

vowel resembling the Fr. *e* "muet," to pronounce *o* as *u*, and to drop *e* after a group of consonants (*dent* for *dente*).

Consonants.—Here the most remarkable feature, and that which most distinctly marks the wear and tear through which the language has passed, is the disappearance of the median consonants *l* and *n*: *corôa* (corona), *lua* (luna), *pôr* formerly *por* (ponere), *conego* (canonicus), *vir* (venire), *dôr*, formerly *door* (dolorem), *paço* (palatium), *soude* (salutem), *peço* (pelaçus). Latin *b* passes regularly into *v*: *caçallo* (caballus), *fava* (faba), *arvore* (arborem); but, on the other hand, Latin initial *v* readily tends to become *b*: *beziga* (vesica), *bodo* (votum). Latin initial *f* never becomes *h*: *fazer* (facere), *filo* (filum). Latin *c* before *e* and *i* is represented either by the hard sibilant *s* or by the soft *z*. Latin *g* between vowels is dropped before *e* and *i*: *ler* for *leer* (legere), *dedo* (digitum); the same is the case with *d*, of course, in similar circumstances: *venir* (redimere), *rir* (ridere). Latin *j* has assumed the sound of the French *j*. The Latin combinations *cl*, *fl*, *pl* at the beginning of words are transformed in two ways in words of popular origin. Either the initial consonant is retained while the *l* is changed into *r*: *cravo* (clavum), *prazer* (placere), *flor* (flore); or the group is changed in *ch* (= Fr. *ch*, Catal. *ç*) through the intermediate sounds *kj*, *ff*, *pp*: *channa* (clamare), *chao* (planus), *chamma* (flamma). Within the word the same group and other groups also in which the second consonant is an *l* produce *l* mouillée (written *lh*, just as *n* mouillée is written *nh*, as in Provençal): *ovelha* (ovic'la), *velho* ("veclus"); and sometimes *ch*: *facho* (fac'lum), *ancho* (amplum). Lat. *ss* or *sc* before *e* and *i* gives *x* (Fr. *ch*): *baixo* (bassus), *faxa* (fascia). The group *ct* is reduced to *it*: *leito* (lectum), *peito* (pectus), *noite* (noctem); sometimes to *ut*: *douto* (doctus). Such words as *fruto*, *reto*, *dileto* are modern derivatives from the learned forms *fructo*, *recto*, *dilecto*. Latin *cs* becomes *is*: *seis* (sex); or *isc*, *x* (= Fr. *ich*, *ch*): *seizo* (saxum), *luro* (luxum); or even *ss*: *disse* (dixi).

Inflection.—The Portuguese article, now reduced to the vocalic form *o*, *a*, *os*, *as*, was *lo* (exceptionally also *el*, which still survives in the expression *El-Rei*), *la*, *los*, *las* in the old language. Words ending in *l* in the singular lose the *l* in the plural (because it then becomes median, and so is dropped): *sol* (solem), but *soes* (soles); those having *do* in the sing. form the plural either in *des* or in *ões* according to the etymology: thus *cão* (canem) makes *cães*, but *raço* makes *rações*. As regards the pronoun, mention must be made of the non-etymological forms of the personal *mim* and of the feminine possessive *minha*, where the second *n* has been brought in by the initial nasal. Portuguese conjugation has more that is interesting. In the personal suffixes the forms of the 2d pers. pl. in *ades*, *edes*, *ides* lost the *d* in the 15th century, and have now become *ais*, *eis*, *is* through the intermediate forms *aes*, *ees*, *eis*. The form in *des* has persisted only in those verbs where it was protected by the consonants *n* or *r* preceding it: *pondes*, *tendes*, *vindes*, *amardes*, and also no doubt in some forms of the present of the imperative, where the theme has been reduced to an extraordinary degree by the disappearance of a consonant and the contraction of vowels: *ides*, *creades*, *leades*, &c. Portuguese is the only Romance language which possesses a personal or conjugated infinitive: *amar*, *amar-es*, *amar-mos*, *amar-des*, *amar-em*; e.g., *antes de sair-mos*, "before we go out." Again, Portuguese alone has preserved the pluperfect in its original meaning, so that, for example, *amara* (amaveram) signifies not merely as elsewhere "I would love," but also "I had loved." The future perfect, retained as in Castilian, has lost its vowel of inflexion in the 1st and 3d pers. sing. and consequently becomes liable to be confounded with the infinitive (*amar*, *render*, *partir*). Portuguese, though less frequently than Castilian, employs *ter* (tenere) as an auxiliary, alongside of *aver*; and it also supplements the use of *essere* with *seder*, which furnished the subj. *seja*, the imperative *se, sede*, the gerundive *sendo*, the participle *sido*, and some other tenses in the old language. Among the peculiarities of Portuguese conjugation may be mentioned—(1) the assimilation of the 3d pers. sing. to the 1st in strong perfects (*houve*, *pude*, *quize*, *tinha*, while Castilian has *hubo* and *hubo*); (2) the imperfects *punha*, *tinha*, *vinha* (from *por*, *ter*, and *vir*), which are accented on the radical in order to avoid the loss of the *n* (*ponia* would have made *potia*), and which substitute *u* and *i* for *o* and *e* in order to distinguish from the present subjunctive (*ponha*, *tenha*, *venha*).

PART IV.—LITERATURE.

The name Spanish is now generally restricted to the literature of the Castilian tongue. In the present article it is taken in the wider sense as embracing the literature of the whole Iberian Peninsula, with the exceptions of PORTUGAL (*q.v.*) and of Galicia, the latter of which as regards language and literature belongs to the Portuguese domain. Spanish literature thus considered falls into two divisions—Castilian and Catalan.

Galician.—Almost all the phonetic features which distinguish Portuguese from Castilian are possessed by Gallego also. Portuguese and Galician even now are practically one language, and still more was this the case formerly: the identity of the two idioms would become still more obvious if the orthography employed by the Galicians were more strictly phonetic, and if certain transcriptions of sounds borrowed from the grammar of the official language (Castilian) did not veil the true pronunciation of the dialect. It is stated, for example, that Gallego does not possess nasal diphthongs: still it may be conceded once for all that such a word as *planus*, which in Galician is written sometimes *chau* and sometimes *chan*, cannot be very remote from the Portuguese nasal pronunciation *chao*. One of the most notable differences between normal Portuguese and Galician is the substitution of the surd spirant in place of the sonant spirant for the Lat. *j* before all vowels and *g* before *e* and *i*: *cuez* (judicem), Port. *juiz*; *xunto* (junctum), Port. *junto*; *xente* (gentem), Port. *gente*. In conjugation the peculiarities of Gallego are more marked; some find their explanation within the dialect itself, others seem to be due to Castilian influence. The 2d persons plural have still their old form *ades*, *edes*, *ides*, so that in this instance it would seem as if Gallego had been arrested in its progress while Portuguese had gone on progressing; but it is to be observed that with these full forms the grammarians admit contracted forms as well: *ás* (Port. *ais*), *és* (Port. *eis*), *ís* (Port. *is*). The 1st pers. sing. of the perfect of conjugations in *er* and *ir* has come to be complicated by a nasal resonance similar to that which we find in the Portuguese *mim*; we have *vendin*, *partin*, instead of *vendí*, *partí*, and by analogy this form in *in* has extended itself also to the perfect of the conjugation in *ar*, and *alín*, *gardín*, for *falei*, *gardeni* are found. The second persons of the same tense take the endings *che*, *ches* in the singular and *chedes* in the plural: *falache* or *falaches* (fabulasti), *falachedes* as well as *faldstedes* (fabulastis), *bateche* or *batiche*, pl. *batestes* or *batechedes*, &c. *Ti* (tibi) having given *che* in Galician, we see that *falasti* has become *falache* by a phonetic process. The 3d pers. sing. of strong perfect is not in *e* as in Portuguese (*houve*, *pode*), but in *o* (*houbo*, *puido*, *soubo*, *conbo*, &c.); Castilian influence may be traceable here. If a contemporary grammarian, Saco Arce, is to be trusted, Gallego would form an absolute exception to the law of Spanish accentuation in the imperfect and pluperfect indicative: *falabámos*, *falabádes*; *batidámos*, *batidádes*; *pididámos*, *pididádes*; and *falarámos*, *falarádes*; *baterámos*, *baterádes*; *pidirámos*, *pidirádes*. The future perfect indicative and the imperfect subjunctive, on the other hand, would seem to be accented regularly: *faldremos*, *faldremos*. The important question is worth further study in detail.

Bibliography.—On the general subject the only books to be mentioned are the *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen* and the *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* of Diez. 1. CATALAN. On the old language see Manuel Milá y Fontanals, *De los Trovadores en España*, Barcelona, 1861, and several essays by the same author in the *Revue des Langues Romanes*, the *Jahrb. f. roman. u. engl. Literatur*, vol. v., and the *Revista Histórica* of Barcelona; P. Meyer in *Romania*; A. Mussafia in the introduction to *Die Catalunische metrische Version der sieben weisen Meister*, Vienna, 1854; and Morel-Fatio in *Romania*. For modern Catalan, see Ballot y Torres, *Grammatica y Apología de la Lengua Catalana*, Barcelona, 1814; A. de Bofarull, *Estudios, Sistema Gramatical y Cretonomía de la Lengua Catalana*, Barcelona, 1864; and, before all, Manuel Milá y Fontanals, *Estudios de Lengua Catalana*, Barcelona, 1878. The dialectic varieties of Valencia and the Balearics have not yet been sufficiently investigated. On the Catalan of Alghero (Sardinia) there is a memoir by G. Morosi in the *Miscellanea di Filologia dedicata alla Memoria del Prof. Catz e Camello*, Florence, 1855. 2. CASTILIAN. Since Diez's time no general work upon Castilian has been published, with the exception of a treatise on Spanish "doublets" by Mme. Carolina Michaelis, *Studien zur romanischen Wortschöpfung*, Leipzig, 1876, and a *Spanisches Sprachbuch*, by Paul Förster, Berlin, 1880, which leaves much to be desired. On the grammar of Old Castilian the remarkable articles of Cornu in *Romania* must be consulted. Hitherto the dialects have received but little attention. For Asturian there is a *Colección de Poesías en Dialecto Asturiano*, published at Oviedo in 1839, and some lexicographical notes ("Apuntes Lexicográficos sobre una Rama del Dialecto Asturiano") by G. Laverde, in the *Revista de Asturias* for 1878. Navarrese-Aragonese has been worked at by Jerónimo Borao, *Diccionario de Voces Aragonesas*, 2d ed., Saragossa, 1885, and Andalusian has been very searchingly investigated by H. Schuchardt in *Ztschr. f. rom. Philol.*, vol. v. On American-Spanish there is an excellent work by R. J. Cuervo, *Apuntes Críticos sobre el Lenguaje Hispano-Americano*, 4th ed., Chartres, 1885. 3. PORTUGUESE. The researches of Diez have been followed up by F. Adolpho Coelho in two works, *Theoria da Conjugação em Latin e Portuguez*, Li-bon, 1871, and *Questões da Língua Portuguesa*, 1st pt., Oporto, 1874. MM. Cornu and Coelho have contributed several very important articles in Portuguese to the pages of *Romania*. For Galician Saco Arce's *Grammatica Gallega*, Lugo, 1868, and A. Fernández y Morales's *Ensayos Poéticos en Dialecto Berciano*, with introduction and glossary by Mariano Cubí y Soler, Leon, 1861, ought to be consulted. (A. M.-F.)

1. CASTILIAN LITERATURE.—Of the Castilian texts now extant none are of earlier date than the 12th century, and very probably none go farther back than 1150. That accepted as the oldest—the *Mystery of the Magian Kings*, as it is rather inappropriately designated—is a fragment of a short semi-liturgical play meant to be acted in the church of Toledo at the feast of Epiphany. Manifestly an imitation of the Latin *ludi* represented in France in the 12th

century, the Spanish piece cannot have been composed much before 1150.

The great national hero Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar (died 1099), better known in history by the Arabic surname of the Cid (*q.v.*), was celebrated in the vulgar tongue less than a century after his death in two poems, neither of which, however, has come down to us in its entirety. The first *cantar*, usually entitled *Poema del Cid* since the first edition by Tomas Antonio Sanchez, relates in its first part the valiant deeds (*la gesta*) of the Cid subsequent to his quarrel with King Alfonso VI.; in the second the capture of Valencia, the reconciliation of the hero with the king, and the marriage of his daughters with the "infantes" of Carrion;¹ and then in the third the treason of the infantes, the vengeance of the Cid, and the second marriage of his daughters with the infantes of Navarre and Aragon. The narrative of the last years of the Cid, which closes this third part, is very much curtailed. Whilst in the *Poema* the Cid appears as the loyal vassal, faithful to his king and deploring the necessity of separating from him, the Cid of the second poem, *Crónica rimada del Cid*, is almost a rebel and at least a refractory vassal who dares treat his sovereign as an equal. The portion of the *Crónica* which has been preserved deals in the main with the youth (*mooedades*) of Rodrigo; it contains the primitive version of his quarrel with the Count Gomez de Gormaz, and the marriage of the slayer of the count with Ximena, his daughter, and also a series of fabulous episodes, such as the Cid's journey to France to fight with the twelve peers of Charlemagne, &c. If the *Poema* really belongs to the 12th century, some doubt attaches to the date of the *Crónica*; it would seem that the form under which this latter text has reached us is more recent than that of the *Poema*, but, on the other hand, several traditions collected by the author bear an incontestable stamp of antiquity. The versification of both poems is very barbarous, the metre very irregular. Normally this great epic measure ought to be divided into two hemistichs of seven or eight syllables each; but here the lines sometimes fall short of this number and sometimes exceed it. Instead of rhyme, assonance steadily prevails throughout; the strophes follow the model of the *laissez* of the French *chansons de geste*,—that is, they have a single assonance and vary greatly in extent.

The other heroes of Spanish history, such as the last Gothic king Roderick, Bernardo del Carpio, the infantes of Lara, have not given rise to long poems; at least we are acquainted with none of which they are the subject. Still some may have existed; and in fact the frequent allusions in the chronicle of Alfonso the Wise (13th century) to the narratives of the *juglares* suggest that Castilian heroic poetry was richer than the scarcity of the monuments still extant would lead us to believe. Fernan Gonzalez, first independent count of Castile (10th century), has alone been celebrated in a poem of the 13th century, composed in single-rhyme quatrains.

With the heroic poetry which takes its themes from the national history and legends, there grew up in the 13th century a religious and didactic poetry, the most eminent representative of which is Gonzalo de Berceo (1198–1268). This poet, born at Berceo in the province of Logroño, composed several lives of Spanish saints (St Domingo de Silos, St Millan de la Cogulla, St Oria), and also devotional poems, such as the *Miracles* and the *Praises of the Virgin*, and some religious hymns. Berceo names his poems *prosa*, *decir*, *dictado*, indicating thereby that he intended them to be read and recited, not sung like the *cantares*. They are written in single-rhyme

¹ Carrion de los Condes is a district in the province of Valencia.

quatrains and in verses of twelve to fourteen syllables, according as the ending of each hemistich is masculine or feminine. In the same kind of versification were composed, also in the 13th century, two long poems,—one on Alexander the Great, the other on Apollonius of Tyre,—after Latin and French sources. The author of the first of these poems contrasts his system of versification, which he calls *mester de clerecia*, with the *mester de joglaria*, the one of the heroic poetry, intended to be sung, and declares that this single-rhyme quatrain (*curso rimado por la quaderna via*) consists of counted syllables. The composer of *Appollonio* calls this same versification *nueva maestría*. The single-rhyme quatrain, introduced in imitation of the French poetry of the 12th century into Castilian literature, became from the time of Berceo and the *Alexandro* and *Appollonio* the regular form in Castilian narrative and didactic poetry, and prevailed down to the close of the 14th century.

To the 13th century seem also to belong a *Life of St Mary the Egyptian*, translated from the French, perhaps through a Provençal version, and an *Adoration of the Three Kings*, in verses of eight or nine syllables rhyming in pairs (*aa, bb, cc, &c.*), as well as a fragment of a *Debate between Soul and Body*, in verses of six or seven syllables, evidently an imitation of one of those mediæval Latin poems entitled *Rixa Animi et Corporis*. Mention may here also be made of the *cantigas* ("songs") of Alfonso the Wise in honour of the Virgin, although, being in the Galician dialect, these properly belong to the history of Portuguese literature.

The 14th century saw the birth of the most original mediæval Spanish poet. Juan Ruiz (1300–1350), arch-priest of Hita (near Guadalajara), has left us a poem of rather irregular composition, in which, while reproducing apologues translated from the Latin or French fabulists, and extracts from Ovid's *Art of Love*, or from a poem entitled *Pamphilus de Amore*, or, lastly, from *fabliaux* and *dits*, such as the *Bataille de Keresme et de Charnage*, the author frequently gives way to his own inspiration. Ruiz celebrates love and woman; his book is of *buen amor*, that is, he shows by his own experience and the example of the authors whom he follows how a man ought to set to work to be a successful lover. The character of the female go-between, named "Trota-Convontos," here plays an important part; it was suggested to Ruiz by the *Pamphilus*, but he has greatly strengthened the characteristics and thus prepared the way for the *Celestina* of the close of the 15th century. By way of precaution, the author represents himself as one who has survived his illusions, and maintains that carnal love (*loco amor*) must in the long run give place to divine love; but this stratum of devotion is a thin one and ought not to disguise the real character of the work. His form of versification is the single-rhyme quatrain in the narrative portions; as to the "songs" (*cantigas*) which sometimes interrupt the narrative, and of which the most successful are a "song of scholars" and a "song of the blind," their rhythm is different and much more varied. The *Rimado de Palacio* of the grand chancellor of Castile, Pedro Lopez de Ayala (1332–1407), does not exclusively refer to court life; the author takes up all classes of laymen and churchmen, whose vices he depicts in jocular style. Amid the tirades of this long moral poem there occur occasionally some *cantares* or even *decires* in strophes of eight lines of twelve syllables. Akin to this *Rimado de Palacio* are the *Proverbios Morales* of the Jew Santob (Shemtob) of Carrion, dedicated to King Pedro the Cruel, who reigned from 1350 to 1369, as well as the *General Dance of Death* and a new version of the *Debate between Soul and Body*, both in eight-line strophes of *arte mayor* (verses of twelve syllables), and both imitations of

French originals. The 14th century also produced a long historical composition in verse, the *Rhymed Chronicle of Alfonso XI.* (died 1350), by Rodrigo Yanez, important fragments of which have come down to us; the versification of this chronicle is similar to that of Santob's *Proverbes* (strophes of four octosyllabic verses rhyming *abab*).

The word romance not only signifies in Spain, as in other Romanic countries, the vulgar tongue, but also bears the special meaning of a short epic narrative poem (historic ballad) or, at a later date, a short lyric poem. As regards the form, the "romance" (Spanish *el romance*, in contrast to French, &c., *la romance*) is a composition in long verses of fourteen syllables ending with one rhyme, or assonance, which have been generally, but wrongly, divided into two short lines, the first of which, naturally, is rhymeless. This being the form of the romance verse, the *Crónica rimada del Cid*, and even the *Poema* (though in this case the influence of the French alexandrines is perceptible), might be considered as a series of romances tagged on one after the other; and in fact several of the old romances of the Cid, which form each an independent whole and have been printed as separate poems in the 16th century, are partly to be found in the *Crónica*. Other romances, notably those dealing with the heroes of the Carolingian epic, so popular in Spain, or with the heroes which Spanish patriotism opposed at a certain period to the French paladins,—as, for example, Bernardo del Carpio, the rival and the conqueror of Roland in Castilian tradition,—seem to be portions severed from those *cantares de gesta* composed by *juglares* of which Alfonso X. makes mention. It is only at the close of the 15th century, and especially during the 16th, that the romances, which had previously passed from mouth to mouth by song and recitation, began to be written down and afterwards to be printed, at first on broadsheets (*pliegos sueltos*) and subsequently in collections (*romances*), either general, in which romances of very different date, character, and subject are mixed up, or restricted to a single historical or legendary episode or to a single personage (for example, the *Romancero del Cid*). In those collections the epic verse is always regarded as octosyllabic and printed as such; occasionally certain editions divide the romance into strophes of four verses (*cuartetos*).

Prose chronicles, 13th-16th centuries.

King Alfonso X. (died 1284), under whose patronage were published the memorable code entitled *Las Siete Partidas* and great scientific compilations, such as the *Libros de Astronomia* and the *Lapidario*, was also the founder of Spanish historiography in the vulgar tongue. The *Crónica General*, composed under his direction, consists of two distinct parts: the one treats of universal history from the creation of the world to the first centuries of the Christian era (*La General é Grant Historia*), the other exclusively of the national history (*La Crónica ó Historia de España*) down to the death of Ferdinand III. (1252), father of Alfonso. The main sources of the *Crónica General* are two Spanish chroniclers of the 13th century,—Lucas of Tuy and Rodriguez of Toledo,—who wrote in Latin, but whose works were early translated into the vernacular. In the *Historia de España* of Alfonso X., which has collected many legends and which occasionally refers to the songs of the *juglares* (for the purpose, however, of refuting them), the narrative relating to the Cid is partly based on an Arabic text: This portion has frequently been printed by itself, under the title of *Crónica del Cid*. Alfonso's example bore fruit. In the 14th century we find another *Crónica General de España* or *de Castilla*, constructed on the model of the first and embracing the years 1030-1312; next, the *Grant Crónica de España* and the *Grant Crónica de los Conqueridores*, compiled by command of the grandmaster of the order of St John of Jerusalem; Juan Fernandez de Heredia, about

1390. Special chronicles of each king of Castile were soon written. Our information is at fault in regard to the authorship of the chronicles of Alfonso X., Sancho IV., Ferdinand IV., and Alfonso XI.: but the four following reigns—those of Pedro I., Henry II., John I., and Henry III.—were dealt with by Pedro Lopez de Ayala, and here we can recognize the man of literary culture, who had acquired some knowledge of ancient history, for the form of the narrative becomes freer and more personal and the style rises with the thought. Several authors had a hand in the chronicle of John II., but the final redaction was by Fernan Perez de Guzman. The sad reign of Henry IV. was related by Diego Enriquez del Castillo and Alfonso de Palencia, the glorious reign of the Catholic sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella by Fernando del Pulgar and Andrés Bernaldes. Along with those royal chronicles must be mentioned some biographies of important persons. Thus in the 15th century the chronicle of Pedro Niño, count of Buelna (1379-1452), by Gutierre Diez de Gamez; that of Alvaro de Luna, constable of Castile (died 1453); also a very curious book of travels, the narrative of the embassy sent by Henry III. of Castile to Timur in 1403, written by the head of the mission, Ruy Gonzalez de CLAVIJO (*q.v.*).

Biographies.

The other productions of Castilian prose in the 13th and 14th centuries are for the most part didactic and sententious compositions, which, however, contain illustrations or tales of Eastern origin. The Spanish translation of *Kalila and Dimna*, made direct from an Arabic text, dates from the middle of the 13th century, and the romance of the *Seven Sages (Sindibad)*, published under the title of *Ensayos é Assayamientos de las Mugerres*, must be referred to almost the same period. From the second half of the 13th century the collections of sentences, *dits*, apologues, and moral tales become very numerous: first of all, versions of the *Secretum Secretorum*, attributed in the Middle Ages to Aristotle, one of which is entitled *Poridat de las Poridades*, next the *Proverbios Buenos*, the *Bocados de Oro* or *Libro de Bonium*, *Rey de Persia*, the *Libro de los Gatos*, which is derived from the *Narraciones* of Eudes of Cheriton. But the most celebrated is the *Libro de los Castigos y Documentos* of King Sancho IV. (died 1295), who also composed a *Lucidario*, a kind of encyclopædia of theology, morals, and natural history. It was during the first half of the 14th century that the nephew of Alfonso X., the infant Juan Manuel (1282-1349), wrote those various works which place him in the first rank of mediæval Spanish prose writers. The best known is the collection of tales, many of them borrowed from Oriental sources, entitled *El Conde Lucanor*; but besides this contribution to light literature he wrote graver and more specially instructive works, notably the *Libro de los Estados* or *Libro del Infante*, a kind of manual of education, domestic economy, and politics; the *Libro del Caballero é del Escudero*, a practical treatise on chivalry somewhat resembling a work of Raymond Lully on the same subject. Unfortunately Juan Manuel's poems, which he had collected in a *Libro de las Cantigas* or *de los Cantares*, have been lost. The knowledge of antiquity, previously so poor and vague, made remarkable progress in the 14th century. It was thought desirable to learn more about certain episodes of ancient history, such as the War of Troy, and therefore the poem on that subject by the Frenchman Benoît de Sainte-More and the Latin narrative of Guido de Columna were both translated. Pedro Lopez de Ayala translated or caused to be translated Pierre Bersuire's French version of Livy, Boëtius, and various writings of Isidore of Seville and Boccaccio.

While the Carolingian cycle is mainly represented in Spain by romances, of which the oldest seem to be frag-

ments of lost poems of the *juglares*, the British cycle (Lancelot, Tristram, Merlin, &c.) is represented almost exclusively by works in prose (compare ROMANCE). Those narratives are known, it is true, only by 15th and 16th century editions in which they have been more or less modified to suit the taste of the time, but it is impossible not to recognize that books such as *El Baladro del Sabio Merlin* and *La Demanda del Sancto Grial* (1515) presuppose a considerable antecedent literature of which they are only the afterglow. The principal French romances of the Round Table were translated and imitated in Spain and in Portugal as early as the first half of the 14th century at least; of that there is no doubt. And, even if there was not on this point satisfactory testimony, the prodigious development in Spanish literature of the *caballerias* or "book of chivalry," incontrovertibly derived from fictions of British origin, is proof enough that the Spaniards have at an early date been familiarized with this romance from France. The first book which begins the series of strictly Spanish *caballerias* is the *Amadis de Gaula* (*i.e.*, of Wales, not France). We know the *Amadis* only by the version made about 1480 in four books by Garcé Ordoñez de Montalvo (the oldest edition extant is dated 1508), but the work in its original form (three books), already widely distributed and celebrated by various Castilian poets from about 1350, must have been composed at the latest in the second third of the 14th century. A few rather vague hints and certain sentimental considerations lead one to seek for the unknown author of the first *Amadis* in Portugal, where the romances of the Round Table were even more highly appreciated than in Spain, and where they have exercised a deeper influence on the national literature. To Montalvo, however, falls the honour of having preserved the book by republishing it; he only made the mistake of diluting the original text too much and of adding a poor continuation, *Las Sergas de Esplandian*. Allied to Montalvo's *Amadis* with its Esplandian appendage are the *Don Florisando* and the *Lisuarte de Grecia*, the *Amadis de Grecia*, the *Don Florisel de Niquea*, &c., which form what Cervantes called the "Amadis sect." Along with the Amadis range the Palmerines, the most celebrated of which are the *Palmerin de Oliva*, the *Primaleon*, and the *Palmerin de Inglaterra*. None of those *caballerias* inspired by the *Amadis* were printed or even written before the 16th century; and they bear in language and style the stamp of that period; but they cannot be separated from their mediæval model, the spirit of which they have preserved intact. Among the *caballerias* we may also class some narratives belonging to the Carolingian epic,—the *Historia del Emperador Carlomagno y de los Doce Pares*, a very popular version still reprinted of the French romance of *Fierabras*, the *Espejo de Caballerias*, into which has passed a large part of the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo, the *Historia de la Reina Sibilla*, &c.

The first half of the 15th century, or, what comes almost to the same thing, the reign of John II. of Castile (1407-1454), is as regards its literature characterized by three facts—(1) by the development of a court poetry, artificial and pretentious; (2) by the influence of Italian literature on Castilian prose and poetry, the imitation of Boccaccio and Dante, especially of the latter, which introduced into Spain a liking for allegory; and (3) by more assiduous intercourse with antiquity—a fuller understanding of the Latin writers who had been brought to the front by the Italian renaissance. After the example of the Provençals, whose literary doctrines had made their way into Castile through Portugal and Catalonia, poetry is now styled the *arte de trobar*. The *arte de trobar* is strictly "court" poetry, which consists in short pieces of rather

complicated versification,—love plaints, debates, questions, and repartees, *motets* with their *glosas*, burlesque and satirical songs,—a poetry wholly "occasional," and which when separated from its natural environment loses great part of its charm. In order to understand and appreciate those pieces they must be read in the collections made by the poets of the time, and the one must be brought to throw light on the other. The most celebrated *cancionero* of the 15th century is that compiled for the amusement of his sovereign by Alfonso de Baena (who has not designated himself a Jew, as has been supposed, the word *judino* attached to his name in the preface being nothing but *indino*); it is, so to say, the official collection of the poetic court of John II., although it also contains some pieces by poets of earlier date. After Baena's collection may be mentioned the *Cancionero de Stuuiga*, which contains the Castilian poems of the *trobadores* who followed Alfonso V. of Aragon to Naples. Those *cancioneros*, consisting of the productions of a society, a group, were succeeded by collections of a more general character in which versifiers of very different periods and localities are jumbled together, the pieces being classed simply according to their type. The earliest *Cancionero General* is that compiled by Juan Fernandez de Constantina, which appears to have issued from the Valencia press in the very beginning of the 16th century; the second, much better known, was published for the first time at Valencia in 1511; its editor was called Fernando del Castillo. The other poetic school of the 15th century, which claims to be specially related to the Italians, had as its leaders Juan de Mena (1411-1456), author of the *Coronacion* and the *Labirinto* or *Las Trecentas* (a long poem so called because of the number of stanzas which, according to the scheme, were to compose it), and the marquis of Santillana, D. Íñigo Lopez de Mendoza (1398-1458), who in his sonnets was the first to imitate the structure of the Italian *endecasillabo*. Along with those two, who may be designated *poetas*, in distinction from the *decidores* and the *trobadores* of the *cancioneros*, must be ranked Francisco Imperial, a Genoese by descent, who also helped to acclimatize in Spain the forms of Italian poetry. The marquis of Santillana occupies a considerable place in the literature of the 15th century, not only by reason of his poems, but quite as much if not more through the support he afforded to all the writers of his time, and the impulse he gave to the study of antiquity and to the labours of translators who at his request turned Virgil, Ovid, Seneca, &c., into Castilian. He himself was not acquainted with Latin; but the generous efforts he made to stir up his fellow-countrymen to learn it have justly procured him the title of father of Spanish humanism. That he had an extensive knowledge of the national literature and of the literatures of France and Italy he has shown in the preface to his works, which is a sort of *ars poetica* as well as an historical exposition of the kinds of poetry cultivated in the Middle Ages by the Spaniards and the neighbouring nations.

With the exception of the chronicles and some *caballerias*, the prose of the 15th century contains nothing very striking. The translation of Virgil by Enrique de Villena (died 1434) is very clumsy and shows no advance on the versions of Latin authors made in the previous century; better worth reading is the *Trabajos de Hercules*, a whimsical production but with some savour in its style. A curious and amusing book, full of details about Spanish manners, is the *Corbacho* of the archpriest of Talavera, Alonso Martinez de Toledo, chaplain to King John II.; the *Corbacho* belongs to the numerous family of satires against women, and its title ("The Lash" or "Whip") borrowed from a work of Boccaccio's, with which it has otherwise nothing akin, correctly indicates that he has not spared them.

The ancient liturgical Spanish theatre is known to us only by fragments of the play of the *Magian Kings*, of which mention has already been made; but certain regulations of the code of the *Siete Partidas* (compiled between 1252 and 1257) prove that this theatre existed, and that at the great festivals, such as Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter, dramatic representations were given in church. These representations, originally a mere commentary on the liturgy, grew more complicated in course of time; they were gradually adulterated with buffoonery, which frequently brought down the censure of the clergy. Alfonso the Wise even thought it necessary formally to forbid the "clerks" playing *juegos de escarnios*, and permitted in the sanctuary only dramas destined to commemorate the principal episodes of the life of Christ. Of all the church festivals, the most popular in Spain was that of Corpus Christi, instituted by Urban IV. in 1264. At an early date was introduced the custom of accompanying the celebration of this festival with dramatic representations intended to explain to the faithful the Eucharistic mystery. Those dramas, called *autos sacramentales*, acquired more and more importance; in the 17th century, with Calderon, they become grand allegorical pieces, regular theological dissertations in the form of dramas. To the *auto sacramental* corresponds the *auto al nacimiento*, or drama of the Nativity. The secular theatre is in Spain as elsewhere a product of the religious theatre. Expelled from the church, the *juegos de escarnios* took possession of the public squares and there obtained a free development; they cease to be a mere travesty of dogma to become a separate type, a drama whose movement is no longer determined by the liturgy, and whose actors are borrowed from real life in Spanish society. This new theatre starts about the close of the 15th century with the little pastoral pieces of Juan del Encina (died 1534), which, after Virgil's example, he calls *eglogas*. Genuine shepherds, clumsy, rude, and long-haired (*melenudos*), are the interlocutors of those bucolics, into which are also sometimes introduced students, and even, by Lucas Fernandez, a contemporary and pupil of Encina's, gentlemen (*caballeros*) and soldiers. A book which, strictly speaking, does not belong to the theatre, the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, by Fernando de Rojas, much better known as *La Celestina*, and dating from about 1492, caused the new theatre, still so childish in the attempts of the school of Encina, to make a gigantic step onwards. The history of two lovers, who are brought together by a go-between (*Celestina*), and who after various vicissitudes ultimately commit suicide,—this astonishing novel taught the Spaniards the art of dialogue, and for the first time exhibited persons of all classes of society (particularly the lowest) speaking in harmony with their natural surroundings, thinking and acting in accordance with their condition of life. The progress caused by the *Celestina* may be estimated by means of the *Propaladia* of Bartolomé Torres Naharro (Naples, 1517), a collection of pieces represented at Rome in presence of Leo X. and distributed by their author into two groups—*comedias a noticia*, those treating of things really known and seen, and *comedias a fantasia*, those bringing fictions on the stage, though it may be with the appearance of reality. The most interesting, if not the best composed, are the *comedia soldadesca*, depicting to the life the Spanish man-at-arms of the time, and the *comedia tinelaria*, a picture of the manners of the menials of the pontifical court. Torres Naharro is the first Spaniard who borrowed from France the division of the play into "days" (*jornadas*); shortly after Naharro we find the comedy of manners in Lope de Rueda, goldbeater of Seville (died about 1566), whose dramatic work is composed of regular comedies constructed

on the model of Naharro and Italian authors of the beginning of the 16th century, and also of little pieces intended for performance in the intervals between the larger plays (*entremeses* and *pasos*), some of which, such as *El Convidado*, *El Rufian Cobarde*, *Las Aceitunas*, are storehouses of sprightliness and wit. Some of Naharro's and especially of Rueda's pieces have already the character of the comedy of intrigue, which is emphatically the type of the classic stage. But to reach Lope de Vega the Spanish stage had to be enlarged in relation to national history. A poet of Seville, Juan de la Cueva (born about 1550), first brought on the boards subjects such as the exploits of the Cid, Bernardo del Carpio, and others, which had previously been treated of only in the "romances." To a poet called Berrio, of whose work nothing has been preserved, are attributed the *comedias* of Moors and Christians, in which were represented famous episodes of the age-long struggle against the infidel. And it is at this period that Cervantes (1585) experimented in the dramatic line; in his *Tratos de Argel* he gives us a picture of galley-life, painful recollections of his long captivity in Algiers. There is no need to linger over certain attempts at tragedy of the ancient type by Geronimo Bermudez (born 1530), Cristóbal de Virues (born about 1550), Lupericio Leonardo Argensola (1562-1613), &c., the only successful specimen of which is the *Numancia* of Cervantes; these works in fact, cold and manneristic, mere exercises in style and versification, remained without influence on the development of the Spanish stage. The pre-classic period of this stage is, as regards dramatic form, one of indecision. Some write in prose, like Rueda; others, like Naharro, show a preference for the *redondillas* of popular poetry; and there are those again who, to elevate the style of the stage, versify in hendecasyllabics. Hesitation is also evident as to the mode of dividing the drama. At first a division into five acts, after the manner of the ancients, is adopted, and this is still followed by Cervantes in his first pieces; then Juan de la Cueva reduced the five acts to four, and in this he is imitated by most of the poets to the close of the 16th century (Lope de Vega himself in his youth composed pieces in four acts). It was only at this time that the custom which is still maintained of dividing all dramatic works into three acts or days was introduced,—exception of course being made of short pieces like the *loa* (prologue), the *entremes*, the *paso*, the *baile* (different kinds of *entr'acte*).

The golden age of Spanish literature, as it is called, belongs to the 16th and 17th centuries, extending approximately from 1550 to 1650. Previous to the reign of the Catholic sovereigns there exists, strictly speaking, only a Castilian literature, not very self-reliant and largely influenced by imitation first of France and then of Italy; the union of the two crowns of Aragon and Castile, and afterwards the advent of the house of Austria and the king of Spain's election as emperor, proved the creation at once of the political unity of Spain and of Spanish literature. After the death of Philip IV. (1665) this fair-shining light went out; the nation, exhausted by distant expeditions, the colonization of America, Continental wars, and bad administration, produced nothing; its literary genius sank in the general decline, and Spain is destined ere long to be subjected again to the influence of France, to which she had submitted during all the first period of the Middle Ages. In the 16th and 17th centuries the literature is eminently national. Of course all is not equally original, and in certain kinds of literature the Spaniards continue to seek models abroad.

Lyric poetry, especially that of the highest order, is always inspired by the Italian masters. An irresistible

tendency leads the Spanish poets to rhyme in hendecasyllabics—as the marquis of Santillana had formerly done, though his attempts had fallen into oblivion—and to group their verses in tercets, octaves, sonnets, and *canciones* (*cançons*). Garcilaso de la Vega (1503-1536), Juan Boscan (1493-c. 1550), and Diego de Mendoza (1503-1575) are the recognized chiefs of the school *al italiano modo*, and to them belongs the honour of having successfully transplanted to Spain those different forms of verse, and of having enriched and improved the poetic language of their country. The few uncouthnesses of which Mendoza and Boscan more especially are guilty (such as certain faults of rhythmic accentuation) were corrected by their disciples Gutierrez de Cetina, Gregorio Silvestre, Hernando de Acuña, by the poets of the so-called school of Seville, headed by Fernando de Herrera (died 1597), and also by those of the rival school of Salamanca, rendered famous mainly by the inspired poetry of Fr. Luis de Leon (1528-1591). Against those innovators the poets faithful to the old Castilian manner, the rhymers of *redondillas* and romances, hold their own; under the direction of Cristóbal de Castillejo (1556) they carry on a fierce war of the pen against the "Petrarchists." But by the last third of the 16th century the triumph of the new Italian school is assured, and no one any longer thinks of reproaching it for its foreign flavour. Only a sort of schism is effected from that period between the higher poetry and the other varieties: the former employs only the hendecasyllabic and the heptasyllabic (*quebrado*), while the popular poets, or those who affect a more familiar tone, preserve the national metres. Almost all the poets, however, of the 16th and 17th centuries have tried their powers in both kinds of versification, using them in turn according to the nature of their subjects. Thus Lope de Vega, first of all, who wrote *La Jerusalem Conquistada* (1609), *La Dragontea* (1602), *La Hermosura de Angélica* (1602), in Italian verses and in octaves, composed his long narrative poem on Isidore, the husbandman patron of Madrid (1599), in quintils of octosyllabic verse, not to mention a great number of "romances." As regards this last form, previously disdained or almost so by artistic poets, Lope de Vega gave it a prestige that brought it into favour with the literates of the court. A host of poets were pleased to recast the old "romances" or to compose new ones. The 17th century, it may be said, is characterized by a regular surfeit of lyric poetry, to which the establishment of various literary academies in the Italian style contributed not a little. Of this enormous mass of verses of all sorts and sizes very little still keeps afloat: the names of three-fourths of the versifiers must be forgotten, and in addition to those already cited it will be sufficient to mention Luis de Góngora (1561-1626) and Francisco de Quevedo Villegas (1580-1645). Góngora is especially famous as the founder of the "cultist" school, as the introducer into Castilian poetry of a flowery, bombastic, and periphrastic style, characterized by sonorous vocables and artificial arrangements of phrase. The Spaniards have given the name of *culto* to this pompous and manneristic style, with its system of inversions based on Latin syntax. The *Soledades* of Góngora are the monument *par excellence* of Spanish mannerism, which made numerous victims and inflicted on the poetry of the Peninsula irreparable injury. But Góngora, a poet of really great powers, had started better, and as often as he cares to forget about being sonorous and affected, and is contented to rhyme romances, he finds true poetic accents, ingenious ideas, and felicitous expressions. Quevedo, much greater, moreover, in his prose works than in his verse, displays real power only in satire, epigram, and parody. There are in some of his serious pieces the stuff of a Juvenal, and his satiric and

burlesque romances, of which several are even written in slang (*germanía*), are in their way little masterpieces. Another commonplace of Spanish poetry at this period was epic poetry after the style of Tasso's *Gerusalemme*. None of those interminable and prosaic compositions in *octavas reales* come near their model; none of them could even be compared in style, elevation of thought, and beauty of imagery to the *Lusiadas*. They are in reality only rhymed chronicles, and consequently, when the author happens to have taken part in the events he narrates, they have a genuine historical interest. Such is the case with the *Araucana* of Alonso de Ercilla (1533-1594), of which it may be said that it was written less with a pen than with a pike. In burlesque poetry the Spaniards have been rather more successful: *La Gatonaquia* of Lope de Vega and *La Mosquera* of Villaviciosa (died 1658) are somewhat agreeable pieces of fun.

The departments of imaginative literature in which the genius of the new Spanish nation revealed itself with most vigour and originality are the *novela* and the drama. By *novela* must be understood the novel of manners, called *picaresca* (from *picaro*, a rogue or "picaroon") because of the social status of the heroes of those fictions; and this kind of novel is quite an invention of the Spaniards. Their pastoral romance, on the other hand—the best known examples of which are the *Diana Enamorada* of Jorge de Montemayor (died 1561), continued by Alonso Perez and Gaspar Gil Polo, the *Galatea* of Cervantes, and the *Arcadia* of Lope de Vega, as well as their novel of adventure, started by Cervantes in his *Novelas Ejemplares* (1613), and cultivated after him by a host of writers—is directly derived from Italy. The *Arcadia* of Sannazaro is the source of the *Diana* and of all its imitations, just as the Italian *novellieri* alone are the masters of the Spanish *novelistas* of the 17th century. The picaresque novel starts in the middle of the 16th century with the *Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes, sus Fortunas y Adversidades* (1554), the work of a very bold intellect whose personality unfortunately remains unknown, there being no satisfactory reason for assigning this little book, which is as remarkable for the vigour of its satire as for the sobriety and firmness of its style, to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. A supplement to the adventures of Lazarillo appeared at Antwerp in 1555; it is probably, however, not the production of the author of the original romance. The impetus was given, and the success of *Lazarillo* was so great that imitators soon appeared. In 1599 Mateo Aleman published, under the title of *Atalaya de la Vida Humana*, the first part of the adventures of another picaroon, Guzman de Alfarache; and, as he was in no hurry to finish this narrative, another writer, jealous of his success, took possession of it and issued in 1603, under the pseudonym of Mateo Luxan, a continuation of the first Guzman. Aleman, not to be thwarted, resumed his pen, and published the second part of his romance in 1605. Quite unlike that of the *Lazarillo*, the style of Mateo Aleman of Seville is eloquent, full, with long and learned periods, sometimes diffuse. Nothing could be more extravagant and more obscure than the history of Justina the beggar woman (*La Pícarra Justina*) by Francisco Lopez de Ubeda (1605), an assumed name which concealed the person of the Dominican Andrés Perez de Leon. The other picaresque romances are—*Alonso Mozo de muchos Amos*, by Geronimo de Alcalá (two parts, 1624 and 1626); the *Historia y Vida del Gran Tacaño Pablo de Segovia* (1626), in which Quevedo has made his most brilliant display of style and wit; the *Garduña de Sevilla* (1634) of Alonso de Castillo Solorzano; *La Vida y Hechos de Estebanillo Gonzalez* (1646), described as *compuesto por el mesmo*, but an Esteban Gonzalez is unknown in the literary history of the 17th century.