

romances, which he had studied with unequalled thoroughness, and of which he published highly esteemed collections.

If the struggle between classicists and romanticists continued even after 1830, and continued to divide the literary world into two opposing camps, it is plain that the new generation—that which occupied the scene from 1840 till about 1868—had other preoccupations. The triumph of the new ideas is now assured; only a few reactionaries are still seen to cling to the principles bequeathed by the 18th century. What was now being aimed at was the creation of a new literature which should be truly national and no longer a mere echo of that beyond the Pyrenees. To the question whether contemporary Spain has indeed succeeded in calling into existence such a literature, we may well hesitate to give an affirmative answer. It is true that in every species of composition, the gravest as well as the lightest, it can show works of genuine talent; but many of them are strikingly deficient in originality; all of them either bear unmistakable traces of imitation of foreign models, or show (more or less happily) the imprint of the older literature of the 17th century, to which the historical criticism of Duran and the labours of various other scholars had given a flavour of novelty. With this observation before him, the student can divide the authors of this period into two groups,—the one composed of those who, won by modern ideas, are more or less liberal in politics, and draw their inspiration in all they write from France or from what they are able to assimilate of other literatures through France; the other consisting of ultra-conservatives, whose dream in every sphere—letters, art, and politics—is the restoration of the Spain of the past. Nowhere does this antagonism manifest itself more clearly than in the drama. A play of Aureliano Fernandez Guerra might have been conceived and written by a contemporary of Lope or of Calderon, while a comedy of Adelardo Lopez de Ayala is moulded in the pattern given by the younger Dumas and by Augier. In the department of romance, on the other hand—much neglected by the writers of the first half of the century—the Spaniards have recovered something of the genius of Cervantes and their 17th century *novelas picarescas*. The art of constructing a story and of telling it in an agreeable way, which seemed for a long time to have been lost, is recovered in such authors as Fernan Caballero, Antonio de Trueba, Pedro Antonio de Alarcon, Juan Valera, Perez Galdos, and Pereda. These novelists are far from alike in method or in spirit; how widely separated, for example, are the somewhat banal facility and the sentimental catholicism of Fernan Caballero on the one hand, and the searching psychological analysis and the fine scepticism of Juan Valera on the other. But all have this in common, that they understand how to interest their readers, and how to make their characters live and speak. Incontestably the novel is the triumph of contemporary Spanish literature; it is almost the only kind of composition that actually lives with a life of its own and makes steady progress. One cannot say as much of lyric poetry, represented feebly enough by Ramon de Campoamor, Nuñez de Arce, and some others. Deficient inspiration, diffuseness of style, and want of precision in language characterize them all; it is unfortunately very easy to make mediocre verses in Spanish, and too many people give themselves over to the pursuit. Passing from the literature of amusement, we have still some very distinguished names to enumerate. Philosophy, indeed, has but one representative of merit, the traditionalist Jaime Balmes,—for the Krausist school, an importation from Germany, may be ignored here,—but history and literary criticism have been cultivated during the last thirty years or so with genuine success. Modesto Lafuente is in some sort the Mariana of the 19th

century; much inferior as a writer to the celebrated Jesuit, he has, however, always manifested the same passion for his subject, the same persevering determination to raise a worthy monument of his fatherland; his *Historia de España*, in spite of all its defects, deserves respect, and is at least readable. Although primarily a politician, Antonio Cánovas del Castillo has many of the qualities which go to the making of a good historian; he has evinced greater acuteness and larger acquirements than Lafuente, and his *Ensayo sobre la Casa de Austria en España*, founded upon a careful examination of a large number of documents, gives evidence of a correct judgment and praiseworthy impartiality. The literary history of old Spain has been treated in a masterly manner by Aureliano Fernandez Guerra in various studies devoted to the great writers of the 17th century, notably Quevedo, and also quite recently by a young and talented scholar, Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, whose *Historia de las Ideas Estéticas en España*, a work as solid in its substance as it is pure in its style, would do honour to any veteran in literature. As regards criticism of contemporary literature, no one shows more spirit and taste than Juan Valera, whose delicate Andalusian nature has been matured by a refining education and by an adequate knowledge of foreign literatures.

*Bibliography.*—The base of the student's operations is always the great work of Nicolas Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus* and *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, in the revised and completed edition of Francisco Perez Bayer, Tomas Antonio Sanchez, and Juan Antonio Pellicer (Madrid, 1783-88, 4 vols. fol.). The student can afford to disregard all the general histories which preceded Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* (New York, 1849, 3 vols. 8vo, 4th ed., Boston, 1872, 3 vols. 8vo), a work of solid value, especially from the bibliographical point of view; it is quite indispensable that the reader should consult also the Spanish translation by D. Pascual de Gayangos and Enrique de Vedia (Madrid, 1851-56) and the German translation of Julius with some important additions by Ferdinand Wolf (Leipsic, 1852-67). Nothing can be said in favour of the French translation by J. G. Magnabal (Paris, 1864-72). The *Historia Crítica de la Literatura Española* of José Amador de los Rios (Madrid, 1861-65, 7 vols. 8vo), although deficient in criticism and full of errors in fact, supplies some useful information as to the period prior to the 15th century, with which it exclusively deals. Menéndez Pelayo's *Historia de las Ideas Estéticas en España* (Madrid, 1884-86, 3 vols. 8vo), already referred to, is very instructive. For the 18th century, Leopoldo A. de Cueto's "Bosquejo Histórico-Crítico de la Poesía Castellana en el Siglo xviii.," prefixed to the first vol. of Rivadeneyra's *Poetas Líricos del Siglo xviii.*, is indispensable. For the 19th century there is not as yet any satisfactory work dealing with the literature as a whole; that of M. G. Hubbard, *Histoire de la Littérature Contemporaine en Espagne* (Paris, 1876, 1 vol. 8vo), although superficial and inaccurate, is useful in the absence of anything better. Some descriptions of Castilian literature have been specially studied with care and competence, notably the drama, on which we have two thorough works,—Frederick von Schack's *Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur u. Kunst in Spanien* (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1846-54, 3 vols. 8vo), unfortunately now much behindhand, and in no way improved in this respect in the Spanish translation now in course of publication at Madrid under the superintendence of Eduardo de Mier, and Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera's excellent *Catálogo Bibliográfico y Biográfico del Teatro Antiguo Español* (Madrid, 1860, large 8vo). On the Castilian literature of the Middle Ages, the works to be consulted are Ferdinand Wolf's *Studien zur Geschichte der Spanischen u. Portugiesischen Nationalliteratur* (Berlin, 1859, 1 vol. 8vo) and Manuel Milá y Fontanals's *De la Poesía Heroico-Popular Castellana* (Barcelona, 1874, 1 vol. 8vo).

II. CATALAN LITERATURE.—Although the Catalan language is simply a branch of the southern Gallo-Roman, the literature, in its origin at least, ought to be considered as a mere appendix of that of Provence. Nay more, until about the second half of the 13th century there existed in the Catalan districts no other literature than the Provençal, and the poets of north-eastern Spain used no other language than that of the troubadours. Guillem de Bergadan, Uc de Mataplana, Ramon Vidal de Besalú, Guillem de Cervera, Serveri de Gerona, and several other verse writers of a still more recent date are all genuine Provençal poets, in the same sense as are those of

Limousin, Quercy, or Auvergne, since they write in the *langue d'oc* and make use of all the forms of poetry cultivated by the troubadours north of the Pyrenees. Ramon Vidal (end of 12th century and beginning of 13th) was a grammarian as well as a poet; his *Rasos de Trobar* became the code for the Catalan poetry written in Provençal, which he called *Lemosí*, a name still kept up in Spain to designate, not the literary idiom of the troubadours only, but also the local idiom—Catalan,—which the Spaniards choose to consider as derived from the former. The influence of R. Vidal and other grammarians of his school, as well as that of the troubadours we have named, lasted for a very long time; and even after Catalan prose—an exact reflexion of the spoken language of the south-east of the Pyrenees—had given evidence of its vitality in some considerable works, the Catalan poetry remained faithful to the Provençal tradition. From the combination of spoken Catalan with the literary language of the troubadours there arose a sort of composite idiom, which has some analogy with the Franco-Italian current in certain parts of Italy in the Middle Ages, although in the one case the elements of the mixture are more distinctly apparent than are the romance of France and the romance of Italy in the other. The poetical works of Raymond Lully (Ramon Lull) (died 1315) are among the oldest examples of this Provençalized Catalan; one has only to read the fine piece entitled *Lo Desconort* ("Despair"), or some of his stanzas on religious subjects, to apprehend at once the eminently composite nature of that language. Muntaner in like manner, whose prose is exactly that spoken by his contemporaries, becomes troubadour when he writes in verse; his *Sermó* on the conquest of Sardinia and Corsica (1323), introduced into his *Chronicle* of the kings of Aragon, exhibits linguistically quite the same mixed character as is found in Lully, or, we may venture to say, in all the Catalan verse writers of the 14th century. These are not very numerous, nor are their works of any great merit. The majority of their compositions consist of what were called *noves rimades*, that is, stories in octosyllabic verse in rhymed couplets. There exist poems of this class by Pere March, by a certain Torrella, by Bernat Metge (an author more celebrated for his prose), and by others whose names we do not know; among the works belonging to this last category special mention ought to be made of a version of the romance of the *Seven Sages*, a translation of a book on good breeding entitled *Facetus*, and certain tales where, by the choice of subjects, by various borrowings, and even occasionally by the wholesale introduction of pieces of French poetry, it is clearly evident that the writers of Catalonia understood and read the *langue d'oui*. Closely allied to the *noves rimades* is another analogous form of versification—that of the *codolada*, consisting of a series of verses of eight and four syllables, rhyming in pairs, still made use of in one portion of the Catalan domain (Majorca).

The 15th century is the golden age of Catalan poetry. At the instigation and under the auspices of John I. (1387-1395), Martin I. (1395-1410), and Ferdinand I. (1410-1416), kings of Aragon, there was founded at Barcelona a consistency of the "Gay Saber," on the model of that of Toulouse, and this official protection accorded to poetry was the beginning of a new style much more emancipated from Provençal influence. It cannot be denied, indeed, that its forms are still of foreign importation, that the Catalan verse writers accept the prescriptions of the *Leys d'Amor* of Guillaume Molinier, and the names which they gave to their *cobles* (stanzas) are all borrowed from the same *art de trobar* of the school of Toulouse; but, a very noteworthy fact, their language begins to rid itself more and more of Provençalisms and

tends to become the same as that of prose and of ordinary conversation. With Pere and Jaume March, Jordi de Sant Jordi, Johan de Masdovelles, Francesch Ferrer, Pere Torroella, Pau de Bellviure, Antoni Vallmanya, and, above all, the Valencian Ausias March (died 1459), there flourished a new school, of which the *éclat* lasted till the end of the 15th century, and which, as regards the form of its versification, is distinguished by its almost exclusive employment of eight-verse *cobles* of ten syllables, each with "crossed" or "chained" rhymes (*cobla croçada* or *encadenada*), each composition ending with a *tornada* of four verses, in the first of which the "device" (*divís* or *senyal*) of the poet is given out. The greater number of these poems are still unedited or have only recently been extracted from the *cançoners*, where they had been collected in the 15th century. Ausias March alone, the most inspired, the most profound, but also the most obscure of the whole group, had the honour to be printed in the 16th century; his *cants d'amor* and *cants de mort* contain the finest verses ever written in Catalan, but the poet fails to keep up to his own high level, and by his studied obscurity occasionally becomes unintelligible to such a degree that one of his editors accuses him of having written in Basque. Of a wholly different class, and in quite another spirit, is the *Libre de les Dones* of Jaume Roig (died 1478), a Valencian also, like March; this long poem is a *nova rimada*, only *comediada*, that is to say, it is in quadrisyllabic instead of octosyllabic verse. A bitter and caustic satire upon women, it purports to be a true history,—the history of the poet himself and of his three unhappy marriages in particular. Notwithstanding its author's allegations, however, the *Libre de les Dones* does not seem to be other than a fiction; but it derives a very piquant interest from its really authentic element, its vivid picture of the Valencia of the 15th century and the details of the manners of that time. After this bright period of efflorescence Catalan poetry rapidly fell off, a decline due more to the force of circumstances than to any fault of the poets. The union of Aragon with Castile, and the resulting predominance of Castilian throughout Spain, inflicted a death blow on Catalan literature, especially on its artistic poetry, a kind of composition more ready than any other to avail itself of the triumphant idiom which soon came to be regarded by men of letters as the only noble one, and alone fit to be the vehicle of elevated or refined thoughts. The fact that a Catalan, Juan Boscan, inaugurates in the Castilian language a new kind of poetry, and that the Castilians themselves regard him as the head of a school, is important and characteristic; the date of the publication of the works of Boscan (1543) marks the end of Catalan poetry.

The earliest prose works in Catalan are later indeed than the poems of the oldest Catalan troubadours of the Provençal school, not dating farther back than from the close of the 13th century, but they have the advantage of being entirely original; their language is the very language of the soil which we see appearing in charters from about the time of the accession of James I. (1213). This is true especially of the chronicles, a little less so of the other writings, which, like the poetry, have difficulty in escaping the influence of the more polished dialect of the country to the north of the Pyrenees. Its chronicles are the best ornament of mediæval Catalan prose. Four of them,—that of James I., apparently reduced to writing a little after his death (1276) with the help of memoirs dictated by himself during his lifetime; that of Bernat Des Clot, which deals chiefly with the reign of Pedro III. of Aragon (1276-1286); that of Ramon Muntaner (first half of the 14th century), relating at length the expedition of the Catalan company to the Morea and the conquest

of Sardinia by James II.; finally that of Pedro IV., The Ceremonious (1336-1387), genuine commentaries of that astute monarch, arranged by certain officials of his court, notably by Bernat Des Coll,—these four works are distinguished alike by the artistic skill of their narration and by the quality of their language; it would not be too much to liken these Catalan chroniclers, and Muntaner especially, to Villehardouin, Joinville, and Froissart. The Doctor Illuminatus, Raymond Lully, whose acquaintance with Latin was very poor,—his philosophical works were done into that language by his disciples,—wrote in a somewhat Provençalized Catalan various moral and propagandist works,—the romance *Blanquerna* in praise of the solitary life, the *Llibre de les Maravelles*, into which is introduced a "bestiary" taken by the author from *Kalilah and Dimnag*, and the *Llibre del Orde de Cavalleria*, a manual of the perfect knight, besides a variety of other treatises and opuscula of minor importance. The majority of the writings of Lully exist in two versions,—one in the vernacular, which is his own, the other in Latin, originating with his disciples, who desired to give currency throughout Christendom to their master's teachings. Lully—who was very popular in the lay world, although the clergy had a low opinion of him and in the 15th century even set themselves to obtain a condemnation of his works by the Inquisition—had a rival in the person of Francesch Ximenez or Eximeniz, a Franciscan, born at Gerona some time after 1350. His *Crestia* (printed in 1483-84) is a vast encyclopædia of theology, morals, and politics for the use of the laity, supplemented in various aspects by his three other works—*Vida de Jesu Christ*, *Llibre dels Angels*, and *Llibre de les Dones*; the last-named, which is at once a book of devotion and a manual of domestic economy, contains a number of curious details as to a Catalan woman's manner of life and the luxury of the period. Lully and Eximeniz are the only Catalan authors of the 14th century whose works written in a vulgar tongue had the honour of being translated into French shortly after their appearance.

We have chiefly translators and historians in the 15th century. Antoni Canals, a Dominican, who belongs also to the previous century, translates into Catalan Valerius Maximus and a treatise of St Bernard; Bernat Metge himself well-versed in Italian literature, presents some of its great masters to his countrymen by translating the *Griselidis* of Petrarch, and also by composing *Lo Somni* ("The Dream"), in which the influence of Dante, of Boccaccio, and, generally speaking, of the Italy of the 13th and 14th centuries is very perceptible. The *Feyts d'Armes de Catalunya* of Bernat Boades, a knightly chronicle brought to a close in 1420, reveals a spirit of research and a conscientiousness in the selection of materials which are truly remarkable for the age in which it was written. On the other hand, Pere Tomich, in his *Histories e Conquestes del Reynalme d'Aragó* (1438), carries us back too much to the manner of the mediæval chroniclers; his credulity knows no bounds, while his style has altogether lost the naive charm of that of Muntaner. To the list of authors who represent the leading tendencies of the literature of the 15th century we must add the name of Johanot Martorell, a Valencian, author of the celebrated romance of chivalry *Tirant lo Blanch* (finished in 1460), which the reader has nowadays some difficulty in regarding as that "treasury of contentment" which Cervantes will have it to be.

With the loss of political was bound to coincide that of literary independence in the Catalonian countries. Catalan fell to the rank of a patois and was written less and less; lettered persons ceased to cultivate it, and the upper classes, especially in Valencia, owing to the proximity of Castile, soon affected to make no further use of the local speech except in familiar conversation. The 16th century,

in fact, furnishes literary history with hardly more than a single poet at all worthy of the name—Pere Serafi, some of whose pieces, in the style of Ausias March, but less obscure, are graceful enough and deserve to live; his poems were printed at Barcelona in 1565. Prose is somewhat better represented, but, to tell the truth, it is only the erudite who persist in writing in Catalan,—antiquaries and historians like Pere Miguel Carbonell, compiler of the *Chroniques de Espanya* (1547); Francesch Tarafa, Pere Anton Beuter, also chroniclers, and some others not so well known. In the 17th and 18th centuries the decadence becomes still more marked. A few scattered attempts to restore to the Catalan, now more and more neglected by men of letters, some of its old life and brilliance, fail miserably. Neither Hieronim Pujades the historian, author of a *Coronica Universal del Principat* (Barcelona, 1609), nor even Dr Vicens Garcia, rector of Vallfogona (1582-1623), a verse-writer by no means destitute of verve or humour, but whose literary talent and originality have been very greatly exaggerated by the Catalans of the present day, was able to bring back his countrymen to a cultivation of the local idiom. Some sermons, some lives of saints, some books of devotion, some relations and complaints for the use of the people, exhaust the catalogue of everything written in Catalan throughout the whole area of its domains down to the beginning of the present century; not a single book of importance can be mentioned. Writers who were Catalan by birth had so completely unlearned their mother-tongue that it would have seemed to them quite inappropriate, and even ridiculous, to make use of it in serious works, so profoundly had Castilian struck its roots in the eastern provinces of Spain, and so thoroughly had the work of assimilation been carried out to the advantage of the official language of the court and of the Government.

In 1814 appeared the *Gramática y Apología de la Lengua Catalana* of Joseph Pau Ballot y Torres, which may be considered as marking the origin of a genuine renaissance of the grammatical and literary study of Catalan. Although the author avows no object beyond the purely practical one of giving to strangers visiting Barcelona for commercial purposes some knowledge of the language, the enthusiasm with which he sings the praises of his mother-tongue, and his appended catalogue of works which have appeared in it since the time of James I., sufficiently show that this was not his only aim. In point of fact the book, which is entitled to high consideration, as being the first systematic Catalan grammar, written, too, in the despised idiom itself, had a great influence on the authors and literary men of the principality. Under the helping influence of the new doctrines of romanticism twenty years had not passed before a number of attempts in the way of restoring the old language had made their appearance, in the shape of various poetical works of very unequal merit. The *Oda á la Patria* (1833) of Buenaventura Carlos Aribau is among the earliest if not actually the very first of these, and it is also the best; the modern Catalan school has not produced anything either more inspired or more correct. Following in the steps of Aribau, Joaquin Rubió y Ors (*Lo Gayter del Llobregat*), Antonio de Bofarull (*Lo Coblejador de Moncada*), and soon afterwards a number of other verse writers took up the lyre which it might have been feared was never to sound again since it fell from the hands of Ausias March. The movement spread from Catalonia into other provinces of the ancient kingdom of Aragon; the appeal of the Catalans of the principality was responded to at Valencia and in the Balearic Isles. Later, the example of Provence, of the *felibridge* of the south of France, accelerated still further this renaissance movement, which received official recogni-

tion in 1859 by the creation of the *jochs florals*, in which prizes are given to the best competitors in poetry, of whom some succeed in obtaining the diploma of *mestre en gay saber*. It is of course impossible to foresee the future of this new Catalan literature,—whether it is indeed destined for that brilliant career which the Catalans themselves anticipate. In spite of the unquestionable talent of poets like Mariano Aguiló (Majorca), Teodoro Llorente (Valencia), and, among the younger of them, Jacinto Verdager (Catalonia), author of an epic poem *Atlantida* and of very fascinating *Cants Mistichs*, it is by no means certain that this generation will be succeeded by another to follow in its footsteps, or that such a restoration of a provincial literature has much chance of permanence at the very moment when all the peoples of Europe are tending rather towards unity and centralization in the matter of language. At all events, in order to secure even a comparative success for such a revival, it would be well if the language serving as its instrument were somewhat more fixed, and if its writers would no longer hesitate, as they at present do, between a pretentious

archaism and the incorrectness of the most vulgar colloquialism. The few attempts of modern Catalans in the direction of romance writing and dramatic composition have not hitherto been particularly felicitous, and have not led to anything noteworthy.

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SPALATIN, GEORGE (1484-1545). George Burkhardt, a subordinate figure of some interest in the history of the Reformation in Germany, was born on January 17, 1484, at Spalt (whence he assumed the name Spalatinus), about 25 miles from Nuremberg, where his father was an artisan.

He went to Nuremberg for education when he was thirteen years of age, and two years afterwards to the university of Erfurt, where he took his bachelor's degree within a year, in 1499. There he attracted the notice of Marschalk, the most influential professor, who made Spalatin his amanu-