

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.

\* 197 \* Such fictions, under ruder or more settled forms, had already existed in Normandy, and perhaps in the centre of France, above two centuries before they were known in the Spanish peninsula. The story of Arthur and the Knights of his Round Table had come thither from Brittany through Geoffrey of Monmouth, as early as the beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> The story of Charlemagne and his Peers, as it is found in the Chronicle of the fabulous Turpin, had followed from the South of France soon afterwards.<sup>3</sup> Both were, at first, in Latin, but both were almost immediately transferred to the French, then spoken at the courts of Normandy and England, and at once gained a wide popularity. Robert Wace, born in the island of Jersey, gave in 1158 a metrical history founded on the work of Geoffrey, which, besides the story of Arthur, contains a series of traditions concerning the Breton kings, tracing them up to a fabulous Brutus, the grandson of Æneas.<sup>4</sup> A century later, or about 1270 - 1280, after less successful attempts by others, the same service was rendered to the story of Charlemagne by Adenez in his metrical romance of "Ogier le Danois," the chief scenes of which are laid either in Spain or in Fairy Land.<sup>5</sup> These, and similar poetical inventions, constructed out of them by the Trouveurs of the North, became, in the next age, ma-

But "Tirant lo Blanch" was printed in 1490, in the Valencian dialect, and the Amadis appeared perhaps soon afterwards, in the Castilian; so that it is not improbable the "Chronicle of Don Roderic" may mark, by the time of its appearance, as well as by its contents and spirit, the change, of which it is certainly a very obvious monument.

<sup>2</sup> Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, first Dissertation, with the notes of Price, London, 1824, 4 vols. 8vo. Ellis's Specimens of Early English

Metrical Romance, London, 1811, 8vo, Vol. I. Turner's Vindication of Ancient British Poems, London, 1803, 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> Turpin, J., De Vitâ Caroli Magni et Rolandi, ed. S. Ciampi, Florentiæ, 1822, 8vo.

<sup>4</sup> Preface to the "Roman de Rou," by Robert Wace, ed. F. Pluquet, Paris, 1827, 8vo, Vol. I.

<sup>5</sup> Letter to M. de Monmerqué, by Paulin Paris, prefixed to "Li Romans de Berte aux Grans Piés," Paris, 1836, 8vo.

materials for the famous romances of chivalry in prose, which, during three centuries, constituted no mean part of the vernacular literature of France, and, down to our own times, have been the great mine of wild fables for Ariosto, Spenser, Wieland, and the other poets of chivalry, whose fictions are connected either with the stories of \* Arthur and his \* 198 Round Table, or with those of Charlemagne and his Peers.<sup>6</sup>

At the period, however, to which we have alluded, and which ends about the middle of the fourteenth century, there is no reasonable pretence that any such form of fiction existed in Spain. There, the national heroes continued to fill the imaginations of men, and satisfy their patriotism. Arthur was not heard of at all, and Charlemagne, when he appears in the old Spanish chronicles and ballads, comes only as that imaginary invader of Spain who sustained an inglorious defeat in the gorges of the Pyrenees. But in the next century things are entirely changed. The romances of France, it is plain, have penetrated into the Peninsula, and their effects are visible. They were not, indeed, at first, translated or versified; but they were imitated, and a new series of fictions was invented, which was soon spread through the world, and became more famous than either of its predecessors.

This extraordinary family of romances, whose descendants, as Cervantes says, were innumerable,<sup>7</sup> is the

<sup>6</sup> See, on the whole subject, the Essays of F. W. Valentine Schmidt; Jahrbücher der Literatur, Vienna, 1824 - 26, Bände XXVI. p. 20, XXIX. p. 71, XXXI. p. 99, and XXXIII. p. 16. I shall have occasion to use the last of these discussions, when speaking of the Spanish romances belonging to the family of Amadis.

<sup>7</sup> Don Quixote, in his conversation with the curate (Parte II. c. 1), says, that, to defeat any army of two hundred thousand men, it would only be necessary to have living "alguno de los del innumerable linage de Amadis de Gaula," — "any one of the numberless descendants of Amadis de Gaul."

family of which *Amadis de Gaula* is the poetical head and type. Our first notice of this remarkable book in Spain is from the latter part of the fourteenth century, by several poets in the *Cancionero* of Baena, but especially by Pedro Ferrus, who wrote a poem — perhaps contemporary with the event — on the death of Henry II. in 1379, and from the *Rimado de Palacio* of the Chancellor Ayala, parts of which, as we have seen, were written in 1398 and 1404.<sup>8</sup> But the *Amadis* is not to be accounted a Spanish romance originally, although its great reputation is due to Spain. Gomez Eannes de Zurara, keeper of the Archives \* 199 \* of Portugal in 1454, who wrote three striking chronicles relating to the affairs of his own country, leaves no substantial doubt that the author of the *Amadis of Gaul* was *Vasco de Lobeira*, a Portuguese gentleman who was attached to the court of John the First of Portugal, was armed as a knight by that monarch just before the battle of Aljubarotta, in 1385, and died in 1403.<sup>9</sup> The words of the honest and careful annalist are quite distinct on this point. He says he is unwilling to have his true and faithful book, the "*Chronicle of Count Pedro de Meneses*," confounded with such stories as "the book of *Amadis*, which was made entirely at the pleasure of one man, called *Vasco de Lobeira*, in the time of the King Don Ferdinand; all the things in the said book being invented by its author."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Ayala, in his "*Rimado de Palacio*," already cited (*ante*, Chap. V.), says: —

Plegomi otrosi oir muchas vegadas  
Libros de devaneos e mentiras probadas,  
Amadis e Lanzarote, e burlas assucadas,  
En que perdi mi tiempo a mui malas jornadas.

<sup>9</sup> Barbosa, *Bib. Lusitana*, Lisboa, 1752, fol., Tom. III. p. 775, and the many authorities there cited, none of

which, perhaps, is of much consequence, except that of João de Barros, who, being a careful historian, born in 1496, and citing an older author than himself, adds something to the testimony in favor of Lobeira.

<sup>10</sup> Gomez de Zurara, in the outset of his "*Chronicle of the Conde Don Pedro de Meneses*," says that he wishes to write an account only of "the things

Whether Lobeira had any older popular tradition or fancies about *Amadis*, or any other written version of the story, to quicken his imagination and marshal him the way he should go, we cannot now tell. He certainly had a knowledge of some of the old French romances, such as that of the *Saint Graal*, or *Holy Cup*, — the crowning fiction of the *Knights of the Round Table*,<sup>11</sup> — and distinctly \* acknowl- \* 200 edges himself to have been indebted to the Infante Alfonso, who was born in 1370, for an alteration made in the character of *Amadis*.<sup>12</sup> But that he was aided, as has been suggested, in any considerable degree, by fictions said to have been in Picardy in

that happened in his own times, or of those which happened so near to his own times that he could have true knowledge of them." This strengthens what he says concerning Lobeira, in the passage cited in the text from the opening of Chap. 63 of the *Chronicle*. The Ferdinand to whom Zurara there refers was the half-brother of John I., and died in 1383. The *Chronicle* of Zurara is published by the Academy of Lisbon, in their "*Coleção de Libros Ineditos de Historia Portuguesa*," Lisboa, 1792, fol., Tom. II. I have a curious manuscript "*Dissertation on the Authorship of the Amadis de Gaula*," by Father Sarmiento, who wrote the valuable fragment of a *History of Spanish Poetry* to which I have often referred. This learned Galician is much confused and vexed by the question; — first denying that there is any authority at all for saying Lobeira wrote the *Amadis*; then asserting that, if Lobeira wrote it, he was a Galician; then successively suggesting that it may have been written by Vasco Perez de Camões, by the Chancellor Ayala, by Montalvo, or by the Bishop of Cartagena, — all absurd conjectures, much connected with his prevailing passion to refer the origin of all Spanish poetry to Galicia. He does not seem to have been aware of the passage in Gomez de Zurara.

<sup>11</sup> The *Saint Graal*, or the *Holy Cup*

which the Saviour used for the wine of the Last Supper, and which, in the story of Arthur, is supposed to have been brought to England by Joseph of Arimathea, is alluded to in *Amadis de Gaula* (Lib. IV. c. 48). Arthur himself — "*El muy virtuoso rey Artur*" — is spoken of in Lib. I. c. 1, and in Lib. IV. c. 49, where "*the Book of Don Tristan and Launcelot*" is also mentioned. Other passages might be cited, but there can be no doubt the author of *Amadis* knew some of the French fictions. Nor can there be any doubt that the most famous of the fictions of chivalry were known in Spain at the same period, or a little later. The *Cancionero* of Baena is full of references to them. Indeed, Clemencin, in his notes to *Don Quixote* (Parte I. cap. 12), infers from a passage in the "*Gran Conquista de Ultramar*" that the story of Arthur and his *Round Table* was known in Spain as early as the thirteenth century.

<sup>12</sup> See the end of Chap. 40, Book I., in which he says, "*The Infante Don Alfonso of Portugal, having pity on the fair damsel [the Lady Briolania], ordered it to be otherwise set down, and in this was done what was his good pleasure.*" El Señor Infante Don Alfonso de Portugal aviendo piedad desta hermosa donzella de otra guisa lo mandasse poner. En esto hizo lo que su merced fue.

the sixteenth century, and claimed, without proof, to have been there in the twelfth, is an assumption made on too slight grounds to be seriously considered.<sup>13</sup> We must therefore conclude, from the few, but plain, facts known in the case, that the Amadis was originally a Portuguese fiction, produced about 1390, or a little earlier, and that Vasco de Lobeira was its author.

But the Portuguese original can no longer be found. At the end of the sixteenth century, we are assured, it was extant in manuscript in the archives of the Dukes of Aveiro, at Lisbon; and the same assertion is renewed, on good authority, about the year 1750. From this time, however, we lose all trace of it; and the most careful inquiries render it probable that this curious manuscript, about which there has been so much discussion, perished in the terrible earthquake and conflagration of 1755, when the palace occupied by the ducal family of Aveiro was destroyed, with all its precious contents.<sup>14</sup>

\* 201 \* The Spanish version, therefore, stands for us in place of the Portuguese original. It was made between 1492 and 1504, by Garcia Ordoñez de

<sup>13</sup> Ginguené, Hist. Litt. d'Italie, Paris, 1812, 8vo, Tom. V. p. 62, note (4), answering the Preface of the Comte de Tressan to his too free abridgment of the Amadis de Gaule (Œuvres, Paris, 1787, 8vo, Tom. I. p. xxii); and the dedication by Nicolas de Herberay of his fine old French translation, first printed in 1540, but of which my copy is 1548.

<sup>14</sup> The fact that it was in the Aveiro collection is stated in Ferreira, "Poemas Lusitanos," where is the sonnet, No. 33, by Ferreira in honor of Vasco de Lobeira, which Southey, in his Preface to his "Amadis of Gaul" (London, 1803, 12mo, Vol. I. p. vii), erroneously attributes to the Infante Antonio of Portugal, and thus would make it of consequence in the present discussion.

Nic. Antonio, who leaves no doubt as to the authorship of the sonnet in question, refers to the same note in Ferreira to prove the deposit of the manuscript of the Amadis; so that the two constitute only *one* authority, and not *two* authorities, as Southey supposes. (Bib. Vetus, Lib. VIII. cap. vii. sect. 291.) Barbosa is more distinct. (Bib. Lusitana, Tom. III. p. 775.) He says, "O original se conservava em casa dos Excellentissimos Duques de Aveiro." But there is a careful summing up of the matter in Clemencin's notes to Don Quixote (Tom. I. pp. 105, 106), beyond which it is not likely we shall advance in our knowledge concerning the fate of the Portuguese original.

Montalvo, governor of the city of Medina del Campo, and it is possible that it was printed for the first time during the same interval.<sup>15</sup> But no copy of such an edition is known to exist, nor any one of an edition sometimes cited as having been printed at Salamanca in 1510;<sup>16</sup> the earliest now accessible to us dating from 1519. Twelve more followed in the course of half a century, so that the Amadis succeeded, at once, in placing the fortunes of its family on the sure foundations of popular favor in Spain. It was translated into Italian in 1546, and was again successful; six editions of it appearing in that language in less than thirty years.<sup>17</sup> In France, beginning with the first attempt in 1540, it became such a favorite, that its reputation there has not yet wholly faded away;<sup>18</sup> while, elsewhere in Europe, a multitude of translations and imitations have followed, that seem to stretch out the line of the family, as Don Quixote declares, from the age immediately after the introduction of Christianity down almost to that in which he himself lived.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> In his Prólogo, Montalvo alludes to the conquest of Granada in 1492, and to *both* the Catholic sovereigns as still alive, one of whom, Isabella, died in 1504.

<sup>16</sup> I doubt whether the *Salamanca* edition of 1510, mentioned by Barbosa (article *Vasco de Lobeira*), is not, after all, the edition of 1519 mentioned in Brunet as printed by *Antonio de Salamanca*. The error in printing or copying would be small, and nobody but Barbosa seems to have heard of the one he notices. When the first edition appeared is quite uncertain.

<sup>17</sup> Ferrario, Storia ed. Analisi degli antichi Romanzi di Cavalleria (Milano, 1829, 8vo, Tom. IV. p. 242), and Brunet's Manuel; to all which should be added the "Amadigi" of Bernardo Tasso, 1560, constructed almost entirely from the Spanish romance, — a poem which, though no longer popular, had

much reputation in its time, and is much praised by Ginguené.

<sup>18</sup> For the old French version, see Brunet's "Manuel du Libraire"; but Count Tressan's *rifacimento*, first printed in 1779, has kept it familiar to French readers down to our own times. In German it was known from 1583, and in English from 1619; but the abridgment of it by Southey (London, 1803, 4 vols. 12mo) is the only form of it in English that can now be read. It was also translated into Dutch; and Castro, somewhere in his "Biblioteca," speaks of a Hebrew translation of it.

<sup>19</sup> "Casi que en nuestros dias vimos y comunicamos y oimos al invencible y valeroso caballero D. Belianis de Grecia," says the mad knight, when he gets to be maddest, and follows out the consequence of making Amadis live above two hundred years, and have descendants innumerable. (Parte I. c. 13.)

\* 202 \*The translation of Montalvo does not seem to have been very literal. It was, as he intimates, much better than the Portuguese in its style and phraseology; and the last part especially appears to have been more altered than either of the others.<sup>20</sup> But the structure and tone of the whole fiction are original, and much more free than those of the French romances that had preceded it. The story of Arthur and the Holy Cup is essentially religious; the story of Charlemagne is essentially military; and both are involved in a series of adventures previously ascribed to their respective heroes by chronicles and traditions, which, whether true or false, were so far recognized as to prescribe limits to the invention of all who subsequently adopted them. But the Amadis is of imagination all compact. No period of time is assigned to its events, except that they begin to occur soon

<sup>20</sup> Don Quixote, ed. Clemencin, Tom. I. p. 107, note. There is a difficulty about the original composition and construction of the Amadis, of which I was not aware when the first edition of this History was published (1849), and which I will now (1858) explain as well as I can, chiefly from the notes of Gayangos to his Translation (Tom. I. pp. 520-522), and from his "Discurso Preliminar" to the fortieth volume of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, which contains the Amadis and Esplandian.

The difficulty in question arises, I think, in a great degree from the circumstance that the Preface of Montalvo is given differently in the different early editions of the Amadis, and would lead to different inferences. In the one by Cromberger, 1520, which I have never seen, but which is cited by Gayangos, we are told of Montalvo, "que en su tiempo solo se conocian tres libros del Amadis, y que el añadió, trasladó, y enmendó el quarto." The same fact of its being originally known in three books is set forth in some of the poems in Baena's Cancionero, published 1851 (see notes pp. 648 and 677),

and especially in a poem by Pedro Ferrus, who, perhaps, wrote as early as 1379, but lived a good deal later. From these and other circumstances of less consequence, Gayangos infers that there was current in Spain an Amadis in three books before Lobeira prepared his version of the story, which can, he thinks, hardly have been much before 1390, as the Infante Alfonso, who induced him to modify the story of Briolania, was not born till 1370. (See ante, note 12.) But who can have written these three books, if they existed so early, or in what language they were written, is not even to be conjectured. Lobeira may have been their author as early as 1350 or 1360, and have altered the story of Briolania afterwards as late as 1390, to please the prince, as he says he did, and so the distinct and clear averment of Eannes de Zurara stand untouched. At any rate, I do not see how we can get behind his testimony that Lobeira was the author, or behind Montalvo's testimony that the Amadis we now possess was a translation made by him, with alterations and improvements.

after the very commencement of the Christian era; and its geography is generally as unsettled and uncertain as the age when its hero lived. It has no purpose, indeed, but to set forth the character of a perfect knight, and to \* illustrate the virtues of \* 203 courage and chastity as the only proper foundations of such a character.

Amadis, in fulfilment of this idea, is the son of a merely imaginary king of the imaginary kingdom of Gaula, which is intended not for Gaul, but Wales. His birth is illegitimate, and his mother, Elisena, a British princess, ashamed of her child, exposes him on the sea, where he is found by a Scottish knight, and carried, first to England, and afterwards to Scotland. In Scotland he falls in love with Oriana, the true and peerless lady, daughter of an imaginary Lisuarte, King of England. Meantime, Perion, King of Gaula, — another personage entirely unknown to history, — has married the mother of Amadis, who has by him a second son, named Galaor. The adventures of these two knights, partly in England, France, Germany, and Turkey, and partly in unknown regions and amidst enchantments, — sometimes under the favor of their ladies, and sometimes, as in the hermitage of the Firm Island, under their frowns, — fill up the book, which, after the strange journeyings of the principal knights, and an incredible number of combats between them and other knights, magicians, and giants, ends, at last, in the marriage of Amadis and Oriana, and the overthrow of all the enchantments that had so long opposed their love.

The Amadis is admitted, by general consent, to be the best of all the old romances of chivalry. One reason of this is, that it is more true to the manners and spirit of the age of knighthood; but the principal

reason is, no doubt, that it is written with a more free invention, and takes a greater variety in its tones than is found in other similar works. It even contains, sometimes,—what we should hardly expect in this class of wild fictions,—passages of natural tenderness and beauty, such as the following description of the young loves of Amadis and Oriana.

“Now, Lisuarte brought with him to Scotland Brisena, his wife, and a daughter that he had by her when he dwelt in Denmark, named Oriana, about ten years old, and the fairest creature that ever was seen; so fair, that she was called ‘Without Peer,’ since \* 204 in her time there \* was none equal to her. And because she suffered much from the sea, he consented to leave her there, asking the King, Languines, and his Queen, that they would have care of her. And they were made very glad therewith, and the Queen said, ‘Trust me that I will have such a care of her as her mother would.’ And Lisuarte, entering into his ships, made haste back into Great Britain, and found there some who had made disturbances, such as are wont to be in such cases. And for this cause, he remembered him not of his daughter, for some space of time. But at last, with much toil that he took, he obtained his kingdom, and he was the best king that ever was before his time, nor did any afterwards better maintain knighthood in its rights, till King Arthur reigned, who surpassed all the kings before him in goodness, though the number that reigned between these two was great.

“And now the author leaves Lisuarte reigning in peace and quietness in Great Britain, and turns to the Child of the Sea [Amadis], who was twelve years old, but in size and limbs seemed to be fifteen. He served

before the Queen, and was much loved of her, as he was of all ladies and damsels. But as soon as Oriana, the daughter of King Lisuarte, came there, she gave to her the Child of the Sea, that he should serve her, saying, ‘This is a child who shall serve you.’ And she answered that it pleased her. And the child kept this word in his heart, in such wise that it never afterwards left it; and, as this history truly says, he was never, in all the days of his life, wearied with serving her. And this their love lasted as long as they lasted; but the Child of the Sea, who knew not at all how she loved him, held himself to be very bold, in that he had placed his thoughts on her, considering both her greatness and her beauty, and never so much as dared to speak any word to her concerning it. And she, though she loved him in her heart, took heed that she should not speak with him more than with another; but her eyes took great solace in showing to her heart what thing in the world she most loved.

“Thus lived they silently together, neither saying aught to the other of their estate. Then came, at last, \* the time when the Child of the Sea, as \* 205 I now tell you, understood within himself that he might take arms, if any there were that would make him a knight. And this he desired because he considered that he should thus become such a man, and should do such things as that either he should perish in them, or, if he lived, then his lady should deal gently with him. And with this desire he went to the King, who was in his garden, and, kneeling before him, said, ‘Sire, if it please you, it is now time that I should be made a knight.’ And the king said, ‘How, Child of the Sea, do you already adventure to maintain knighthood? Know that it is a light matter