circumstances related are, generally, as much invented as the dialogue between its personages, which is given with a heavy minuteness of detail, alike uninteresting in itself, and false to the times it represents. In truth, it is hardly more than a romance of chivalry, founded on the materials for the history of Roderic and Pelayo,

<sup>49</sup> My copy is of the edition of Alcalá de Henares, 1587, and has the characteristic title, "Crónica del Rey Don Rodrigo, con la Destrucción de España, y como los Moros la ganaron. Nuevamente corregida. Contiene, de mas de la Historia, muchas vivas Razones y Avisos muy provechosos." It is in folio, in double columns, closely printed, and fills two hundred and twenty-five leaves, or four hundred and fifty pages. Gayangos, in the Spanish translation of this History, Tom. I. p. 519, suggests that Pedro del Corral may be the author of this chronicle Romance, and refers for his authority to Fernan Perez de Guzman's Preface to his *Claros Varones*,—intending, no doubt, the Preface to his *Generaciones y Semblanzas*,

where mention of Corral may be found (Ed. 1775, p. 197). But the work referred to by Fernan Perez is called "Crónica Sarracina," and it is not likely that the "Crónica del Rey Don Rodrigo" was written in 1450, which is the date of the *Generaciones*. Gayangos adds that "the author of the Chronicle, whoever he may be, took much from the Moor Razis (Ar-Razi), and especially what relates to the capture of Cordova."

<sup>50</sup> From Parte II. c. 237 to the end, containing the account of the fabulous and loathsome penance of Don Roderic, with his death. Nearly the whole of it is translated as a note to the twenty-fifth canto of Southey's "Roderic, the Last of the Goths."

as they still exist in the "General Chronicle of Spain," and in the old ballads; so that, though we often meet what is familiar to us about Count Julian, La Cava, and Orpas, the false Archbishop of Seville, we find ourselves still oftener in the midst of impossible tournaments<sup>51</sup> and incredible adventures of chivalry.<sup>52</sup> Kings travel about like knights-errant,<sup>53</sup> and ladies in distress wander from country to country,<sup>54</sup> as they do in "Palmerin of England," while, on \* all sides, we \* 193 encounter fantastic personages, who were never heard of anywhere but in this apocryphal Chronicle.<sup>55</sup>

The principle of such a work is, of course, nearly the same with that of the modern historical romance. What, at the time it was written, was deemed history, was taken as its basis from the old chronicles, and mingled with what was then the most advanced form of romantic fiction, just as it has been since in the series of works of genius beginning with Defoe's "Memoirs of a Cavalier." The difference is in the general representation of manners, and in the execution, both of which are now immeasurably advanced. Indeed, though Southey has founded much of his beautiful poem of "Roderic, the Last of the Goths," on this old Chronicle, it is, after all, hardly a book that can be read. It is written in a heavy, verbose style,

<sup>51</sup> See the grand *Torneo* when Roderic is crowned, Parte I. c. 27; the tournament of twenty thousand knights in Cap. 40; that in Cap. 49, etc.;—all just as such things are given in the books of chivalry, and eminently absurd here, because the events of the Chronicle are laid in the beginning of the eighth century, and tournaments were unknown till above two centuries later. (A. P. Budik, *Ursprung, Ausbildung, Abnahme, und Verfall des Turniers*, Wien, 1837, 8vo.) He places the first tournament in 936. Clemencin thinks they were not known in Spain

till after 1131. (Note to Don Quixote, Tom. IV. p. 315.)

<sup>52</sup> See the duels described, Parte II. c. 80, etc., 84, etc., 93.

<sup>53</sup> The King of Poland is one of the kings that comes to the court of Roderic "like a wandering knight so fair" (Parte I. c. 39). One might be curious to know who was king of Poland about A. D. 700.

<sup>54</sup> Thus, the Duchess of Lorraine comes to Roderic (Parte I. c. 37) with much the same sort of a case that the Princess Micomicona brings to Don Quixote.

<sup>55</sup> Parte I. c. 234, 235, etc.

and has a suspiciously monkish prologue and conclusion, which look as if the whole were originally intended to encourage the Romish doctrine of penance, or, at least, were finally arranged to subserve that devout purpose.<sup>56</sup>

\* 194 \* This is the last, and, in many respects, the worst, of the chronicles of the fifteenth century, and marks but an ungraceful transition to the romantic fictions of chivalry that were already beginning to inundate Spain. But, as we close it up, we should not forget that the whole series, extending over full two hundred and fifty years, from the time of Alfonso the Wise to the accession of Charles the Fifth, and cover-

<sup>56</sup> To learn through what curious transformations the same ideas can be made to pass, it may be worth while to compare, in the "Crónica General," 1604 (Parte III. f. 6), the original account of the famous battle of Covadonga, where the Archbishop Orpas is represented picturesquely coming upon his mule to the cave in which Pelayo and his people lay, with the tame and elaborate account evidently taken from it in this Chronicle of Roderic (Parte II. c. 196); then with the account in Mariana (Historia, Lib. VII. c. 2), where it is polished down into a sort of dramatized history; and, finally, with Southey's "Roderic, the Last of the Goths" (Canto XXIII.), where it is again wrought up to poetry and romance. It is an admirable scene both for chronicling narrative and for poetical fiction to deal with; but Alfonso the Wise and Southey have much the best of it, while a comparison of the four will at once give the poor "Chronicle of Roderic or the Destruction of Spain" its true place.

Another work, something like this Chronicle, but still more worthless, was published, in two parts, in 1592-1600, and seven or eight times afterwards; thus giving proof that it long enjoyed a degree of favor to which it was little entitled. It was written by Miguel de Luna, in 1589, as appears by a note to the first part, and is called "Verdadera Historia del Rey Rod-

rigo, con la Perdida de España, y Vida del Rey Jacob Almanzor, traducida de Lengua Arábica," etc., my copy being printed at Valencia, 1606, 4to. Southey, in his notes to his "Roderic" (Canto IV.), is disposed to regard this work as an authentic history of the invasion and conquest of Spain, coming down to the year of Christ 761, and written in the original Arabic only two years later. But this is a mistake. It is a bold and scandalous forgery, with even less merit in its style than the elder Chronicle on the same subject, and without any of the really romantic adventures that sometimes give an interest to that singular work, half monkish, half chivalrous. How Miguel de Luna, who, though a Christian, was of an old Moorish family in Granada, and an interpreter of Philip II., should have shown a great ignorance of the Arabic language and history of Spain, or, showing it, should yet have succeeded in passing off his miserable stories as authentic, is certainly a singular circumstance. That such, however, is the fact, Conde, in his "Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes" (Preface, p. x), and Gayangos, in his "Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain" (Vol. I. p. viii), leave no doubt, — the latter citing it as a proof of the utter contempt and neglect into which the study of Arabic literature had fallen in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

ing the New World as well as the Old, is unrivalled in richness, in variety, and in picturesque and poetical elements. In truth, the chronicles of no other nation can, on these particular points, be compared to them; not even the Portuguese, which approach the nearest in original and early materials; nor the French, which, in Joinville and Froissart, make still higher claims in another direction. For these old Spanish chronicles, whether they have their foundations in truth or in fable, always strike further down than those of any other nation into the deep soil of the popular feeling and character. The old Spanish loyalty, the old Spanish religious faith, as both were formed and nourished in the long periods of national trial and suffering, are constantly coming out; hardly less in Columbus and his followers, or even amidst the atrocities of the conquests in the New World, than in the half-miraculous accounts of the battles of Hazinas and Tolosa, or in the grand and glorious drama of the fall of Granada. Indeed, wherever we go under their leading, whether to the court of Tamerlane, or to that of Saint Ferdinand, we find the heroic elements of the national genius gathered around us; and thus, in this vast, rich mass of chronicles, containing such a body of antiquities, traditions, and fables as has been offered to no other people, we are constantly discovering, not only the materials from which were drawn a multitude of the old Spanish ballads, plays, \* and \* 195 romances, but a mine which has been unceasingly wrought by the rest of Europe for similar purposes, and still remains unexhausted.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Two Spanish translations of chronicles should be here remembered: one for its style and author, and the other for its subject.

The first is the "Universal Chronicle" of Jacopo Felippo Foresti, a modest monk of Bergamo, who refused the higher honors of his Church in order to

be able to devote his life to letters, and who died in 1520, at the age of eighty-six. (Tiraboschi, Storia, Roma, 1784, Tom. VI., Parte II. pp. 21-23.) The Spaniards, I think, commonly call the old chronicler Foresto. He published, in 1486, his large Latin Chronicle, entitled "Supplementum Chronicarum"; — meaning rather a chronicle intended to supply all needful historical knowledge, than one that should be regarded as a supplement to other similar works. It was so much esteemed at the time, that its author saw it pass through ten editions; and it is said to be still of some value for facts stated nowhere so well as on his personal authority. At the request of Luis Carroz and Pedro Boyl, it was translated into Spanish by Nareis Viñoles, the Valencian poet, known in the old Cancioneros for his compositions both in his native dialect and in Castilian. An earlier version of it into Italian, published in 1491, may also have been the work of Viñoles, since he intimates that he had made one; but his Castilian version was printed at Valencia, in 1510, with a license from Ferdinand the Catholic, acting for his daughter Joan. It is a large book, of nearly nine hundred pages, in folio, entitled, "Suma de todas las Crónicas del Mundo"; and though Viñoles hints it was a rash thing in him to write in Castilian, his style is good, and sometimes gives an interest to his otherwise dry annals.

Ximeno, Bib. Val., Tom. I. p. 61. Fuster, Tom. I. p. 54. Diana Enam. de Polo, ed. 1802, p. 304. Biographie Universelle, art. *Foresto*.

The other Chronicle referred to is that of St. Louis, by his faithful follower Joinville; the most striking of the monuments for the French language and literature of the thirteenth century. It was translated into Spanish by Jacques Ledel, one of the suite of the French Princess Isabel de Bourbon, when she went to Spain to become the wife of Philip II. Regarded as the work of a foreigner, the version is respectable; and though it was not printed till 1567, yet its whole tone prevents it from finding an appropriate place anywhere except in the period of the old Castilian chronicles. *Crónica de San Luis, etc.*, traducida por Jacques Ledel, Madrid, 1794, folio.

It may be well to add here that abridgments of the old Spanish chronicles have been printed for popular use from a very early period down to the present times, and in all forms. I have seen many such; — ex. gr., the Chronicle of the Cid, in a small thin quarto, with rude woodcuts, 1498; the chronicle of Fernan Gonzalez, a 12mo of about forty pages, 1589; and so on down to a *broadside* of Bernardo del Carpio's adventures, 1849. But I think the abridgments have rarely any literary value.

## \* CHAPTER XI.

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THIRD CLASS. — ROMANCES OF CHIVALRY. — ARTHUR. — CHARLEMAGNE. — AMADIS DE GAULA. — ITS DATE, AUTHOR, TRANSLATION INTO CASTILIAN, SUCCESS, AND CHARACTER. — ESPLANDIAN. — FLORISANDO. — LISUARTE DE GRECIA. — AMADIS DE GRECIA. — FLORISEL DE NIQUEA. — ANAXARTES. — SILVES DE LA SELVA. — FRENCH CONTINUATION. — INFLUENCE OF THE FICTION. — PALMERIN DE OLIVA. — PRIMALEON. — PLATIR. — PALMERIN DE INGLATERRA.

ROMANCES OF CHIVALRY. — The ballads of Spain belonged originally to the whole nation, but especially to its less cultivated portions. The chronicles, on the contrary, belonged to the proud and knightly classes, who sought in such picturesque records, not only the glorious history of their forefathers, but an appropriate stimulus to their own virtues and those of their children. As, however, security was gradually extended through the land, and the tendency to refinement grew stronger, other wants began to be felt. Books were demanded that would furnish amusement less popular than that afforded by the ballads, and excitement less grave than that of the chronicles. What was asked for was obtained, and probably without difficulty; for the spirit of poetical invention, which had been already thoroughly awakened in the country, needed only to be turned to the old traditions and fables of the early national chronicles, in order to produce fictions allied to both of them, yet more attractive than either. There is, in fact, as we can easily see, but a single step between large portions of several of the old chronicles, especially that of Don Roderic, and proper romances of chivalry.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An edition of the "Chronicle of none of "Amadis de Gaula" earlier than 1510, and this one uncertain.