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* CHAPTER XIX.

THE MARQUIS OF SANTILLANA. — HIS LIFE. — HIS TENDENCY TO IMITATE THE ITALIAN AND THE PROVENÇAL. — HIS COURTLY STYLE. — HIS WORKS. — HIS CHARACTER. — JUAN DE MENA. — HIS LIFE. — HIS SHORTER POEMS. — HIS LABYRINTH, AND ITS MERITS.

NEXT after the king and Don Enrique de Villena in rank, and much before them in merit, stands, at the head of the courtiers and poets of the reign of John the Second, Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana; one of the most distinguished members of that great family which has sometimes claimed the Cid for its founder,¹ and which certainly, with a long succession of honors, reaches down to our own times.² He was born in 1398, but was left an orphan in early youth; so that, though his father, the Grand Admiral of Castile, had, at the time of his death, larger possessions than any other nobleman in the kingdom, the son, when he was old enough to know their value, found them chiefly wrested from him by the bold

¹ Perez de Guzman, *Generaciones y Semblanzas*, Cap. 9.

² This great family is early connected with the poetry of Spain. The grandfather of Inigo sacrificed his own life voluntarily to save the life of John I. at the battle of Aljubarrota, in 1385, and became in consequence the subject of that stirring and glorious ballad, —

Si el cavallo vos han muerto,
Subid, Rey, en mi cavallo.

Salazar y Mendoza, in his *Cronica del gran Cardenal de España* (Toledo, 1625, folio, Lib. I. c. 10), says that this remarkable ballad was written by Hurtado de Velarde, and gives a version of it different from any known

to me; one both simpler and better. See *ante*, Chap. VII. note 18. Luis Velez de Guera made a drama on this ballad, taking the first lines of it for the title of his play. Velarde is, also, himself the author of a drama entitled "Los Siete Infantes de Lara," which is written, as announced, "in the old language," and which is in a volume of plays printed at Alcalá, 1615, and sometimes reckoned as the fifth volume of Lope de Vega's *Comedias*. Figueroa, in his "Plaza Universal," published the same year, 1615, referring to this peculiarity in the style, pronounces Velarde *unico en el lenguaje antiguo*. See f. 323. b, where, however, the name is spelt Belarde.

barons who, in the most lawless manner, then divided among themselves the power and resources of the crown.

But the young Mendoza was not of a temper to submit patiently to such wrongs. At the age of sixteen he already figures in the chronicles of the time, as one of the dignitaries of state who attended the coronation of * Ferdinand of Aragon;³ and * 332 at the age of eighteen, we are told, he boldly reclaimed his possessions, which, partly through the forms of law and partly by force of arms, he recovered.⁴ From this period we find him, during the reign of John the Second, busy in the affairs of the kingdom, both civil and military; always a personage of great consideration, and apparently one who, in difficult circumstances and wild times, acted from manly motives. When only thirty years old, he was distinguished at court as one of the persons concerned in arranging the marriage of the Infanta of Aragon;⁵ and, soon afterwards, had a separate command against the Navarrese, in which, though he suffered a defeat from greatly superior numbers, he acquired lasting honor by his personal bravery and firmness.⁶ Against the Moors he commanded long, and was often successful; and after the battle of Olmedo, in 1445, he was raised to the very high rank of Marquis; none in Castile having preceded him in that title except the family of Villena, already extinct.⁷

³ *Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo*, Año 1414, Cap. 2.

⁴ It is Perez de Guzman, uncle of the Marquis, who declares (*Generaciones y Semblanzas*, Cap. 9) that the father of the Marquis had larger estates than any other Castilian knight; to which may be added what Oviedo says so characteristically of the young nobleman, that, "as he grew up, he recovered his estates,

partly by law and partly by force of arms, and so began forthwith to be accounted much of a man." *Batalla I. Quinquagena i. Diálogo 8*, MS.

⁵ *Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo*, Año 1428, Cap. 7.

⁶ Sanchez, *Poesías Anteriores*, Tom. I. pp. v, etc.

⁷ *Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo*, Año 1438, Cap. 2; 1445, Cap. 17; and Sala-

He was early but not violently opposed to the great favorite, the Constable Alvaro de Luna. In 1432, some of his friends and kinsmen, the good Count Haro and the Bishop of Palencia, with their adherents, having been seized by order of the Constable, Mendoza shut himself up in his strongholds till he was fully assured of his own safety.⁸ From this time, therefore, the relations between two such personages could not be considered friendly; but still appearances were

kept up, and the next year, at a grand jousting * 333 before the king in Madrid, * where Mendoza offered himself against all comers, the Constable was one of his opponents; and, after the encounter, they feasted together merrily and in all honor.⁹ Indeed, the troubles between them were inconsiderable till 1448 and 1449, when the hard proceedings of the Constable against others of the friends and relations of Mendoza led him into a more formal opposition,¹⁰ which in 1452 brought on a regular conspiracy between himself and two more of the leading nobles of the kingdom. The next year the favorite was sacrificed.¹¹ In the last scenes, however, of this extraordinary tragedy, the Marquis of Santillana seems to have had little share.

The king, disheartened by the loss of the minister on whose commanding genius he had so long leaned for support, died in 1454. But Henry the Fourth, who followed on the throne of Castile, seemed even more willing to favor the great family of the Mendozas than his father had been. The Marquis, however, was

zar de Mendoza, Dignidades de Castilla, Lib. III. c. 14.

⁸ Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo, Año 1432, Capp. 4 and 5.

⁹ Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo, Año 1433, Cap. 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Año 1449, Cap. 11. To these

dark years (1450-1454) we may probably refer the "Lamentacion en profecia de la segunda Destruycion de España," which, by its force and eloquence, reminds us of the "Perdida de España," in the Crónica General.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Año 1452, Capp. 1, etc.

little disposed to take advantage of his position. His wife died in 1455, and the pilgrimage he made on that occasion to the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, and the religious poetry he wrote the same year, show the direction his thoughts had now taken.¹² In this state of mind he seems to have continued; and though he once afterwards joined effectively with others to urge upon the king's notice the disordered and ruinous state of the kingdom, yet, from the fall of the Constable to the time of his own death, which happened in 1458, the Marquis was chiefly busied with letters, and with such other occupations and thoughts as were consistent with a retired life.¹³

* It is remarkable that one who, from his * 334 birth and position, was so much involved in the affairs of state at a period of great confusion and violence, should yet have cultivated elegant literature with earnestness. But the Marquis of Santillana, as he wrote to a friend, and repeated to Prince Henry, believed that knowledge neither blunts the point of the lance, nor weakens the arm that wields a knightly sword.¹⁴ He therefore gave himself freely to poetry and other graceful accomplishments; encouraged, perhaps, by the thought that he was thus on the road to

¹² He was very devout in his service to the Madonna, in reference to whom he used for a motto, "Dios y vos."

¹³ The principal facts in the life of the Marquis of Santillana are to be gathered—as, from his rank and consideration in the state, might be expected—out of the Chronicle of John II., in which he constantly appears after the year 1414; but a very lively and successful sketch of him is to be found in the fourth chapter of Pulgar's "Claros Varones," and an ill-digested biography in the first volume of Sanchez, "Poesías Anteriores," together with a long and elaborate one by Amador de los Ríos, making above a hundred pages

in his careful and valuable edition of Santillana's works, 1852. Moreover, the glories of the Marquis, and of the house of Mendoza, both before and after him, are amply set forth in the History of Guadalaxara, by Alonso Nuñez de Castro, the chronicler (Fol., 1653). Indeed, his name and position were so great, that all who discuss his times must notice the important part he bore in them.

¹⁴ In the "Introduction (sic) del Marques á los Proverbios," Anvers, 1552, 18mo, f. 150. "Fago de este trabajo reposo de los otros," he says neatly in his letter or "Question" to the Bishop of Burgos.

please the wayward monarch he served, if not to conciliate the stern favorite who governed them all. One who was bred at the court, of which the Marquis was so distinguished an ornament, says, "He had great store of books, and gave himself to study, especially the study of moral philosophy, and of things foreign and old. And he had always in his house doctors and masters, with whom he discoursed concerning the knowledge and the books he studied. Likewise, he himself made other books in verse and in prose, profitable to provoke to virtue and to restrain from vice. And in such wise did he pass the greater part of his leisure. Much fame and renown, also, he had in many kingdoms out of Spain; but he thought it a greater matter to have esteem among the wise, than name and fame with the many."¹⁵

The works of the Marquis of Santillana show, with sufficient distinctness, the relations in which he stood to his times, and the direction he was disposed to take. From his social position, he could easily gratify any reasonable literary curiosity or taste he might possess; for the resources of the kingdom were open to him, and he could, therefore, not only obtain for his private study the poetry then abroad in the world, but * 335 could often * command to his presence the poets themselves. He was born in the Asturias, where his great family fiefs lay, and was educated in Castile; so that, on this side, he belonged to the genuinely indigenous school of Spanish poetry. But then he was also intimate with Don Enrique de Villena, the head of the poetical Consistory of Barcelona, who, to encourage his poetical studies, addressed to him, in 1433, his curious letter on the art of the Troubadours

¹⁵ Pulgar, Claros Varones, ut supra.

which Don Enrique thus proposed to introduce into Castile.¹⁶ And, after all, he lived chiefly at the court of John the Second, and was the friend and patron of the poets there, through whom and through his love of foreign letters it was natural he should come in contact with the great Italian masters, now exercising a wide sway within their own peninsula, and already known in Spain. We must not be surprised, therefore, to find that his own works belong more or less to each of these schools, and define his position as that of one who stands connected with the Provençal literature in Spain, which we have just examined; with the Italian, whose influences were now beginning to appear; and with the genuinely Spanish, which, though it often bears traces of each of the others, is destined to prevail at last over both of them.

Of his familiarity with the Provençal poetry, abundant proof may be found in the Preface to his Proverbs, which he wrote when young, and in his letter to the Constable of Portugal, which belongs to the latter period of his life. In both he treats the rules of that poetry as well founded, explaining them much as his friend and kinsman, Don Enrique de Villena, did; and of some of the principal of its votaries in Spain, such as Berguedan, and Pedro and Ausias March, he speaks with great respect.¹⁷ To Jordi, his contemporary, he elsewhere devotes an allegorical poem of some length and merit, intended to do him the highest honor as a Troubadour.¹⁸

But, besides this, he directly imitated the Provençal * poets. By far the most beautiful * 336

¹⁶ See the preceding notice of Villena.
¹⁷ In the Introduction to his Proverbs he boasts of his familiarity with the Provençal rules of versifying.

¹⁸ It is in the oldest Cancionero General, and copied from that into Faber's "Floresta," No. 87.

of his works, and one which may well be compared with the most graceful of the smaller poems in the Spanish language, is entirely in the Provençal manner. It is called "Una Serranilla," or A Little Mountain Song, and was composed on a little girl, whom, when following his military duty, he found tending her father's herds on the hills. Many such short songs occur in the later Provençal poets, under the name of "Pastoretas," and "Vaqueiras," one of which, by Giraud Riquier,—the same person who wrote verses on the death of Alfonso the Wise,—might have served as the very prototype of the present one, so strong is the resemblance between them. But none of them, either in the Provençal or in the Spanish, has ever equalled this "Serranilla" of the manly soldier; which, besides its inherent simplicity and liquid sweetness, has such grace and lightness in its movement that it bears no marks of an unbecoming imitation, but, on the contrary, is rather to be regarded as a model of the natural old Castilian song, never to be transferred to another language, and hardly to be imitated with success in its own.¹⁹

¹⁹ The *Serranas* of the Arcipreste de Hita were noticed when speaking of his works; but the ten by the Marquis of Santillana approach nearer to the Provençal model, and have a higher poetical merit. For their form and structure, see Diez, *Troubadours*, p. 114. The one specially referred to in the text is so beautiful that I add a part of it, with the corresponding portion of the one by Riquier.

Moza tan fermosa
Non vi en la frontera,
Como una vaquera
De la Finojosa.

En un verde prado
De rosas e flores,
Guardando ganado
Con otros pastores,
La vi tan fermosa,
Que apenas creyera,

Que fuese vaquera
De la Finojosa.

Sanchez, *Poesías Anteriores*, Tom. I. p. xlv.

The following is the opening of that by Riquier:—

Gaya pastorelha
Trobey l'autre dia
En una ribeira,
Que per cant la belha
Sos anhelos tenia
Desotz un ombreira;
Un capelh fazia
De flors e sezia,
Sus en la fresqueria, etc.

Raynouard, *Troubadours*, Tom. III. p. 470.

Serranilla and *serrana* are derived from *sierra*, "a mountain range," which looks, at a distance, like a *sierra*,—"a saw." None of the Provençal poets, I think, wrote so beautiful *Pastoretas* as Riquier; so that the Marquis chose a good model.

The traces of Italian culture in the poetry of the Marquis of Santillana are no less obvious and important. Besides praising Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio,²⁰ he *imitates the opening of the *337 "Inferno" in a long poem, in octave stanzas, on the death of Don Enrique de Villena;²¹ while, in the "Coronation of Jordi," he shows that he was sensible to the power of more than one passage in the "Purgatorio."²² Moreover, he has the merit—if it be one—of introducing the peculiarly Italian form of the Sonnet into Spain; and with the different specimens of it that still remain among his works begins the ample series which, since the time of Boscan, has won for itself so large a space in Spanish literature. Forty-two sonnets of the Marquis of Santillana have been published, which he himself declares to be written in "the Italian fashion," and appeals to Cavalcante, Guido d'Ascoli, Dante, and especially Petrarch, as his predecessors and models; an appeal hardly necessary to one who has read them, so plain is his desire to imitate the greatest of his masters. The sonnets of the Marquis of Santillana, however, have little merit, except in their careful versification, and were soon forgotten.²³

But his principal works were more in the manner then prevalent at the Spanish court. Most of them

²⁰ See the Letter to the Constable of Portugal.

²¹ Cancionero General, 1573, f. 34. It was, of course, written after 1434, that being the year Villena died.

²² Faber, *Floresta* ut sup.

²³ Sanchez, *Poesías Anteriores*, Tom. I. pp. xx, xxi, xi. Quintana, *Poesías Castellanas*, Madrid, 1807, 12mo, Tom. I. p. 13. There are imperfect discussions about the introduction of sonnets into Spanish poetry in Argote de Molina's "Discurso," at the end of the "Conde Lucanor" (1575, f. 97), and in

Herrera's edition of Garcilasso (Sevilla, 1580, 8vo, p. 75). But all doubts are put at rest, and all questions answered, in the edition of the "Rimas Ineditas de Don Inigo Lopez de Mendoza," published at Paris, by Ochoa (1844, 8vo), and in the more ample and better edition of them by Don J. Amador de los Rios (Madrid, 1852); where, in a letter by the Marquis, dated May 4, 1444, and addressed, with his Poems, to Doña Violante de Pradas, he tells her expressly that he imitated the Italian masters in the composition of his poems.

are in verse, and, like a short poem to the queen, several riddles, and a few religious compositions, are full of conceits and affectation, and have little value of any sort.²⁴ Two or three, however, are of consequence.

One called "The Complaint of Love," and re-
* 338 ferring apparently * to the story of Macias, is written with fluency and sweetness, and is curious as containing lines in Galician, which, with other similar verses and his letter to the Constable of Portugal, show that he extended his thoughts to this ancient dialect, where are found some of the earliest intimations of Spanish literature.²⁵ Another poem attributed to him, which has been called "The Ages of the World," is a compendium of universal history, beginning at the creation and coming down to the time of John the Second, with a gross compliment to whom it ends. It was written in 1426, and fills three hundred and thirty-two stanzas of double *redondillas*, dull and prosaic throughout.²⁶ The third is a moral poem, thrown into the shape of a dialogue between Bias and Fortune, setting forth the Stoical doctrine of the worthlessness of all outward good. It consists of a hundred and eighty octave stanzas in the short Spanish measure, and was written for the consolation of a cousin and much-loved friend of the Toledo family,

²⁴ They are found in the Cancionero General of 1573, ff. 24, 27, 37, 40, and 234.

The Marquis had little regard for popular poetry. Dividing *all* poetry into three classes, — *Sublime*, like that of the Greeks and Romans; *Middling*, like that of the Italians and Provençals; and *Low*, — he describes the latter thus: "*infimos* son aquellos que sin ningunt orden, regla, ni cuento facen estos *romances* è cantares de que la gente baxa è de servil condiccion se alegra." Proemio al Condestable, in Sanchez, Poesías Anteriores, Tom. I. p. LIV.

²⁵ Sanchez, Poesías Anteriores, Tom. I. pp. 143-147.

²⁶ It received its name from Ochoa, who first printed it in his edition of the Marquis's Poems (pp. 97-240); but Amador de los Rios, in his "Estudios sobre los Judios de España" (Madrid, 1848, 8vo, p. 342), gives reasons which induce him to believe it to be the work of Pablo de Sta. Maria, who will be noticed hereafter. The Señor Amador, therefore, has not included it in his edition of the works of the Marquis of Santillana; but has renewed and reinforced his objections to it in his Preface (pp. CLXXXII, sqq.).

whose imprisonment in 1448, by order of the Constable, caused great troubles in the kingdom, and contributed to the final alienation of the Marquis from the favorite.²⁷ The fourth is on the kindred subject of the fall and death of the Constable himself, in 1453; a poem in fifty-three octave stanzas, each of two *redondillas*, containing a confession supposed to have been made by the victim on the scaffold, partly to the multitude and partly to his priest.²⁸ In both of the last two poems, and especially in the dialogue between Bias and Fortune, passages of merit are found, which are not *only* fluent, but strong; not only terse and pointed, but graceful.²⁹

* But the most important of the poetical * 339 works of the Marquis of Santillana is one approaching the form of a drama, and called the "Comedieta de Ponza," or The Little Comedy of Ponza. It is founded on the story of a great sea-fight on the coast of Naples, near the island of Ponza, in 1435, where the Kings of Aragon and Navarre, and the Infante Don Henry of Castile, with many noblemen and knights, were taken prisoners by the Genoese, — a disaster to Spain, which fills a large space in the old national chronicles.³⁰ The poem of Santillana, written immediately after the occurrence of the calamity it commemorates, is called a Comedy, because its conclusion is happy, and Dante is cited as authority for this

²⁷ Faber, Floresta, No. 743. Sanchez, Tom. I. p. xli. Claros Varones de Pulgar, ed. 1775, p. 224. Crónica de D. Juan II, Año 1448, Cap. 4.

²⁸ Cancionero General, 1573, f. 37.

²⁹ Two or three other poems are given by Ochoa: the "Pregunta de Nobles," a sort of moral lament of the poet, that he cannot see and know the great men of all times; the "Doze Trabajos de Erceles," which has sometimes been confounded with the prose work of Vil-

lena bearing the same title; and the "Infierno de los Enamorados," which was afterwards imitated by Garcí Sanchez de Badajoz. All three are short, and of little value.

³⁰ For example, Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo, Año 1435, Cap. 9. But, perhaps, the best account to illustrate the Comedieta is in Bart. Facius de Rebus Gestis ab Alfonso, etc., Lib. IV. Lugduni, 1560, fol.

use of the word.³¹ But in fact it is a dream or vision; and one of the early passages in the "Inferno," imitated at the very opening, leaves no doubt as to what was in the author's mind when he wrote it.³² The Queens of Navarre and Aragon, and the Infante Doña Catalina, as the persons most interested in the unhappy battle, are the chief speakers. But Boccaccio is also a principal personage, though seemingly for no better reason than that he wrote the treatise on the Disasters of Princes; and, after being addressed very solemnly in this capacity by the three royal ladies and by the Marquis of Santillana himself, he answers no less solemnly in his native Italian. Queen Leonora then gives him an account of the glories and grandeur of her house, accompanied with auguries of misfortune, which are hardly uttered before a letter comes announcing their fulfilment in the calamities of the battle of Ponza. The queen mother, after hearing the contents of this letter quite through, falls as one dead.

Fortune, in a female form, richly attired, enters, * 340 and consoles * them all; first showing a magnificent perspective of past times, with promises of still greater glory to their descendants, and then fairly presenting to them in person the very princes whose captivity had just filled them with such fear and grief. And this ends the Comedieta.

It fills a hundred and twenty of the old Italian octave stanzas, — such stanzas as are used in the "Filostrato" of Boccaccio, — and much of it is written in easy verse. There is a great deal of ancient learning introduced into it awkwardly and in bad taste;

³¹ In the letter to Doña Violante de Pradas, where he says he began it immediately after the battle.

³² Speaking of the dialogue he heard

about the battle, the Marquis says, using almost the very words of Dante, —

Tan pauroso,
Que solo en pensarlo me vence piedad.

but there is one passage in which a description of Fortune is skilfully borrowed from the seventh canto of the "Inferno," and another in which is a pleasing paraphrase of the *Beatus ille* of Horace.³³ The machinery and management of the story, it is obvious, could hardly be worse; and yet when it was written, and perhaps still more when it was declaimed, as it may have been, before some of the sufferers in the disaster it records, it may well have been felt as an effective description of a very grave passage in the history of the time. On this account, too, it is still interesting.

The Comedieta, however, was not the most popular, if it was the most important, of the works of Santillana. That distinction belongs to a collection of Proverbs, which he made at the request of John the Second, for the education of his son Henry, afterwards Henry the Fourth. It consists of a hundred rhymed sentences, each generally containing one proverb, and so sometimes passes under the name of the "Centiloquio." The proverbs themselves are no doubt often taken from that unwritten wisdom of the common people, for which, in this form, Spain has always been more famous than any other country; but, in the general tone he has * adopted, and in many * 341 of his separate instructions, the Marquis is rather indebted to King Solomon and the New Testament. Such as they are, however, they had — perhaps from their connection with the service of the heir-

³³ As a specimen of the best parts of the Comedieta, I copy the paraphrase from a manuscript, better, I think, than that used by Ochoa: —

ST. XVI.

Benditos aquellos, que, con el açada,
Sustentan sus vidas y biven contentos,
Y de quando en quando conocen morada,
Y sufren placentes las lluvias y vientos.
Ca estos no temen los sus movimientos,
Nin saben las cosas del tiempo pasado,

Nin de las presentes se hacen cuidado,
Nin las venideras do an nascimientos.

ST. XVII.

Benditos aquellos que siguen las fieras
Con las gruesas redes y canes ardidos,
Y saben las troxas y las delanteras,
Y fieren de arcs en tiempos devidos.
Ca estos por sana no son comovidos,
Nin vana cobdicia los tiene sujetos,
Nin quieren tesoros, ni sienten defetos,
Nin turba fortuna sus libres sentidos.

apparent — a remarkable success, to which many old manuscripts, still extant, bear witness. They were printed, too, as early as 1496; and, in the course of the next century, nine or ten editions of them may be reckoned, generally encumbered with a learned commentary by Doctor Pedro Diaz of Toledo. They have, however, no poetical value, and interest us only from the circumstances attending their composition, and from the fact that they form the oldest collection of proverbs made in modern times.³⁴

In the latter part of his life, the fame of the Marquis of Santillana was spread very widely. Juan de Mena says that men came from foreign countries merely to see him;³⁵ and the young Constable of Portugal — the same prince who afterwards entered into the Catalonian troubles, and claimed to

* 342 be King of Aragon — formally * asked him for

³⁴ There is another collection of proverbs made by the Marquis of Santillana, first printed in 1508, that is to be found in Mayans y Siscar, "Origenes de la Lengua Castellana" (Tom. II. pp. 179, etc.). They are, however, neither rhymed nor glossed; but simply arranged in alphabetical order, as they were gathered from the lips of the common people, or, as the collector says, "from the old women in their chimney-corners." For an account of the printed editions of the *rhymed* proverbs prepared for Prince Henry, see Mendez, *Typog. Esp.*, p. 196, and Sanchez, *Tom. I. p. xxxiv.* The seventeenth proverb, or that on Prudence, may be taken as a fair specimen of the whole, all being in the same measure and manner. It is as follows: —

Si fueres gran eloquente
Bien sera
Pero mas te convendra
Ser prudente.
Que el prudente es obediente
Todavia
A moral filosofia
Y sirviente.

Twenty of the hundred proverbs have a prose commentary by the Marquis himself; but neither have these the good

fortune to escape the learned discussions of the Toledan Doctor, who was the chaplain and religious friend of the Marquis. A commentary in the same verse, employed by the Marquis on fifty-five of the Proverbs, omitting the eighth, by Luis de Aranda (see *post*, Chap. XXI.), first printed at Granada in 1575, may be found in Nipho's *Cajon de Sastre* (1781, Tom. V. pp. 211–255); but it is tedious and unprofitable.

The same Pero Diaz, who burdened the Proverbs of the Marquis of Santillana with a commentary, prepared, at the request of John II., a collection of proverbs from Seneca, which were first printed in 1482, and afterwards went through several editions. (Mendez, *Typog.*, pp. 266 and 197.) I have one of Seville, 1500 (fol., sixty-six leaves). They are about one hundred and fifty in number, and the gloss with which each is accompanied seems in better taste and more becoming its position than it does in the case of the rhymed proverbs of the Marquis.

³⁵ In the Preface to the "Coronacion," *Obras*, Alcalá, 1566, 12mo, f. 260.

his poems, which the Marquis sent, with a letter on the poetic art, by way of introduction, written between 1448 and 1455, and containing notices of such Spanish poets as were his predecessors or contemporaries; a letter which is, in fact, the most important single document we now possess touching the early literature of Spain. It is one, too, which contrasts favorably with the epistle he himself received on a similar subject, twenty years before, from Don Enrique de Villena, and shows how much he was in advance of his age in the spirit of criticism, and in a well-considered love of letters.³⁶

Indeed, in all respects we can see that he was a remarkable man; one thoroughly connected with his age, and strong in its spirit. His conduct in affairs, from his youth upwards, shows this. So does the tone of his Proverbs, that of his letter to his imprisoned cousin, and that of his poem on the death of Alvaro de Luna. He was a poet, also, though not of a high order; a man of much reading, when reading was rare;³⁷ and a critic, who showed judgment, when judgment and the art of criticism hardly went together. And, finally, he was the founder of an Italian and courtly school in Spanish poetry, one, on the whole, adverse to the

³⁶ This important letter — which, from the notice of it by Argote de Molina (*Nobleza*, 1588, f. 335), was a sort of acknowledged introduction to the *Cancionero* of the Marquis — is found, with learned notes to it, in the first volume of Sanchez. The Constable of Portugal, to whom it was addressed, died in 1466.

³⁷ I do not account him learned, because he had not the accomplishment common to all learned men of his time, — that of speaking Latin. This appears from the very quaint and rare treatise of the "Vita Beata," by Juan de Lucena, his contemporary and friend, where (ed. 1483, fol., f. ii. b)

the Marquis is made to say, "Me veo defetuoso de letras Latinas," and adds that the Bishop of Burgos and Juan de Mena would have carried on in Latin the discussion recorded in that treatise, instead of carrying it on in Spanish, if he had been able to join them in that learned language. That the Marquis could read Latin, however, is probable from his works, which are full of allusions to Latin authors, and sometimes contain imitations of them. He himself alludes to his ignorance of Latin in a letter to his son studying at the University of Salamanca. *Obras*, 1852, p. 482.