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* CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CANCIONEROS OF BAENA, ESTUÑIGA, AND MARTINEZ DE BURGOS. — THE CANCIONERO GENERAL OF CASTILLO. — ITS EDITIONS. — ITS DIVISIONS, CONTENTS, AND CHARACTER.

THE reigns of John the Second and of his children, Henry the Fourth and Isabella the Catholic, over which we have now passed, extend from 1407 to 1504, and therefore fill almost a complete century, though they comprise only two generations of sovereigns. Of the principal writers who flourished while they sat on the throne of Castile we have already spoken, whether they were chroniclers or dramatists, whether they were poets or prose-writers, whether they belonged to the Provençal school or to the Castilian. But, after all, a more distinct idea of the poetical culture of Spain during this century than can be readily obtained in any other way is to be gathered from the old Cancioneros; those ample magazines, filled almost entirely with the poetry of the age that preceded their formation.

Nothing, indeed, that belonged to the literature of the fifteenth century in Spain marks its character more plainly than these large and ill-digested collections. The oldest of them, to which we have more than once referred, was the work of Juan Alfonso de Baena, a converted Jew, and one of the secretaries or scribes and accountants of John the Second. It dates, from internal evidence, between the years 1449 and 1454, and was made, as the compiler tells us in his preface,

chiefly to please the King, but also, as he adds, in the persuasion that it would not be disregarded by the Queen, the heir-apparent, and the court and nobility in general. For this purpose, he says, he had brought * together the works of all the Spanish * 388 poets who, in his own or any preceding age, had done honor to what he calls "the very gracious art of the *Gaya Ciencia*."

On examining the Cancionero of Baena, however, we find that quite one third of the three hundred and eighty-four manuscript pages it fills are given to Villasandino, — who died about 1424, and whom Baena pronounces "the prince of all Spanish poets," — and that almost the whole of the remaining two thirds is divided among Diego de Valencia, Francisco Imperial, Baena himself, Fernan Perez de Guzman, and Ferrant Manuel de Lando; while the names of nearly fifty other persons, some of them reaching back, as that of Villasandino does, to the reign of Henry the Second, are affixed to a multitude of short poems, of which, probably, they were not in all cases the authors. A little of it, like some of what is attributed to Macias, is in the Galician dialect; but by far the greater part was written by Castilians, who valued themselves upon their fashionable tone more than upon anything else, and who, in obedience to the taste of their time, generally took the light and easy forms of Provençal verse, and as much of the Italian spirit as they comprehended and knew how to appropriate. Of poetry, except in some of the shorter pieces of Ferrant Lando, Francisco Imperial, and Perez de Guzman, the Cancionero of Baena contains little.¹

¹ Accounts of the Cancionero of Baena are found in Castro, "Biblioteca Española" (Madrid, 1785, folio, Tom. I. pp. 265-346); in Puybusque, "His-

* 389 * Many similar collections were made about the same time, enough of which remain to show that they were among the fashionable wants of the age, and that there was little variety in their character. Among them was the Cancionero in the Limousin dialect already mentioned;² that called Lope de Stuñaiga's or Estuñaiga's, which comprises works of about forty authors;³ that collected in 1464

toire Comparée des Littératures Espagnole et Française" (Paris, 1843, 8vo, Tom. I. pp. 393-397); in Ochoa, "Manuseritos" (Paris, 1844, 4to, pp. 281-286); and in Amador de los Rios, "Estudios sobre los Judios" (Madrid, 1848, 8vo, pp. 408-419). The copy used by Castro was probably from the library of Queen Isabella (Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., Tom. VI. p. 458, note), and is now in the National Library, Paris. Its collector, Baena, is sneered at in the Cancionero of Fernan Martinez de Burgos (Memorias de Alfonso VIII. por Mondexar, Madrid, 1783, 4to, App. cxxxix), as a Jew who wrote vulgar verses.

Since this note was thus far written and printed, the Cancionero of Baena has been published, — somewhat luxuriously and in excellent taste, — at the expense of the Marquis Pidal, from the Manuscript formerly in the Escorial, but which, in 1818, I saw in the Royal, now National Library at Madrid, and made extracts from it that are still in my possession. At this time (1852), however, it is in the National Library at Paris, numbered 1932. It is probably the very copy presented to John II., and is the only early MS. of this Cancionero known to exist. The edition now printed from it is entitled "Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena (Siglo xv) ahora por primera vez dado á Luz, con notas y comentarios." (Madrid, 1851, large octavo, pp. lxxxvii and 732.) It is excellently edited, with a learned philosophical and acute preface by Don P. J. Pidal, and notes by Ochoa, Duran, Gayangos, and others; the text being preceded by two carefully prepared fac-similes of the Manuscript.

Of its authors I have already spoken in part (*ante*, Chap. XX.). It contains

two hundred and forty-four poems by Villasandino, and thirty-one by Ferrant Manuel de Lando; besides which, it should be added that there are seventy-eight by Baena himself, fourteen by Fernan Perez de Guzman, thirteen by Ruy Paez de Ribera, sixteen by Ferrant Sanchez Calavera, and forty-three by Diego de Valencia; — these being the principal authors. The whole number of poets who are represented in it is, I believe, fifty-one; and the whole number of anonymous poems, including those by "a Doctor," "a Friar," &c., is about forty. The entire number of the poems contained in it is five hundred and seventy-six. Some of them are in the more popular tone, of which there was little trace in the selections made by Castro. These are not without the spirit of poetry.

The poems in this Cancionero that are probably not by the persons whose names they bear are short and trifling, — such as might be furnished to men of distinction by humble versifiers, who sought their protection or formed a part of their courts. Thus, a poem already noticed, that bears the name of Count Pero Niño, was, as we are expressly told in a note to it, written by Villasandino, in order that the Count might present himself before the Lady Beatrice more gracefully than such a rough old soldier would be likely to do, unless he were helped to a little poetical gallantry.

² See *ante*, Chap. XVII. note 10.

³ The Cancionero of Lope de Estuñaiga is, or was lately, in the National Library at Madrid, among the folio MSS., marked M. 48, and filling one hundred and sixty-three leaves; but it is called Estuñaiga's, or, following the spelling in this MS., Stuñaiga's, only because the first poem in it is by him.

by Fernan Martinez de Burgos; and no less than seven others, preserved in the National Library at Paris, all containing poetry of the middle and latter part of the fifteenth century, often the same authors, and sometimes the same poems, that are found in Baena and in Estuñaiga.⁴ They all belong to a * state of society in which the great nobility, * 390 imitating the king, maintained poetical courts about them, such as that of Don Enrique de Villena at Barcelona, or the more brilliant one, perhaps, of the Duke Fadrique de Castro, who had constantly in his household Puerto Carrero, Gayoso, Manuel de Lando,

Its contents may be found carefully noted by Gayangos in his Spanish translation of this History (Tom. I. pp. 559-566). It is a beautiful MS., and he thinks it was compiled in the middle of the fifteenth century for Alfonso V. of Naples. (*Ibid.*, p. 509.) The original name is said to have been corrupted into Zuñiga; the founder of the family having been Sancho Iniguez Destuñaiga, in the time of Alfonso X. (*Panegirico del Duque de Barcelos por D. Fernando de Alvia de Castro*, 4to, Lisboa, 1628, f. 42.) The three names, D'Estuñaiga, Stuñaiga, and Zuñiga, are therefore the same.

In the National Library at Madrid is another collection, commonly called the Cancionero of Juan Fernandez de Ixar; — a MS. volume containing poems from the time of Henry III. to that of Charles V., — both inclusive, — written in various hands, but none apparently older than the sixteenth century. It gets its name from the circumstance that the great Aragonese family of Ixar possessed it as late as 1645; but, as it was compiled after 1520, and contains the accustomed poets, it has little value. See Gayangos *ut supra*, pp. 566-569.

⁴ The fashion of making such collections of poetry, generally called "Cancioneros," was very common in Spain in the fifteenth century, just before and just after the introduction of the art of printing.

One of them, compiled in 1464, with

additions of a later date, by Fernan Martinez de Burgos, begins with poems by his father, and goes on with others by Villasandino, who is greatly praised, both as a soldier and a writer; by Fernan Sanchez de Talavera, some of which are dated 1408; by Pero Velez de Guevara, 1422; by Gomez Manrique; by Santillana; by Fernan Perez de Guzman; and, in short, by the authors then best known at court. Mem. de Alfonso VIII., Madrid, 1783, 4to, App. cxxxiv-cxl.

Three MS. Cancioneros in the private Library of the Queen of Spain are particularly noticed by Pidal (Cancionero de Baena, 1851, pp. lxxxvi-vii), two of which seem to be of some consequence, and one of about the same age with that of Baena. (*Ibid.*, pp. xxix-xl, note 5, p. xli, note 1.) It is very desirable to have them published.

Several other Cancioneros of the same period are in the National Library, Paris, and contain almost exclusively the known fashionable authors of that century; such as Santillana, Juan de Mena, Lopez de Cuñiga [Estuñaiga?], Juan Rodriguez del Padron, Juan de Villalpando, Suero de Ribera, Fernan Perez de Guzman, Gomez Manrique, Diego del Castillo, Alvaro Garcia de Santa Maria, Alonso Alvarez de Toledo, etc. There are no less than seven such Cancioneros in all, notices of which are found in Ochoa, "Catálogo de MSS. Españoles en la Biblioteca Real de Paris," Paris, 1844, 4to, pp. 378-525.

and others then accounted great poets. That the prevailing tone of all this was Provençal we cannot doubt; but that it was somewhat influenced by a knowledge of the Italian we know from many of the poems that have been published, and from the intimations of the Marquis of Santillana, in his letter to the Constable of Portugal.⁵

Thus far more had been done in collecting the poetry of the time than might have been anticipated from the troubled state of public affairs; but it had only been done in one direction, and even in that with little judgment. The king and the more powerful of the nobility might indulge in the luxury of such

Cancioneros and such poetical courts, but a * 391 general poetical culture could not be * expected to follow influences so partial and inadequate.

A new order of things, however, soon arose. In 1474 the art of printing was fairly established in Spain; and it is a striking fact that the first book of any note ascertained to have come from the Spanish press is a collection of poems recited that year by forty different poets contending for a public prize.⁶ No doubt such a volume was not compiled on the principle of the elder manuscript Cancioneros. Still, in some respects it resembles them, and in others seems to have been the result of their example. But, however this may be, a collection of poetry was printed at Saragossa, in

⁵ Sanchez, *Poesías Anteriores*, Tom. I. p. lxi, with the notes on the passage relating to the Duke Fadrique.

Some of the persons who thus attached themselves as poets to the great men of the time were—it is worth while to observe—of very humble origin. One of these was Anton de Montero, among the last or the very last of the more eminent Troubadours, commonly called “El Ropero,” a converted Jew, and a Cordovese tailor or old

clothesman. (Pidal in *Cancionero de Baena*, 1851, pp. xxxiii–xxxvi.) Another was Juan de Valladolid, or Juan Poeta, a person of still lower condition, who accompanied Alfonso V. to Naples, and was afterwards favored by Queen Isabella (*Ibid.*, p. xxxviii). Yet others are noticed by Pidal (*Ibid.*, p. xxxix), but they are of less consequence.

⁶ Fuster, *Bib. Valenciana*, Tom. I. p. 52. See *ante*, Chap. XVII.

1492, and called a “Cancionero,” containing the works of nine authors, among whom were Juan de Mena, the younger Manrique, and Fernan Perez de Guzman; the whole evidently made on the same principle and for the same purpose as the Cancioneros of Baena and Estuñiga, and dedicated to Queen Isabella, as the great patroness of whatever tended to the advancement of letters.⁷

It was a remarkable book to appear within so short a time after the introduction of printing into Spain, when little but the most worthless Latin treatises had come from the national press; but it was far from containing all the Spanish poetry that was soon demanded. In 1511, therefore, Fernando del Castillo printed at Valencia what he called a “Cancionero General,” or General Collection of Poetry; the first book to which this well-known title was ever given. It professes to contain “many and divers works of all or of the most notable Troubadours of Spain, the ancient as well as the modern, in devotion, in morality, in love, in jests, ballads, *villancicos*, songs, devices, mottoes, glosses, questions, and answers.” It, in fact, contains poems attributed to about a hundred and thirty different persons, from the time of the Marquis of Santillana down to the period in which it was made; most of the separate pieces being * placed under the names of those who were * 392 their authors, or were assumed to be so, while the rest are collected under the respective titles or divisions just enumerated, which then constituted the favorite subjects and forms of verse at court. Of proper order or arrangement, of critical judgment, or

⁷ Mendez, *Typog.*, pp. 134–137. In possession of Don Manuel Gamez; but 1818, besides the copy in the Royal Library at Madrid, there was one in the I have never known of any other.

tasteful selection, there seems to have been little thought. The whole number of pieces contained in it is eleven hundred and fifteen.

The work was successful. In 1514 a new edition of it appeared; and as early as 1540 at least five others, with some variations in their contents, had followed at Toledo and Seville, making, when taken together, seven in less than thirty years; a number which, if the peculiar nature and large size of the work are considered, can hardly find its parallel, at the same period, in any other European literature. Later, — in 1557 and 1573, — yet two other editions, somewhat altered, appeared at Antwerp, whither the inherited rights and military power of Charles the Fifth had carried a familiar knowledge of the Spanish language, and a love for its cultivation. In each of the nine editions of this remarkable book it should be borne in mind that we may look for the body of poetry most in favor at court and in the more refined society of Spain during the whole of the fifteenth century, and the early part of the sixteenth; the last of them comprising one thousand and eighty-two pieces, and the names of one hundred and thirty-six authors, some of whom go back to the beginning of the reign of John the Second, while others come down to the time of the Emperor Charles the Fifth.⁸

⁸ Of the Cancioneros still in manuscript, and of Baena's, which was in manuscript when the first edition of this History was published, I have already spoken sufficiently. That their number was so great in the middle of the fifteenth century as to show that they constituted a fashion of the time, there can be no reasonable doubt; and, therefore, it was natural that, as soon as the art of printing was fairly introduced, they should, in some form or other, appear from the press. Two of

these I have noticed, namely, the collection published at Valencia in 1474, which is rather an account of a poetical jousting, and the one published at Saragossa in 1492, but which is called in its title a "Cancionero," and contains fifteen different poems by nine different authors. To these should now be added the Cancionero called that of Ramon de Llabia. It is described by Mendez from a copy without date, which contains nineteen poems by ten different authors, such as Fernan Perez

* Taking this Cancionero, then, as the true * 393
poetical representative of the period it em-

de Guzman, Jorge Manrique, and others, well known at the end of the fifteenth century, when this collection is supposed to have been published. Amador de los Rios says, indeed, that it was printed at Zaragoza, by Juan Hurus, in 1489; but he does not indicate the copy he used, and calls it a Romancero. (See Mendez, *Typographia*, pp. 383-385; Pidal, Preface to Baena, p. xli, and Amador de los Rios, *Judios de España*, 1848, p. 378.)

But what are commonly known as the Spanish *Cancioneros*, and deserve our principal attention, are those of Castillo. They were probably indebted to one by Juan Fernandez de Constantina, whose date is not settled, and of which only two copies are known to exist; — one in the British Museum, and the other in the library at Munich. It is entitled "Cancionero llamado guirlanda esmaltada de galanes y eloquentes dezires de diversos autores," and consists of eighty-eight folios that are numbered, and four that are not numbered. The best account of it yet published is by Wolf, in the German translation of this History (Vol. II. pp. 528-534), and there seems no reason to doubt that it was published about the year 1500, or a very little later.

But the Cancionero *General* of Castillo, as noted in the text, first appeared in 1511, and is the oldest with that title. It contains many of the same authors and poems with the Cancionero of Constantina; and in its selections — especially in its selection of ballads — seems to leave no doubt that it borrowed largely from that now excessively rare volume. But, however this may be, we hear nothing more of Constantina, while, from this time, Castillo becomes famous for his Cancioneros. Duran (in his *Romancero General*, Tom. II. 1851, pp. 679, 680) has given the best account of them, although, perhaps, as he intimates, his list may not be complete. It contains, besides the first one, Valencia, 1511, eight others, namely, Valencia, 1514; Toledo, 1517; Toledo, 1520; Toledo, 1527; Sevilla, 1535; Sevilla, 1540; Anvers, 1557; and Anvers, 1573; — nine in all. Of these I have seen

seven, or perhaps — with the Dresden Cancionero, which is imperfect — eight; and I possess those of Sevilla, 1535, and of Anvers, 1557 and 1573. But these have been so often consulted and examined, that no more need be said of them.

Not so two others, for a knowledge of which we are indebted to Ferdinand Wolf.

The first was published at Saragossa in 1552 (on the title, by a misprint, MCLII.), and is from the press of Stevan G. de Najara, or Nagera, who printed the ballad book of 1550. It is entitled "*Secunda* (sic) Parte del Cancionero General," &c. But, although it is thus called a *second* part, it is really, in a large degree, taken from the proper Cancionero General of Castillo, which it assumes to be the first part. It is, therefore, of less consequence than it otherwise would be. One of its poems relates to an event that occurred in 1552, the year of its publication, and, like others that it contains, is not taken from Castillo. But it is a very rude and miscellaneous collection. (See Wolf's account of it, in the *Wiener Jahrbücher* CXIV. 8, 9; in his *Romanzen Poesie der Spanier*, 1847, pp. 8, 9; and in his *Beitrag to Julius' translation of this History*, Vol. II. 534-539.) There is but one copy of it known to exist, — that in the Library at Vienna, — and it fills one hundred and ninety-two leaves in 12mo.

The other, which is of more consequence, is also thus far a *unicum*, and it is found in the Wolfenbüttel Library. It is entitled "Cancionero General de Obras nuevas nunca hasta aora impressas. Assi por el arte Española como por la Toscana," &c., 1554. And elsewhere it appears that it was printed at Saragossa by Stevan G. de Nagera. (See Wolf's *Beitrag zur Bibliographie der Cancioneros*, v. s. w. Wien, 1853.) It is in 12mo, and makes two hundred and three leaves, all apparently filled with poetry of the time of Charles V., — say from 1520 to 1550, — and most of it by known authors, like Juan de Coloma, Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, Boscán, Puertocarrero, Urrea, and Diego de Mendoza. What is most interest-

* 394 braces, the first thing we * observe, on opening it, is a mass of devotional verse, evidently intended as a vestibule to conciliate favor for the more secular and free portions that follow. But it is itself very poor and gross; so poor and so gross that we can hardly understand how, at any period, it can have been deemed religious. Indeed, within a century from the time when the Cancionero was published, this part of it was already become so offensive to the Church it had originally served to propitiate, that the whole of it was cut out of such printed copies as came within the reach of the ecclesiastical powers.⁹

There can be no doubt, however, about the devotional purposes for which it was first destined; some of the separate compositions being by the Marquis of

ing about it, however, as Wolf has well observed, is that it marks so plainly the contest between the old Spanish school and the incoming Italian, or, as this Cancionero calls it, "El Arte Toscano" (Beitrag, p. 28). It is of some consequence, too, because it contains the works of a few authors not before known; such as Pedro de Guzman, a loyal knight in the wars of the Comuneros (pp. 6 and 49), Sanistevan (pp. 7, 52), Luis de Narvaez (pp. 18, 54), and Luis de Haro (pp. 10, 53); but the latter will be hereafter noticed as one mentioned among the most active in founding the Italian school. (See *post*, Period II. Chap. III.) The whole book, however, which, as I have intimated, seems to be a continuation or imitation of the Cancionero General of Castillo, contains, I suppose, as little real poetry as its ampler and better known predecessor. But, such as it is, though it is by no means the last in date of the old Cancioneros that were filled with miscellaneous verse, it seems fitly to fill up their series, and with peculiar distinctness to mark, as, indeed, all of them do, more or less, the transition to another state of things.

⁹ My copy of the edition of 1535, ruthlessly cut to pieces, bears this memorandum:—

"Este libro esta expurgado por el Expurgatorio del Santo Oficio, con licencia. F. Baptista Martinez."

On the reverse of the title-page, in my copy of the edition of 1557, are these formidable words:—

"Yo el Doctor Franc^o Sobrino, Catedratico de Visperas de theologia y Calificador del S^o Oficio desta villa corregi y emendé este Cancionero conforme al Índice Expurgatorio del nuevo Catalogo de libros vedados por el Sto. Oficio de la Inquisicion, y lleva quitadas las obras de burlas. Valladolid, á 20 de Noviembre de 1584 años.

"El Dr. Sobrino."

About sixty leaves were submitted to the ecclesiastical shears in this copy, and several short poems are blotted with ink.

From both copies the religious poetry at the beginning is torn out.

In my copy of the edition of 1573, which is very little expurgated, and in which the missing passages are restored in MS., is the following certificate written across the title-page:—

"Vidit et correxit Vincentius Navarro de Societ^e J. et de St^e Off^e Inquisitionis Qualificatore."

This is what Milton calls putting a book into the new Purgatory.

Santillana, Fernan Perez de Guzman, and other well-known authors of the fifteenth century, who thus intended to give an odor of sanctity to their works and lives. A few poems in this division of the Cancionero, as well as a few scattered in other parts of it, are in the Limousin dialect; a circumstance which is probably to be attributed to the fact that the whole was first collected and published in Valencia. But nothing in this portion can be accounted truly poetical, and very little of it religious. The best of its shorter poems is, perhaps, the following address of Mossen Juan Tallante to a figure of the Saviour expiring on the cross:—

* O God! the infinitely great,
That didst this ample world outspread, —
The true! the high!
And, in thy grace compassionate,
Upon the tree didst bow thy head,
For us to die!

Oh! since it pleased thy love to bear
Such bitter suffering for our sake,
O Agnus Dei!
Save us with him whom thou didst spare,
Because that single word he spake, —
Memento mei!¹⁰

Next after the division of devotional poetry comes the series of authors upon whom the whole collection relied for its character and success when it was first

¹⁰ Imenso Dios, perdurable,
Que el mundo todo criaste,
Verdadero,
Y con amor entrañable
Por nosotros espiraste
En el madero:

Pues te plugo tal passion
Por nuestras culpas sufrir,
O Agnus Dei,
Llevanos do está el ladron,
Que salvaste por decir,
Memento mei.

Cancionero General, Anvers, 1573, f. 5.

Fuster, Bib. Valenciana (Tom. I. p. 81), tries to make out something con-

cerning the author of this little poem, but does not, I think, succeed. Tallante is called Mossen Juan Tallante, and other persons have this prefix to their names. It is a compound of the French *Messire* or *Monsieur*, and the Limousin *En*, which is equivalent to Don. (See *ante*, 287, n. 36.) It is found attached chiefly to the names of eminent persons in Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, etc.; in short, as far as the Provençal dialect extended a decisive influence into Spain.