

language he spoke, and it had evidently grown common at his court, where the examples of his father and grandfather, as Troubadours, would hardly be without their effect. But, however this may be, he loved letters, and left behind him a large prose work, more in keeping than any poetry with his character as a wise monarch and successful conqueror, whose legislation and government were far in advance of the condition of his subjects.³¹

The work here referred to is a chronicle or commentary on the principal events of his reign, divided into four parts; — the first of which is on the troubles that followed his accession to the throne, after a long minority, with the rescue of Majorca and Minorca from the Moors, between 1229 and 1233; the second is on the greater conquest of the kingdom of Valencia, which was substantially ended in 1239, so that the hated misbelievers never again obtained any firm foothold in all the northeastern part of the Peninsula; the third is on the war James prosecuted in Murcia, till 1266, for the benefit of his kinsman, Alfonso * 284 the Wise, of Castile; and the last is * on the embassies he received from the Khan of Tartary, and Michael Palæologus of Constantinople, and on his own attempt, in 1268, to lead an expedition to Palestine, which was defeated by storms; both of which he reckoned among the greatest of his distinctions. The story, however, is continued to the end of

³¹ In the *Guía del Comercio de Madrid*, 1848, is an account of the disinterment, at Poblet, in 1846, of the remains of several royal personages who had been long buried there; among which the body of Don Jayme, after a period of five hundred and seventy years, was found remarkably preserved. It was easily distinguished by its size,

— for when alive Don Jayme was seven feet high, — and by the mark of an arrow-wound in his forehead which he received at Valencia, and which was still perfectly distinct. An eye-witness declared that a painter might have found in his remains the general outline of his physiognomy. (*Faro Industrial de la Habana*, 6 Abril, 1848.)

his reign by slight notices, which, except the last, preserve throughout the character of an autobiography; the very last, which, in a few words, records his death at Valencia, being the only portion written in the third person.

From this Chronicle of James the Conqueror there was early taken an account of the conquest of Valencia, beginning in the most simple-hearted manner with the conversation the king held at Alcañic (Alcañizas) with Don Blasco de Alagon and the Master of the Hospitallers, Nuch de Follalquer, who urge him, by his successes in Minorca, to undertake the greater achievement of the conquest of Valencia; and ending with the troubles that followed the partition of the spoils after the fall of that rich kingdom and its capital. This last work was printed in 1515, in a magnificent volume, where it serves for an appropriate introduction to the *Foros*, or privileges, granted to the city of Valencia from the time of its conquest down to the end of the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic;³² but the complete work, the Chronicle, did not appear till 1557, when it was published to satisfy a requisition of Philip the Second.³³

³² Its first title is "Aureum Opus Regalium Privilegiorum Civitatis et Regni Valentie," etc., but the work itself begins "Comença la conquesta per lo serenissimo e Catholich Princep de immortal memoria, Don Jaume," etc. It is not divided into chapters, nor paged; but it has ornamental capitals at the beginning of its paragraphs, and fills forty-two large pages in folio, double columns, litt. goth., and was printed, as its colophon shows, at Valencia, in 1515, by Diez de Gumiel.

Valencia was taken on the 28 Sept., 1238, and, in a few days, Moors to the number of about fifty thousand left it; — the lands and houses of the city and its adjacent territory being forthwith

distributed, by an authorized *repartimiento*, among the conquerors, according to the cruel system pursued by the Christians, who never recognized any right of the misbelievers to the soil of their country. (Aschbach, Tom. II. 1837, p. 189.) This system of *repartimientos* was, it may be remembered, carried by the Spaniards into Cuba, Mexico, etc., and wrought infinite mischief in their relations with the natives. Indeed, it was long before Spaniards anywhere willingly recognized the rights of heathen to anything but life, and not always to that.

³³ Rodriguez, *Biblioteca Valentina*, Valencia, 1747, fol., p. 574. Its title is "Crónica o Commentari del Glorio-

* 285 * It is written in a simple and manly style, which, without making pretensions to elegance, often sets before us the events it records with a living air of reality, and sometimes shows a happiness in manner and phraseology which effort seldom reaches. Whether it was undertaken in consequence of the impulse given to such vernacular histories by Alfonso the Tenth of Castile, in his "General Chronicle of Spain," or whether the intimations which gave birth to that remarkable Chronicle came rather from Aragon, we cannot now determine. Probably both works were produced in obedience to the demands of their age; but still, as both must have been written at nearly the same time, and as the two kings were united by a family alliance and constant intercourse, a full knowl-

sissim e Invictissim Rey En Jacme, Rey d' Aragò, de Mallorques, e de Valencia, Compte de Barcelona e de Urgell e de Muntpeiller, feita e escrita per aquell en sa llengua natural, e treita del Archiu del molt magnific Rational de la insigne Ciutat de Valencia, hon stava custodita." It was printed under the order of the Jurats of Valencia, by the widow of Juan Mey, in folio, in 1557. The Rational being the proper archive-keeper, the Jurats being the council of the city, and the work being dedicated to Philip II., who asked to see it in print, all needful assurance is given of its genuineness. Each part is divided into very short chapters; the first containing one hundred and five, the second one hundred and fifteen, and so on. A series of letters by Jos. Villaroya, printed at Valencia, in 1800 (8vo), to prove that James was not the author of this Chronicle, are ingenious, learned, and well written, but do not, I think, establish their author's position. Perhaps it is a fair offset to all he says to add that Francisco Diago, in his very respectable and careful "Anales de Valencia" (Valencia, 1613, fol.), treats Don Jaume as indubitably the author of the Chronicle in question (f. 272. b). Mariana, too, can have had no misgiv-

ings about it, from the way he has used it, especially in his fine chapter on the Conquest of Valencia, at the end of his twelfth Book.

A curious work connected with James the Conqueror was published, with some typographical luxury, at Palma, in Majorca, in 1848, carefully edited by D. Joaquin Maria Bover. It consists of five hundred and fifty-four poetical inscriptions, generally of eleven lines each, though a few of them extend to twelve, intended to illustrate the coats of arms of the same number of nobles and gentlemen who were at the taking of Valencia, and among whose names we find several afterwards famous in the history of the city. Their author, Jaime Febrer, who was with the Conqueror in his unfortunate expedition to the Holy Land in 1269, and was a person of some consequence at court, seems to have written these inscriptions in 1276, at the request of the Infante Pedro; but they have little value, except as monuments of the Lemosin or Provençal dialect then used in Valencia, where Febrer was born, on an estate given to his father in the *repartimiento* of the city when it was taken from the Moors. An edition of this work of Febrer was published at Valencia in 1796.

edge of whatever relates to these two important records of different parts of the Peninsula would hardly fail to show us some connection between them. In that case, it is by no means impossible that the precedence in point of time would be found to belong to the Chronicle of the King of Aragon, who was not only older than Alfonso, but was frequently his wise and efficient counsellor.³⁴

* But James of Aragon was fortunate in * 286 having yet another chronicler, Ramon Muntaner, born at Peralada, nine years before the death of that monarch; a Catalan gentleman who, in his old age, after a life of great adventure, felt himself to be specially summoned to write an account of his own times.³⁵ "For one day," he says, "being in my

³⁴ Alfonso was born in 1221, and died in 1284; and Jayme I., whose name, it should be noted, is also spelt Jaume, Jaime, and Jacme, was born in 1208, and died in 1276. It is probable, as I have already said, that Alfonso's Chronicle was written a little before 1260; but that period was twenty-one years after the date of *all* the facts recorded in Jayme's account of the conquest of Valencia. In connection with the question of the precedence of these two Chronicles may be taken the circumstance that it has been believed by some persons that Jayme attempted to make Catalan the language of the law and of all public records thirty years before the similar attempt already noticed was made by Alfonso X. in relation to the Castilian. Villanueva, *Viage Literario á las Iglesias de España*, Valencia, 1821, Tom. VII. p. 195.

Another work of the king remains in manuscript. It is a moral and philosophical treatise, called "Lo Libre de la Saviesa," or The Book of Wisdom, of which an account may be found in Castro, *Biblioteca Española*, Tom. II. p. 605.

³⁵ Probably the best notices of Muntaner are to be found in Antonio, *Bib. Vetus* (ed. Bayer, Vol. II. p. 145), and in the translation of his Chronicle by

Moisè, mentioned below. There is, however, one in Torres Amat, *Memorias* (p. 437), and there are other notices elsewhere. The title of his Chronicle is "Crónica o Descripcio dels Fets e Hazanyes del Inclyt Rey Don Jaume Primer, Rey Daragò, de Mallorques, e de Valencia, Compte de Barcelona, e de Muntpeiller, e de molts de sos Descendents, feta per lo magnific En Ramon Muntaner, lo qual servi axi al dit inclyt Rey Don Jaume com á sos Fills e Descendents, es troba present á las Coses contengudes en la present Historia." There are two old editions of it: the first, Valencia, 1558, and the second, Barcelona, 1562; both in folio, and the last consisting of two hundred and forty-eight leaves. It was evidently much used and trusted by Zurita. (See his *Anales*, Lib. VII. c. 1, etc.) A neat edition of it in large 8vo, edited by Karl Lanz, was published in 1844, by the Stuttgart Verein; and a translation of it into German, by the same accomplished scholar, appeared at Leipzig, in 1842, in two vols. 8vo. I have also an Italian translation of it by Filippo Moisè, made with care. It is in a work entitled "Cronache Catalane del Secolo XIII. e XIV. (Firenze, 1844, 2. 8vo), and comprises not only the Chronicle of Muntaner, but that of D'Esclop,

country-house, called Xilvella, in the garden plain of Valencia, and sleeping in my bed, there came unto me in vision a venerable old man, clad in white raiment, who said unto me, 'Arise, and stand on thy feet, Muntaner, and think how to declare the great wonders thou hast seen, which God hath brought to pass in the wars where thou wast; for it hath seemed well pleasing to Him that through thee should *287 *all these things be made manifest.'" At first,

he tells us, he was disobedient to the heavenly vision, and unmoved by the somewhat flattering reasons vouchsafed him why he was elected to chronicle matters so notable. "But another day, in that same place," he goes on, "I beheld again that venerable man, who said unto me, 'O my son, what doest thou? Why doest thou despise my commandment? Arise, and do even as I have bidden thee! And know, of a truth, if thou so doest, that thou and thy children, and thy kinsfolk, and thy friends, shall find favor in the sight of God.'" Being thus warned a second time, he undertook the work. It was, he tells us, the fifteenth day of May, 1325, when he began it; and, when it was completed, as it notices events which happened in April, 1328, it is plain that its composition must have occupied at least three years.

It opens very simply with a record of the earliest important event he remembered, a visit of the great conqueror of Valencia at the house of his father, when

which was written about the year 1300, and covers the period from 1207 to 1285. This last was published at Paris by Buchon, in 1840, and I have a translation of it into Castilian by Raphael Cervera, published at Barcelona, in 1616; but it is much abridged from the original, and is of little value. Zurita praises and uses D'Esclot much, and there is a great ingenuousness and simplicity in

his style. I have, also, a translation of so much of D'Esclot, or Desclot, as relates to the French invasion of Catalonia in 1285, printed at Madrid in 1793.

See on Muntaner, &c., G. Finlay, *Medieval Greece and Trebizond*, Edinburgh and London, 1851, 8vo, pp. 199, 200, — a learned and interesting book.

he was himself a mere child.³⁶ The impression of such a visit on the boyish imagination would naturally be deep; — in the case of Muntaner it seems to have been peculiarly so. From that moment the king became to him, not only the hero he really was, but something more; one whose very birth was miraculous, and whose entire life was filled with more grace and favor than God had ever before shown to living man; for, as the fond old chronicler will have it, "He was the goodliest prince in the world, and the wisest and the most gracious and the most upright, and one that was more loved than any king ever was of all men; both of his * own subjects and strangers, and of *288 noble gentlemen everywhere."³⁷

The life of the Conqueror, however, serves merely as an introduction to the work; for Muntaner announces his purpose to speak of little that was not within his own knowledge; and of the Conqueror's reign he could remember only the concluding glories. His Chronicle, therefore, consists chiefly of what happened in the time of four princes of the same house, and especially of Peter the Third, his chief hero. He ornaments his story, however, once with a poem two hundred and forty lines long, which he gave to James

³⁶ "E per ço començ al feyt del dit senyor, Rey En Jaume, com yol viu, e asenyaladament essent yo fadri, e lo dit senyor Rey essent á la dita vila de Peralada hon yo naxqui, e posa en l'alberch de mon pare En Joan Muntaner, qui era dels majors alberchs daquell lloch, e era al cap de la plaça" (Cap. II.). — "And therefore I begin with the fact of the said Lord Don James, as I saw him, and, namely, when I was a little boy, and the said Lord King was in the said city of Peralada, where I was born, and tarried in the house of my father, Don John Muntaner, which was one of the largest houses in that place, and was at the head of the square." *En*,

which I have translated *Don*, is the corresponding title in Catalan. See Andreu Bosch, *Titols de Honor de Catalunya*, etc., Perpinya, folio, 1628, p. 574.

³⁷ This passage reminds us of the beautiful character of Sir Launcelot, near the end of the "Morte Darthur," and, therefore, I transcribe the simple and strong words of the original: "E apres ques vae le pus bell princep del mon, e lo pus savi, e lo pus gracios, e lo pus dreturer, e cell qui fo mes amat de totes gents, axi dels seus sotsmesos com daltres estranys e privades gents, que Rey qui hanch fos." Cap. VII.

the Second and his son Alfonso, by way of advice and caution, when the latter was about to embark for the conquest of Sardinia and Corsica.³⁸

The whole work is attractive, and strongly marked with the character of its author;—a man brave, loving adventure and show; courteous and loyal; not without intellectual training, yet no scholar; and, though faithful and disinterested, either quite unable to conceal, or quite willing at every turn to exhibit, his good-natured personal vanity. His fidelity to the family of Aragon was admirable. He was always in their service; often in captivity for them; and engaged at different times in no less than thirty-two battles in defence of their rights, or in furtherance of their conquests from the Moors. His life, indeed, was a life of knightly loyalty, and nearly all the two hundred and ninety-eight chapters of his Chronicle are as full of its spirit as his heart was.

* 289 * In relating what he himself saw and did, his statements seem to be accurate, and are certainly lively and fresh; but elsewhere he sometimes falls into errors of date, and sometimes exhibits a good-natured credulity that makes him believe many of the impossibilities that were related to him. In his gay spirit and love of show, as well as in his simple but not careless style, he reminds us of Froissart, especially at the conclusion of the whole Chronicle, which he ends, evidently to his own satisfaction, with

³⁸ This poem is in Cap. CCLXXII. of the Chronicle, and consists of twelve stanzas, each of twenty lines, and each having all its twenty lines in one rhyme, the first rhyme being in *o*, the second in *ent*, the third in *ayle*, and so on. It sets forth the counsel of Muntaner to the king and prince on the subject of the conquest they had projected; counsel which the chronicler says was partly

followed, and so the expedition turned out well, but that it would have turned out better if the advice had been followed entirely. How good Muntaner's counsel was we cannot now judge; but his poetry is certainly naught. It is in the most artificial style used by the Troubadours, and is well called by its author a *sermo*. He says, however, that it was actually given to the king.

an elaborate account of the ceremonies observed at the coronation of Alfonso the Fourth at Saragossa, which he attended in state as syndic of the city of Valencia; the last event recorded in the work, and the last we hear of its knightly old author, who was then near his grand climacteric.

During the latter part of the period recorded by this Chronicle, a change was taking place in the literature of which it is an important part. The troubles and confusion that prevailed in Provence, from the time of the cruel persecution of the Albigenses, and the encroaching spirit of the North, which, from the reign of Philip Augustus, was constantly pressing down towards the Mediterranean, were more than the poetical, but not hardy, spirit of the Troubadours could resist. Many of them, therefore, fled; others yielded in despair; and all were discouraged. From the end of the thirteenth century, their songs are rarely heard on the soil that gave them birth three hundred years before. With the beginning of the fourteenth, the purity of their dialect disappears. A little later, the dialect itself ceases to be cultivated.³⁹

As might be expected, the delicate plant, whose flower was not permitted to expand on its native soil, did not long continue to flourish in that to which it was transplanted. For a time, indeed, the exiled Troubadours, who resorted to the court of James the Conqueror and * his father, gave to Saragossa and Barcelona something of the poetical grace that had been so attractive at Arles and Marseilles. But both these princes were obliged to protect

³⁹ Raynouard, in Tom. III., shows this; and more fully in Tom. V., in the list of poets. So does the Hist. Litt. de la France, Tom. XVIII. See,

also, Fauriel's Introduction to the poem on the Crusade against the Albigenses, pp. xv, xvi.

themselves from the suspicion of sharing the heresy with which so many of the Troubadours they sheltered were infected; and James, in 1233, among other severe ordinances, forbade to the laity the Limousin Bible, which had been recently prepared for them, and the use of which would have tended so much to confirm their language and form their literature.⁴⁰ His successors, however, continued to favor the spirit of the minstrels of Provence. Peter the Third was numbered amongst them; ⁴¹ and if Alfonso the Third and James the Second were not themselves poets, a poetical spirit was found about their persons and in their court; ⁴² and when Alfonso the Fourth, the next in succession, was crowned at Saragossa in 1328, we are told that several poems of Peter, the king's brother, were recited in honor of the occasion, one of which consisted of seven hundred verses.⁴³

But these are among the later notices of Provençal literature in the northeastern part of Spain, where it began now to be displaced by one taking its hue rather from the more popular and peculiar dialect of the country. What this dialect was, has already been intimated. It was commonly called the Catalan or Catalonian, from the name of the country, but probably, at the time of the conquest of Barcelona from the Moors in 985, it differed very little from the Provençal spoken at Perpignan, on the other side of the Pyrenees.⁴⁴ As, however, the Provençal became

⁴⁰ Castro, Biblioteca Española, Tom. I. p. 411, and Schmidt, Gesch. Aragoniens im Mittelalter, p. 465.

⁴¹ Latassa, Bib. Antigua de los Escritores Aragoneses, Tom. I. p. 242. Hist. Litt. de la France, Tom. XX. p. 529.

⁴² Antonio, Bib. Vetus, ed. Bayer, Tom. II. Lib. VIII. c. vi, vii, and Amat, p. 207. But Serveri of Girona,

about 1277, mourns the good old days of James I. (Hist. Litt. de la France, Tom. XX. p. 552), as if poets were, when he wrote, beginning to fail at the court of Aragon.

⁴³ Muntaner, Crónica, ed. 1562, fol. ff. 247, 248.

⁴⁴ Du Cange, Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, Parisiis, 1733, fol., Tom. I., Præfatio, sect. 34-36. Ray-

more cultivated and *gentle, the neglected *291 Catalan grew stronger and ruder; and when the Christian power was extended, in 1118, to Saragossa, and in 1239 to Valencia, the modifications which the indigenous vocabularies underwent, in order to suit the character and condition of the people, tended rather to confirm the local dialects than to accommodate them to the more advanced language of the Troubadours.

Perhaps, if the Troubadours had maintained their ascendancy in Provence, their influence would not easily have been overcome in Spain. At least, there are indications that it would not have disappeared so soon. Alfonso the Tenth of Castile, who had some of the more distinguished of them about him, imitated the Provençal poetry, if he did not write it; and even earlier, in the time of Alfonso the Ninth, who died in 1214, there are traces of its progress in the heart of the country, that are not to be mistaken.⁴⁵ But, failing in its strength at home, it failed abroad. The engrafted fruit perished with the stock from which it was originally taken. After the opening of the fourteenth century we find no genuinely Provençal poetry in

nouard (Troub., Tom. I. pp. xii and xiii) would carry back both the Catalonian and Valencian dialects to A. D. 728; but the authority of Luitprand, on which he relies, is not sufficient, especially as Luitprand shows that he believed these dialects to have existed also in the time of Strabo. The most that should be inferred from the passage Raynouard cites is, that they existed about 950, when Luitprand wrote, which it is hardly probable they did, even in their rudest elements, among the Christians in that part of Spain. Some good remarks on the connection of the south of France with Catalonia, and their common idiom, may be found in Capmany, Memorias Históricas de Bar-

celona (Madrid, 1779-92, 4to), Parte I., Introd., and the notes on it. The second and fourth volumes of this valuable historical work furnish many documents both curious and important for the illustration of the Catalan language. It was published at the expense of the "Junta de Comercio" of the city it honors.

⁴⁵ Millot, Hist. des Troubadours, Tom. II. pp. 186-201. Hist. Litt. de la France, Tom. XVIII. pp. 588, 634, 635. Diez, Troubadours, pp. 75, 227, and 331-350; but it may be doubted whether Riquier did not write the answer of Alfonso, as well as the petition to him given by Diez.

Castile, and after the middle of that century it begins to recede from Catalonia and Aragon, or rather to be corrupted by the harsher, but hardier, dialect spoken there by the mass of the people. Peter the Fourth, who reigned in Aragon from 1336 to 1387, shows the conflict and admixture of the two influences in such portions of his poetry as have been published, as well as in a letter he addressed to his son;⁴⁶—

* 292 * a confusion, or transition, which we should probably be able to trace with some distinctness, if we had before us the dictionary of rhymes, still extant in its original manuscript, which was made at this king's command, in 1371, by Jaume March, a member of the poetical family that was afterwards so much distinguished.⁴⁷ In any event, there can be no reasonable doubt that, soon after the middle of the fourteenth century, if not earlier, the proper Catalan dialect began to be perceptible in the poetry and prose of its native country.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Bouterwek, *Hist. de la Lit. Española*, traducida por Cortina, Tom. I. p. 162. Latassa, *Bib. Antigua*, Tom. II. pp. 25-38.

⁴⁷ Bouterwek, trad. Cortina, p. 177. This manuscript, which ought to be published, was once owned by Ferdinand Columbus, son of the great discoverer, and is still to be found amidst the ruins of his library in Seville, with a memorandum by himself, declaring that he "bought it at Barcelona, in June, 1536, for 12 dineros, the ducat

then being worth 588 dineros." See, also, the notes of Cerdá y Rico to the "Diana Enamorada" of Montemayor, 1802, pp. 487-490 and 293-295.

⁴⁸ Bruce Whyte (*Histoire des Langues Romanes et de leur Littérature*, Paris, 1841, 8vo, Tom. II. pp. 406-414) gives a striking extract from a manuscript in the Royal Library, Paris, which shows this mixture of the Provençal and Catalan very plainly. He implies that it is from the middle of the fourteenth century; but he does not prove it.

* CHAPTER XVII.

* 293

ENDEAVORS TO REVIVE THE PROVENÇAL SPIRIT.—FLORAL GAMES AT TOULOUSE.—CONSISTORY OF THE GAYA SCIENCIA AT BARCELONA.—CATALAN AND VALENCIAN POETRY.—AUSIAS MARCH.—JAUME ROIG.—DECLINE OF THIS POETRY.—INFLUENCE OF CASTILE.—POETICAL CONTEST AT VALENCIA.—VALENCIAN POETS WHO WROTE IN CASTILIAN.—PREVALENCE OF THE CASTILIAN.

THE failure of the Provençal language, and especially the failure of the Provençal culture, were not looked upon with indifference in the countries on either side of the Pyrenees, where they had so long prevailed. On the contrary, efforts were made to restore both, first in France, and afterwards in Spain. At Toulouse, on the Garonne, not far from the foot of the mountains, the magistrates of the city determined, in 1323, to form a company or guild for this purpose; and, after some deliberation, constituted it under the name of the "Sobregaya Companhia dels Sept Trobadors de Tolosa," or the Very Gay Company of the Seven Troubadours of Toulouse. This company immediately sent forth a letter, partly in prose and partly in verse, summoning all poets to come to Toulouse on the first day of May, in 1324, and there "with joy of heart contend for the prize of a golden violet," which should be adjudged to him who should offer the best poem suited to the occasion. The concourse was great, and the first prize was given to a poem in honor of the Madonna, by Ramon Vidal de Besalú, a Catalan gentleman, who seems to have been the author of the regulations for the festival, and to have been declared a doctor of the *Gay Saber*