My time, and learn My bread to earn, By service hard At watch and ward, To hunt the game, Wild hawks to tame, On horse to prance, In hall to dance, To carve, to play, And make my way.18

* The poem, its author tells us, was written * 303 in 1460, and we know that it continued popular long enough to pass through five editions before 1562. But portions of it were so offensive to the church, that when, in 1735, it was thought worth while to print it anew, its editor, in order to account for the large omissions he was obliged to make, resorted to the amusing expedient of pretending he could find no copy of the old editions which was not deficient in the passages he left out of his own.19 Of course, Roig is

> 18 Sorti del llit, E mig guarit, A peu ani Seguint fortuna. Un Cavaller, Gran vandoler, Dantitch llinatge, Me pres per patge Ab ell vixqui, Fins quem ixqui, Ja home fet. Ab lhom discret Temps no hi perdi, Dell aprengui, Armes seguir, Fuy cacador, De Cetreria, Menescalia. Sonar, ballar, Ell men nostrà

Libre de les Dones, Primera Part del Primer Libre, ed. 1561, 4to, f. xv. b.

The "Cavaller, gran vandoler, dantitch linatge," whom I have called, in the translation, "a highway knight, of an-notary, some literary and connected cient right," was one of the successors with his native dialect. He died in of the marauding knights of the Middle Ages, who were not always without Fuster, Tom. II. p. 69.)

generosity, or a sense of justice, and whose character is well set forth in the accounts of Roque Guinart or Rocha Guinarda, the personage referred to in the text, and found in the Second Part of Don Quixote (Capp. 60 and 61). He and his followers are all called by Cervantes Bandoleros, and are the "banished men" of "Robin Hood" and "The Nut Brown Maid." They took their name of Bandoleros from the shoulder-belts they wore. Calderon's "Luis Perez, el Gallego" is founded on the history of a Bandolero supposed to have lived in the time of the Armada, 1588.

19 The editor of the last edition that has appeared is Carlos Ros, a curious collection of Valencian proverbs by whom (in 12mo, Valencia, 1733) I have seen, and who published several other works, some in Valencian and some in Castilian; some legal and connected with his profession as an apostolical 1773. (Ximeno, Tom. II. p. 291. not much read now. His indecency and the obscurity of his idiom alike cut him off from the polished portions of Spanish society; though out of his free and spirited satire much may be gleaned to illustrate the tone of manners and the modes of living and thinking in his time.

The death of Roig brings us to the period when the literature of the eastern part of Spain, along the shores of the Mediterranean, began to decline.20 Its decay was *the natural, but melancholy, *304 result of the character of the literature itself, and of the circumstances in which it was accidentally placed It was originally Provençal in its spirit and elements, and had therefore been of quick rather than of firm growth; - a gay vegetation, which sprang forth spontaneously with the first warmth of the spring, and which could hardly thrive in any other season than the gentle one that gave it birth. As it gradually advanced, carried, by the removal of the seat of political power, from Aix to Barcelona, and from Barcelona to Saragossa, it was constantly approaching the literature that had first appeared in the mountains of the Northwest, whose more vigorous and grave character it was ill fitted to resist. When, therefore, the two came in contact, there was but a short struggle for the supremacy. The victory was almost immediately decided in favor of that which, springing from the elements

A poetical satire on woman, recalling born about 1437 and died in 1517, to us that of Roig, was composed, apparently about the same period, by date or place of publication, and makes that of Roig. See Gayangos in Hist, de la Lit. Española, 1851, Tom. I. pp. 539,

20 Pere Miguel Carbonell, who was 535-537.

wrote between 1495 and 1513, in Catalan, the "Chroniques de Espanya," Francesch de Lavia, and is entitled which were published in 1546, and are "Libre de Fra Bernat." It is without often cited for the history of Catalonia and Aragon. But his poetry, which, a small volume of forty-one leaves, even with other miscellaneous works by him more indecent, it should seem, than of less value, is still in MS., is partly in Castilian. An account of the whole may be found in the Spanish translation of this History, Tom. I. 1851, pp.

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of a strong and proud character, destined to vindicate for itself the political sway of the whole country, was armed with a power to which its more gay and gracious rival could offer no effective opposition.

The period when these two literatures, advancing

from opposite corners of the Peninsula, finally met, cannot, from its nature, be determined with much precision. But, like the progress of each, it was the result of political causes and tendencies which are obvious and easily traced. The family that ruled in Aragon had, from the time of James the Conqueror, been connected with that established in Castile and the North; and Ferdinand the Just, who was crowned in Saragossa in 1412, was a Castilian prince; so that, from this period, both thrones were absolutely filled by members of the same royal house; and Valencia and Burgos, as far as their courts touched and controlled the literature of either, were, to a great degree, under the same influences. And this control was neither slight nor inefficient. Poetry in that age every-*305 where sought shelter under courtly favor, * and in Spain easily found it. John the Second was a professed and successful patron of letters; and, when Ferdinand came to assume the crown of Aragon, he was accompanied by Don Enrique de Villena, a nobleman whose great fiefs lay on the borders of Valencia, but who, notwithstanding his interest in the Southern literature, and in the Consistory of Barcelona, yet spoke the Castilian as his native language, and wrote in no other. We may, therefore, well believe that, in the reigns of Ferdinand the Just and Alfonso the Fifth, between 1412 and 1458, the influence of the North began to make inroads on the poetry of the South, though it does not appear that either March or Roig, or any one of their immediate school, proved habitually unfaithful to his native dialect.

At length, forty years after the death of Villena, we find a decided proof that the Castilian was beginning to be known and cultivated on the shores of the Mediterranean. In 1474 a poetical contest was publicly held at Valencia, in honor of the Madonna; - a sort of literary jousting, like those so common afterwards in the time of Cervantes and Lope de Vega. Forty poets contended for the prize. The Viceroy was present. It was a solemn and showy occasion; and all the poems offered were printed the same year by Bernardo Fenollar, Secretary of the meeting, in a volume which is valued as the second book known to have been printed in Spain, and the first of any

note.21 Four of these poems are *in Castilian. *306

laroya" (Valencia, 1796, 8vo, pp. 55-

That city, however, can no longer claim the honor which Villaroya and others till 1833 gave it of having introduced the art of printing into Spain; for it has been ascertained that a small, poor grammar, or grammatical treatise, numeration, and the only copy of it know to exist, which is in the Trinita-rios Descalzos of Vich, is luckily quite perfect. It professes to be taken from a work of Bartolomeus Mates by Johannes Matoses; — both of them person-ages quite unknown to me. A tract, setting forth the discovery of this bered to her honor, favored the intro-

²¹ Fuster, Tom. I. p. 52, and Men- unique monument of early printing, dez, Typographia Española, p. 56. Roig is one of the competitors. The best account of this curious and important Jaime Ripoll, Vich. As the work in book — of which only one copy is known to exist, and which, like most colophon to be "mira arte impressum other incunabula, has no title-page— per Johannem Gherling, Alamannum"; is to be found in the "Disertacion sobre adding, further on, "finitur Barcynone el origen del nobilisimo arte tipografico y su introduccion y uso en la Ciudad de Valencia, ec., Escribióla D. José Vilduble Vild lieve has been raised. Earlier, how-66); - a well-considered treatise, so far ever, Capmany, in his "Memorias" as the early printing in Valencia is con- (1779, 4to, Tom. I. p. 256), had, without giving any grounds for it, peremptorily claimed for Barcelona the honor of introducing printing into Spain; but Mendez, in his "Typografia" (1796, pp. iii, 56, and 59), had on such good grounds assigned it to Valencia, that, as Capmany, who was not averse from was printed earlier in Barcelona. This treatise consists of fifty leaves, without generally admitted that he had fallen into an error, until this tract of Ripoll appeared, and settled the fact that the oldest book now known to have been printed in Spain was finished at Barce-Iona, on the 5th of October, 1468. I

This leaves no doubt that Castilian verse was now deemed a suitable entertainment for a popular audience at Valencia. Fenollar, too, who wrote, besides what appears in this contest, a small volume of poetry on the Passion of our Saviour, has left us at least one cancion in Castilian, though his works were otherwise in his native dialect, and were composed apparently for the amusement of his friends in Valencia, where he was a person of consideration, and in whose University, founded in 1499, he was a professor.22

Probably Castilian poetry was rarely written in Valencia during the fifteenth century, while, on the other hand, Valencian was written constantly. "The Suit of the Olives," for instance, wholly in that dialect, was composed by Jaume Gazull, Fenollar, and Juan Moreno, who seem to have been personal friends, and who united their poetical resources to produce this satire, in which, under the allegory of olive-trees, and in language not always so modest as good taste requires, they discuss together the dangers to which the young and the old are respectively exposed from the solicitations of worldly pleasure.23 Another dialogue, by the same three poets, in the same dialect, soon followed, dated in 1497, which is supposed to

*307 have occurred in the bedchamber * of a lady just recovering from the birth of a child, in

duction of printing and of foreign books into Spain. (Mem. de la Acad. de Hisprinted at Valencia, in 1493 and 1564. toria, Tom. VI. 1821, pp. 244 and 430,

which is examined the question whether young men or old make the best husbands; an inquiry decided by Venus in favor of the young, and ended, most inappropriately, by a religious hymn.24 Other poets were equally faithful to their vernacular; among whom were Juan Escriva, ambassador of the Catholic sovereigns to the Pope, in 1497, who was perhaps the last person of high rank that wrote in it; 25 and Vincente Ferrandis, concerned in a poetical contest in honor of Saint Catherine of Siena, at Valencia, in 1511, whose poems seem, on other occasions, to have carried off public honors, and to have been, from their sweetness and power, worthy of the distinction they won.26

Meantime, Valencian poets are not wanting who wrote more or less in Castilian. Francisco Castelví, a friend of Fenollar, is one of them. 27 Another is Narcis Viñoles, who flourished in 1500, who wrote in Tuscan as well as in Castilian and Valencian, and who evidently thought his native dialect somewhat barbarous.28 A

^{23 &}quot;Lo Process de les Olives è Disputa del Jovens hi del Vels" was first note.)

22 Ximeno, Tom. I. p. 59; Fuster,
Tom. I. p. 51; and the Diana of Polo,
ed. Cerdá y Rico, p. 317. His poems
are in the "Cancionero General," 1573

puta del Jovens hi del Vels" was first
printed in Barcelona, 1532. But the
copy I use is of Valencia, printed by
Joan de Arcos, 1561 (18mo, forty leaves).
One or two other poets took part in (leaves 240, 251, 307), in the "Obres de Ausias March" (1560, f. 134), and in the "Process de les Olives," mentioned in the next note. The "Histo-

²⁴ There is an edition of 1497 (Mendez, p. 88); but I use one with this title : "Comença lo Somni de Joan Jaume Gaçull, Cavaller, Natural de Valencia, en Valencia, 1561" (18mo). At the end is a humorous poem by Gaçull, in reply to Fenollar, who had spoken slightingly of many words used in Valencian, which Gaçull defends. It is called "La Brama dels Llauradors del Orto de Valencia." Gaçull also oc-curs in the "Process de les Olives," and in the poetical contest of 1474.
See his life in Ximeno, Tom. I. p. 59,
and Fuster, Tom. I. p. 37.

25 Ximeno, Tom. I. p. 64.
26 The poems of Ferrandis are in the

Cancionero General of Seville, 1535, ff. 17, 18, and in the Cancionero of Antwerp, 1573, ff. 31-34. The notice of the certamen of 1511 is in Fuster, Tom. I. pp. 56-58; but he has committed mistakes in his account of it, as explained by Don P. de Gayan-

Some other poets in the ancient Valencian have been mentioned, as Juan Roiz de Corella (Ximeno, Tom. I. p. 62), a friend of the unhappy Prince Cárlos de Viana; two or three, by no means without merit, who remain anonymous (Fuster, Tom. I. pp. 284 - 293); and several who joined in a *certamen* at Valencia, in 1498, in honor of St. Christopher (Ibid., pp. 296, 297). But the attempt to press into the service and to place in the thirteenth century as Limousin the manuscript in the Escurial containing the poems of Sta. María Egypciaca and King Apollonius, already referred to (ante, p. 24) as among the earliest Castilian poems, is necessarily a failure. (Ibid., p. 284.)

27 Cancionero General, 1573, f. 251,

and elsewhere.

²⁸ Ximeno, Tom. I. p. 61. Fuster, Tom. I. p. 54. Cancionero General, 1573, ff. 241, 251, 316, 318. Cerdá's notes to Polo's Diana, 1802, p. 304. Viñoles, in the Prólogo to the translation of the Latin Chronicle, noticed on

Parnas mes numerosa en las Poesías of Valencian prejudices. varias del Atlant del Cel Poétic, lo Dr. The literary history of Vicent Garcia" (Barcelona, 1700, 4to, 201 pp.). There has been some question about the proper date of the control of the period when its native dialect proper date of the control of the period when its native dialect proper date of the control of the period when its native dialect proper date of the control of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when its native dialect proper date of the period when tion about the proper date of this edi-tion, and therefore I give it as it is in my copy. (See Torres Amat, Memorias, pp. 271 - 274.) It consists chiefly of lyrical poetry, sonnets, décimas, re-dondillas, ballads, etc.; but at the end is a drama called "Santa Barbara," in three short jornadas, with forty or fifty personages, some allegorical and some supernatural, and the whole as fantas-tic as anything of the age that produced it. Another edition of Garcia's Works was printed at Barcelona in 1840, and Pintoresco, 1843, p. 84. He was much liked and favored by Philip IV., who found him a pleasant assistant and actor in his improvisated plays; but, notwithstanding this, Vicente led a miserable life at Madrid.

descendants of Muntaner and March.33

83 The Valencian has always remained

Be His Works were first printed with loses no occasion of honoring it; but the following title: "La Armonía del he was a native of Valencia, and full

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that of the more recent period during which the Castilian has enjoyed the supremacy, has been illustrated with remarkable diligence and success. The first person who devoted himself to it was Josef Rodriguez, a learned ecclesiastic, who was born in its capital in 1630, and died there in 1703, just at the moment when his "Biblioteca Valentina" was about to be issued from the press, and when, in fact, all but a few pages of it had been printed. But though it was so near to publication, a long time elapsed before it finally appeared; for his friend, Ignacio Savalls, to whom the duty of completing it was intrusted, and who at once busied himself with his task, died, at last, in 1746, without having quite accomplished it.

Meanwhile, however, copies of the a sweet dialect. Cervantes praises it for imperfect work had got abroad, and its "honeyed grace" more than once.
See the second act of the "Gran Sultana," and the opening of the twelfth chapter in the third book of "Persiles and Sigismunda." Mayans y Siscar

Imperiect work had got abroad, and one of them came into the hands of Vicente Ximeno, a Valencian as well as Rodriguez, and, like him, interested in the literary history of his native kingdom. At first, Ximeno conceived the

third is Juan Tallante, whose religious poems *308 * are found at the opening of the old General Cancionero.29 A fourth is Luis Crespi, member of the ancient family of Valdaura, and in 1506 head of the University of Valencia.30 And among the latest, if not the very last, was Fernandez de Heredia, who died in 1549, of whom we have hardly anything in Valencian, but much in Castilian.31 Indeed, that the Castilian, in the early part of the century, had obtained a real supremacy in whatever there was of poetry and elegant literature along the Mediterranean, cannot be doubted; for, before the death of Heredia, Boscan had already deserted his native Catalonian, and begun to form a school in Spanish literature that has never since disappeared; and, shortly afterwards, Timoneda and his followers showed, by their successful representation of Castilian farces in the public squares of Valencia, that the ancient dialect had ceased to be insisted upon in its own capital. The language of the court of Castile had, for such purposes, become the prevailing language of all the South.

This, in fact, was the circumstance that determined the fate of all that remained in Spain on the foundations of the Provençal refinement. The crowns of Aragon and Castile had been united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella; the court had been removed from Saragossa, though that city still claimed the dignity of being regarded as an independent

p. 195, says, "He has ventured to begin, I believe, all the Cancioneros stretch out his rash hand and put it Generales from 1511 to 1573. stretch out his rash hand and put it into the pure, elegant, and gracious Castilian, which, without falsehood or flattery, may, among the many barbarous and savage dialects of our own Spain, be called Latin-sounding and most elegant." (Suma de Todas las Crónicas, Valencia, 1510, folio, f. 2.)

29 The religious poems of Tallante

Generales from 1511 to 1573.

20 Cancionero General, 1573, ff. 238, 248, 300, 301. Fuster, Tom. I. p. 65; and Cerdá's notes to Gil Polo's Diana, p. 306.

31 Ximeno, Tom. I. p. 102. Fuster, Tom. I. p. 87. Diana de Polo, ed. Cerdá, 326. Cancionero General, 1573, ff. 185, 222, 225, 228, 230, 305 – 307.

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sort, peculiar to the occasion. We feel as if a portion of the world's intelligence were extinguished; as if we were ourselves cut off from a part of the intellectual inheritance to which we had in many respects an equal right with those who destroyed it, and which they were bound to pass down to us unimpaired as they themselves had received it. The same feeling pursues us even when, as in the case of the Greek or Latin, the people that spoke it had risen to the full height of their refinement, and left behind them monuments by which all future times can measure and share their glory. But our regret is deeper when the language of a people is cut off in its youth, before its character is fully developed; when its poetical attributes are just beginning to appear, and when all is bright with promise and hope.84

TRIUMPH OF THE CASTILIAN.

* This was singularly the misfortune and the *311 fate of the Provençal and of the two principal dialects into which it was modified and moulded. For the Provençal started forth in the darkest period Europe had seen since Grecian civilization had first dawned on the world. It kindled, at once, all the South of France with its brightness, and spread its influence, not only into the neighboring countries, but even to the courts of the cold and unfriendly North. It flourished long, with a tropical rapidity and luxuriance, and gave token, from the first, of a light-hearted spirit, that promised, in the fulness of its strength, to produce a poetry, different, no doubt, from that of antiquity, with which it had no real connection, but yet a poetry as fresh as the soil from which it sprang,

* The degradation of the two more refined * 310 dialects in the southern and eastern parts of Spain, which was begun in the time of the Catholic sovereigns, may be considered as completed when the seat of the national government was settled, first in Old and afterwards in New Castile; since, by this circumstance, the prevalent authority of the Castilian was finally recognized and insured. The change was certainly neither unreasonable nor ill-timed. The language of the North was already more ample, more vigorous, and more rich in idiomatic constructions; indeed, in almost every respect, better fitted to become national than that of the South. And yet we can hardly follow and witness the results of such a revolution but with feelings of a natural regret; for the slow decay and final disappearance of any language bring with them melancholy thoughts, which are, in some

project of completing the work of his er to use its materials in preparing on the same subject another and a larger one of his own, whose notices should come down to his own time. This he soon completed, and published it at Valencia, in 1747-49, in two volumes, folio, with the title of "Escritores de Valencia," — not, however, so quickly that the Biblioteca of Rodriguez had not been fairly launched into the world, in the same city, in 1747, a few months before the first volume of Ximeno's appeared, and not always with the care and exactness shown by his learned predecessor, whose work he used somewhat too freely.

The dictionary of Ximeno, who died in 1764, brings down the literary history of Valencia to 1748, from which date to 1829 it is continued by the "Biblioteca Valenciana" of Justo Pastor Fuster (Valencia, 1827 - 30, 2 tom., folio), a valuable work, containing a great number of new articles for the earlier period embraced by the labors of Rodriguez and Ximeno, and making additions to many which they had left imperfect.

In the five volumes, folio, of which predecessor; but soon determined rath- the whole series consists, there are 2841 articles. How many of those in Ximeno relate to authors noticed by Rodriguez, and how many of those in Fuster relate to authors noticed by either or both of his predecessors, I have not examined; but the number is, I think, smaller than might be anticipated; while, on the other hand, the new articles and the additions to the old ones are more considerable and important. Perhaps, taking the whole together, no portion of Europe equally large has had its intellectual history more carefully investigated than the kingdom of Valencia;—a circumstance the more remarkable, if we bear in mind that Rodriguez, the first person who undertook the work, was, as he says, the first who attempted such a labor in any modern language, and that Fuster, the last of them, though evidently a man of curious learning, was by occupation a bookbinder, and was led to his investigations, in a considerable degree, by his interest in the rare books that were, from time to time, intrusted to his mechanical skill.

regret, and have never reconciled them- than the prouder one that has so far selves heartily to the use of the Castilian; holding their own dialect to have Iglesias, Valencia, 1821, 8vo, Tom. VII. been, in the time of Ferdinand and Isa- p. 202.)

³⁴ The Catalans have always felt this bella, more abundant and harmonious displaced it. (Villanueva, Viage á las

and as genial as the climate by which it was quickened. But the cruel and shameful war of the Albigenses drove the Troubadours over the Pyrenees, and the revolutions of political power and the prevalence of the spirit of the North crushed them on the Spanish shores of the Mediterranean. We follow, therefore, with a natural and inevitable regret, their long and wearisome retreat, marked as it is everywhere with the wrecks and fragments of their peculiar poetry and cultivation, from Aix to Barcelona, and from Barcelona to Saragossa and Valencia, where, oppressed by the prouder and more powerful Castilian, what remained of the language that gave the first impulse to poetical feeling in modern times sinks into a neglected dialect, and, without having attained the refinement that would preserve its name and its glory to future times, becomes as much a dead language as the Greek or the Latin.35

35 One of the most valuable monu- lencia, ec. (pp. 89, sqq.), and McCrie's ments of the old dialects of Spain is a translation of the Bible into Valencian, made by Bonifacio Ferrer, who died in 1477, and was the brother of St. Vin-1477, and was the brother of St. Vincent Ferrer. It was printed at Valencia, in 1478 (folio), but the Inquisition came so soon to suppress it that it never not entirely unlike those in the last came so soon to suppress it that it never exercised much influence on the literature or language of the country; every copy of it having been destroyed so effectually that only one leaf - the very last one, containing from verse 9, of chap. xx., to the end of the Book of Revelation and the colophon — is now known to exist. (Ocios de Españoles emigrados, 8vo, Londres, 1824, Tom. I. pp. 36–40. Ximeno, Bib. Tom. I. p. 20. Fuster, Bib. Tom. I. p. 15.) It seems probable that MS. copies of this version were made which escaped the Inquisition, and that one of them is now in the National Library at Paris; a fact which could easily be settled by a comparison of the remaining printed leaf,

"Reformation in Spain" (Edinburgh, pages of this chapter, and to which I would refer both to illustrate and to justify my own.

Some investigations on the subject of the Provençal dialects may be found in the Crusca Provenzale of Antonio Bastero (Roma 1724. Fol. pp. 20, sqq.), which have the more value because Bastero was a Catalan and a passionate lover of his native dialect. "La lingua Provenzale," he says, p. 5, "e la stessa appunto che la mia materna Catalana"; and his object in this work was to make a dictionary which should do for it what the dictionary of the Della Cruscans had done for the Tuscan. He, however, published only one which may be found in Castro,
*312 Bib. *Española (Tom. I. pp. 444448), Villaroya, Arte tipog. en Va448), Villaroya, Arte tipog. en Vatroductory matter; and as he lived long

lieve, - it was written in Italian and sion on the early Catalan literature, published at Rome. It is a very remarkable book to have been composed may be found in the introductory porby a Spaniard in the reign of Philip V., full of learning and of original research from MS. sources, but not always judicious or reliable. He died at Barcelona in 1737, sixty-two years old, and there is a notice of him in the Diario de los der Geschichte Spanien's, 1849, pp. 50, Literatos, 1738, Tom. IV. p. 379.

A pleasant and philosophical discus-

may be found in the introductory por-