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THE SPIRIT OF CATALONIA
JOSEP TRUETA

For
PAU CASALS
A great artist and a great Catalan

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Astride the Pyrenees

The ancestors of the people dealt with in this book were Pyreneans, Iberians, Celts, Greeks, Romans and Visigoths. They lived in the southern part of Gaul and northern part of the Iberian peninsula: that is, the large area between the Loire in the North, the Ebro in the South, the Alps in the East, and the Cantabric Sea in the West. Its geographical nucleus was the town of Narbonne, centre of the Roman administration for more than five centuries; in the extreme South was the town of Tarraco, the capital of the Roman province of Tarraconensis. Later, when the barbarians of the North invaded the decrepit Roman Empire, they made Toulouse-farther West-their capital.

As for the more remote ancestors of this people, we know that the races which migrated from Africa, Europe, or Asia always spread very evenly over the South of Gaul and the North of the Iberian peninsula. In fact there was no geographical obstacle to their great invasions; this calls for an explanation, since the reader may think of the Pyrenees as a barrier between the middle and the southern parts of the area with which we are concerned. The Pyrenees may be divided into three sections: the centre of the range which is very difficult of access, and the two sections at the ends with passes open even in the coldest winter. Towards the Mediterranean end of the mountains, there are four routes linking the plains on either side. Iberians, Greeks, Celts, Carthaginians, Romans and Goths-none of them were ever checked by the Mediterranean Section of the Pyrenees; rather is it probable that the passes lured them on to the plains beyond. But the middle and most of the western section are different: throughout history they have acted as a confining wall, partly because the passes through them are few and difficult, but principally because of the warlike nature of the Basques, who have lived there from prehistoric times. The Basques, with the mountains to aid them, stopped the Romans with that same spirit with which, many centuries later, they fought Charlemagne's army-a struggle which inspired the Chanson de Roland and other poems. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the unique topography of the Central Pyrenees has preserved to our own day one of the few prehistoric human stocks in Europe; and it is to the mountains that the Basques are indebted for the preservation of many of their ancient characteristics, physical, mental, and moral. The existence of the Basques all along the high ranges of the Central-Western Pyrenees is mainly responsible for the clear-cut difference between Frenchmen and Spaniards of to-day; as time passed the Basques of the plains have been strongly influenced by both, but most of the mountaineers have remained purely Basque.

This varying accessibility of the mountains has conditioned the history of the Iberian peninsula and has made its inhabitants what they are to-day. The simple view-which, like every simple impression, tends to stick in our minds-that the areas represented by modern France and Spain are well defined by nature, is incorrect if applied to the inhabitants. And it is equally misleading if applied to the climate and other factors of their environment; in fact, climate and natural surroundings are very similar throughout both areas north and south of the Pyrenees. Thus, it is only natural that the older inhabitants of the zone between the rivers Ebro and Loire and the Alps and the Cantabric Sea had very similar characteristics. If anything, in ancient times the Ebro was considered a better boundary than the Pyrenees; it was the frontier between the Carthaginians and the Romans, and later between Christians and Mohammedans. In later days, the southern limit of the zone occupied by this people was displaced to the south of the Moorish kingdoms of Valencia and Denia.

Much study has been devoted to the question of Greek influence in the Western Mediterranean after the foundation of Later it was named Septimania because the Seventh Legion was stationed at Beziers, another of the great towns of Roman Gaul. the Phocrean colonies of Massalia-Marseille (seventh century B.C.), Rhoda-Roses, Emporion Empuries, and Hemeroskopeion- Denia: Greek influence on the later characteristics of the people was important even if it cannot be compared to that of the Romans. The term 'influence' means not only the grafting of ideas and habits; it is used here rather in a biological sense. The Greeks and particularly the Romans moulded the people of this zone and imparted to them their own characteristics to such an extent that the latter called a very large part of that area 'Provincia', as it were par excellence.¹ Later it was named Septimania because the Seventh Legion was stationed at Béziers, another of the great towns of Roman Gaul.

During the fifth century A.D. these lands were occupied by the Visigoths, after being ravaged by the Vandals, Cimbris, Teutons, and Ambrones. Of all the barbarian tribes the Goths- Visigoths and Ostrogoths-were the most highly civilized, and the only ones to be Christianized at that early date (though they adhered to the Arian heresy), and to possess an alphabet adapted to their own language.² They were easily absorbed by the more highly developed indigenous civilization, and after a relatively short time, in spite of being the ruling aristocracy, they mixed with the native population; the southern part of the country then changed its name to 'Gothia', or land of the Goths. The Roman traditions, laws and administration were so deeply rooted that for a time two parallel ways of living developed side by side; on the one hand we find the newly-imported aristocratic manners of the leading families holding a personal power purely Teutonic in nature; on the other, a persistency of the old Roman Communes with their civilian intercourse. But both the new and the old social systems were rapidly changing with the changing times.

At the beginning of the eighth century, the stabilization of this society was interrupted by the sudden arrival of more barbarians, this time from North Africa. At the first blow they defeated the Christian army in the south of the Peninsula, and the Saracens spread, in the course of a year or two, almost to the northern confines of the Peninsula without meeting any serious opposition except for the courageous resistance of the people of Merida. The feature common to all the previous invasions was then repeated, but this time there was something more, which had a telling effect on the making of modern Spain. The population of the Peninsula behaved in the following ways.

I. The Mediterranean people of the Tarraconensis emigrated en masse to the north of Septimania as far as the region of central France called Limousin. The easy crossing of the mountains now became a source of deep terror. After the Mohammedans had swamped without a fight almost the whole of the Iberian peninsula, the old imperial town of Tarraco, proud of her ancient prestige, tried to resist the invaders. After a bloody struggle it was taken, leveled to the ground, and its inhabitants massacred. The same fate befell Manresa, Casserres, Cardona, Ausona and probably the Greek Empuries further north. This seems to have been more than the rest of that part of the Peninsula could stand. Barcelona and Girona were occupied without a blow, and the towns and villages were abandoned by a great proportion of the Christian population, who fled to Gaul.³ Only a few people, probably almost all of them Jews, remained in Barcelona; they were the population which the Christians found when they recovered the city ninety years later. We have some knowledge of what these people felt when their city was reconquered by the Christians: it seems they received the newcomers as enemies rather than as brothers, which suggest that very few if any Christians were among them.⁴

2. The Basque people behaved as they had always done: they retired to their closed valleys in the mountains and continued the fight, supported from behind the protecting barrier by the Basques living on the northern slopes of the Pyrenees. They were never conquered, and thus they viewed the Moors from a distance, but with the same vigilance with which, in centuries gone by, they had viewed the Celts and the Romans.

3. Near the Cantabrig coast there runs a long range of high mountains which orographically are a continuation of the Pyrenees; and there, people from the south and centre of Spain, especially aristocratic families, found refuge from the Moors. With their backs to the sea-an impassable barrier to a people who were not sailors they continued the struggle in the mountains, and at length they began to recover their lost lands in a slow, southward movement known in Spanish history as the 'Reconquista'. This was completed almost eight centuries later, when the Moorish kingdom of Granada fell in 1492.

4. The people of the Atlantic coast, it seems, either stayed where they were or retreated to the north-west corner of the Peninsula. They were mostly of Celtic origin and at the time of the Teutonic invasions of the Peninsula they had been conquered by the Sueve tribes. This region was called Galicia, and from its people on their southward march there arose, well within the twelfth century, the Portuguese nation. Even nowadays, Galicians and Portuguese speak two derivative forms of the old Gallego language. The affinity of the Portuguese and the Spaniards has been recognized from early times.⁵

The diverse behaviour of these Peninsular peoples at the time of the Moorish invasion lies at the root of their ensuing diversity, which has persisted almost unchanged throughout the vicissitudes of history. The people sheltering in the Cantabrig mountains-Castilians or Spaniards -and those compressed by the Saracens into the northwest corner of the Peninsula- Galicians and Portuguese moved in two parallel lines until they reached the southern limits of the Peninsula. Thus the central and western parts were recovered by their original populations or at least by people of the same stock as the preMohammedan inhabitants. The central people spoke the rapidly evolving variety of Romance now known as Castilian or Spanish; the people of the Atlantic lands spoke their Galico-Portuguese language, as they do now. The Basques descended to the plains where they had previously lived since prehistoric times, and stayed there. They had recovered the country where their ancestors lay buried, and there they have remained, in almost exactly the same places, to the present day.

The reconquest of the lands deserted by the Christians of the Mediterranean coast was undertaken by the people of Southern Gaul. Once across the Pyrenees, the Moors had continued northwards and taken Narbonne; their advance was at last arrested when the Frankish Charles Martel, duke of Austrasia, defeated them. The decisive battle was fought between Poitiers and Tours in 732. From that day two simultaneous successions of attacks compelled the Saracens to go back whence they came. One of these was a movement of the Peninsular peoples only (Portuguese and Castilian); the other had a Continental origin: Gallic, Frankish, Gascon (see map on p. 7). This movement liberated Narbonne in 759, and then, under the supreme command of Louis 'le Debonnaire', King of Aquitaine, and with soldiers from Aquitaine, Gascony, Septimania, Burgundy and Provence, the Christian army crossed the Pyrenees, and liberated Girona in 785-or shortly before-and Barcelona in 801. Louis 'le Debonnaire' brought with him to the newly liberated regions soldiers of the same origin and language, customs and feelings, being united by a common purpose of a religious and-if this may be said referring to people of the eighth century-a patriotic nature. The newlyrecovered parts were placed under a common administration, and lands were given to the soldiers, at first in a fief for life --*benefici*, and later in perpetuity --*aprisió*.

Families from the northern side of the Pyrenees settled on the southern slopes and in the valleys, and with them they brought the ties which connected these lands more than ever before, this linking again the populations from Nice and Limoges to Barcelona. The newly-regained country was more than an expansion of Southern Gaul; it was the melting-pot in which the regional differences between the peoples of Southern Gaul were fused into a national type. The language they spoke was closely akin to the various dialects of Southern Gaul—all of them of a common origin, and known as Languedoc, Provençal, or Limousin (see map above); it had the advantage of preserving the most vivid expressions from the various dialectal forms.⁷ The people of Southern Gaul had, under the Romans and probably also under the Goths, succeeded in preserving self-government, their own laws and their own magistrature; Northern Gaul—the parts later to be occupied by the Franks—did not obtain these rights before the twelfth century.⁸ In the eleventh century the citizens of the towns in which Langue d'Oc was spoken in the area commonly called Provence, although it is very much larger than the Provence of to-day—constituted a separate social class distinct from the nobility, from the clergy, and from the serfs. They were called bourgeois, a term which occurs in the Catalan law Usatges in 1060, in Carcassonne in 1107, in Montpellier in 1113, and in Beziers in 1121; the towns nominated consuls for their own government.⁹ Soon the bourgeois of the villages formed militias to assist the armies of the nobility in their wars; this institution, although modified by centuries, still exists in Catalonia under the name of *sometent*. Narbonne was made the religious centre, and Barcelona became the political pole around which the national consciousness was forming. Aix-en-Provence, Montpellier and Toulouse were the complementary focus from which light was shed over science, art, and politics. Thus it may be said without exaggeration that by the twelfth century a new civilization had emerged in Europe, for the first time after the collapse of Roman society. It had taken more than six hundred years, but this laborious process of gestation was now completed, and humanity began to move upwards again. All conditions for a prosperous life were at hand: among them a fertile land favoured by one of the mildest and most equable climates in Europe; a geographical situation which made the country between the Ebro and the Loire the link joining the North with the South and the Mediterranean with the Atlantic; numerous wealthy cities, in which society increasingly resembled the ancient Roman pattern; good communications; Mohammedan civilization developing in the neighbouring Spanish State;¹⁰ refined aristocracy which protected the Arts, and a rich and energetic middle class composed of merchants and sailors, which provided the sources of the nation's wealth. Commemorating the Gothic domination on both sides of the Pyrenees, a large part of that region in which the Langue d'Oc was later spoken was called Gothia or land of the Goths, and according to some authorities it was from this that the word Gothalaunia originated. An alternative view is that it was derived from a settlement of people from the Gallic Champs Cathalauns. As early as the beginning of the twelfth century, the name was used in its modern form, Catalonia, though then applied almost exclusively to the southern side of the Pyrenees. Thus Catalonia may be said to be the region where all the various characteristics of the Provençals became concentrated and, in many spheres, intensified.¹¹

Unfortunately, the seeds of disintegration were also to be found in this early Provençal society. Among them was corruption in the monastic orders and religious hierarchies, which many were allowed to join not for their conduct, piety or wisdom, but merely as followers of a profession in which the poor could find subsistence and the rich a source of power. Another danger for this young society was the fact that many of the aristocrats soon neglected the arts of war, preferring patronage of poets and singers to the exercise of their military prowess against the Mohammedans. This criticism however does not apply to the people who were more directly under the rule of the counts of Barcelona—the Catalans; they had to fight continually in order to drive back

the Saracens from the lands they had conquered at the beginning of the eighth century. The preponderance of Troubadour poetry in the northern part of the country over its southern part, that is, of Provence over Catalonia, is probably due to the fighting kept up by the Catalans.

From the time of the reoccupation by the Christians of the country from Narbonne to Barcelona, the feudal authority was held by the kings of the Carolingian dynasty. But in the course of time their authority dwindled to hardly more than a nominal fief, from which the earls of Barcelona were freed at the end of the ninth century, 'from Narbonne to Spain', as the *Gesta Comitum* put it. Some stigmata of the former dependency still remained in the names of the coins and the dates of the official documents, which were inscribed and dated according to the reign of the kings of France. In 1112, the Count of Barcelona became Duke of Provence by his marriage with Dolca the heiress of that dukedom. This new authority of the House of Barcelona, extending from Nice almost to the Ebro, marked a further step in the growth of national consciousness among the people of the *Languedoc* (see map on p.11). In books by Provençal writers on this period, we find definite expressions of gratitude to the House of Barcelona for the high development of Provence under its rule.¹²

The authority of the House of Barcelona over Southern Gaul took a more definite shape when, in 1137, the Catalan counts became kings of Aragon by the marriage of Count Ramon Berenguer IV with Petronella, heiress to the throne of Aragon.¹³ From that time onwards, Provençal was a language not only suited for poetry but generally spoken at a king's court as well. Toulouse, the great city of the river Garonne and the only centre resisting the hegemony of Barcelona, more and more came under its influence; at the beginning of the thirteenth century its dependency was complete, when the country was ruthlessly attacked by the Northern Frenchmen, the descendants of the Franks who had conquered Northern Gaul in the sixth century.¹⁴ The terrible struggle between the people of Northern and of Southern Gaul marked the end of Provençal nationality and cut asunder for ever the destiny of a people hitherto joined as one unit: from that time on, the Pyrenees have remained a frontier.

The superiority in wealth, culture and refinement of the people of Southern Gaul roused the envy of the warlike and primitive French of that time.¹⁵ but this alone would hardly have sufficed to disrupt so large a country, without the causes of disintegration already mentioned. I have stressed that the most powerful of all was the state of the Church; but the type of remedy the people tried to apply to it was even worse. Among an intelligent and hard-working people of deep religious feeling, the spectacle of degenerate priests who practised simony and other irregularities produced a demand for reformation of these abuses. Rome was unable or unwilling to meet this claim, with the result that heresy sprang from the criticism and depreciation of the monks and priests, and also from the economic development of the communities.¹⁶ It was a merchant from Lyons named Valdo who principally carried the propagation of the heretical doctrine. His preaching was not in many points in conflict with the Catholic dogma; but among other striking doctrines he preached that poverty was essential in order to carry the Christian Apostolate in accordance with the will of our Saviour; he and his followers also spread the belief that taking an oath was forbidden by God and that, in consequence, no man was entitled to swear an oath to another man. It will easily be realized that the acceptance of this doctrine would have brought about a collapse of feudal society, which was founded on the fief of obligation; and that it would probably have caused very real harm to a society not as yet sufficiently developed to be supported by the communities only. The Roman Church fought the heresy with all her might, and Valdo and his followers were excommunicated. One of the excommunicated Valdenses called Duran— H. C. Lea, an authority on that period, calls him the Catalan Duran of Huesca¹⁷--having repented of his heresy and returned to the fold of the Roman Church,

asked Pope Innocent III for authorization to organize a new monastic order whose exemplary poverty, morality, and piety would serve as a model of Catholic life. Duran's idea was not brought to a practical realization when, in 1207 he first approached the Roman authorities, but it was accepted and fully developed some years later when the Order of St. Francis was founded. It was probably considered out of place at a moment when religious war was ravaging the lands of Southern Gaul; the reformation of monastic abuses may have been considered more proper when complete victory had been won by the army of the French Crusaders. In fact the Crusade was preached against another heresy known by the name of an Occitan town, Albi, where the new sect had made many proselytes, and from which the terms of Albigensian and Albigenses were derived and applied to the new heresy and heretics. This heresy was not very different from that of the Waldenses, but it seems to have been more popular in character, deriving some influence from ancient Oriental Manicheism. Unfortunately, most of the contemporary documents have been lost, and very little reliable information has been transmitted to modern times, among it the *Canso de Crozada* of Guillem de Tudela. However, we know that the common people of Provence called the priests of the new religion the 'poor brethren' and the 'bons homens' --an evidence of the exemplary role claimed by the heretics.

One of the first steps taken against the ensuing religious anarchy, which threatened the collapse of Catholic authority, was the Council of Lombers in 1165, where the nature of the heresy and the dangers of its propagation were defined.¹⁹ The followers of the new religion seem to have been, in general, illiterate persons who had no established system of faith; the word Albigenses was applied to them for the first time during the crusade in 1208; a contemporary description,²⁰ says that 'the false prophets claim to follow the life of the Apostles, praying without end, walking barefoot, and praying on their knees seven times, night and day; they do not allow the use of money and do not eat meat or drink wine and are satisfied with simple food; they say that alms have no moral value because nobody should be allowed to possess material wealth; they refuse the practice of Holy Communion saying that Mass is useless, and they declare that they are ready to die and to suffer the most severe punishment for their beliefs. They claim that they can perform miracles. There are twelve principals among them under the direction of one whose name is Pons.' Only when the admonitions of Rome were neglected, the great Pope and able politician, Innocent III-Lothario Conti, a native of Rome--decided to intervene in a more vigorous way by changing the highly placed hierarchies of the Provençal Catholic Church, as they were suspected of weakness towards their heretical fellowcountrymen. The Troubadour from Marseilles, Folquet--the son of a Genoese family and great friend of St. Dominic and of King Alfonso VIII of Castille--was made archbishop of Toulouse, and most of the other Church posts were given to clergy from France. The bishops of Narbonne (Berenguer) and of Beziers were dismissed and their successors were 'newly-imported' men.²¹ St. Dominic then played the decisive part. He was a Castilian by birth, born in the village of Calaroga in 1170, near the town of Palencia. His name was Domingo de Guzman, and he belonged to a noble family. In 1203, when accompanying the bishop of Osma, Diego, to France he became convinced that an urgent remedy had to be applied to the heresy of Southern Gaul; he went to Rome and was delegated by Pope Innocent III to preach against the heretics in Provence, where he remained from 1205 to 1215. This preaching is considered to have been the mission of Dominic's life; he did his best. to restrain the heretics from their errors, but believing he had failed he suggested to the Pope that, where preaching had been inefficient, repression and blows might be more effective. The following words are taken from his last sermon in Provence: 'For many years have I exhorted you in vain with gentleness, preaching, praying and weeping. But according to a proverb of my country, "where blessing can accomplish nothing, blows

may avail". We shall rouse against you princes and prelates, who, alas, will arm nations and kingdoms against this land. . . and blows will avail where blessing and gentleness have failed.' St. Dominic's prediction was to be fulfilled, to the misfortune of the Provençal people.²² From that time the Order of Dominicans grew out of the little 'band of volunteers who had joined Dominic of Guzman. In 1214 the nucleus of this institution was formed around Dominic and was known as the 'Holy Preaching'. In 1215 the archbishop of Toulouse, Folquet, established Dominic and his followers in a house and church in Toulouse. Innocent III made the first arrangements for the foundation of the 'Order of Preachers', but it was not before Honorius III had succeeded him that the new Order had full Papal recognition, in 1218. By 1222, the year after Dominic's death, there were more than five hundred friars and sixty friaries, divided into eight provinces spread all over Europe. One peculiarity of the Dominican provinces was that they followed the old geographic and administrative divisions of the Roman Empire: that is, Italy, Hispania, Gaul, etc. Lyons, Limoges, Reims, Metz, Poitiers, Orleans in France; Bologna, Milan, Florence, Verona, Piacenza and Venice in Italy; Madrid, Palencia, Seville and Barcelona in the Spanish peninsula; Oxford in England; Friesach and Prague in the Holy Roman Empire, and Cracow in Poland had Dominican friaries which as early as 1217 had sprung from the forty friars of Rome and the thirty of Paris. The original idea of St. Dominic of combining blessings with blows qualified his order in Spain in later days for the administration of the Inquisition.²³ But side by side with these intolerant Dominicans, some of the most illuminating minds of the Middle Ages emerged from this order, among them St. Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus.

From the national point of view of the Provençal people, the intervention of St. Dominic and his Order was decisive; he gave to Rome, Paris and Toledo, the centres of the Italian, French and Spanish States (Madrid has now taken the place of her neighbour, Toledo), the means of coercion against the intermediate Catalano-Provençal nation. Three centuries later, St. Dominic's foresight was to be proved again when the complete extirpation was attempted of the free remains of the Langue d'Oc people, that is, of the Catalans.

Both the Soldiers of the Cross-the men of France-and the priests appointed by the Pope or by the Pope's legates, acted with rude expedition, not only against the heretics but indiscriminately against all nationals of the civilized Provence, irrespective of age, sex, or religion; The city of Beziers was defended by its inhabitants; after being taken by the Crusaders, it was completely demolished and the whole population, heretic and Catholic alike, was massacred. Carcassonne, too, suffered terribly, and after it had fallen into the hands of the French, the Catalan King Pere II decided to intervene in order to stop the progress of the French across his country. Pere II had shortly before helped to defeat the terrible Almohades from Mrica, who were a serious threat to the Christian Kingdoms of Spain after the Moorish defeat of the Castilian army of Alfonso VIII at Alarcos, in 1195. At the battle of 'I as Navas de Tolosa' in 1212, the combined armies of the Basques under the command of their king, Sancho the Strong, the Castilians under Alfonso VIII, and the Catalans and Aragonese under Pere II, completely annihilated the large Moorish army; this victory marked the beginning of the Mohammedans' decline, from which they never recovered.

King Pere, knowing that the invasion of his country bore only a remote relation to the extirpation of an heresy but a very close connexion with the imperialistic ambitions of the French, summoned a large army and went to the help of Toulouse. In Muret, a few miles from Toulouse, King Pere's army was completely defeated by the small army of the Crusaders under the command of Simon de Montfort (1213), and in the middle of the fighting the King was killed. The disaster of Muret marked the beginning of the partition of the Occitan lands into two parts under two separate powers, French and Catalan for some centuries and French and Spanish later. The Catalan hegemony in Southern Gaul began to decline until, less than fifty years later, the son of Pere II, King James I, signed the renunciation of his rights to the lands of Southern Gaul, in favour of the House of France. The treaty of Corbeil, signed in 1258, gave France the shape it has preserved through history. It also made Catalonia what it is. From those days, the common interests of the now divided people have many times been opposed by the conflicting ambitions of Catalonia and France; the Provenzals, as rivals of the Catalans, were encouraged by France to inhibit Catalan expansion. But then, as now, Provenzals and Catalans had a similar outlook derived from their common origin and similar environment. King Jaume I called 'the Conqueror' because of his military successes-was more than any of his predecessors a pure type of the Provençal race. Son of the Catalan Pere II-known as the Catholic, in spite of his support of the heretics-and of Maria, Countess of Montpellier, King Jaume was born in his mother's city. For that reason Montpellier was the only city which remained in Catalan hands up to the middle of the next century. This also explains why Montpellier was the university town of the Catalans and why its incorporation into France in 1349 marked the end of the great period of that model of a medieval university. The superiority of Paris reduced Montpellier, in less than fifty years, to the provincial condition in which it has since remained.

Good Europeans

It is not sought here to describe in detail the social, political and military achievements of the Languedoc people between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. I wish rather to show the contribution made by that people to the development of European cultural life, and the part it thus played in building up the inner structure of our modern civilization.

As in all other European countries up to the twelfth century, learning was confined to monastic centres, the most eminent being the Benedictine monastery of Ripoll on the southern slopes of the Pyrenees, consecrated in 888 at the suggestion of the count of Barcelona, Jofre. There a group of learned monks were devoting their time to the translation of Arabic manuscripts, with a special interest in mathematical works. It was there that the monk Gerbert-later Pope Sylvester II _ spent three years, preparing his great work on mathematics, and it is thought that it was the bishop of Barcelona, Llobet, who translated for him the work of Massahalla on the Astrolabe.¹

The Benedictines of Ripoll had One of the first libraries of the Dark Ages of which we know. This was a small number of books if we compare it to the library which the Arabs had in Cordova, but nevertheless one of the earliest Christian collections of scientific works before the beginning of the renaissance of learning. The titles are known to us because the catalogue has been preserved.² At the close of the tenth century 240 volumes meant a very rich scientific library, considering the depths of barbarism into which Europe had relapsed. Through Ripoll some part of the ancient Greek scientific tradition, preserved by the Spanish Mohammedans, was reintroduced into Europe.

PROGRESS IN MEDICINE

Shortly before the consecration of Santa Maria de Ripoll, medical teaching was started in the town of Montpellier. There, the progressive medical knowledge of the Arabs and Jews of the neighbouring Spanish State had given rise to a cultural centre of Christians wishing to acquire the knowledge of the nearby physicians.³ The great medical men of Mohammedan religion, Averroes, Avicenna, Rhases, Avenpace, were made known to the students of Montpellier, and thence their influence spread to the heart of Occidental Europe. The fame of its medical men made this town a great centre for medical treatment. Jaffe has published a medical document signed in Montpellier in 1137⁴ when Bishop Adelbert of Mainz visited the school of Montpellier to listen to its medical lectures. St. Bernard, in a well-known letter, tells of the archbishop of Lyons who, on his way to Rome in 1153, fell ill and requested to be transported to Montpellier, 'where he spent on the physicians the money he had and that which he had not'.⁵ In January 1181, William VIII, count of Montpellier, gave authorization for any local or foreign doctor to teach medicine. In 1220 Cardinal Conrad granted a university charter to the Medical Schools of Montpellier, saying in the preface to this document that 'for a very long time the profession of medical science has been flourishing with great glory in Montpellier, from which it has expanded its fruits over the world'.⁶ This is the text of the original foundation charter of the University of Montpellier ; it was confirmed in 1239 by Pope Gregory IX. Among the great men of this school, Ramon Lull and Arnau de Vilanova were the greatest in the thirteenth century, and Henry de Mondeville and Guy de Chauliac in the fourteenth. Early in the fourteenth century, Mondeville, a Norman by origin, taught in Montpellier the Hippocratic belief in the healing power of Nature, but unfortunately his influence was impeded by his own pupil Guy de Chauliac,

who in some respects made surgery overstep its right path. During Chauliac's lifetime, Montpellier was still the university town of the Catalans, and this explains why French historians, such as Desbarreaux Bernard,⁷ believe that Guy wrote his 'Grand Surgery' in Provençal or Catalan, and not in Latin as is commonly assumed. Desbarreaux's conviction is founded on the Vatican Manuscript,⁸ contemporary with Chauliac and written in Catalan, which is probably the most ancient existing manuscript of Guy de Chauliac's great book.

In 1349 the town of Montpellier was annexed to the crown of France by King Philip VI. This had been expected to happen for many years, and already in 1300 a new Catalan university had been organized in Lleida, better known to modern foreign scholars by its Castilian name of Lerida. Thus, Guy de Chauliac may be considered the last great man to have been produced by that one-time famous medical centre. He was a pupil of the 'medicus' of Toulouse, Nicolau Catala, as he himself tells us in his *Inventari o Collectori en la part Cirurgical de Medicina*, and later he learned medicine and astrology, if not directly from Arnau de Vilanova as Nicaise thinks,⁹ at least from what remained of Vilanova's school. When Arnau de Vilanova died in 1311, Chauliac was a mere boy of twelve or fourteen years.

LANGUAGE AND POETRY

Toulouse may be regarded as another cultural centre of the provençal people, although in this case the whole country had contributed, in varying degrees, to its development. In the poetry of the troubadours human language proved once again capable of expressing higher feelings, emotions and passions, as in forgotten times. The idiom employed was no other than was used in ordinary everyday life, but it was polished and amplified by the poets. We still have evidence of the noble use of the common language in the middle of the barbarous tenth century, for instance the Provençal translation of the Latin poem of Boethius. This poem has served as a basis for the studies of Older Provençal, together with the religious poems of the Valdenses or Vaudois of the eleventh century, and among many others from the twelfth century the epitaph on the tomb of Count Bernard, which is believed to date from the early part of it.¹⁰ Examining the most ancient of these writings, one is surprised that, throughout the thousand years which have since elapsed, the forms of the Catalan language should have undergone such small changes. The following few lines, taken from the Boethius poem, from the Valdense poems, and from the epitaph on Count Bernard may serve as examples of the surviving power of the language:

Molt fort blasmava Boeeis sos amigs
No eredet Deu Ie nostre erador
Las mias musas qui an perdut lo cant...
Breoment es reeonta en aquesta Lyczon
De las tres leys que Dio donec al mon.
La primera ley demostra a qui a sen ni raczon...

(La Nobla LIyezón)

Assi jai lo Coms En Bernat
Fiel credeire al sang sacrat
Que semper pros hom es estat
Preguem la divina bondat
Qu'aquela fi que lo tuat

Posqua son aima aaver salvat.

Of the latter lines, only two words-tuat, 'killed' and credeire, 'believer' -are not current in modern Catalan; all the rest are in common use, a few of them changed by one or two letters.

In the twelfth century, the Provençal tongue was so well developed that, as early as the close of that century or the beginning of the next, two grammars of Provençal had been written, the Donat Provençal, probably a work of the troubadour Huguet Faidit, and the Dreita manera de trobar of the Catalan Ramon Vidal de Besalu, of whom Mila i Fontanals says that he was not only a good grammarian but also a great man of letters and a critic in the modern sense of the word. Thus we have, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, defined and specified forms of expression, long before French, Italian, Spanish or English had any similar rules. Ramon Vidal says that 'in all the countries of our tongue, the songs in Lemousin enjoy a greater authority than those of any other language', and thus introduced for the first time the name of that region where Provençal was spoken, as a synonym of Provençal Catalan; in Spain, the inaccurate use of the term Lemoszn for the Catalan tongue is common even nowadays.

Whatever name we may give it, the fact remains that this language in its early maturity was the first of the new Romance tongues to give form and means of expression to the moods, fancies, feelings and passions of the human mind of the Dark Ages. Bernard de Ventadour, Ramon de Miravel, Bertrand de Born, Gaucem Faidit Folquet de Marseille, Alfons King of Aragon, Guillem de Bergada and Cerveride Girona were among the most famous troubadours of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; their birthplaces are spread over the whole of the area where Provençal was spoken. In later days, Dante and Petrarch were followers of the troubadours. It would be difficult to understand the whole value of their poetry without knowing how much they were influenced by the poetry of Provence. The popularity of Provençal in the days before Dante was born was so great that St. Francis of Assisi sang his songs not in his native Italian tongue but in pure Provençal, when singing together with his companions the birds he began his new evangelization through the power of love.¹²

It would be out of place to write here at length of the poems of the troubadours; but an exception may be made of Bernard de Ventadour, not only because of the high merits of his verse, but chiefly because of his stay in England, when he accompanied thither Queen Eleanor, the wife of Henry II. In 1152, Ventadour went to Poitiers where Countess Eleanor of Aquitaine, recently become Queen of England, was waiting to start on her royal journey to her new home. Ventadour joined her court and was present at the coronation of Henry in Westminster. He remained in England for four years, living most of the time at the Royal Palace of Bermondsey on the south bank of the Thames. During the first two years of this period, he did not write a single poem; both in the climate and in the society surrounding him he seems to have found the change too great to keep his inspiration untouched. But during the latter two years of his stay he wrote on the life of the England of his time, an England seen through the eyes of a refined writer and poet come from a country which was already moving towards a superior conception of life.

It has been stated that society in the twelfth century was still in the crude stage characteristic of the beginning of civilization; it was due to Bernard de Ventadour and his Provençal fellow poets that the world realized the distinction between love and lust, 'a distinction which remained largely theoretical until some time later, when nature made it a reality'.¹³ The troubadours were more concerned with man than with mankind. Their unsensuous love of flowers, birds and ladies contrasts very deeply with that of preceding generations of our western ancestors. The troubadours of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries laid the foundation stone on which every newlyrising national

community of Western Europe was to build the structure both of its poetical idiom and of its poetic inspiration. It would be an exaggeration to say with Raynouard¹⁴ that Provençal-or as he calls it, Romanewas for a time universally spoken in the Romanized lands; but it seems certain that from Dante¹⁵ and Petrarch¹⁶ to Chaucer, as from Joinville to Alfonso X of Castile, all the great writers and poets of Western Europe were profoundly influenced by the words of the Provençal poets. The kings of England also used this language; of Richard the Lion-Heart, the following famous lines have been handed down to us:

Ja nuls hom pres non dira sa razon,
Adrechament, si com horn dolens non;
Mas per conort deu horn farie canson,
Pro n'ai d'amics mas paure son lur don,
Ancta lur es si per ma rezenson,
Soi sai dos yvers pres. . . .

THE PROGRESS IN LAW

In 1060 the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer I, called together his most notable subjects that they might provide his country with a written law. This decision, unprecedented at that time, determined effort to settle the unstable society of the eleventh century under reasonable juridical and moral principles. The work was so well done that the codification known by the name of Usatges (Usualia) has since been the basic law of the Catalan people, adapted, in successive times, to new conditions. The first article of the old Usatges gives information on the type of assembly must be considered the first which promulgated the law. Nineteen men met under the chairmanship of the Count: three viscounts, thirteen lords, and three jurists. They worked together until the first compilation was promulgated by the Count; though we know that this assembly in itself was not a parliament, yet the basis and spirit of the future Catalan Corts-or Parliament-were present in the law as it has been in the assembly. The word Usatges makes it clear that the code was a selection of rules established by custom, which those leading persons considered worthy of preservation and enforcement by written law. Among the most remarkable points were the recognition of equality in the civilian rights of burgesses and knights and the introduction of the humanitarian *Constitutiones Pacis et Treugae* (Constitutions of Peace and Truce) against the permanent state of violence that characterized the Dark Ages. This 'Peace and Truce' was for the first time established by the Church in Catalonia at the Council of Tologes (Rossell6) in 1041 and was afterwards also accepted by the majority of other western nations;¹⁷ and as it had been promulgated first of all by the Church of Catalonia, so the Catalan civil law was also the first to enforce the *Pax Dei* and the *Treuga Dei*, whose moderating influence on the customs of the times was one of the main causes of the end of the Dark Ages.

It has been said of the Usatges that it is difficult to find another juridical document of the Middle Ages which combines such high dignity and such great sense of responsibility. IS Here in the middle of the eleventh century, the legislative potestas, the juridical source of power, the executive authority, the military power and the duties of the Prince (referring particularly to the protection of, and fidelity towards, his people of all ranks, from the nobleman to the most humble citizen), had already been established in written. law. The Usatges laid down, one hundred and fifty years before the Magna Charta of King John, the foundation stone of an edifice which, when completed in the thirteenth century, was to be the first democratic structure of Europe. It

seems an act of justice to mention, together with the name of the Count of Barcelona who promulgated the law, two other names, Count Ermengol of Urgell, of the house so intimately linked with the past of Catalonia, and Ponc Bonfill March the jurist, who between them gave the Usatges their form. At that time Castile had also granted her burgesses great freedom.

ST. OLAGUER

The grandson of Count Ramon Berenguer I gave a great impulse to the development of the growing Catalan nationality. Ramon Berenguer III was a good soldier and statesman in the modern sense of the word. He expanded the boundaries of Catalonia to the west by conquering from the Moors the town of Balaguer, and he obtained the vassalage of the Balearic islands from the Saracens. An even greater achievement was the extension of the sovereignty of his house over Provence. As with all good princes of the pre-parliamentary epoch, the best evidence of his statesmanship was the selection of his private counsellor; the man Berenguer chose was without doubt the best in the country. He was Olaguer, later Archbishop of Tarragona, a model of Christianity (he has been canonized by the Catholic Church); he was, besides, a man of remarkable good sense, most suited to advise his Prince on political and diplomatic matters. To Olaguer is due the restoration of the old Metropolitan See of Tarragona; it was made equal to the See of Narbonne, which had been for more than three centuries the religious centre of the Provençal people.

Olaguer combined high moral virtues and deep religious faith with a clear understanding of practical matters.

During his lifetime-in 1115-Catalans contributed to the first great naval expedition organized against the Moorish kingdom of Majorca in the Balearic Isles. Pope Pascal II preached a crusade, and Pisans and Catalans joined to raise a navy of five hundred ships under the leadership of Count Ramon Berenguer III. The contemporary poem written by the 'Diacon of Pis a' ¹⁹ calls Ramon Berenguer III Dux Cataloniae, and nation Pyreneae his country. As three centuries before, Provençals came in great numbers: the Lord of Montpellier, the Viscount of Narbonne, the Lord of Arles, the Barons of Rosselló, Beziers, Nimes and so on, led their men under Ramon Berenguer III. From then up to the fourteenth century, there were always men of Southern Gaul fighting side by side with the Catalans in their conquest of new lands.

In 1127, Olaguer was charged by the Count of Barcelona to negotiate the first commercial treaty between Genoa and Catalonia. By this treaty, Count Ramon Berenguer III took under his protection all Genoese ships, property and persons sailing into the ports from Nice to Tortosa; the Genoese granted similar advantages to the Provençal-Catalan people. For every ship entering a Catalan harbour Genoa paid ten moravetins. We may repeat that this aspect of the great Catalan Churchman St. Olaguer deserves to be stressed, for from- Olaguer to Lluís Vives and down to the modern Balmes, we shall find in all outstanding Catalans the same combination of lofty human ideals with practical common-sense. It may, in fact, be said to be the most striking characteristic of the Catalan people as a whole. By their over-great fidelity to idealistic convictions, the Catalans have continued through the centuries as an explosive and sentimental people whose sudden and violent reactions have on occasion caused surprise elsewhere; on the other hand, it must be ascribed to the common-sense of the Catalans that they have survived the most adverse historical conditions so that today, after having lost for more than two centuries the last remains of their national existence, they nevertheless show in no lesser degree than before the same twofold national qualities. This may also explain why modern Catalonia has produced so many great artists simultaneously with an advanced industrial development.

In Provence, the manifestations of that same mentality persisted for several centuries in spite of the initial harsh domination of the French; thus, when the French Minister Colbert established industrial centres in the north of France in the seventeenth century, he was merely introducing in the north an old tradition of the south; as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century no fewer than twenty various factory centres were flourishing in Provence.²⁰ After the reign of Louis XIV, and even more after the French Revolution, the concentration of economic power in the north reduced Provence to an almost exclusively agricultural country, with the exception of Marseilles and a few other places. The other aspect of the Provençal character is eloquently demonstrated by the many architectural and sculptural monuments which still exist, especially by old monasteries and churches of Romanesque style. It was in the area occupied by the peoples of Provençal tongue that this Romanesque art flourished; and the persistence of artistic creative power may be proved by the fact that Cezanne and Mistral were Provençals. Centuries later, when the Catalan counties of Rosselló and Cerdanya had been incorporated into France, the Catalan genius gave, as an example of the perpetuation of its ancestral characteristics, two great men to France, Joffre, the Marshal, and Maillol, the sculptor.

SUMMARY OF THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE PROVENÇAL PEOPLE (EIGHTH TO THIRTEENTH CENTURIES)

During these five centuries the vernacular language had taken shape and been progressively polished. The boundaries of the region occupied by the Provençal people were well defined and their social, political, juridical and artistic development had surpassed anything produced by the other Western people of Europe in the early Middle Ages. Shortly before the end of this period, the sovereignty of the House of Barcelona was recognized by the feudal nobles of Provence. From Nice to Tortosa the same flag was flying: four red bars on a golden field. This was originally the ensign of the counts of Barcelona; later, it became the flag of Catalonia, Provence, Aragon, and of all the peoples of Catalan origin.²¹ From those times, too, dates the adoption of St. George as the patron saint of the Catalans. In 985, Barcelona was raided and taken by the Moors, who in their turn defended the town against the Catalan army of Count Borrell. During this siege of Barcelona, Count Borrell prayed for divine aid and invoked the chivalrous figure of St. George of Cappadocia, who-so tradition maintains-appeared to the Christian army and led it to victory. After recovering the town, Count Borrell adopted St. George's Cross as the emblem of Barcelona, and ever since, for close on a thousand years, St. George has been the symbolic guide of the national spirit of Catalonia.

In 1148 a Genoese army helped the Catalans of Ramon Berenguer IV to expel the Saracens from the town of Tortosa; the Genoese fought under the flag of Barcelona, and after the conquest of Tortosa Ramon Berenguer IV is said to have bequeathed to the Genoese the St. George's Cross of Barcelona.²² In 1198, the Genoese are believed to have followed the new flag for the first time.²³ In the year 1200, King Pere II founded the military order of St. George of Alfama-an advanced post situated in the no-man's-land between Christians and Moslems in Southern Catalonia.²⁴ During the conquest of Valencia in 1238 Jaume I the Conqueror, with two of the greatest noblemen of the Christian army, En Guillem d' Aguila and En Guillem d'Entenca, defeated the Moors by the guidance of the sainted hero.²⁵ After the fall of the town of Valencia, King Jaume, having dedicated the cathedral to the Virgin Mary, ordered the first church of the town to be offered to the veneration of St. George. The chapel of the Generalitat (Government House) in Barcelona is also dedicated to the spiritual protector of the

Catalans. In 1348 Valencia declared St. George's day a national feast; Majorca followed that example in 1407 and Barcelona in 1456.

At a time when devotion to St. George was particularly strong in Catalonia-for he had been chosen as protector of the Catalan armies in their fight against the Moors St. Iago (St. James) was entrusted with a similar mission on the other side of the Iberian peninsula. From the ninth century (the time of Alfonso III of Asturias) the belief that the body of St. Iago had been found in Galicia gave great spiritual authority to this saint, who for the Portuguese-Castilian soldiers was what St. George was for the Catalans.

During the centuries in which the destinies of Provence and Catalonia were united under the rule of the Catalan princes, a pact was signed in Cazorla-in 1179-between Alfonso VIII of Castile and Alfons II of Aragon, by which spheres of expansion into regions of the Peninsula still held by the Moslems were determined. The Moorish kingdoms of Valencia and Denia, immediately south of the area already occupied by the Catalans, was to be a zone of Catalan dominion, whereas the Saracen kingdom of Murcia, immediately south of the port of Biar, was to be an area of Castilian conquest. This pact was a rectification of a former one signed by Ramon Berenguer IV and Alfonso VII of Castile-in Tudilen, in 1151-by which Murcia was hypothetically awarded to Catalonia. We do not know the reason which made Alfons II of Aragon agree to the alteration of the Tudilen agreement, an alteration by which he renounced the kingdom of Murcia and therefore lost a substantial territory, which in the course of time might have become Catalan. The most probable explanation is that Alfons was, in a way, a King of the Pyrenees-he has been called Emperor of those mountains²⁶-with vast lands extending from the plains of Piedmont in Italy where the Marquis of Busca recognized the sovereignty of the Catalan dynasty in the time of Alfons II²⁷ to not far from the coast of the Cantabric Sea. He may therefore have considered sufficient an expansion to the south of the Pyrenees which already extended as far as the whole length of England. Another contributory factor may have been the personal influence of Alfons' wife, Sancha of Castile, an aunt of King Alfonso VIII of Castile. This treaty of Cazorla and its loyal fulfilment by the immediate successors of King Alfons II explain the relatively reduced Peninsular area which has Catalan as its native tongue. Taken in conjunction with the recognition in 1143, by Alfonso VII of Castile, of the independent kingdom of Portugal in the west, the treaty decided the permanent settlement of the various Peninsular peoples as it has remained up to the present.

Another outstanding development of this period has already been mentioned-the enthronement, as Kings of Aragon of the Counts of Barcelona. From then on to the sixteenth century, all enterprises abroad of the Catalans were to bear the highest title their prince possessed, that is, King of Aragon. But the flag, the men, the language and the spirit were the same— Catalan. Marching into battle, the Catalan soldiers—those rough combatants of Sicily, Greece, Sardinia and Naples-shouted the two words which symbolized both their spiritual and their patriotic faith: Per Sant Jordi i Aragó (For St. George and Aragon). Aragon to them was not the poor and thinly populated accretion of territory ruled by the Catalan kings, it was their own country and traditions. And they proclaimed it in Catalan. At the close of that period, even men from the Castilian part of Aragon called themselves Catalans.²⁸

Provençal elements, both directly from Provence and from Catalonia, had contributed to the making of the original kingdom of Aragon; this made the progress of Catalanization feasible and constant. Moreover, the Catalan authorities, eager to carry on this process of unification, carefully avoided friction with the Aragonese. King Jaume I the Conqueror was said to have broken the fetters which oppressed aristocratic and traditionbound

Aragon.²⁹ It was mainly due to the personal intervention of Vidal de Canyelles, Catalan bishop of Huesca, that Aragon became accessible to the Continental ideas which the Catalans had brought from Provence.³⁰ In every place where the armies of the Kings of Aragon settled, Catalan was spoken—in the Balearic islands, Valencia, and later in the parts of Sicily and Sardinia given them for colonization.³¹ At the beginning of the Aragonese—Catalan union, the Aragonese contribution to the common expansion beyond the sea was very small; in fact, they had refused to take any part in the expedition to Majorca In 1229, just as, years later, they again opposed the conquest of Sicily, in 1282. But once the latter expedition was on its way the Aragonese joined the Catalans and fought side by side with them as people of a single nation.

The Catalans introduced into Aragon the civic dignity called Ciutada honrat (Honourable Citizenship) which was first awarded in Catalonia and later introduced in Aragon and in the parts where the Catalans settled. Ciutada honrat was a nobiliary title qualifying its owners to take seats with the men of noble rank.³²

Thanks to the advanced state of their industries, the Catalans had many advantages, military and other. The old Catalan wrought iron-work had acquired worldwide fame and was still used in many parts of Europe; the great monumental grilles of Notre Dame of Paris were made in 1250 by two craftsmen from Barcelona, Sunyol and Blay, and in armour we find new devices used by the Catalans years before they were applied by any other people in Europe.³³

Towards the end of these five centuries of a destiny shared with Provence, the name Catalan is found referring to all peoples of Provençal tongue. Thus, the Provençal troubadour, Albert de Sisteron, says: "Tell me which are better, French or Catalans, and place me among the Catalans, the Gascons, Provençal, Limousins, Auvergnats and Viennois."³⁴ In Marseilles, a typical Provençal song is called 'Catalan song'.³⁵ And modern Provençal writers use 'Catalan' as a synonym for the Provençal tongue.³⁶

BIRTH OF CATALAN SEAMANSHIP

The activities of the Catalans on the seas are as old as their history. The ancient Barcelona of pre-Christian times had dedicated a temple to Neptune. When the national history of Catalonia began, we find Ermengol, Count of Empuries, defeating a Saracen squadron on the sea near the Balearic Isles, sinking many ships; this happened in the ninth century. Later, Count Ramon Berenguer armed a powerful fleet in 1115 and together with the Pisans attacked and subdued Majorca in the following year (see p. 28). In 1118, the same Count crossed the Mediterranean, paying a visit to Genoa and Pisa. This appears to have been the first exhibition of growing Catalan power; the contemporary biographer of St. Olaguer tells us that the armament of this fleet was magnificent and the number of sailors great.

In 1147, Ramon Berenguer IV in alliance with the Genoese assaulted the town of Almeria held by the Moors of Southern Spain; he surrounded the town and attacked it from the sea. In the meantime, the Saracens recovered Majorca; but in the time of King Jaume I, under the leadership of Admiral Ramon de Plegamans, the island was again invaded and finally retaken in 1229. When the Moorish kingdom of Valencia was conquered, the same king charged the people of Barcelona with the naval expedition; they went with a great number of ships, as is related in the Chronicle of Desclot. Since then, the maritime power of the Catalans continued to grow, until they became the leading sea-power of the Western World, a position they held from the middle of the thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth.

The Youth of Catalonia

At the time when, in 1213, the armed forces of France had defeated the Provençal armies, taking full advantage of the Papal excommunication and the consequent preaching of the Crusade, a small boy of five years was living in captivity, under the custody of Simon de Montfort, the head of the victorious French. This boy, Jaume (James) by name, was the son of the late King Pere of Aragon and of Countess Maria of Montpellier. During his early childhood Jaume saw the horrors of one of the most inhuman wars within memory. And he learned the great lesson that no power could stand against the combined efforts of Italy-the Church of Rome of his time-the ruthless pugnacity of the French, and the diplomacy of Castile. When some years later he succeeded to the throne of Aragon, he carefully avoided being involved in any conflict which might league against his country the former enemies of his father. At times he was of necessity drawn into conflict with one or other of the powers which had defeated the people of Langue d'Oc, but he never exposed himself to hostilities with two of them at the same time. To be on good terms with France, he was forced to abandon his rights to his own country, the lands of Provence; this was a slow process which culminated in the signing of the treaty of Corbeil in 1258, by which he transferred to Saint Louis, King of France, all his rights over Southern Gaul, excepting only his Own town of Montpellier. This treaty was the last of a series of events bearing witness to the masterly diplomacy of the Queen-mother of France, the former Princess Blanche of Castile. Every attempt of the Southern noblemen or of the King of Aragon during the minority of King Louis found Blanche vigilant and ready for action. When the army of King Henry III of England was defeated by the French at Taillebourg and Saintes in 1242, the last hope of the Provençallords was abandoned. The royal house of France was to be the only sovereign of ancient Gaul.

The policy of King Jaume I should be regarded realistically. He knew the dangers which his country underwent in his father's time, mainly through having lost influence in the Vatican; therefore, in order to be on good terms with the Church, Jaume admitted to his country the Order of St. Dominic and a new form of spiritual control, the Inquisition, recently introduced in France, Italy and Germany. To prevent new troubles arising from foreign agents, the Churchmen who were to be in charge of this religious instrument were from the beginning chosen from his own countrymen only; great care was also taken to select men combining a true Franciscan modesty and charity with that great capacity for work and organizing ability which are characteristic of the best Dominican tradition.

RAMON DE PENYAFORT

The first great figure of that period and one of the outstanding representatives of Catalan mentality of all times, was Ramon de Penyaafort. His individual contribution to the consolidation of Catalan nationality and to the development of Western civilization was of such importance as to call for some account of his personality here. During his lifetime the efforts of his country changed their direction: troubles in Gaul were at an end, but instead there came expansion into the lands occupied by the Saracens. In 1229, the Balearic Isles were taken from the Moors, and Catalans settled in their place. Thus they repeated in Majorca the policy of Louis le Debonnaire, who more than five centuries before had settled Provençals in Catalonia. Since that time the Majorcans have been pure Catalans, for they did not mix with the Mohammedans, whom they expelled in a ruthless manner. In 1238 the Moorish kingdom of Valencia was conquered by the armies of King Jaume I. This time the Aragonese joined the Catalans and populated the places the former had occupied, mainly to the south of Aragon. The language of these regions is now modern Aragonese, which may be considered a dialect of Castilian or Spanish. The rest of the kingdom of Valencia was populated by Catalans; this explains why eight-tenths of that land is and has been Catalan through history.¹ During these years of expansion Ramon de Penyaafort was the King's Counsellor and his figure dominates the whole of Jaume's life.

Penyaafort was born near Barcelona in 1175. He first studied in Barcelona and later went to the University of Bologna to learn jurisprudence. In 1222 he entered the Order of St. Dominic which had recently been introduced in Catalonia. In 1232 Pope Gregory IX expedited the Bull *Declinante jam mundi vespere*, by which the Inquisition was established; the Bull was sent to Esparrac, Archbishop of Tarragona, but no further steps were taken in Catalonia until 1242 when Penyaafort prescribed the rules by which the 'perquisition' or 'inquisition' was to be carried out in Catalonia. Had the system been followed as it was established by him, the Inquisition would never have developed into the scandalous institution of later days. Heretics under examination were to be treated humanely, because the final object of the investigation was to reform *ut vita*. In cases of doubt no sentence was permitted, and a single testimony or conflicting testimony charging a man with heresy, or conflicting testimony of several witnesses, was considered insufficient evidence for punishment. With individual understanding for every possible religious fault, heretics were to be advised and helped morally; also, they were to be provided with sufficient food to prevent starvation during imprisonment. The historian of the Spanish Jews, James Finn, writes: 'Raymond de Penyaafort is allowed by all to have gained the esteem of the Jews by his kingly conduct.'² Shortly before Penyaafort had completed this task, he renounced his Dominican activities in order to devote himself to the more practical and less dogmatic duties of another newly-founded order, the Order of Mercy.

According to the rules he had left, religious disbeliefs were to be so handled as to prevent their being invoked as a cover for foreign designs against Catalonia. They would be watched, averted or corrected by fellow countrymen in Holy Orders, under regulations laid down by the Catalans themselves. This measure was so successful that centuries later, when the Castilian kings of Spain extended their sway to Catalonia, the most efficient assertion of the new Castilian hegemony was the disbanding of the Inquisition of the Aragonese kingdom to make way for that of Castile—exactly the same policy as Innocent III and France had applied some years before Catalonia took the wise precaution of submitting the Inquisition to national control.

When the child-king Jaume held his first reunion of the Corts or parliament in Lleida in 1214, Ramon de Penyaafort was appointed confessor and tutor of the King. He

fulfilled his duties to the full satisfaction of the nation, inculcating into the mind of his royal pupil his well-balanced Judgement and his love of freedom and progress. A characteristic example of the openminded fairness shown by Penyaafort and his fellow friars has been handed down in record. With the object of converting adherents of other religions to Christianity, public discussions used to be held, in which friars and Mohammedans or Jews would explain their respective points of view. On one occasion a Christian called Pau Crestia had a controversy with a prominent Jew, Bonastruch de Porta; and after the public debate, the bishop of Girona advised Bonastruch to publish his arguments, which he did. The officials of King Jaume thereupon prosecuted the Jew for publishing a heretical pamphlet-but, thanks to the protection of the Catalan friars, Bonastruch was firmly and effectively supported against the king's authority.³

Another example of the progressive outlook of Penyaafort is to be found in the proposal by Arnau de Segarra -the Catalan head of the Provincial Chapter of the Dominicans which was summoned at Toledo in 1250 who, advised by Penyaafort, recommended the learning of Oriental languages as a means of propagating the Faith. This idea of Penyaafort's and the approval of the Provincial Chapter of the Dominicans laid the foundation stone on which Ramon Lull built his School of Oriental Languages in Majorca some years later, a school which proved an inspiration to Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros when he founded the University of Alcala in 1507, and to Erasmus when he started the Ecole de Trois Langues in Louvain in 1518. This new scholarly contact with the Oriental sources of our religion was to have its share in preparing the way for the Reformation and the CounterReformation in the sixteenth century. At the time of Penyaafort it served to convey to the West many scientific and practical subjects already mastered by the Arabian and Jewish peoples, and henceforth there were to be found Christians capable of exploring the Oriental world beyond that first knowledge of it given by Jewish or Mohammedan translators.⁴

In Penyaafort's time, the mercantile activities of the Catalans were already highly developed. The gremis or Guilds of Barcelona, Perpignan, Tortosa, Valencia, Majorca and other cities were sharing with other classes of citizens the responsible administration of municipal life; the maritime laws called Consulat de Mar, laid down in a written code by the Catalans in the thirteenth century, were not only the official maritime regulations of this nation of sailors, but were accepted as well by the other sea powers. The earliest extant text of the laws of this 'Consulate of the Sea' has been handed down to us in Latin; there exists also a manuscript in Catalan dating from the fourteenth century; the original Catalan text is unfortunately lost. Catalan consuls were established in all important centres throughout the known world, from Alexandria and Baghdad to Bruges and Ghent.⁶ To this society of traders, industrialists and sailors, Ramon de Penyaafort offered the moral code in which these medieval merchants could find spiritual support. In his little book *Modus iuste negotiandi in gratiam mercatorum* Penyaafort came to the assistance of the Christian merchants at a time when feudal pride considered commerce an inferior occupation justifiable only to Jews. Penyaafort relieved the Catalan members Christian principles in making money by commerce and banking.⁷ He reassured them and gave them courage in their struggle against the nobles by the attitude taken in his book.

But the greater contribution of Ramon de Penyaafort to the economic prosperity of Catalonia was the founding the Order of Mercy. As trade with the Saracen peoples increased, many sailors and merchants were captured and reduced to slavery by the Berbers. The apprehension caused thereby among possible future victims might, had it persisted, have deterred many of them from trading with the rich centres of the Near East. In 1192, several Catalan knights formed a congregation under the protection of King Alfons II, with the object of rescuing Christians imprisoned by Mohammedans. The results do not seem to have corresponded to the intentions of the founders, so a

better remedy had to be found. This was the mission, among others, conferred on the Order of Mercy.

Pere Nolasc, a knight of Languedoc (1189-1256), had been entrusted by Simon de Montfort with the early education of Prince Jaume during his captivity. When Jaume entered into his kingdom in 1214, Nolasc accompanied the young King and remained in Barcelona. In 1218, both Nolasc and Penyafort declared that they had a vision of the Virgin ordering them to create an order for the redemption of Christians enslaved by the Moors. King Jaume, who had had a similar vision, approved of the idea and obtained the collaboration of the bishop of Barcelona, Berenguer de Palou, who tried to secure the Pope's consent; but difficulties arose which delayed the Vatican's authorization. Nevertheless, a gathering of Catalan knights under the leadership of the King and the spiritual guidance of Penyafort was summoned in the Cathedral of Barcelona; to start with, a military order of thirteen knights was founded. The names of these first nobles are of interest, for they show that their bearers still represented the Provençal-Catalan lands: En Guillem de Bas, Lord of Montpellier; Arnau de Carcassonne, son of the Viscount of Narbonne; Bernard de Cabrera; Ramon de Montoliu ; Ramon de Montcada ; Pere Guillem de Cervello; Domenec d'Osso; Raymon d'Utrecht; Guillem de San Julia; Huc de Mata; Berflard d'Essona; Pone; Soleres, and Ramon Blanc.

In 1230 Ramon de Penyafort, using his great influence with Pope Gregory IX, at length obtained the official consent of the Church and the consecration of the Order of Mercy as a religious body. In 1241 Pere Nolasc took monastic vows; and from the central Friary of Barcelona he and a succession of great men after him directed, for more than three and a half centuries, the fortunes of this humanitarian and practical community.⁸ Ramon de Penyafort, who had been elected Director General of the Dominicans, devoted all his attention, on returning from the Dominican friary in 1240, to the newly-organized Catalan institution.

The Order of Mercy rescued thousands of Christians, paying ransom for them. Travelling among the Saracens, these enterprising friars established durable and friendly relations with the Mohammedan princes. Penyafort himself was a good friend of the king of Tunis, thus setting an example of frequent intercourse between Christian and Mohammedan peoples. These links were among the principal reasons for Catalan expansion, and they likewise enabled the Catalans to improve their knowledge in many fields. Since the foundation of the Order, the Friars of Mercy bore on their breast the Catalan Bars and the Cross of Barcelona, granted to them by King Jaume the Conqueror.

Penyafort's personal contribution to literature is also important. His *Summa de penitentia* ranks as high in the juridical field as St. Thomas's *Summa contra gentiles* in philosophy and theology.⁹ The great work of St. Thomas was written at the special request of his great friend St. Ramon de Penyafort. But it was work of a different kind which made Penyafort a figure of universal renown: the recompilation of the Decretales entrusted to him by Pope Gregory IX. Penyafort worked tirelessly in Rome for three years until the enormous task was completed. His selection of ancient documents was, for nearly seven centuries, the Code of the Roman Catholic Church, up to the modern publication of the Canonical Code.

Together with another great Catalan of his time, Vidal de Canyelles, Penyaforç contributed by his example and advice to the increase of democracy in the Catalan lands. Under their guidance the Aragonese, too, became progressively fitted for popular government. As for the Catalans themselves, a fully democratic regime could be foreseen for the near future, as a consequence of the continuous rise of merchants, lawyers, doctors, sailors, and artisans to the administration of the country. From the reunion of Corts in Vilafranca in 1218 and the new rules for the municipal government of Barcelona promulgated in 1257, to the full development of democracy was a short step only; this was achieved in 1283, when the Son of King Jaume established the constitution known as 'Once a year'.

Meanwhile, the decline of the Languedoc or Provençal people as such was continuing rapidly. The great extension, wealth and population of the Provençal lands changed the original mentality of the Northern French as they gradually absorbed the South. In the process France and Frenchmen became what they are to-day. But it was not mere coincidence that the Marseillaise owes its name and fame to the battalion of Provençal volunteers who sang it when they stormed the Tuileries; nor that Montaigne and Montesquieu were born in the country between the Garonne and the Pyrenees. So the tears and mourning of the Provençals when they were abandoned by King Jaume I to the hands of the French have not, perhaps, been justified. In the long run, the old Provençal people succeeded in making all France what it is to-day: an enlarged version of the original free, gay, intelligent, refined Provence. And the parallel may be driven further: a number, too, of the great defects of the Provençal race-such as excess of individualism and the disruptive lack of national unity-are now found throughout contemporary France.

•4•

Evolving Democracy

The economic, political, juridical, and artistic life of the Catalan people was, by the middle of the thirteenth century, so firmly established that it was already becoming a factor in international affairs. In 1262, Prince Pere, son of King Jaume I, married in Montpellier, Constance, the daughter of King Manfred of Sicily. For many years before, the struggle between the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire had been going on without interruption. The Hohenstaufen dynasty, which reigned in Sicily, had been excommunicated by the Pope and its crown given to Charles of Anjou, a brother of Saint Louis, the King of France who ruled Provence since the Catalan dynasty was extinguished. King Manfred of Sicily was defeated and killed by the Anjou partisans—the Angevins—and his widow and sons died in prison. Manfred's nephew, Conradin, continued the struggle; he too was defeated, taken prisoner, and beheaded in Naples. After that, Charles of Anjou was able to set up government in the island without any interference—as yet—from Pere or Constance.

On 30 March 1282 the Sicilian population rose in rebellion against the Angevin domination: these 'Sicilian Vespers' are famous in history for their violence and for the ensuing consequences. The combined forces of the French and the navies of the Genoese and Pisans attacked the Sicilians, who in despair appealed to the Catalan Pere (now King Pere III) for help. On 30 August 1282 the Catalans landed in Trapani and shortly afterwards took Palermo, being welcomed by the native population as their liberators. At Nicotera, the Angevin fleets were completely defeated by the Catalans. On 8 July 1283 the navy of Charles of Anjou was again defeated, and in the great encounter of Naples, 5 June 1284, the Son of King Charles was taken prisoner and his fleet annihilated. On 7 January 1285 Charles died, and Pere III was proclaimed King of the Sicilians. For several centuries thereafter, the fate of Sicily remained linked with that of Catalonia; the system by which they were joined was changed several times, but, as will be shown later, it bore a remarkable resemblance to the principles of the modern British Commonwealth. The same applies to the later Catalan dominions of Sardinia, Naples, Malta, and Greece, all of which were united with Catalonia in the person of the monarch, who in later times was represented in each by a Viceroy, a title first used by the Catalans.

This sudden appearance of the Catalans in the international field had been watched with anxiety not only by France, but also by Rome. The Catalans, those free survivors of the otherwise subjugated Provençal people, had again interfered with the interests of both France and the Vatican. The immediate consequence was a new alliance between those two powers, just as, a hundred years before, they had together opposed the joint rise of Provençal nationality. An act of excommunication was passed by the Church of Rome against King Pere III and his supporters, and an army of more than one hundred thousand French crossed the Pyrenees seeking to inflict on the Catalans the same sufferings their Provençal brothers had undergone during the preceding Crusade. The town of Girona was besieged, but the French failed to take it, and their navy suffered two decisive defeats, the first by the Barcelonian, Ramon Marquet, and the second by the great Sicilian Admiral Roger de Lluria (Loria). Decimated by wounds and disease and cut off from its supplies, the army of Crusaders re-crossed the Pyrenees and was decisively defeated in Panissars; a few days later, the French King, Philip III, died in Perpignan. King Pere was then able to punish the Castilian nobleman Juan Núñez de Lara who, possessing through his wife the Aragonese town of Albarracin, had helped the French from inside the kingdom during

their invasion; the artisan demagogue, Berenguer Oller, was also executed as an agitator in the pay of France. These exceptions apart, national solidarity was complete, thanks to the wise policy of combining matters spiritual and patriotic, to which the descendants of King Pere II had adhered since that monarch's defeat and death in Muret had been caused by the disrupting influence of enemies insinuated into the country.

During the reign of Pere III -known in the history of Catalonia as Pere the Great- Catalonia reached full democratic maturity. In 1283 the Constitution known as 'Once a year' (Una vegada a l'any) settled an age-long struggle for the delimitation of power/between royalty and the people. This old dispute came to an end-for the Catalans at least-by mutual agreement of the parties.¹ All social ranks were represented in the Corts, ecclesiastics, noblemen, townspeople, villagers. When the parliament organized on this new principle first met, in 1283 in Barcelona, King Pere defined the object of the new constitution in the following words: 'We and our descendants shall have within Catalonia General Corts of Catalans, in which together with our prelates, clergymen, barons, knights, citizens and villagers, we shall pursue the good preservation and good reform of our country.' No law, or change of constitution, could be passed without the consent of the representatives of the majority of the three social estates. With several small improvements, this democratic system in which the Catalan people have been reared throughout history, gave to Catalonia her formal social framework as a national State; and nation and constitution were so intimately blended that both lived and disappeared together (their end came at the close of the War of Succession, in the eighteenth century). This parliament emerged a few years before the English Parliament of Westminster (1295). In 1300, the same system was introduced in Aragon by the Catalan King, in the Cortes of Saragossa. In 1387, the first Castilian Cortes in which the kings could not derogate laws, were summoned in Briviesca.² In the lands of Provence under the rule, (harsh as yet, of the Northern Franks of those days, no such progress could be made; instead, they were deprived of the liberty they had enjoyed before. The new parliament of Toulouse, created by King Philip in 1280, was appointed by the King and consisted exclusively of ecclesiastics. In 1291 this restricted body was dissolved and was not summoned again until 1420, when, Paris being in the hands of the English troops, Prince Charles was forced to convoke a consultative meeting at Toulouse.³ After some four hundred and thirty years, the Catalan Corts were finally disbanded for good by the combined armies of Spain and France under the leadership of the Duke of Berwick and with the acquiescence of the English Premier Bolingbroke, at the end of the War of Succession; the Catalans had then been 'pacified' by the Spanish and French troops, to quote the words of the original document (Decreto de Nueva Planta). It was then for the first time that Catalans experienced government by the absolute will of a king-a king, who, to make the privilege even more doubtful, could neither understand Catalan nor feel any sympathy for a people and a system which he thought derogatory to the divine origin of his rights.

Among the figures of indisputable value in the evolution of modern thought are two of the greatest men Catalonia ever produced. They emerged during the thirteenth century; one of them was Ramon Lull, the other Arnau de Vilanova. Both were born during the reign of King Jaume; but they reached maturity in the time of his son King Pere and his grandson King Jaume II.

RAMON LULL

Ramon Lull (Lullius) was born in the island of Majorca in 1232 the son of one of the Catalan knights who accompanied King Jaume the Conqueror on his Balearic expedition. Young Ramon was educated under the guidance of Ramon de Penyafort, who was a great friend of his family, and following his advice he entered, as his father had done before him, the service of the royal family. He was appointed 'senescal'-major domo to King Jaume II of Majorca, the second son of Jaume the Conqueror, and held this office until 1264, when he began to devote his life to the propagation of the Christian faith and prepared himself to enter the Franciscan Order. Tradition has it that Ramon Lull suffered a violent shock when a lady to whom he was greatly attached showed him, in order to cool his enthusiastic devotion, an ulcerated cancer in her breast. One fact remains certain: Lull started on his religious mission with the same full-hearted enthusiasm with which he had previously been attached to his worldly occupations. In 1272, he completed his first work, the Book of Contemplation, written in Catalan. In 1275, in Montpellier, he prepared his great Art General or Ars Magna. The following year, he founded in Majorca, in a place called Miramar, his School of Oriental Languages. In 1283 he was back in Montpellier, where he lectured on the subject of the best of his works, Blanquerna, which he was writing at the time. In 1288 we find Lull in Paris, where he taught on his Ars Magna; there, too, he wrote his Felix de les Meravelles. In 1292 he journeyed to Tunisia, and the following year he was in Naples. In 1296 he had a long conversation with Pope Boniface VIII, who could not understand Lull's mentality and believed his mind to be unbalanced. In Rome he wrote the poem Desconort. From there he returned to Paris, where he stayed from 1297 to 1299, writing his Arbor Scientiae. In 1301 he was in Cyprus and other places of the Near East, from where he went back to Majorca in the following year. Montpellier, Paris and Pisa were the next places he visited, arriving in the latter in 1307. In 1308 he was in Genoa and in Avignon, where he is said to have met Arnau de Vilanova. Between 1309 and 1311 he went to Paris four times, and in 1312 he was again in Majorca, only to go to Sicily again, to Messina, the following year. Back in Majorca in 1313, he wrote his testament, On 26 April. During 1314 he travelled in Barbary. Legend maintains that there, in 1315, he suffered death by stoning; but the common belief is that he died in his own town of Majorca, perhaps from wounds received in North Africa.

As may be seen from the above account, Lull could hardly bear to remain in the same place for longer than a year. He was continuously travelling, and all the while collecting experience and setting it down in his books. Their number remains a large one, in spite of the exclusion, by modern critics, of works which were formerly attributed to him. He wrote both in Catalan and in Latin; his is the merit of being the first thinker of the re-born European civilization to write philosophical and scientific works in a vernacular language. His skilful use of Catalan⁴ for poetry ranks Lull among the last of the troubadours; his greatness as a writer springs however from his masterly use of plain prose for the expression of elevated philosophic concepts.⁵ His diction is much more mature than that of the troubadours of the preceding century, and in his prose works we may study the evolution of Ancient Provençal towards Modern Catalan, together with the rise of new forms of theological and philosophical terminology.⁶

The philosophy, of Lull, which has aroused the interest of many thinkers, is defined by one of his best biographers, the Swiss Probst, as being that of a poet of Christian mysticism, well balanced and always consistent, and free from any morbid feeling; on the contrary, his enthusiasm is generous and splendid'.⁷ As befits a true descendant of the troubadours, Lull's is a philosophy of love;⁸ but not satisfied with merely expressing his feelings, he 'planned' a system to achieve the happiness of

mankind. In this respect he should be placed among the first to examine Nature and to attempt the improvement of knowledge, by observation, with the purpose of benefiting the human race.⁹

He may thus be compared with Roger Bacon, who was likewise a Franciscan and a champion of liberty of thought. He was however less of a scholar than Bacon; his Latin has been criticized as being poor, and until his Catalan works were published many of his thoughts were misinterpreted.¹⁰ Lull describes three different worlds, the divine, the human, and the natural, which he believes to be placed in this hierarchic order.

But his words 'Nature and Life make me understand God' are the statement of a realist.¹¹ Lull profoundly analyzes the faculties of the human soul, and from his study of Nature he evolves his ideas on memory, understanding, and willpower. In his Book of Contemplation he undertakes to prove by 'stringent reasons the Unity and Trinity of God'.¹² His mysticism has a slender but undeniable connection with that of the great Spanish mystics of the sixteenth century, especially with the sound realism of San Juan de la Cruz and of Sta. Teresa. Another characteristic all three had in common was their unbounded energy.

Lull knew the Mohammedan world as few did in his time and oriental influence on his literary work may easily be traced, for instance in the sometimes rather cabalistic manner of his writing. In his theology, however, this influence is negligible. He was a sincere believer in the Trinity and a convinced anti-Averroist, denying the effect on the soul of the celestial bodies, and differing also from Averroes in his attempt to bring to accord faith and reason. As an early Franciscan, he was influenced by Saint Bonaventura towards analytic observation of the part played by surroundings in the shaping of human nature. From the social point of view, he followed the path of his race as it was marked by his predecessors, Olaguer and Ramon de Penyafort. Lull dreamed of a social reform of an evangelical nature. His social views were summarized by the three words of his programme: Simplicity, Fraternity, and Love. He was aware of the social importance of authority, of which he gave an example by refusing to discuss the Pope's authority or the dogma of the Catholic Church. He had a great esteem for manual work and the social benefit derived from it. His words are: 'By mechanical and manual trained skill, man works physically to earn his living; the diverse occupations help one another, and without them the world would not be in good order. The burgesses, knights, princes and prelates could not live without the men who work in these professional trades.'¹³ Later, writing on the advice of a father to his son, Lull says: 'There is not a manual labour that is not good; every man may choose his Own profession, and this, for that reason, my son, I recommend to you.'¹⁴ He himself belonged to a race of traders and working men, and his theories on the influence of surroundings in the shaping of man's nature had been borne out in himself.

Ramon Lull was the first rationalist, a true forerunner of the modern Scottish philosophical school of Reid and Hamilton. Bishop Torres i Bages wrote: 'It is curious to observe so extreme a rationalist preaching the limitation of the human faculties-our 'lack of finishment' to use his Own classical term-with firm eloquence and a keen perception superior to that of my beloved teacher Xavier Llorens and even to that of Hamilton, both from the commonsense, or Scottish school; they would be surprised to see Maister Ramon using almost their own principles, even their own words.'¹⁵ In his *introductionis artis demonstrativa* Lull explains the rational method of study and gives due importance to experimentation. His principle is: 'Experimenta faciunt universale quod est principium scientie et artis.'¹⁶ In the opinion of Torres i Bages, Lull's work *De secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia* is 'a bright light, in the darkness of his time, on all that refers to natural philosophy, because of his practical and moderate mind and his avoidance of utopianism'.¹⁷

In Lull there is the same respect for human freedom which Penyafort showed before him. In his *Llibre de ContemPlacio* we find these significant words: 'Men are serfs of other men, but their. ownership, my Lord, is not essential but accidental. If our wisdom were not so limited, no man would be the serf of another man. . . . Thy wisdom has created man's will to be free, and Thy wisdom, my Lord, compels man to accept all that is predestined to him; therefore, it is not right that a man should not be placed as he deserves, for his glory or for his punishment' .¹⁸

The contribution of Lull to the development of science is sufficiently acknowledged nowadays to make a detailed account unnecessary. No one before Columbus had grasped better the sphericity of the earth, a conclusion he had reached by direct observation and not by the evidence of others. He supported his views by the following reasoning: 'When my thought imagines the surface of the earth opposite to the one on which we are, it appears to my intelligence and reason that all the stones and waters which are on that surface should fall into the vacuum. But to those who dwell on that surface of the earth which lies opposite to ours, it will appear to be contrariwise, for they will think that we, together with the stones and waters of our side, must go up, because "up" will appear to them as "down" due to the fact that their feet will be placed in a direction contrary to ours.'¹⁹

In consequence of the sphericity of the earth, Lull believed that there was land on the other side of the Atlantic. He explained why he thought so: 'What is the cause that produces the tides on the coast of England? Owing to the fact that the earth is spherical, the water of the sea equally- takes the shape of an are, with its Concavity above the convexity of the earth. . . . The principal cause of the tides of the Great Sea, or Sea of England, is this arc of the sea waters which in descending is supported by coasts opposite to those of England, France, and Spain, and the limits of Africa, in which places our eyes see the tides. The arc formed by the waters must have an opposite basis on which it finds the support without which they could not be maintained. . . . Therefore, there is a Continent against which the water strikes when displaced, as happens on our side, which is, with respect to the other, the eastern one.'²⁰

Several authors have emphasized the influence these ideas of Lull must have had, two centuries later, on Christopher Columbus.²¹ Columbus was bound to know of the science of Lull, for during the fifteenth century the Lullian ideas were propagated throughout the Catalan domains in the Mediterranean by the Chairs of Lullism in Majorca and Barcelona. Naples, Sardinia and Sicily were well acquainted with the teachings of Lull, and thence the rest of the Italian territories are likely to have received his influence. His book *Ars generalis et ultima* was printed in 1480 in Venice and seems to by this Lull gave mariners a handbook which, as far as we know, was not superseded by a better one even in the time of Columbus. In this and other books, Lull gave evidence of the progress made in navigation by the Catalans of his time. He mentions the use of charts for navigation, before 1286; he also mentions that the Catalans made instruments to determine the time and the height of the Pole, and describes the first astrolabe applied for purposes of navigation. This may be considered a practical result of the Catalans' old studies on the Arabian astrolabe~, the influence of which on Gerbert is mentioned above have had a wide circulation; but the work of the teacher of Lullism, Pere Degui, *Janua Artis excellentis.rimi Raymundi Lulli*, printed in 1482 and 1488, was of even greater importance for the spreading of Lull's ideass. In 1446, King Alfons V of Aragon gave from Naples, authorization for a British Carmelite monk called called Leopold Columba Britanniae (?) to teach Lull's philosophy.²²

Lull's *Art de Navegar* was written in 1295.²³ By this Lull gave mariners a handbook which, as far as we know, was not superseded by a better one even in the time of Columbus.²⁴ In this and other books, Lull gave evidence of the progress made in navigation by the Catalans of his time. He mentions the use of charts for navigation,

before 1286; he also mentions that the Catalans made instruments to determine the time and the height of the Pole, and describes the first astrolabe applied for purposes of navigation. This may be considered a practical result of the Catalans' old studies on the Arabian astrolabe, the influence of which on Gerbert is mentioned above²⁵ (see p. 19). In the use of the astrolabe the Catalans preceded the Portuguese by almost two centuries.²⁶ From the Catalans, according to Alexander von Humboldt, these improvements came to the knowledge of the other Mediterranean peoples, and from them they spread to the rest of the civilized world.²⁷

In *De Contemplatione* Lull mentions further the use of the magnetic needle by his fellow-countrymen: '*sicut acus nautica dirigit marinarios in sua navigatione*', etc.²⁸ This reference is earlier than that of Flavio Gioia who for a time was considered the first to mention the use of magnetic attraction for navigation. Gioia wrote in 1302.²⁹

It will be clear from this account that Lull learned by direct observation and taught to practical purpose; his was not a theoretical academic education, but rather the outcome of his wide interest in progress. His contribution to the development of our civilization was mainly due to his enormous curiosity, which kept him moving from one country to another. He sought to harmonize reason and faith within the limits of Catholic orthodoxy; his intimacy with, and affection for, the plain folk of his nation drove him to write many of his scientific works in the common language of the people. And his voice was decisive on the question of making direct approach to the sources of Oriental learning. At the Council of Vienna, in 1311, Lull stressed the necessity of learning Oriental languages for the purpose of Christian evangelization. This suggestion he succeeded in carrying and it came down to posterity as one of the Clementines or dispositions accepted by Pope Clement V. Several European universities—among them Oxford—turned to account the authorization to teach Oriental languages. Lull's tolerance of the ideas and beliefs of others went so far as to admit that there is no advantage in exchanging one creed for another, but that it was reasonable to abandon religious superstition on grounds of scientific evidence.³⁰

In his masterpiece *Blanquerna*, written seven hundred and forty years ago, Lull planned a world's organization by which 'once in every year each power should come to a safe place whither all the other powers should come likewise, and that, after a manner of a chapter, they should hold discussion in all friendship and make correction each of the other, and that they that refused to abide by the decisions of the definitors of the chapter should be fined.'³¹

Lull's love of the common people is seen in all his books and in his appreciation of work and workers in general. In this he may be considered a typical exponent of the Catalan mentality of every age. His preoccupation with the welfare of the people living as he did in the thirteenth century—ranks him among the earliest of the pioneers who sought to make of reason the main source of human progress.

In Lull, we have the only mystic the Catalan people ever produced; his persistence of purpose, however, his unquenchable faith in final success, his realistic and practical sense, were representative rather of the genius of his people than of his mystic philosophy. To quote from a learned investigation on Lull's age:³² 'One voice was raised which Boniface (the Pope) neglected and which to-day seems curiously sympathetic to our modern view-point. Ramon Lull, a Majorcan, the noblest product of the yearnings of the time, understood the crusading problem in a very different way from those who still thought in the romantic terms of "heathenness". He knew there was still need for fighting; he appreciated schemes of military reform; but he was convinced that only by missionary effort could there be any lasting settlement between East and West. He had a passionate certainty that the true faith need only be expounded to be believed, and everywhere he urged the importance of a knowledge of oriental languages

that the infidel should be taught to know God.' In this respect, too, he was the voice heralding years to come.

ARNAU DE VILANOVA

Arnau de Vilanova was one of those great medical men of the Middle Ages who devoted their interest to every field of human knowledge. Thorough research has been made on his personality, and we have several more or less complete studies on his multifarious activities.³³ But many points still remain obscure, among them the year and place of his birth. The year is commonly supposed to be 1235, but the place is still under discussion. Being as he was a figure of universal reputation and having taken his name from the place of his birth, it is not surprising that Provençal and Catalan writers have been for long engaged in controversies on the respective merits of the claims advanced by each of the numerous Vilanovas to have been his birthplace. Arnau lived in, and had several estates near Valencia. In his book *De spurcitiis pseudo-religiosorum* he says that he is Ilerdensis—from the Catalan region of Lleida. Elsewhere,³⁴ he says he is from Catalonia.

We have little information about the family and childhood of Arnau. It is known however that he went to Montpellier, to study theology with the Dominicans, and medicine at the University. He mentions the names of three of his teachers: Father Ramon Marti, who taught him Arabic, and Jean Casamida and Pere de Masach, who were among his teachers of medicine. Shortly after qualifying as a doctor, he entered the Third Order of St. Francis and went to Paris and from there to Valencia, where he was appointed physician to the Catalan King Pere the Great. When Pere III died, he was made physician to his successor, King Jaume II, who later sent him to Paris with a special mission to the French King, Philip IV. But once in Paris, Arnau began a theological controversy with the professorate of the Sorbonne, which went on during several months of 1299; and the dogmatic and intolerant attitude of some of the Parisian University men so deeply irritated him that he was provoked into insulting them. His book *De tempore adventus Antichristi* was condemned by the Sorbonne and subsequently burnt and its author imprisoned, notwithstanding his diplomatic mission. He was only released by the intercession of his Provençal friends, Giles Aycelin of Narbonne, Guillem of Nogaret, and Viscount Aimeric of Narbonne.³⁵

In 1301, Pope Boniface VIII fell ill. His had been one of the most harassing pontificates of all time. In his unyielding tenacity he had fought with all his might to stop the progress of the Catalans across the Mediterranean, denying the rights of the House of Barcelona to Sicily. Thus Boniface continued—even if indirectly—his predecessors' policy of favouring the Crown of France. As already above (p.45), the kingdom of Sicily had offered to Charles of Anjou, who had just before assumed the leadership of the House of Provence; later, his son Robert kept up the claim. But the will of the Sicilian people, supporting Frederic, the brother of Jaume II of Aragon, together with the mastery of the sea held by the admirals, Roger de Luria and Bernat Llanca—both Sicilians—and by the Catalans, Ramon Marquet and Pere de Queralt, defeated over and again the joint forces of France and Naples and the spiritual power of Rome, whose help consisted, among other less powerful means, in excommunicating the disobedient side.

When the political relations between Catalonia and the Vatican were at their worst, Arnau de Vilanova appeared in Rome, and by order of the Pope was immediately cast into prison. Boniface VIII was then suffering terribly from stones in the bladder and had just dismissed his own physician, Anselm of Bergamo, because of his failure to relieve him of his torments. Perhaps by chance or—more likely—by Arnau's management,

Boniface was told of Arnau's book on the stone disease; so he was released from prison and entrusted with the treatment of the Pope. Where Anselm of Bergamo had failed, Arnau succeeded. His "treatment" consisted in fitting a kind of truss, which was perfectly calculated to ease the pain and give some permanent relief; but he also used his psychological power by making the Pope believe in the healing quality of a seal stamped with a lion and made when the sun stood in that sign of the zodiac.³⁶ The important fact remains that from that time on Boniface's health improved and that, during the remaining two years of his pontificate—he died on 12 October 1303—he kept up relations of sincere friendship with Arnau, whose influence can be ascertained by the complete change of Boniface's policy towards the Catalans, especially in the peace treaty with Frederic of Sicily, signed in 1303. A remark of the Pope's preserved in the papers of the Barcelonian Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, is illuminating: 'At last I have found a Catalan who does good.'³⁷

After the death of Boniface VIII, Arnau de Vilanova went to Palermo in Sicily to live with King Frederic, to the ending of whose troubles he had so efficiently contributed by his treatment of the Pope's stone. While in Palermo, he wrote his comments on the Medical School of Salerno, entitled *Regimen Sanitatis Salemitanum*; in 1309 he returned to Catalonia to meet King Jaume II. There, having just published fifteen propositions on religion, he was accused of heresy by some Dominicans. And again, as he had done years before in Paris, Arnau fought in defence of his right to private opinions, publishing several of his most violent writings. Among the fifteen propositions attacked by the Dominicans—and later condemned by the Church—there is one which says that 'works of mercy are more agreeable to God than Mass'; another asserts that 'the Papal Bulls, the Decrees and Canonical Constitutions are purely human works'; and he even maintains that 'the founding of churches, religious works and the number of Masses said do not protect the founder if he has no charity'. It is understandable that Arnau's propositions should have been persecuted by the orthodoxy of the Middle Ages. Throughout his religious discussions he published vehement attacks against the Dominicans; but the Inquisition could do nothing against him in Catalonia or Sicily, since he was all the time under the protection of the Catalan kings, Jaume II and Frederic. It was only after Arnau's death that his writings were effectively prosecuted.

In 1310, King Jaume sent him as his personal envoy to Robert, King of Naples and Count of Provence; during his stay at Naples Arnau wrote *De conservanda iuventute*, a book dedicated to Robert. It is very likely that he again went to Paris and from there back to Palermo. Shortly afterwards, the Pope of Avignon, Clement V, fell seriously ill and asked for Arnau's help. He started on the journey, but when in Genoa, caught pleurisy and died a few days later, on 6 September 1311. According to Van der Linden the grave of Arnau could still be seen in his time in the cemetery of Genoa.³⁸

The contribution of Arnau de Vilanova to the awakening of mankind and to the progress of the scientific outlook is of considerable importance. As a medical man, he fought the traditional school of the Middle Ages, rerepresented in his days by the Sorbonne, accusing its medical teachers of 'losing themselves in universals and ignoring particulars, as well as of their unfounded therapeutical empiricism, which lost itself in particulars and ignored general principles'.³⁹ In his letter to Pope Benedict XI, known by its first word as *Reverendissime*, he complains of sick friars seeking the help of Arabian and Jewish physicians, instead of obtaining that of Christian doctors, as demanded by canonic rules; this protest of Vilanova's should be kept in mind because several centuries later, in other nations of the Iberian peninsula, almost all the medical men were still Jews.⁴⁰ The teaching of Arnau in Montpellier, then the University of the Catalan people, was a seed sown with profit. Montpellier had by then become more efficient, though less brilliant, than Paris from the medical point of view.⁴¹ Arnau's

intervention In the development of its Medical School was decisive. Until then, Montpellier had a University, that is to say a union of schools mainly of private origin; but Pope Nicholas IV, after consulting his three doctors, among whom was Arnau, made of the School of Medicine an organized body, and granted it Faculty status. The Act of Foundation of the Medical Faculty dated 16 October 1289 is still preserved. By this, Nicholas IV was following the policy of Pope Gregory IX, the great friend of Penyafort, who in 1239 in one of his Decretales issued a letter of foundation to Montpellier University. Immediately after the Faculty was constituted Arnau was appointed its first director- 'rector'-in 1289. His influence in Montpellier persisted for many years, as may be seen from Mondeville's work⁴² and even more in the example of Guy de Chauliac.⁴³

Among the most important medical works of Arnau de Vilanova special mention must be made of the book *Regimen Sanitatis ad Inclitum Regem Aragonum*, a hygienic and preventive plan to be applied to a nation. In it he points out the importance of fresh and pure air, of physical exercises, of baths, rest, etc., and gives wide information on diet, commenting on the respective virtues of bread, vegetables, fruit, and meat. It is, so far as we know, the first social-hygienic work to be written during the Middle Ages. The book was composed for King Jaume II, probably at his request, thus showing that both the man of authority and the professional expert had the welfare of the people in mind. The work which made Arnau's name worldrenowned, the *Regimen (Sanitatis) Salernitanum*, was probably the least personal of all his books. We are grateful to Arnau for his contribution in preserving for us the ancient aphorisms of the most primitive medical school of the Europe of the Middle Ages, but the personal share of Arnau in this work was probably very small, if any. Through Arnau's version, Salernitan thought became known in the medical schools of Western Europe, contributing in no small manner to the revival of Greek thought among our ancestors. This book had, from 1474 to 1846, more than 240 editions, being translated into 'English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Polish, Bohemian, Hebrew, Persian, and Hiberno-celiac.'⁴⁴ Arnau's *De parte operativa* played an important part in the education of Guy de Chauliac, as the latter tells us in his great surgical work. The description of the sensory and motor nerves and the distinction between paralysis of central and of peripheral origin are even now interesting to read. Paralysis agitans also was an object of Arnau's observation.

As a chemist-or more correctly as an alchemist Arnau de Vilanova in his works laid the foundation of modern chemistry. It is true that he was searching for the philosophers' stone, that agent endowed with miraculous therapeutic properties which was to effect the chemical production of gold; but the methodical and systematic way in which he did so resembled modern scientific methods. His investigations enabled him to prepare alcohol, which he then used in the treatment of wounds, as Chauliac tells us;⁴⁵ thus he was one of the first to use antiseptics for wounds. It has been suggested that the great Arabian physician Rathes⁴⁶ distilled alcohol before Arnau did, but in either case it was Arnau who gave Europe the benefit of the discovery. A further use of the newly-prepared alcohol was due to Arnau : he found that alcoholic spirits mixed with aromatic plants became more palatable. From that day the spirits of modern commerce came into being. In therapeutics the work of Vilanova was profuse, and many drugs used by him are still in common use to-day.

In his university life and in the trend of his analytical mind, Arnau was a man of more concrete outlook and more business sense than his compatriot and contemporary, Ramon Lull. They had in common an unquenchable love of free thought and of the welfare of the common people. But Arnau was more of a rebel than a fighter; in his continuous quarrels with the Inquisition and in the aspersions he cast on the intellectual authority of many of his colleagues he probably went too far, considering the intellectual standard of his time. But we cannot nowadays read his works without admitting that among the number of prophecies he made-he belonged to the group of religious men called spiritualists-the one that has held most true is the prophecy concerning himself: in his activities and ideas he was indeed a forerunner of modern men. Being a fervent Christian and the friend of Popes and Kings, he nevertheless put his free judgement first and foremost; and when decisions of those in authority displeased him, he took upon himself the risk involved in making his opinions known. He was carried away by his desire to prove the truth of the Christian faith by natural reasons to the extent of trying, in a book entitled *Castro Arbullionis*, which he wrote in 1292, to explain by the Hebrew Tetragrammaton the mystery of the Trinity. In this, as in many other activities, Arnau failed. But his unlimited courage and enterprise, his exceptional humane sympathy, his fidelity to his own nature-and therefore to his country-and the way in which he fought against the obscurantist world of the Middle Ages, place Arnau on the same level as Roger Bacon, Ramon Lull, and Albertus Magnus.

Arnau de Vilanova is, as we have said, one of the medieval authors whose works have been most widely published and read. His *Regimen Sanitatis Salemitanum* was published twelve times before 1500. The complete edition of his works was undertaken in 1504, in Lyons; it was reprinted in Paris in 1509, in Venice in 1514, in Lyons in 1520 and again in 1532, and later in Basle in 1565 and 1585. The greater part of his works in Catalan have been lost. *L'Adveniment de l'Antichrist e la Fi del Mon* was condemned by the Inquisition and thereupon disappeared. The *Raonament d'Avinyo* and the manuscripts of *Carpentras on Agrimensura* are the only Catalan works of Arnau which have been handed down to us, and even of the latter the authenticity is suspect among some scholars.

At the time when Lull and Vilanova were writing their works, Catalonia had attained a leading position among the Mediterranean countries. Catalans were established in London,⁴⁷ as in the majority of important towns, and their trade and industry had given their country an advanced economic development.⁴⁸

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A Century of Splendour

During the fourteenth century the power of The Catalans grew until they were the leading country in the Mediterranean. The flag with the four red stripes was the national emblem of a confederation of peoples which, allowing for the difference of time and experience, may be considered the only precedent of the modern British Commonwealth. Not only the countries inhabited by Catalans-Catalonia, the Balearic Isles, Valencia and part of Aragon, but also Sicily, the duchies of Athens and Neopatria and later Sardinia and Naples, flew the same flag of Catalonia which had previously been the emblem given by the Catalans to Provence. Catalan consulates had been established in fifty-four towns, i.e. among almost all the known nations. Thanks to the great progress in navigation made by the Mediterranean sailors, and particularly by the Catalans, trade flourished and wealth increased; and the adventurous pursuit of new lands and greater commercial benefits stimulated the Catalans to sail even beyond the Mediterranean. Catalan cartography is said to have been the best of that time. The portulans of Dulcet (1339) and of Soler (1385) are considered by specialists to be exemplary of the best achievements of their time. There is not sufficient evidence to prove, as Nordenskjold thinks, 'that the normal portulano is Catalan work',¹ but there is no doubt of the excellence of the medieval Catalan map-makers. Jaume Ferrer adventured in 1346 more than five degrees south of Cape Nion, in Western Mrica, more than seventy years before the Portuguese reached that point.² In 1342 the Catalans had already sailed to the Canary Isles, and in 1368 Pope Urban V entrusted the bishops of Barcelona and Tortosa with the Catholic interests in these islands, in spite of their closer proximity to the coasts of Spain and Portugal.³

The social, political, cultural and economic life of the Catalans was developing steadily and without interruption; no internal dissension or troubles-as in France, Italy, and Castilian-Spain impeded the prosperity of their country. The Catalan language had been introduced in the new countries governed by the House of Barcelona; in Sardinia especially, settlements of Catalans were established which have preserved Catalan as their native tongue. Government by representatives of the estates was all-powerful, and this same system was introduced in the lands which fell under Catalan dominion. The Catalan representative system was called a 'Republic with a King'. We may still enjoy the great parliamentary speeches delivered in Catalan by the Kings Pere IV, Joan I and Marti I. The programme of King Marti for his son, Marti of Sicily, as he explained it at the meeting of the Corts in Maella, is perhaps the best evidence of the political philosophy by which the country was ruled. The King said that he wished the liberties of the kingdom to be preserved and he was therefore giving orders for his son, the King of Sicily, to be brought to Catalonia so that he should see and learn for himself how a King of Aragon must behave, namely, fulfilling and preserving the laws of his kingdom; for, he said, once he was king it would be both less easy and less agreeable for him to learn this lesson, since the majority of other kingdoms were ruled by the will of their kings and princes only.⁴

In the first year of the fourteenth century the University of Lleida was founded by King Jaume II; it was given Papal sanction shortly afterwards by Boniface VIII, the patient of Arnau of Vilanova. The future of Montpellier as an intellectual centre for the Catalans had been believed to be endangered, and so the setting up of a new university was considered necessary. It was placed by King Jaume II in the very centre of the Catalan lands.⁵ The Foundation Charter of Lleida is based on the Charter granted by the Emperor Frederick II to Naples, but, as Rashdall puts it, 'in some points, however, the King of Aragon's legislation was far more wise and liberal than that of the Neapolitan 'The Statutes', Rashdall continues, 'are of peculiar importance in the constitutional history of Universities. They are the earliest detailed code of Statutes for a Student-University which has come down to us. They show us the Student-liberties, the Student-dominion over the Professors already in full operation.'⁷

This University was to become famous for its Schools of Law and of Arts; but most famous of all in the Iberian peninsula was its School of Medicine,⁸ St. Mary's College, founded in 1372 by Domenec Ponc; in Lleida was the oldest university college in Spain. One of the factors which greatly contributed to the progress of medicine and of science in general was the authorization of anatomical dissection in the Medical Schools. Montpellier was the first university to obtain that privilege, in 1366; Venice followed in 1368, Florence in 1388, Lleida in 1394, Vienne in 1404, Bologna in 1405, Padua in 1429, Prague in 1460, Paris in 1478.⁹ Thus once again the two Catalan were, together with the Italian Universities, taking the lead in medical studies in the fourteenth century.

The industrial development of the country kept pace with that of its commerce. Iron works and textile factories reached a high degree of efficiency. Agreements with Flanders, Italy, and England on the trade in wool, dyes and textiles were among the bases of material prosperity. At the close of the century and even more in the one following, English wool was brought to Catalonia to be dyed, spun, and woven, and the finished product was despatched back to England.¹⁰ In the following century a State control of all these processes of elaboration was established in order to guarantee that the textile products returned to England were made of the original English wool. The democratic principles on which the Catalans ran their business prevented the cropping-up of political or social troubles, for progress could be incorporated into the machinery of the State without causing violent reactions. But by the end of the fourteenth century some unrest was felt among the peasantry; the feudal structure of the Middle Ages was beginning to crack under the weight of such advanced social conditions. A fundamental readjustment of the rights of the peasants was therefore felt to be necessary at an early date. The land was mainly divided between ecclesiastic and aristocratic lords, and King Joan I requested of Pope Benedict XIII a new settlement of the problem in ecclesiastical land; the latter however refused to take the King's suggestion into consideration. The time had not yet come for a radical change.

In this active world, sailors and soldiers also had an important place. In 1305 after the conquest of Sicily (see p. 45) an expedition of professional soldiers was sent to the help of the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus II Paleologu, who was unable to check the advance of the Ottomans. These Catalan and Aragonese adventurers repeatedly defeated the Turks and later became the real masters of the country until they settled in Athens. They also founded the Duchy of Morea. In 1323 Sardinia was wrested from the Genoese and Pisans was incorporated into the Catalan Confederation.

This is a concise summary of the world in which lived the Catalan personalities who are the subject of this chapter. They are the two outstanding men of the period: Francesc Eiximenis and Vicenç Ferrer.

FRANCESC EIXIMENIS (1340-1409)

Apart from Lull, Eiximenis proved the most prolific of Catalan writers. In many points he may be compared to Lull: he was a Franciscan, and he also was attracted by the most various of mental activities. But Eiximenis was the more cultivated of the two; by his writings may easily be gauged both his better education as a scholar and the cultural progress recorded during the hundred years which separate him from Lull. On the other hand he lacked the creative genius of Lull.

Eiximenis was born in the northern Catalan city of Girona in 1340, and entered the Order of St. Francis when still very young. Most of his life was spent in the Franciscan friary of Valencia, but because of his outstanding personality he was singled out to fulfill several important political and diplomatic missions. He was on friendly terms with most of the great magnates of his country; to the Marquis of Villena he dedicated in 1385 his Twelfth Book of the Christian, better known as the *Regiment de Prnceps*. He was also a friend of Queen Maria of Aragon, at whose request his book *Scala Dei* was written. On the special advice of King Joan's minister, En Pere Dartes, he wrote a *Life of Christ*. Later in life, Eiximenis was made bishop of Elna, near Perpignan, and Patriarch of Jerusalem. His life was a much more sedentary one than Lull's or Vilanova's had been, and this more stable existence gave him more time for reading and meditation than his two predecessors had had. His approach to the problems of life and death was of a more scholarly nature, in contrast to the direct observation practised by his precursors. Eiximenis was eloquent and he moved easily among the simplest people of his country, in closer contact than Lull had done; thus he knew the customs, habits, traditions, and feelings of the ordinary fourteenth-century citizen of Catalonia as few other men did. For that reason the ideas, of Eiximenis and the subjects which appealed to his intellect are characteristic of the moral and material standards of his people. He had a sensitive mind and, moreover, was a moralist and something of a pedagogue; therefore his ideas may be considered to reflect the best thought of the responsible minds of his country.

In spite of his intimate relations with the Catalan royal family, Eiximenis had some trouble with King Joan I due to his advanced concept of democracy, as expressed in the aforementioned *Regiment de Prnceps*.¹² The King asked him on what evidence he had written that 'the noblemen had lost their nobility and become vain and cruel to such a degree that to maintain their appearance they despoil their vassals' and that 'in future there will be no kings, dukes, counts, and other noblemen, and to the end of the world popular justice only will reign'.¹³ But it would be a mistake to call the political ideas of Eiximenis extremist or radical; on the contrary, he was merely putting into words the general feelings of his fellow-countrymen at the close of the fourteenth century, when feudalism was no longer capable of evolution. His concept of social order was based on the idea of individual liberty combined with a wellintegrated family nucleus; he was equally opposed to the controlling of society by the amorphous masses and by individual tyranny. He explains his social philosophy in these words: 'Nobody desires to be enslaved nor to deliver himself into the hands of someone else; everyone wishes to be free; therefore, a system must be found by which the liberty of mankind may be preserved.'¹⁴ This system he bases on democratic popular government: 'but as the multitudes are unable to rule their country in a direct way, they must elect the best men, in order to prevent the collapse of society'; and 'no elective post should be a permanent one'. On the duties of a king he writes: 'A king who inflicts harm to public interests and who rules against the customs of his country and contrary to those principles which he has sworn to respect at his accession must-unless he corrects his faults-be considered an enemy and as such be dethroned; a new king will have to take his place'; Eiximenis' views on freedom and tyranny are, then, those of our twentieth-century Western minds.

He was an individualist in that he subordinated any social arrangement to the preservation of individual liberty and welfare. 'By nature, everyone is free nature made all men equal until society elected its rulers for its own protection and sound government. Liberty is one of the primary and distinctive virtues existing among men, and no community ever gave absolute governing power to anyone; it was given by pacts and laws only. The ruler who sets liberty aside, who forsakes the noble obligations of his crown, falls into the deepest abyss, for a tyrant is a cancer of society, devoid of any goodness, denying God and law. He is a dagger pointed against public welfare, because the tyrant does not admit in human beings their natural essence from which springs the dignity of man.'¹⁵ These words of Eiximenis were written in 1385; making allowance for the time in which they were written, a likeness may be found with the words of Jefferson's Declaration of Independence of 1776: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights.' The *Regiment de Princeps Was* published in Valencia in 1483, shortly after the introduction of printing.

Eiximenis, as a true follower of Arnau de Vilanova, had a great love for alchemy and astrology, and like him he took a profound interest in forecasting the future. Of his prophecies one at least was to prove true: his prevision of the armies of the air which one day would fight each other. But these products of Eiximenis' imagination are of little interest for us to-day; it is more important to stress the practical and constructive side of his mind and also those of his ideas which were representative of the Catalans of his time. His phrase 'It is necessary to develop the manual trades in order to increase public wealth', accords with the economic and social importance always allotted to manual work by the Catalans and may be connected with similar ideas already noted in the writings of Lull (see p. 52).

Eiximenis' realism is well expressed by his words 'nothing is good for man if man himself is not good'. Like his predecessors, he focussed all his attention on the enlightenment of the common people of his country; to this purpose he expanded the capacity of his native language for expressing philosophical and scientific concepts and improved Catalan far beyond the range it had covered in the days of Lull and Vilanova. In this respect, we may define Eiximenis as a pedagogue; but primarily he was a writer on political and social problems, as may be seen also by his *El Carro de les Dones* (The Cart of Women), a book which was first printed in Tarragona in 1485, some hundred years after it was written. This work is a most comprehensive review of every kind of problem-moral, religious, and material-which might trouble the women of Eiximenis' times. He treats of the unmarried, the married, and the widowed state; of chastity and education; of the behaviour of women in their conjugal life; and he also gives advice to men on how best to deal with women of the most diverse characters. He explains the specific qualities and-if this may be said of a writer of the fourteenth century-he gives the psychological reasons, together with philosophical and theological ones, which make women different from men. He discusses woman's influence in the family circle and postulates that no woman should be illiterate. The importance of this book in the history of Catalan culture was felt more than a century later, when Vives wrote his *Education of Christian Women*, which achieved fame more rapidly than any of his other writings, and within a few years of its publication in 1523 was already translated from the Latin into Spanish, French, English, and Italian. Many of Vives' views were similar to those of Eiximenis; but the influence of the classical-rationalistic ideas of the Renaissance is more strongly felt in Vives.

To Eiximenis we are also indebted for one of the first treatises on social morals-the Tractat de doctrina compendiosa-which deals with the moral qualities needed both in private citizens and in public personalities. Torres i Bages has called it a 'pamphlet of useful propaganda for spreading the right social doctrine among a free people which is the master of its own destiny, as the Catalan nation of his day was.'¹⁶

All the other works of Eiximenis, so far as they have been published, are mainly dedicated to religious matters. In his religious ideas Eiximenis was a follower of Lull and of the Franciscan philosophy of love; but in this respect he is less interesting to us now, because he was less original. The extensive Llibre del Crestid is an encyclopedic in which he treats of religion and morals, though many other subjects also crop up in its pages. The first book-published in Valencia in 1483-demonstrates the necessity of the Christian religion and shows 'how God helps men to overcome the obstacles which would impede their loving Him in a natural and rational way', and later he explains at great length how great a Source of help the Christian religion is for the common people.

Together with Vicenç; Ferrer, Bonifaci, Ferrer, and Bernat Metge, Eiximenis was the link between the Middle Ages and the pre-Renaissance period represented in Catalonia by Ramon de Sibiude and Ausiàs March.

VICENÇ FERRER

The brother Vicenç; and Bonifaci Ferrer were contemporaries of Eiximenis. The fame of the first has largely surpassed that of the second; but a prominent place should still be given to Bonifaci, the younger of the brothers, as being, after Wyclif, one of the first translators of the Bible from Latin into a vernacular language. His translation was written in the last years of the fourteenth century and published in 1478, but it has disappeared completely as a result of the persecution of the Spanish Inquisition which had been introduced into Catalonia in 1487.

Bonifaci Ferrer, born in Valencia in 1355, was a jurist and became a professor in Lleida. He was one of the nine delegates from the Catalan-Aragonese Confederation who met at Caspe in 1413 to elect a new king when Marti I died without direct succession. His brother Vicenç, born in Valencia in 1350, was already a Dominican only nineteen years of age, and spent all his life either among the poorest people or in the Pope's palace in Avignon. When still very young he went to the University of Lleida, and later became professor of physics in Barcelona.

Vicenç Ferrer was a great orator and an imaginative writer, The quenching of these and his influence both on the people and on the ruling classes was such that at Caspe he was able to change the nation's destiny, for his was the deciding voice in the election. In a later chapter we shall come back to this much-discussed point (see chap. VI); here may be emphasized the rather personal contribution of Vicenç; Ferrer to the evolution of his people's mentality by mentioning only three of his distinctive characteristics. These may also serve as 'examples of Catalan life at the close of the fourteenth century and during the first part of the fifteenth. In Ferrer's lifetime, the Dominican Head of the Inquisition in Catalonia, Nicolas Eymeric (1320-1399), a remarkable man whose gifts were unfortunately obscured by the most obstinate violence, was intent on using persecution and authoritative personal control in order to stop the traditional attitude of religious tolerance among the Catalans. He searched for and destroyed the works of Lull, as of many others, going to the extreme of inventing a non-existent Papal Bull against the Lullian doctrines,¹⁷ However, his attempt failed; he was exiled from his country by King Pere IV and took refuge at the Papal court at Avignon, from where he returned to Catalonia when the king died, only to start again his intrigues-for which King Joan I called him a 'diabolicus et depravatus homo'.¹⁸ The

municipal authorities of Barcelona were the most active against him, together with the theologians of Valencia and Majorca; and Eymeric ended his life in complete discredit and forsaken by everyone. It is important to mention this first attempt at introducing religious persecution, 'obscurantism and intolerance among the Catalans, because its complete failure serves as conclusive evidence of the strength of the democratic structure of the country. In 1391, the violent preaching of an arch deacon of Ecija (in Andalucia, in Southern Spain), called Hernando Martinez, who together with some agitators came to Catalonia after causing great disturbance in Seville, stirred up an alarming revolt, during which a great number of Jews were murdered and the Jewish quarter was burnt.¹⁹ The quenching of these disorders again gives evidence of the liberalism and determination of the popular authorities and of the royal policy in their defence of freedom of religious thought. Twenty-six persons responsible for the revolt were hanged, and the responsible propagandists were expelled from the country. The traditional conception the authorities had of their duties made them rely on reason rather than force even in the religious sphere; and such was the case with Vicenç Ferrer and his fellow friars, who summoned public meetings in the town of Tortosa where a great number of Jews met Christian theologians. After sixty-nine disputations all the Jews but two were converted;²⁰ this procedure was indeed in accordance with the liberal attitude and regard of human life upheld by the Order of Mercy, Penyafort, Lull, Vilanova, and Eiximenis. It reflects a spirit of tolerance and respect for the convictions of others which were not common in Europe in the time of Vicenç Ferrer, as indeed in some places not over-conspicuous even to day.²¹

Vicenç Ferrer extended the area of his preaching throughout the whole of Spain and France and a great part of Italy. In his sermons in Toledo-in Spain-he rebuked the custom of that region of considering the descendants of converted Jews as vile and despicable, and he requested the authorities to forbid the use of the word *marranos* (pigs) to denote converted Jews. By Ferrer's most able tongue, Catalan was preached all over southwestern Europe. His power of convincing eloquence was so great, and the likeness of Catalan and Provençal still so close in his day, that people who ignored this similitude thought it must be by a miracle that the sermons of Ferrer were understood without difficulty by those various peoples extending from the north of Italy to the south of France. When in 1455 Pope Calixtus III, a native of Valencia, canonized Ferrer, the fact that his speech had been understood by peoples of different nationalities was set forth as a relevant prodigy. Evidently, in the middle of the fifteenth century it was forgotten that from the town of Elche in the south of the Spanish peninsula to Nice, the same language was spoken in former days, just as these parts were inhabited by people with a common biological past. The printed sermons of Vicenç Ferrer show how rich and expressive was his Catalan and how great his ability as a polemical writer. Another of Ferrer's characteristics, which is likewise to be found in other men of his time and country, is his preoccupation with the welfare of the people, particularly his care for the sick and afflicted. To such men as he was due the foundation of the first lunatic asylum. A friar of the Order of Mercy named Joan Gilabert Jofre, with the assistance of thirteen other persons, founded the Hospital dels Folls (hospital for lunatics) in the town of Valencia, in 1409. Ferrer used his personal influence to realize the project. It is interesting to remember what mental diseases were believed to be in the time of Ferrer and Jofre. Madmen were thought to be 'possessed' by the Devil, and the orthodox treatment was to beat the poor patients and frequently to burn them alive as witches.²² It is comforting to find that, at last, mental patients were considered to be ordinary persons suffering from a disease; it was among the Catalans that the first step was taken to overcome that brutal stage of human evolution, as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century. To quote the great French psychiatrist. Rene Semelaigne: "The first who seem to have been interested in these unfortunates are the BFOthers of Mercy, an

order founded in the thirteenth century with the object of ransoming Christians who fell into the hands of infidels: Ut catenas et gravia eorum vincula dirumpere digneris, ut captivos omni solatio et medicina destitutos sanare digneris, te rogamus.²³ It is not unlikely that the founding of the first mental asylum by the friends of Ferrer answered a public need and perhaps a public demand, owing to the old traditions of the country as stressed by the Order of Mercy from its foundation almost two hundred years before.

To Vicenç Ferrer the University of Valencia also owes its existence. The first Studis Generals date from the time of the conquest of Valencia by King Jaume I in 1238. But it was by Ferrer's influence that the various schools of Valencia were joined into a single body as a University.

Another distinctive mark of Ferrer's intellect was his hatred of religious superstition and over-zealous fanaticism; his Treaty on the Spiritual Life is a good exposition of his realistic views on supernatural life and a warning against superstition. The appreciation of this book by Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros, the great statesman of the days of the Catholic Kings, will be mentioned later.

In these outstanding qualities Ferrer's personality may be compared to his great fellow-countrymen, from Olaguer to Eiximenis; and yet, his is the responsibility that the creative power of his people was doomed to barrenness and that the wealth and happiness of the Catalans declined. At the most decisive moment of their history, Ferrer considered it more important to solve a problem concerning only the Church than to preserve his country from being ruled by a mentality which was in many ways opposed to its own. From Ferrer down to our own times, the greatest efforts of the Catalans have been diverted from their natural tendency-which is towards creative progressto a continuous struggle for their own existence, first as a people and later as individuals. We shall return to this subject in due course.

The greatest writer. of Catalan prose in its classical period, Bernat Metge, was born in the same year as Vicent; Ferrer, 1350. Metge grew up to be an official of the royal house and served as secretary to Kings Joan I and Marti I. He came strongly under the influence of Petrarch, and by his writings set Catalan literature on the path leading" to the Renaissance. In 1397 he was imprisoned on a charge of administrative irregularities; but this proved ill-founded and he was released. During this imprisonment he wrote his masterpiece *Lo Somni* (The Dream), which is considered the best Catalan literary product of the Middle Ages. It shows the Catalan tongue at the climax of its maturity, comparable to the Italian of the time and more developed than either French or Spanish in the fourteenth century. To find in either of these latter languages the maturity of expression of Metge's prose, we should have to wait till the sixteenth century-the time of Rabelais' *Pantagruel* and Rojas' *La Celestina*.

In Metge, as in many other Catalan writers of later times, continuous intercourse with Italian authors created an intimate contact between the two cultural movements, Italian and Catalan, during the pre-Renaissance period. He may thus rank as the last of the mediaevalists and the first of the pre- Renaissance writers. The philosophy of Metge is the common one of his country: he repeatedly stresses ideas such as 'The consent of all people has the same value as the law of nature'.²⁴ Like most Catalan thinkers, he stresses the importance of commonsense; even in psychology, his reasons in proof of the immortality of the soul are based on the general belief held by his people.

At the close of the Middle Ages the soil was thus prepared among the Catalans for a great florescence to coincide with the Renaissance, which was shortly to be ushered in by those three great events of history, the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, the invention of printing, and the discovery of America. But just at that moment, the unexpected occurred, and the Catalan people found itself suddenly relegated, for the time being, to a secondary place in the world of progress.

The Shadow of Medieval Castile

The Royal House of Barcelona had held its throne from the middle of the ninth century until the beginning of the fifteenth, first as Counts of Barcelona and later as Kings of Aragon-an uninterrupted succession of kings of whom, allowing for personal characteristics and different abilities, we may say with Chaytor¹ that they were 'a succession of competent and energetic rulers, for the most part equal to the difficult times in which they had to govern'. On the last day of March 1410, King Marti I died without direct succession and without leaving in his last will any provision for the nomination of the new king. His own son, King Marti of Sicily, had died the year before, leaving only an illegitimate son, Frederic. King Marti tried to obtain the legitimation of his grandson from the Aragonese Pope Benedict XIII, but died while awaiting this solution of the problem of his succession. The difficulties caused by this sudden death decided the Catalan democratic government to summon an assembly of the parliaments of the Catalan-Aragonese Confederation, in order to seek an agreement on the most rightful claimant to the throne.

Of the six aspirants who came forward, it was soon realized that only two stood any chance of election. One of these was Count Jaume of Urgell, great-grandson by the male line of King Jaume II. The other was Ferdinand of Trastamara, also called 'of Antequera' from a victory he had won over the Moslems in southern Spain. He was a Castilian prince, and at the time, during the minority of his nephew King Juan II, was acting as regent of Castile. His mother, however, was Eleanor, daughter of the Catalan King Pere IV. Thus the claims of both were adequately justified. At the beginning of the contest the Count of Urgell's position seemed more favourable than Ferdinand's: first, he was the heir by the male line, and this was thought to be almost decisive in a country where, only fifteen years earlier, King Marti had succeeded to the throne at the death of his brother Joan I, who had left as direct heir only a daughter, Princess Violant. The other advantage the Count of Urgell had was the fact of being a Catalan, born in Catalonia, and well versed in her traditions and language, and aware of the nature and the limitations of royalty among Catalans.

But here came into play extraneous interests, which changed the course of history. The Great Schism which then divided the Catholic Church interfered with the normal course of the election. The pope of Avignon, Benedict XIII, a native of Aragon, felt his position to be growing less and less stable. Charles VI of France had withdrawn his submission from Benedict, whose only important support now lay in the Kings of Aragon and Castile. Benedict was therefore bound to favour Ferdinand, who was already regent of Castile, in his claims to the throne. If the Count of Urgell were to be elected, Benedict might lose the support of the disappointed Castilian regent as well, and his position would then become utterly untenable. From the first, therefore, Benedict put all his power at the disposal of the Castilian claimant, and by his personal agents-especially churchmen- Ferdinand's candidature was advanced and propagated throughout the country. The most energetic, skilful and influential of these Was Vicenç; Ferrer, the Dominican from Valencia, who at that time was the private confessor of Pope Benedict.

In the assembly summoned in Caspe, the town of the Knights of St. John, where nine delegates from the confederated countries met as electors, the Count of Urgell was finally defeated in spite of all his presumed rights and advantages. The delegates themselves had been appointed somewhat irregularly: only men committed to Ferdinand -and therefore to Benedict XIII-had been chosen, except two delegates who were admitted as opposition. The election of Ferdinand was accepted with sorrow in many quarters, but also with resignation and without any desire to contest the result. The old law-abiding democratic tradition was too deeply rooted to allow the Count of Urgell to find any support among the popular authorities; and when after some time he rose in rebellion, he was upheld only by his own people of the county of Urgell, by the Duke of Clarence, the son of King Henry IV of England, and by a few Provençal nobles. The death of Henry IV forced the Duke of Clarence to return to England, making further help impossible; and the Count of Urgell was decisively defeated by Ferdinand's troops and imprisoned for the remaining twenty years of his life. He died in Xativa prison in 1433.

Ferdinand was an able and energetic ruler who, as regent of Castile during the minority of King Juan II, had relied on his personal judgement as the main source of law and justice. It therefore came as a surprise to him to discover that the highest authority among the Catalans was vested in Parliament. At his first assembly of Corts, held in the town of Montblanc, Ferdinand appointed two Castilian knights, Don Pedro de Velasco and Don Juan G. de Azevedo, as his notaries, a decision which resulted in considerable unrest among his new people who regarded all Castilians as foreigners. The Corts of Montblanc were dissolved without any satisfactory issue of the fundamental question. Ferdinand could not understand what might be the authority of a king in a country in which all important decisions had to be agreed on by the people's, representatives-nobles, churchmen, townsmen, villagers. Not long after his arrival in Barcelona new difficulties arose, this time with the municipal authorities, through the King's refusal to pay the regular meat-tax, which he considered an infringement of his royal prerogative. After suffering various setbacks he at length gave way and submitted to the local tradition, but he immediately decided to return to his native land of Castile, where he had been recognized as ruler without any such irritating limitations on sovereignty. On his way to Castile, Ferdinand died in the town of Igualada on 2 April 1416.

Meanwhile, the Great Schism of the Church had come to a crisis. The Emperor Sigismund decided to settle the problem once for all, and during the great Council in Constance he met Ferdinand and Pope Benedict XIII in Perpignan, in 1414. When Benedict refused to abdicate his rights, Ferdinand too proclaimed that he should be disregarded by his subjects and not be referred to as Pope any longer. Vicenç Ferrer, the great supporter of Benedict, also abandoned him; and Benedict thereafter voluntarily confined himself to the small castle of Penyscola on the coast of Valencia. Thus, only four years after the election of Ferdinand to the throne of Aragon, the Pope who had been largely responsible for the event disappeared; but the royal dynasty which had thus, for reasons of Church policy, been enthroned persisted-at least as long as, according to tradition, Pope Benedict had predicted.²

In this troubled period we meet the first great Catalan thinker who lived and died in exile. For the first time in the history of Catalonia, a notable thinker, born in the country where European freedom had been outlined, was to bestow his creative powers on a foreign land to the detriment of his own people. He was Ramon de Sibiude, better known as Sabonde, and was destined to play a prominent part in shaping the mentality of modern France.

RAMON DE SIBIUDE

Sibiude was born in Barcelona in the last third of the fourteenth century. Nothing is known of his youth or of his family. Nor can we tell whether he went into exile for having taken part in the controversies over Ferdinand's election, or for some other reason. The only facts which have been clearly recorded are that he taught philosophy and medicine in the University of Toulouse, and that he was elected rector of that University in '1424 and retained the post until he died in 1436. Sibiude wrote one of the most famous books of his time, the *Theologia Naturalis sive Liber Creaturarum*, in which he tried to harmonize, as Lull did before him, reason with faith. Actually Sibiude went farther than Lull in that he placed man as the link between Divinity and Nature: 'Man is the limited reproduction of the Creator and thus a scientific knowledge of man may bring us, by successive steps, to the knowledge of God'. In these words we hear the voice of the dawning Renaissance. In other lines of thought Sibiude appears to be, more than a man of the pre- Renaissance period, our own contemporary. A few quotations will make this clear: 'God has provided us with two books: Nature the one, and the Bible the other. It is the book of Nature which never can be falsified nor banished.' 'The real likeness between men is their free will.' 'Free will everywhere accompanies human intelligence, and the one cannot exist without the other.'

Sibiude's realism has been acclaimed as the highest quality of his work. If he is to be considered a true follower of Lull's philosophy, it is a Lull of the fifteenth century, with less mystical emotions and more psychological knowledge. Not the least interest which Sibiude's works have for us to-day arises from the decisive role they played in the education of Montaigne. Montaigne translated into French the *Theologia Naturalis* and dedicated to Sibiude the longest and most elaborate of his *Essais*. The great French thinker tells us in the preface to his translation that while he was still young his father had asked him to translate and publish Sibiude's work. Here are Montaigne's words, showing how much he appreciated the rational philosophy of the Catalan.⁴ 'Je trouvoy belles les imaginations de cet aucteur, la contexture de son ouvrage bien suyvie, et son desseing plain de piete. Parce que beaucoup de gent s'amusement le lire, et notamment les dames, a qui nous debvons plus de service, ie me suis trouve souvent a mesme de les secourir, pour descharger leur livre de deux principales obiections qu'on luy faict. Sa fin est hardie et courageuse; car il entreprend, par raisons humaines et naturelles, d'establir et verifier contre atheistes tous les articles de la religion chrestienne; en quoy, a dire la verite ie le treuve si ferme et si heureux que ie ne pense point quil soit possible de mieulx faire en cet argument la; et crois que nul ne l'a eguale. Cet ouvrage me sembla trop riche et trop beau pour un aucteur duquelle nom soit si peu cogneu et duquel tout ce que nous scavons, c'est qu'il estoit Espagnol, faisant profession de medicine a Toulouse, il y a environ deux cents ans.'⁵ Montaigne wrote these words in the second half of the sixteenth century, a time when the existence of Catalan thought was unknown outside Spain and probably inside as well. But if the man was unknown and his country ignored, the work -of Sibiude remained as documentary evidence characteristic of the permanent properties of the Catalan mind. The spring of clear water which flowed from Catalonia by the mediation of Sibiude developed into a large river through the addition of Montaigne's thought, and under the influence of his followers it fertilized the French mentality of modern times.⁶

The beneficial influence of Sibiude's book was likewise felt by the Bohemian pedagogue Johan Amos Comenius in the seventeenth century. Greatly admiring the *Theologia Naturalis* but finding its style too compressed and heavy for lay readers, he wrote a modernized version of the book, following exactly the chapters of the original; to this adaptation Comenius gave the title *Oculus Fidei*. In his transcription he deplored that 'pearls so beautiful are joined together by a style of very poor quality'. In fact there is every reason to criticize Sibiude's Latin style. It seems that he wrote in an individual language of his own, made of Catalan words with Latinized endings, and called it Latin.
7

The last words of Sibiude's work give some idea of the character of the man who wrote them: 'Close your eyes to ancient science and question nature only.' For him the science of 'the Creatures' was the science of Nature, in short, the knowledge of man. With great simplicity, he buried the old Thomistic philosophy and opened the way for modern thinkers, from the empiricism of Bacon to the psychology of Descartes.⁸ When Sibiude says that the only means whereby man may know himself is by inhabiting his own self, we feel that we are reading *Le discours de La methode*. But in some respects he differs from Descartes: he does not divide man into two parts, but considers him in his natural state, as the 'commonsense school' has done in more recent years.

In the great intellectual struggle which arose with the collapse of mediaeval restrictions, Sibiude served as the banner of the anti-scholastic school. He was thus a forerunner, by exactly one century, of Lluís Vives. The eminent Spanish scholar Sr. Menéndez Pelayo says of Sibiude:⁹ 'In the latest and most corrupt period of scholasticism, when its direction was disputed between the mystics and the nominalists, a professor from Barcelona appeared in Toulouse, who, without being part of any of these groups or employing the method and the form generally adopted by scholasticism, tried to reform both method and teaching, as though he were speaking with the voice of the Renaissance. . . . A book founded on observation and experience, above all on the inner experience of one's own self. Thus he wrote the *Theologia Naturalis*, in which reason finds itself proved.'

The *Theologia Naturalis* was printed for the first time in Deventer in 1480 and ran to six further editions before 1500. The complete original has never been published in Spain. In 1614 a Spanish translation of a concise Latin compendium of the work was published in Madrid. The natural philosophy of Sibiude did not influence Spanish thought in later days owing to the action of the Inquisition. The prologue to the book was condemned by the Council of Trent, where the Catalan theologian Canon Joan Vileta most ably defended the rational method of Sibiude. Vileta succeeded in saving the book from being banned, but he was unable to save the prologue from the passionate attacks of Spanish scholastic theologians.¹⁰ That is why editions published after 1564 lack the introduction.

We shall see later how much Vives is indebted to Sibiude for his rational and logical philosophy; or rather, perhaps, how profoundly both writers concur in their approach to problems both ephemeral and eternal. In Spain, the intolerant dogmatic attitude which for so long dominated intellectual life forbade, until recent years, the diffusion of Sibiude's ideas. In the eighteenth century, even the liberal-minded Father Feyjoo could write that the book of Sibiude could not be as good as someone had said, since it had been condemned by the Inquisition of Spain.¹¹ A century later, Cardinal Zeferino Gonzalez wrote that Sibiude's conceptions and theories were inspired by the scholastic doctrine of St. Thomas¹²-which proves only that the Cardinal misunderstood or perhaps had never read the book.¹³ Opposing this view some modern Spaniards, as Sr. Menéndez Pelayo, have accorded to Sibiude the place in which he was already

ranked by Montaigne and Comenius and sixteenth century France, and, by their influence, throughout the civilized world.

Sibiude's main belief was one that is common to all of us now: 'By natural inclination man is continuously engaged in the pursuit of truth'; and also: 'The visible world is the natural book of man.' Modern science was born when these ideas were fully understood.

Another great loss which Catalonia suffered about the same time had a most beneficial effect for Europe by bringing nearer the period of great discoveries: it was the expatriation of the geographer, Jacme or Jaume Ribes, a native of Majorca, who, some time between 1412 and 1418, was engaged by the Portuguese Prince Henry the Navigator to direct the newly established nautical school of Sagres, which helped to build the foundations of the great Portuguese Empire. Ribes was an expert in the construction of compasses and the designing of maritime charts, and it was mainly he who initiated the Portuguese in the secrets of scientific navigation. He is supposed to have informed them of the existence of the Azores, which were engraved upon the Catalan map of 1373,¹⁵ and, even more important, he is said to have told Prince Henry of Jaume Ferrer's navigation in 1346, beyond the Sea of Darkness. Jaume Ribes' teaching of the Portuguese helped to place them, within a few years, among the world's best sailor-explorers.¹⁶

Expatriations such as these—which probably were voluntary—of two great Catalans of constructive intellect, were to be repeated; infrequently, as yet, during the fifteenth century, but increasingly as Catalonia lost her national individuality and independence, until finally no more achievements or ideas worth mentioning originated in Catalonia.

The fifteenth century was also a period of splendour for Catalan poetry, by then grown completely independent of the primitive versification of the troubadours. As already mentioned (see p. 23), the Catalans contributed to the common development of Provençal poetry. When history cut the Provençal-Catalan country in two, their political and social destinies were separated. But the soul of the people was still undivided and sought to express itself in similar ways on both sides of the Pyrenees. In 1323 Toulouse tried to revive the by then decadent troubadour poetry by organizing the Consistori de la Gaya Sciencia, a poetical competition inspired by the memory of the old and almost legendary Corts d' Arnor of the great period of the troubadours;¹⁷ and in 1388 the Jocs Florals (Floral Games) were organized in Barcelona, in imitation of the Toulousan poetical contests. One of the moving spirits in Barcelona was Jaume March. It is possible that these contests contributed to the increase in numbers, and the improvement in quality, of poets; it is certainly a fact that from now on their poetry was purely Catalan. To the remarkable progress of the language which we see in Catalonia, there is no counterpart in Provence. On the contrary, the Provençals were at this time already undergoing a process of provincialization, modelling themselves on Northern French.

The best of these fifteenth-century poets, and probably the best Catalan poet of the whole classical period, was Ausiàs March, a nephew of Jaume March. Ausiàs was born in the town of Gandia in 1397; at a youthful age he joined the Catalan armies in their Sardinian expedition of 1420, in which two other great Catalan poets, Jordi de Sant Jordi and Andreu Febrer, also took part. He became an intimate friend of the Prince of Viana, the ill-fated heir of the Aragonese crown (see below, p. 94). He was a philosopher who expressed himself in verse, producing more than a hundred poems on subjects ranging from love to moral and religious problems. His poetry is much nearer to Dante's than to Petrarch's. His works were translated into Latin and into Spanish, and seven editions were published in these languages during the sixteenth century.

Jordi de Sant Jordi and Andreu Febrer, have left a less copious production. Only eighteen of Jordi's poems remain; Febrer's most important work is the translation into

Catalan of Dante's *Divina Commedia*, which he completed in 1428. The last of the poets of this period was Jaume Roig, of Valencia, whose fame is based on his *Spill* or *Llibre de les Dones*, a work of 12,000 lines, which satirizes many aspects of life, and women in particular. His laconic form of expression is full of vigour and energy and has been compared to Boccaccio's. It is valuable to us because of the insight it gives us into the civilization of his age.¹⁸

At the close of this period, Catalan prose was enriched by one of its finest works, *Tirant lo Blanch* by Joanot Martorell. This novel was inspired by Muntaner's famous *Chronicle*, it also owed much to Bernat Metge; and some influence of the Englishman Guy of Warwick is noticeable as well. Another story of the same romantic trend is *Curial i Güelfa*, a product of Italian influence and inferior to *Tirant lo Blanch*.

In 1474, the *Jocs Florals* had taken place in the town of Valencia; the resulting poetical works were printed under the title of *Obres e trobes, les quais tracten de lahors de la sacratissima Verge Maria*, and this book was generally regarded as the first to be printed in the Spanish peninsula, until a book printed in Barcelona in 1468 was found.¹⁹ A very large number of manuscripts clamoured for printing, for so far the creative capacity of the Catalans had met with no obstacle since the days of the troubadours.

At the moment a sudden deterioration of political and social conditions drove the Catalans to the verge of total collapse. The Castilian King of Aragon, Ferdinand I had died in 1416 (see p. 85) only four years after his coronation. His eldest son, Alfons, inherited the crown. Alfons was an intelligent and ambitious young man who, like his father, was born in Castile and whose native language was Castilian. He felt himself a foreigner in Catalonia, and the limitations by which the royal power was hedged in among the Catalans determined his course of action. Naples and Corsica were at that time among the countries united under the crown of Aragon. Alfons elected to take up residence in the town of Naples, which for the rest of his life became the *de facto* centre of the Confederation. As Naples had been conquered by force of arms and by diplomacy and the consent of its people was of no account, it was a more congenial place for Alfons to live in than Catalonia—to which for twenty-six years he did not pay even a single visit. During this long absence, his abandoned wife, Queen Maria, a Princess of the Castilian royal family, who was a wise and prudent woman, governed the country in collaboration with its democratic institutions, to the full satisfaction of the Catalans. None the less, the continuous absence of the King not only displaced the centre of the Confederation from Catalonia but also prevented the Catalans from conducting the policy of their Mediterranean possessions. The first attempt to place the direction of Catalan interests in Castilian hands thus dates from Alfons' time.²⁰

In 1435, about the middle of Alfons' reign, the Catalan navy suffered its first defeat in two hundred years. In the battle of Ponza (a small island near Naples) the Genoese navy vanquished the fleet in which King Alfons and many Castilian nobles, together with almost the whole of Alfons' court, were enjoying their first maritime experience. The great poets, Ausiàs March, Jordi de Sant Jordi, Andreu Febrer and Jaume Roig, as well as the King and most of the other nobleman were taken prisoners by the Genoese.

In 1458 Alfons of Aragon died without direct legitimate issue; his brother Joan, already King Consort of Navarre by his marriage to Blanca, Queen of Navarre, was proclaimed King of Aragon. A son, Prince Charles of Viana, was born from this marriage before the death of Alfons. Born in the Basque country and educated in Barcelona, he was regarded by the common people as destined to be a representative of the old type of kings they had known for the past four centuries; that is to say, as their king. Joan II, his father, was born and educated in Castile, as his predecessors had been, but unlike theirs his character was questionable and certainly unscrupulous. When his wife Blanca died, Joan usurped the regency of Navarre, thus infringing the Prince of

Viana's title to the crown. Joan then married the Castilian Juana Enriquez, daughter of the Admiral of Castile and a Jewess. A son was born from this second marriage; he was christened Ferdinand. The Prince of Viana was now the rightful heir of the entire Confederation (Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, the Balearic Isles, Sicily, Sardinia, Naples, Corsica, and Malta) and of the Kingdom of Navarre. But his stepmother, Juana Enriquez was consumed with ambition to secure that eminence for her own son; and using her personal influence with King Joan and taking full advantage of his cruel and despotic nature, she caused the Prince of Viana to be cast into prison. But Catalonia rose in the Prince's favour, at the head of the whole Confederation, and the King was forced to set him free.

Charles entered Barcelona in triumph. Less than three months later, he died there, probably of tuberculosis. The population, however, accused Juana Enriquez of having poisoned her stepson, and this, added to the repeated restrictions which the King had attempted to fasten on the democratic liberties of their country, caused a general uprising of the Catalans against their King

It was indeed a misfortune that just at this moment the Catalan peasantry started a rebellion known as the guerra dels remences against the onerous conditions of land tenure under which they laboured. The Catalan Government or Generalitat was trying to solve the problem by a mutual agreement between landlords and peasants, and the basis of the agreement had already been accepted by large numbers on both sides, when the intrigues of the King prevented the conclusion of social peace.²¹ This happened in 1462. Not until twenty-four years later, when an exhausted Catalonia was bleeding to death, did Joan's successor invoke this same settlement of the democratic Catalan government to put an end for ever to the problem of the serfs (see below, p. 104). Meanwhile, after ten years of fighting between King and people—a thing that had never been seen in Catalonia before—peace was signed in 1472 and the son of King Joan and Queen Juana, Prince Ferdinand, was recognized by the Catalans as heir to the throne.

Young Prince Ferdinand's first contact with the Catalans during the war was a very terrifying experience. Born outside the Catalan country (in the Castilian-Aragonese town of Sos), he was only a boy of ten when, while with his mother in the town of Girona, it was besieged by the Catalan army under the command of Count Hug Roger de Pallars. A French army coming to the aid of the Queen arrived when the town had already been taken and the Queen and the Prince were sheltering in the castle. It is important to remember such anxieties of Ferdinand's childhood, as they had a lasting effect on his character and so were a decisive cause of his behaviour towards Catalonia in later days when he had become King.

In the lifetime of his father, Ferdinand had already been made King of Sicily and, in 1469, he married Isabel of Castile—who had just been proclaimed heiress to the throne of Castile. In 1475 the Castilians recognized him as King Consort, on condition of his residing in Castile only, and appointing only Castilians to govern his new kingdom. Then, in 1479, he inherited the crown of Aragon. From that date, two of the four Peninsular peoples had their kings in common, but in all other respects they still remained independent of each other. Thirty-five years later, the kingdom of Navarre passed into the hands of Ferdinand and only Portugal remained apart, until it too was added to the rest by Philip II in 1580.

In Ferdinand's person the Castilian house of Trastamara returned to its country of origin; but it took away with it the fruit of eight centuries' persistent and patient constructive work by the Catalans. Under Ferdinand, the tendency grew apace to hand over the administration of the Catalan-Aragonese Confederation to Castilians,²² the language spoken at court was Castilian, and by the creation of the Council of Aragon whose members followed Ferdinand's moves, he transplanted to Castile the government of the Catalan interests. He himself and his advisers and friends failed to understand the

value of trade and craftsmanship for the economic prosperity of Spain; for us it is easy to see retrospectively that this lack of insight marked the beginning of Spanish decadence, as early as in Ferdinand and Isabel's time; otherwise, it would be difficult to advance a reason why in Spain decadence set in even before Spain itself was formed. Altogether, most of the Catholic Kings' measures and dispositions amaze us by their deficiency in economic foresight.²³ Among the Catalans, the economic consequences of the reign of the Catholic Kings were the gravest of all. The energies of the country were exhausted in both civil and external wars, and the latter brought no profit to the people even when they ended in victory.

Ferdinand's hatred for the free-minded Catalans and their institutions and his desire to suppress them were not thwarted for lack of opportunity. Not for nothing did *achiavelli* see in Ferdinand the perfect model for his Prince. He undertook the elimination of the Catalans as a free people with all his unflinching energy and fine diplomatic ability. First of all he knighted the twenty seven plebeians who had helped him when he was besieged in Girona as a boy; his second step was to restart the peasant war which had been brought to settlement in his father's time. Ferdinand gave his support to the peasants or at least drove them on, until a fratricidal struggle caused a new decline in the prosperity and wealth of the Catalan nation. His main intention was to weaken the power of the democratic institutions which opposed his aspiration to absolute rulership, a very common attitude among the kings of his time—we find it as well in England, in France and in the Italian Principalities. But the Catalans' great tragedy was that the building-up of their own nationality was not furthered by this establishment of absolute monarchy; in their case—as opposed to other parts of Europe—the new regime forced upon them was a completely foreign one, overriding at many points their personal and national principles and mode of life. The fact that Castile and Catalonia differed in origin, language, mentality, customs and historical experience, was therefore a source of suffering and destruction to Catalonia at the very time when other nations were being given, by the monarchist absolutism of the Renaissance, the basis of their existence. These abnormal conditions were to make the fate of Catalonia one of the most notable wrongs in history. As a people, the Catalans were at the height of their creative power, marching in the van of human progress owing to their achievements in law, art, trade, industry and social development. And this people, which had never yet been subdued by foreign power, never been invaded or physically destroyed, had not even suffered down the centuries any material suppression of its traditional institutions—this people was now to disappear from among the nations, vanishing into a vague unit known by the name of Spain, in which practically nothing was to survive of the experience they had gathered when they were a nation in themselves. For the new State of Spain was not to spring from the fusion of Catalans, Castilians and Basques, but merely from the amplification of Castile and the progressive abolition of the old Catalan and Basque life in all its manifestations.

Examining Ferdinand's measures against the Catalans more closely, we find that another important field of his activities was the religious one. He forced the Catalans to accept the new Castilian Inquisition—known as the 'Spanish Inquisition'—as a substitute for that ancient institution which *Ramon de Penyafort* set up among the Catalans in the thirteenth century (see p. 38). From now on, the Inquisition was to be a political instrument whereby the Castilians²⁴ and their Kings might control the intellectual activities of the nation. It was a weapon with which anyone could be crushed who dared to oppose their royal will. In 1480, only one year after Ferdinand had been crowned King of Aragon, he and Isabel introduced the royal element into the Inquisition; that is to say, they obtained the Pope's consent to their nomination of Inquisitors. Until then the methods of the Inquisition among the Catalans had been laid down by law; in Castile they had been the business of the bishops and depended on their decisions. But from

now on the old juridical processes were abolished, and the most primitive forms of pseudo-juridical barbarism took their place.²⁵ In 1481 the Inquisition was introduced in Seville, where it met at first with some resistance. Many people took refuge on the estates of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, but being forced to return to their houses they were made to feel the weight of the new persecution, and the Inquisition encountered no further resistance in Castilian Spain.²⁶ In 1483 it was extended to the Catalan dominion of Sicily. In a letter to Queen Isabel, Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484) had complained of the obstacles placed in the way of the Inquisition by the authorities of the island, and asked for the Queen's support in introducing the new system; it is curious to note that the Pope's letter was directed to the Queen and not to the King, who was the actual sovereign of Sicily.²⁷ In 1484, Fr. Thomas de Torquemada was appointed Head of the Inquisition, both of Castile and Aragon; and he immediately established new dogmatic courts in all the important towns of the Kingdom of Castile, without encountering further opposition. Encouraged by this success, King Ferdinand summoned an unconstitutional assembly of General Corts of the Confederation outside Catalonia, in the town of Tarazona, to which Catalonia did not send any representatives. There a personal imposition of the King was adopted that the Inquisition should be introduced in Aragon. Torquemada was entrusted with this project. He appointed the Dominicans Fr. Gaspar Yuglar and Fr. Pedro Arbues de Epila as his mandataries in Aragon. But Aragon reacted with energy when once the procedure of the new Inquisition became known and Ferdinand was compelled to ask for the support of the royal representatives in the kingdom. This seems to have been a mistake, for the opposition to the new irresponsible tribunal increased even more in intensity. The permanent body of the Aragonese government, composed of representatives of the four estates (high mid low nobility, clergy, and towns and villages), sent special ambassadors to the King and to Rome, firmly repudiating the rights of the new judges and contesting the way in which they confiscated money and property—a measure, they said, which had no precedent in their old local Inquisition.²⁸ This cannot be admitted as an undisputed fact, for since the establishment of the original Inquisition in Catalonia by Gregory IX in 1242, one of the penalties imposed upon the condemned had been the confiscation of wealth. It is more probable that the opposition of the Aragonese was due to the fact that the money confiscated was now flowing out of their own country. The lands known as the Kingdom of Aragon were then still wealthy and prosperous, thanks to several centuries of patient work and of constructive and moderate policy, while Castile was still being shaken as in the past by a succession of civil wars, a tragic fate which prevented her great men from building up a stable national life. But with the new Spanish Inquisition, a constant stream of wealth was being transfused from Aragon to Castile. A part of this wealth was used for the prosecution of the war against the Moors of Granada, the last relic of the ancient Arabian domination in the Peninsula. In later years it was employed for the great imperial enterprise in the New World, but from neither of these great achievements were the nationals of Aragon to benefit, nor were they allowed to take any part in the exploitation of empire.

In 1485 the Inquisition was introduced in Valencia; from the nobles of highest rank to the members of the Guilds everyone opposed the arbitrary tribunal. Ferdinand thereupon repeated the procedure he had previously tried in Aragon, and after three months of resistance the Inquisition was established.²⁹ The Catholic Kings now held the time ripe for the introduction of the Dominican-Castilian tribunal in the Principality of Catalonia, and Lleida was the town chosen, as being the most distant from Barcelona. But the Kings had miscalculated the amount of energy that could still be mobilized by the free spirit of the Catalans. Lleida rose in revolt on the arrival of the first Inquisitors, and Ferdinand was compelled to postpone his plans, mainly because the whole of Catalonia supported the first town to be persecuted.

Taking example by the Catalan attitude, the Aragonese increased their resistance to the Spanish Inquisitors. At that very moment, in 1485, the mandatory Inquisitor in Aragon, Fr. Pedro Arbues de Epila, was assassinated. A number of people were imprisoned and later executed as being implicated in the crime. This assassination caused a general disturbance: the mob ran riot against Jews and recently-converted Christians, and with the quenching of these tumults the Inquisition was established in Aragon and all resistance came to an end. The murder of Arbues calls to mind the assassination of the legate Castellnou in Languedoc during the phase of passive resistance against the precursor of the original Inquisition, at the time of the Albigensian war. The deed of the murderers, if it was meant to prevent the establishment of the Inquisition, had achieved exactly the opposite result.³⁰ New men were appointed to replace Arbues and opposition to the Inquisition was henceforward regarded as a synonym of heresy. Among the people burnt at the stake for the murder of Arbués we find a canon of Barbastro Cathedral.³¹ Queen Isabel ordered a magnificent sepulchre to be built in Saragossa in memory of the Inquisitor

Among the first victims of the new tribunal, the Vicar General of Saragossa, Micer Pere Montfort, deserves mention for his vigorous opposition to its establishment; he escaped, but was burned in effigy. Six people were persecuted for having eaten meat on a Friday.

In 1486 Lleida was forced to surrender to the will of the Catholic Kings; and only arcelona and Majorca still firmly refused to admit the Spanish Inquisitors. Previously, in 1484, Torquemada had dismissed the Catalan head of the local Inquisition, Fr. Joan Comes, and put one of his own men in his place. This was a certain Juan Franco who, as soon as he arrived, began to persecute people not only for their religious beliefs but for other reasons as well.³² The Barcelona authorities firmly denied Franco's right to impose his will on them, and the reaction against Franco rose to such heights that hopes of delaying if not of preventing the establishment of the foreign persecutors were felt among the common people, the priests, and the nobility. But just at this point, the old peasant problem caused a new civil war; the leader of the peasants, Joan Sala, published a document purporting to express royal sympathy for the peasants--or such at least was the peasants' interpretation of it. And all the time Inquisitor Franco was sending his so-called Falanges de Torquemada--a special inquisitorial police--from place to place, seeking to impose themselves by terror. The peasants' army attacked the town of Granollers, near Barcelona, with which it shared a common administration. This attack was clearly aimed at the authorities of Barcelona, who accepted the challenge. The citizen bands of the capital completely defeated the forces of Joan Sala. It was then that a powerful army under Count Hugh Roger de Pallars rose against King Ferdinand, who apparently considered it prudent not to attempt just then to counter the desperation of the Catalans and allowed conditions to return to their former normal appearance. Normality, however, lasted only a short time; owing, perhaps, to the intemperance of Franco, who tried to imprison one of the members of the Bardaxi family, a civil servant in the Kings' administration--regent of the Royal Chancellery and to confiscate his considerable fortune. The victim escaped to France, and the whole town again reacted with such determination that Ferdinand was compelled to recommend the supersession of Franco by someone else. In 1487 Alfonso Espina, prior of Santo Domingo de Huete, was made the new Inquisitor by Torquemada. Espina tried to exact from the Barcelona authorities a special oath of obedience, which they refused to swear. Again the Councillors had to protest against the persecution to which many wealthy families of the town were subjected by Espina's men, not on account of their religion, for many of them were 'old Christians', but merely for their wealth. But their voices went unheard. And in the end the army of Spanish inquisitors triumphantly

established themselves in the town in which, by the will of its people and the consent of its King, modern democracy had first seen the light.³³

Only Majorca remained. There the local Inquisition was still being exercised by the Catalan Joan Remon according to the recognized legal procedure, without protest from anyone. Torquemada charged Pedro Perez de Munebraga and Sancho Marin with the implantation of the new system; the islanders opposed the newcomers, as in all the other Catalan lands; but they now stood alone against the full power of Spain and soon had to give up the struggle. Besides these inquisitors, we find hard at work in the once free and prosperous lands which formed the Realm of Aragon the following representatives of the new Spain: in Valencia, Pedro Sanchez, canon of Placencia, and Juan Lopez, canon of Cuenca; in Saragossa, Alonso de Alarcon, canon of Palencia, Fr. Juan de Colmenares, prior of San Norberto de Aguilar, and Fr. Juan Colvera a Dominican; in Barcelona, Fr. Alfonso de Espina and Martin Garcia.

In 1488, new statutes had been given to the Inquisition; among their clauses, the thirteenth laid down that no money confiscated from heretics should be handed over to the King before the servants and employees of the Inquisition had made good their salaries. From this we may deduce that a new profession and perhaps-to judge by their numbers-a new social class had been created among Spaniards; it was called El Santo Oficio, and the money they collected was 'extorted from working people of every type, from merchants and sailors to doctors and jurists. In clause ten, we are informed that the existing number of prisons was insufficient for the number of condemned and that therefore special private houses must be adapted 'to allow the number of imprisonments to keep pace with the activities of the Holy Tribunal'.³⁴

When the new Inquisition had established a firm footing in the country, the peasants' revolt was rapidly brought to an end by the King's arbitration signed in Guadalupe in 1486; the King's settlement was in its main points that proposed twenty-four years earlier by the Catalan Generalitat, which had been turned down by the peasants at the instigation of King Joan II. But now it was not so favourable to the peasants: they had to pay taxes not only to the original proprietors but to the King as well, who apparently had had nothing to do with the dispute. All parties in Catalonia had been the losers in this fight: the whole of the community had been impoverished, and the armed contest among Catalans had served merely to facilitate the introduction of a foreign rule and a despotic authority, along with an alien language and unknown customs and ideals. As a Catalan historian puts it with reference to the new juridical procedure introduced at this time: 'The secret procedure which allowed for no public witness, and despoiled the accused of all right of selfdefence, could not command acceptance in a country where the Jui de Prohoms was almost equal to the modern jury. The Inquisition, moreover, was soon seen to be working with even more partiality than cruelty; it stands accused of having been interested even more in the wealth of its victims than in their religious views.'³⁵

In 1486, the year in which Columbus reached Spain, the Catalans were expelled from the Casa de Contratación, the commercial centre of Seville, which some years later was to have the exclusive right of trading with America. One might have supposed that Ferdinand had sufficiently avenged the anxieties he suffered from the Catalans during his youth: and that the incident at Seville was but one of many deliberate injustices, but this was not the case. Under pretext of supposed administrative irregularities, and after a series of royal demarches whose ability one cannot but admire, the municipal democracy of Barcelona, which was almost as old as the Catalan nation itself, was, by the King's will, suppressed. What happened is this. The municipal council of Barcelona had made some provision towards redressing the fortunes of an almost exhausted and depopulated town; for the next ten years, the salaries of municipal clerks and other civil servants were reduced, and the taxation of the monastic orders was increased. In a letter

written to his representatives in Rome, King Ferdinand has left testimony of the wise energy of the Barcelona authorities and of his own esteem of them as administrators.³⁶ But in 1490, on account of alleged administrative immorality, the municipal elections were suppressed, and men nominated personally by the King took the place of democratically-elected representatives. The complete absence of any popular reaction to this municipal coup d'etat shows the extent of the decline suffered by the town during Ferdinand's reign. The order suspending the elections was given from Cordova, and the newly-appointed administrators, all obedient servants of the King, have left the most honourable evidence of the patriotism of their predecessors in a document preserved in the Municipal Archives of Barcelona, in which they recognize the wellplanned dispositions and the tireless energy of the deposed native municipal council. It seems that the newly-appointed Councillors were conscious of the role they were being forced to play, since the King was accusing the Barcelonians of being responsible for the decline of the town, though they knew that the only person responsible was the King himself. A second Municipal Council consisting of other servants of the King was appointed by him on 30 November 1492. Only after a third, and last, direct appointment of Councillors did the King give back to the citizens the right to elect their representatives. In 1494 was introduced a system called *insaculation*, or appointment by ballot, out of a small selection of men chosen by the corporation of the town.³⁷

What made Ferdinand abandon his desire for direct control of the Barcelona authorities? We cannot tell for certain; but we may surmise that the reasons were not unrelated to the great event which took place between 1492 and 1493 and changed the future not only of Spain but of humanity as a whole: the discovery of America. Men from the old Kingdom of Aragon had contributed both technically and materially to the discovery of the new continent, and were even then helping as settlers and colonizers across the ocean. At the back of the great discoveries were not only the ideas of Lull on the sphericity of the earth, the charts of the Catalan cartographers, the use of the magnetic needle and the astrolabe, and the outstanding achievements of the Catalans as shipbuilders and sailors, but also the fact that Columbus's actual venture had been made possible by the support given to him by Coloma, Cabrero, and Santangel, all three of them natives of the Catalan Aragonese Confederation. Lluís de Sandmngel, in particular, assisted Columbus' expedition by a loan of the money he had collected in the town of Valencia in his position as minister of finance, *escriba de racio*; it was a sum of 1,140,000 maravedis. The Valencian Pope Alexander VI was responsible for the Bull of 1493 by which the newlydiscovered lands were divided between Castile and Portugal; the actual line of partition was traced by one of the best geographers of the time, Jaume Ferrer de Blanes, also a Catalan and perhaps the man best acquainted in the Peninsula with the immense potentialities of the discovery. In the treaty of Tordesillas in June 1494, by which this border line was laid down, the names of Castile and Aragon were used instead of the name of Spain. It was at Barcelona that the Catholic Kings received Columbus on his return from his first voyage, and the letter containing his first report, which was to astonish the world, was sent by Columbus from Lisbon to Barcelona, to Santangel and Gabriel Sanchez, and was first printed in Barcelona probably in Catalan.³⁸ The second expedition was largely run by Catalans. The money for the voyage was collected by a loan made among the Barcelonians Ferrer, Serra, Carles, Girona, and by contribution from Jaume Ferrer and Joan de Coloma.³⁹ The military leader of this expedition was En Pere Marguerit, a Catalan; and a Catalan, Father Bernat Boyl, was also responsible for the religious mission. In spite of this substantial contribution, the Catalans, by a codicil to Isabel's will in 1504, were not only excluded from enjoying the benefits of the great discoveries, but were even forbidden to settle in or trade with the new lands. It was not until 1778 that this prohibition was relaxedless

that fifty years before the American colonies (with the exception of Cuba) were lost to Spain.

When considering the whole of Ferdinand's policy from his accession to the thrones of Sicily, Castile, and later Aragon, one is impressed by the power of his will and the unlimited energy he devoted to the building-up of Castile-a 'Greater Castile'-as the Spain of to-day. From the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition in Catalonia, from the suppression of Catalan liberties and democratic institutions,⁴⁰ to the elimination of the Catalans from the Casa de Contratación in Seville in 1486 shortly before Seville was awarded exclusive rights in the American trade, one constant purpose would appear to have been his guide: the destruction of Catalonia. The exclusion of the Catalans from the profits of the American adventure was thus a consistent further step.⁴¹ And we may view in the same light the disintegration of the hierarchic unity of the Catalans, by which Pope Innocent VIII collaborated in Ferdinand's policy. After the recovery of Valencia from the Moors by King Jaume I in 1238, this new bishopric had been subordinated to the Archbishopric of Tarragona, as were all other bishoprics of the Aragonese kingdom. But by the new Papal Bull of 9 July 1492, Valencia was raised to an Archbishopric, and the Balearic Isles were removed from the sphere of Tarragona and put under the jurisdiction of Valencia.

By the time this long struggle ended, the fate of the Catalan lands had been decided. The great industrial and commercial towns of Valencia, Palma, Perpignan, Tortosa, Lleida, and Barcelona, already declining before, were now completely ruined. As an example, it may be noted that the port of Barcelona, which had harboured an average of no less than 1100 ships a year during many years of the fourteenth century, only sheltered five ships in 1505.⁴² The shipyards of Barcelona rebuilt by King Pere IV in 1378 and where most of the ships of the Catalan fleets had been built-had in Ferdinand's time only one employee: the porter.⁴³ The feelings of the Catalans are on record. One Francesc Garret of Barcelona said in public of Queen Isabel that she was 'a woman of vile condition, who tried to turn the Catalans into a people of exiles'. Garret, with nine other persons who had listened to his invective, was fortunate in escaping with a sentence of imprisonment for life. Joan de Canyamas, a simple peasant, made an attempt against the King's life; he was cut to pieces limb by limb on 8 December 1492.⁴⁴ It seems that the conscience of the Spanish court then in Barcelona was not free on this occasion from a sense of responsibility and guilt, for the fear of a popular rising made the Spanish nobles run for safety to the ships they had in the harbour. But the fear was ill-founded: close on a hundred years of continuous struggles against an alien mentality, alien customs and aspirations, and against hostile Kings and their courts had destroyed Catalonia as a nation framed in its own State.

King Ferdinand attempted to achieve the unification of the Castilian and Catalan people-and of the Basques as well-by measures not dissimilar to those used three hundred years before by King Philippe Auguste of France, when he blended the Franks and the Provençals into the French nation. But whereas in the confines of ancient Gaul the Franks of the North and the Provençals of the South adapted themselves sufficiently to give birth to modern France, the attempt at unification failed completely in the Iberian Peninsula. The reason is perhaps that in France in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the culture of the South was crushed before its national consciousness had developed; whereas in Catalonia the attempt was only made in the beginning of the modern age, when nations had grown to be organic bodies. Another factor may have been the disproportion in size between the areas of the Peninsula inhabited by Catalans and those in which Castilians had settled. The considerable preponderance of the latter made it more difficult for the Catalans to infiltrate their way of life into Castile than it had been for the Provençals to perpetuate their characteristics in the modern Frenchman. On the other hand, their more advanced social structure protected the Catalans against

the attempt of the Castilians to assimilate them. Perhaps the exclusion of the Catalans from the early trade with America in fact nullified the most obvious opportunity for the shaping of a composite Spaniard, or Iberian, who might have inherited the mixed characteristics of Castilians, Catalans, and Basques, to whom the Portuguese might have been added.

Unfortunately, however, the union with Castile brought to the Catalans nothing but misery and sorrow. Their finest attributes were undermined or destroyed, their mercantile, naval, and industrial efficiency, their sense of proportion, their dignified reserve, without their being enabled to adopt in compensation the Castilian characteristics; an unlimited readiness for sacrifice, an adherence to abstract ideas, a crusading spirit, and disdain for economic advantages and for the limitations of the via media as they arise from the commercial habit of compromise. After so many centuries have gone by, the basic elements of the Catalans and many Castilians of to-day are-with the favourable changes produced by the age in which we live-the same as in the days when Ferdinand's attempt failed. In fact, Ferdinand himself was so conscious of his failure that he intended the son of his second marriage (to a Provençal Princess, Germana de Foix, concluded almost immediately after the death of Queen Isabel) to be the heir of the Kingdom of Aragon, while the Kingdom of Castile was reserved to Isabel's daughter, Princess Juana-a sister of Queen Catherine of England. Much to his father's sorrow, this son died soon after his birth, and the crown of Aragon was joined to the patrimony of Princess Juana, who later, by her marriage to the son of the Hapsburg Emperor Maximilian, was the mother of Charles V-the heir of both Spain and the Empire.

The day before he died Ferdinand stated in writing that he had offended God on many occasions, 'also in the government and guidance of the Kingdoms and Principalities he entrusted to us, administering law without rightful justice and diligence; appointing, giving order to, and tolerating officers and ministers who did not apply themselves to the service of Our Lord and to the welfare of our subjects'. Ferdinand's testament has perpetuated his tardy repentance for all the suffering he imposed on the Catalan people. It is probable that the Catalans have forgiven him; but it is out of the question that they should have forgotten.

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Joan Luis Vives

The year 1492 is famous in the annals of Spanish history not only because America was discovered in that year, but also because in 1492 the Jews were expelled from the country, and the kingdom of Granada, the last remainder of the one-time powerful Mohammedan Spain, was conquered. The Jews were no longer of any use to the Catholic Kings, who had already collected the money needed for the American expedition. It is true that the order of expulsion also forbade the Jews to take any gold and silver with them, by which measure a new increase of the Crown's wealth might have been expected; but the advisers of the Catholic Kings, who were interested in the expulsion of the Israelites, chiefly from the religious point of view, were so lacking in commercial and financial knowledge that they took no steps to prevent the Jews from saving their wealth by making large use of their banking credits. Thereby the gain in the royal exchequer was greatly diminished. The sultan Bajazet said of Ferdinand the Catholic : 'You call this man the "Politic King" -who impoverishes his own country and enriches ours?' ¹

Yet another important event occurred in 1492. In the town of Valencia, on the 6th of March, was born Joan Lluís Vives i March, in whose veins was united the blood of two ancient Catalan families of dissimilar traits and inclinations, but whose main features may be considered the basic components of the Catalan character. From his father's family young Vives inherited the commercial approach to life, his love of the middle way, and his sense of compromise. In 1460, Francesc Vives, a merchant of Perpignan, had transferred his residence to the town of Denia near Valencia, during the struggle of the Catalans against King Joan II. From Denia the son of Francesc and father of Vives moved to Valencia, and it was there that Joan first saw the light. From his mother he inherited one of the most glorious literary names of the country. His maternal ancestors were among the people who came to Valencia with King Jaume the Conqueror: one of these knights, Jaume March of Gandia, was the founder of the Valencian branch of this family. In 1388, another ancestor of Joan Lluís, also named Jaume March, was in charge of the organization of the reborn 'floral games' of troubadour tradition. Ausiàs March (see p. 91), the greatest of the Catalan poets of the Middle Ages, and Enric March, the jurist who was to be the teacher of young Vives, were both members of his mother's family. The latter was his mother's brother and, as professor of law at the University of Valencia, he instilled into Vives his own profound juridical sense and also his fine interpretation of law, which was in keeping with the true Catalan tradition.

In Vives we can make an accurate study of the most permanent Catalan characteristics, as Vives himself was the most outstanding representative of his country's qualities and defects. As he was born when tyranny already had a firm footing in his country, it is not surprising that the whole of his adult life was spent in foreign countries, away from his native land.

While still very young, Vives' attended the University at Valencia. In the beginning, he was under the antiquated influence of scholars who opposed the ideas of Antonio de Lebrixa-revolutionary in his time-on the classical languages. Lebrixa, who came from Andalusia, was one of the finest scholars Spain has produced. But one of Vives' teachers, Pere Badia, won him over to the new school of thought, and thanks largely to him Vives was able to derive full benefit from Lebrixa's doctrine and eventually to grow into a scholar of the pure Renaissance type. At the age of seventeen, he was sent by his parents to the University of Paris, and it was there that he developed his fierce hostility against the intolerant and narrow dogmatism of many of his teachers;

the outcome of his reflections was his pamphlet *In pseudodialecticos*, published when he had already left Paris. One cannot help remembering the reaction of Arnau de Vilanova, more than two centuries before, against the same absolutist abuse of the intellect. Vives was not the first, nor was he to be the last, of the great men from that part of the Iberian peninsula who experienced some friction with the teachers of the Sorbonne: Miquel Servet, some years later, was forced to leave the great French city after being persecuted for his ideas (see p. 143).

From Paris, Vives went to Bruges to stay with relatives, the Valldaura family, who were living as merchants in the Catalan colony of that city. This happened in 1514, when war between France and Spain forced the Spanish colony in Paris to disband. Almost all his fellow-countrymen went back to the Peninsula; but Vives decided to go in the opposite direction. The same decision, as we shall see later, he took every time he had an opportunity of returning to his country. In Bruges, Vives taught his young cousins, among them a girl, Margarida, who years later was to be his wife. In 1518 he transferred his residence to Louvain and became the tutor of the young Prince William de Croy, who, although a mere boy, was Cardinal-designate of Toledo, the highest see in the Spain of those days. It was then, in 1519, that Vives published his above-mentioned attack on the teachers of Paris. In 1521 de Croy died at the age of twentythree after a riding accident, and Vives, finding himself without resources, was compelled to write for a living. He had already made the acquaintance, by correspondence, of Erasmus, who had a high opinion of him; ² and through his mediation, Vives was entrusted with the editing of St. Augustine's *Civitas Dei*. This work proved too exhausting for his health and he fell seriously ill; a Basque friend of his, the rich merchant Pedro de Aguirre, came to his assistance and gave hospitality to the Catalan philosopher.

In Vives' commentaries on St. Augustine, we have further clear testimony of his liberal and progressive mind, for he takes the first opportunity to record his contempt for the use of torture as a means of obtaining conclusive evidence, thus openly repudiating the procedure of the Spanish Inquisition. This first great work of Vives' was dedicated to Henry VIII of England.

In 1522 Charles V made his historic journey to Spain after his election as Holy Roman Emperor, and many of Vives' friends accompanied him, among them Fernando Colon and Juan de Vergara. But Vives, as years before, refused to go to Spain, preferring to remain in Flanders rather than to return to his country. Shortly afterwards his great friend Aguirre died, and Vives went back to Bruges to live in the Lange Winckel quarter, where his compatriots were residing. That same year the Duke of Alba sent to him, proposing that he should supervise the education of his grandsons for a salary of 200 golden ducats a year. This proposal, however, fell through. In 1523 Vives finished the *De institutione Jeminae Christianae*, his first great personal work. It had an immediate success and was the only one of his more important books to be translated into Spanish during his lifetime. The translation was made by a Valencian, Joan Justinia, a secretary to the court of Queen Germana, the second wife of Ferdinand the Catholic. Justinia's knowledge of Spanish was inadequate, however, and the book was retranslated in 1527, this time by a Castilian, and printed in Alcalá.

The subject of Vives' work fell within a sphere of traditional Catalan interest, which may be traced back as far as the twelfth century; not only had the troubadours centred their attention and interest on womankind, but in the practical life of the Catalan Guilds women were admitted with the same rights as men, including the right to vote, as early as the thirteenth century.

Later, Eiximenis (see p. 74) in his *Carro de les Dones* dealt further with the subject of women's education, in a world which, as yet, cared little for anything concerning woman's part in society. Eiximenis' work as a forerunner of Vives' *Education of a*

Christian Woman has been adequately analyzed elsewhere.³

Shortly after, Vives first met Erasmus-it is supposed, in Brussels-while the latter was engaged in building up the College des Trois Langues at Louvain, according to the testamentary dispositions of Jerome Busleyden. The College was inaugurated on 1 September 1518. It had been inspired by the creation of the chair of Greek in Alcalá University, founded some years before by Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros, the great Spanish Franciscan.⁴ Both Ximenez and Erasmus, had cited Lull's suggestion to the Council of Vienna in 1312 (see p. 56), when the study of Oriental languages was for the first time recognized as a necessity and permission for their teaching was granted to several European universities. Cardinal Ximenez was one of the very few Castilian statesmen and scholars who understood the amplitude as well as the limitations of the Catalan mentality; he was an admirer of Vicenç Ferrer, whose Treatise on the Spiritual Life he caused to be translated into Spanish; it was published in 1510 under the title *Sta. Angeles de Foligno*.

In 1522 Antonio de Lebrixa died and his chair of Classical Latin at Alcalá University was offered to Juan de Vergara, another enlightened Renaissance scholar and friend of Vives. Vergara refused the offer and recommended Vives as more suitable. Both Vergara and the Alcalá authorities wrote to Vives, but he too declined the vacant chair. Unfortunately, we do not know his motives in this decision, as his answers to both letters have been lost. The Spanish biographer of Vives, Sr. Bonilla y San Martín, believes that 'perhaps he feared that the tendencies then prevailing in Spain would not be favourable to him'.⁵ It is very likely that Vives preferred to continue his life of poverty and exile rather than accept a high academic position in Spain, in which freedom of thought was so rapidly declining that its total extinction could be foreseen in the near future.

Shortly after he had finished the *Institutio Feminae Christianae*, Vives was invited to visit England at the request of Cardinal Wolsey. Vives had already been in touch with Thomas More, who had a high opinion of him. Queen Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabel, entrusted Vives with the education of Princess Mary, for whom he wrote the *De Ratione Studii Puerilis*, showing thereby an interest in education such as Lull had shown before him in his *Doctrina Pueril*. On 10 October 1523 the University of Oxford bestowed on Vives the Degree of D.C.L.; and he took up his residence in Corpus Christi College, which had been founded in 1517 by the Bishop of Winchester, Richard Fox. This College was the English equivalent of the Alcalá School of Languages and the College des Trois Langues at Louvain; it was to prove one of the intellectual centres most directly responsible for the development of the Renaissance movement in England.

In 1524 Vives returned to Bruges, where at the age of thirty-two he married his cousin Margarida Valldaura, then a girl of twenty; by November he was back in London and Oxford. During 1525 and 1526 he remained in Oxford but made short visits to Bruges. In London he met Louis de Flandres, Seigneur of Praet, who, being acquainted with Vives' views on public welfare, invited him to write a work on that subject. This was the origin of his *De Subventionem Pauperum sive de Humanis Necessitatibus* (1526). The College des Echevins (Aldermen) of Bruges presented Vives in return with the gift of a silver cup, and his book was immediately translated into Dutch at the expense of the magistrates of Bruges. As will be seen later, this book is the starting-point of modern social science; its influence has been felt so deeply that until recently it was the basis for Belgian social legislation.⁶ In the following year Vives wrote another treatise, destined this time to be used in his native Valencia, in which he developed his ideas on education and outlined the duties of public authorities with respect to implementing their educational projects. This was probably intended as a complement to his *De Subventionem Pauperum*- 'probably', because the work has

completely disappeared. Its title was *Del Stabliment de l'Scola* and, as far as is known, it was the only thing Vives wrote in Catalan. Its loss is the more regrettable, as for a long time the original manuscript lay unpublished among the papers of the municipal record office of Valencia city. C. Damia Savalls, a follower of Vives, wrote in his *Orati paraenetica de optimostatu rei publicae litterariae constituendo*, published in Valencia in 1531, that he had taken his ideas from Vives' work.

In 1528 Vives was involved in the troubles caused by the divorce of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. Suspected of helping the Queen by his advice, Vives was held in custody for six weeks; as soon as he recovered his liberty he went back to Bruges. There he received a message from the Queen requesting him to direct her affairs and defend her interests. Vives replied that to him the best means of keeping intact her royal prestige seemed to be in submission to the King's will with Christian resignation, on the assumption that Henry's decision could not be altered by any motive, human or divine. The Queen appears to have insisted on entrusting him with her defence; and Vives was moved thereby to write one of his most characteristic letters, which throws clear light on his intellect and his independent attitude. It is addressed to his friend Vergara; the date is missing but must have been towards the end of 1531: 'The Queen', Vives comments, 'was annoyed with me because I did not obey her request, as I prefer to be guided by my own understanding. For my own opinion is more valuable to me than the resolutions of Princes.'⁸ In a booklet written earlier, while he was still tutor to Princess Mary, the *Satellitium vel Symbola*, there is a delicious dedication in which he mentioned a special safeguard-Satellitium-which was supposed to take care of Princes and to prevent their being harmed by any danger: 'but', he says, 'this is only a product of the imagination; no better guard exists than innocence and love of the people more dangers are caused by personal vices than by external attacks against the body. I am sending you more than two hundred guards; I have called them *Symbola* as they are reliable signs by which the princes of ancient times as well as the princes of nowadays may be recognized.'⁹ Unfortunately the wise principles which Vives taught the young Princess were to have little effect on the future Queen Mary.

In these years, another side of Vives' nature became manifest. His father-in-law had been suffering from a chronic illness probably syphilis, the disease imported from America by the Spanish soldiers which had swept all over Europe from the time of the siege of Naples in 1496. The economic situation of Valldaura's family became very precarious in consequences;¹⁰ so Vives did not hesitate to take his father-in-law's place and directed the commercial activities of the family by selling fruit and wine to English merchants. Two accounts still exist among the English State Papers; one is dated 8 April 1525 and the other from the previous year, and they confirm that Joannes Ludovicus Jyves was granted licence for importing wines, wheat, dyes, etc. This was during Vives' stay in England; and one cannot help thinking of the number of our Valencian contemporaries who still sell the fruit and wines of our country around Covent Garden.

In 1529 Vives wrote the *De Concordia et Discordia in Humano Genere*, one of his masterpieces, in which he advances the idea of a League of Nations as the only remedy for preventing aggressive wars among nations, and postulates that the first aim and object of all governing bodies must be the welfare of their people. In this book Vives, the most orthodox of Catholics, also makes explicit his ideas on the Inquisition and its supporters, in words which might be attributed to many of his Catalan ancestors and successors: 'It was not enough that in ancient times the gentiles and to-day the people laid down their laws in statutes, in order to settle disputes. To-day the clergy too has its jurisdiction, procedure, method of accusation; its witnesses, judges, police; its prisons, hangmen, sword, fire, poison. . . And in the hands of this clergy is the sacerdocy of that same Christ who, being the judge of the quick and the dead, yet answered one who wanted Him to advise his brother to divide their heritage: "Who has

made me judge between you?" , And again "They (the clergy) live by the people's charity, and nevertheless they are pleased with being feared and are proud of inspiring terror and of their power of injuring the very people who support them. Insensate are those who have such thoughts! Perhaps it is because they forget how unstable is the power that is founded on fear.'

During the year 1531 Vives published his *De Tradendis Disciplinis*. Here, one of his main objects, public welfare, is stressed again and again. 'Public welfare is the first of all subjects we should study, and once we have acquired appropriate knowledge we must make it serviceable to the public good.' Also, 'Princes are, for the most part, so corrupt of heart and so intoxicated by the magnitude of their good fortune that by no skill can they be reformed for the better, since they show themselves harsh and unperceptive to those who would cure them. These blind men and leaders of the blind, as the Lord calls them,¹¹ must be left to themselves. We must transfer our solicitude to the people; who are more tractable, for they offer themselves more easily to be dealt with and are more responsive to those who care for them. This is what Christ also did, with whom a Prince is not valued more highly than any man of the people.' In these words we hear the voice of the heir of many earlier Catalans from Olaguer to Sibiude, and most of all of Eiximenis (see p.72).

Between the years 1532 to 1539 Vives wrote further the *Exercitationes Animi in Deum*, the *Linguae Latine Exercitatio*, and especially the *De Anima et Vita*, the greatest of his works, which marks the beginning of the study of psychology and of education as it is approached to-day.

On 6 May 1540 Joan Lluís Vives died in his beloved Bruges, at the age of forty-eight, having been absent for thirty years from his native land. He left behind an unpublished book, which was printed in Basle in 1543 under the title *De Veritate Fidei Christianae*. This posthumous publication was Vives' greatest contribution to the traditional theological philosophy of the Catalans. It has been called a modernized version of the basic ideas expressed by Lull in his various books and, later, by Sibiude in his *Theologia Naturalis*.¹²

Vives was buried in the church of St. Donation in Bruges. In 1552 his widow Margarita Valldaura followed him to the grave. They seem to have had no children.

It is impossible here to give more than a very summary account of Vives' ideas and works. He was a profuse writer, though not as copious as Lull or Eiximenis. His importance for the development of human knowledge, particularly his contribution to the building up of our modern Western civilization, is, I think, decisive.

One of the most constant pleas of Vives concerned the importance of education for human progress. Without the direct study of Nature and, as complement, the study of selected classics, knowledge could not be increased. In the *De Tradendis Disciplinis* dedicated to King John III of Portugal Vives expounds his ideas on education, and for the first time in the history of pedagogy the use of experiments is recommended as an essential means of developing knowledge. These are not to Vives merely one among a number of factors contributing to knowledge as they were to Roger Bacon and Ramon Lull; theirs is the decisive part in interpreting the secrets of Nature. Francis Bacon was to invest the word and the idea with a similar significance some eighty years later; to Vives as to Bacon experimentation meant finding out *naturae phaenomena* and whenever possible the repetition of these phenomena by the investigator in a manner which would be profitable to progress. On the similitude of Vives' and Bacon's works Watson writes :¹³ "The discredits of Bacon are the corruptions of Vives, that is, causes of vicious learning as arrogance of scholars, search of glory, jealousy, covetousness, ambition, love of victory rather than truth, the depreciation in which mathematics were held, the futility of studies undertaken for gain, the ill-equipment and small repute of

teachers.' Bacon, like Vives, advocates a collegiate education, not in private houses nor merely under schoolmasters, but in colleges.

The influence of Vives' work on Comenius has been recognized by the latter himself.¹⁴ A good example is the importance both Vives and Comenius attach to the use of vernacular languages in primary education. Both believed that it is essential for all teaching to begin in the mother tongue until this is well mastered; thereafter, a second modern language and a classical one should be learned. Another striking parallel between Vives and Comenius which has not yet perhaps been duly emphasized arises from the similar social and political environment of the two great pedagogues: the mother tongue of Vives, Catalan, was in his time already being repressed in favour of Castilian, the language of the king and court and, commonly, of the royal administration of the Catalan lands; a century later, the native language of Comenius the Bohemian, suffered a similar supersession by German. In the *Education of a Christian Woman* Vives narrates that when Jaume the Conqueror liberated Valencia from the Moors in 1238, he populated the lands with Catalan women from Lleida, and from that time the progeny of the conquerors 'kept their mothers' language, which we speak there unto this day'. He further advocated the use of the vernacular for legal purposes, saying that 'all laws should be written in the vernacular, and in intelligible and clear language'. Poetry and history should likewise be written in the vernacular. Comenius in his *Didactica Magna* and in *Informatorium, Der Mutter Schule* supports almost identical views in very similar words.¹⁵

The eminence of Vives' influence as a sociologist has been widely recognized. In the *Subventionem Pauperum*, for the first time in history, a general plan for poor relief was drawn up and the prevention and cure of poverty was laid down as the main duty of a modern State towards its citizens. In 1523, during his first year of residence in Oxford, Vives had written a small book called *De Consultatione* and dedicated the same to Louis de Flandres, Seigneur de Praet, to whom he also offered the *De Subventionem Pauperum*. The preface of this small book is the foundation stone on which modern sociology was built. It may be given in full.

J. L. VIVES TO THE CONSULS AND SENATE OF BRUGES, GREETING.

A pilgrim and stranger, says Cicero, in a foreign State should abstain from prying into the affairs of the State that receives him. This is sound advice, for interference in the affairs of others is always hateful; but interest and friendly advice should not be disapproved of. For the law of Nature forbids that any human interest of one man should be alien to any other man. The love of Christ has united men with one another by an indissoluble bond. And as to my being a foreigner-truly, I am as devoted to this city as to my Valencia, nor do I call it anything else but my fatherland, since I have now dwelt here for fourteen years, albeit not continuously, yet being wont to return hither as to my home. I am fond of your rational government, of the education and courtesy of your people, and of your extraordinary equity and justice that are famed among 'all nations. Wherefore I have brought my wife hither, and I care for this city's welfare as for the place wherein I propose to spend whatever remaining years the goodness of God may allow me. I consider myself one of its citizens, and I regard its citizens as my brethren. The poverty of many of them has driven me to write down my opinion as to the manner in which it would be practicable to relieve their distress. Whilst I was in England I have already been asked what I regarded as the best course, by Dominus Pretensis [Seigneur de Praet] the Mayor of your City, who in matters concerning the public good ponders much and often on the general welfare of this city.

This work is dedicated to you, both because you are eagerly set on doing good and relieving the distressed (as is proved by the crowd of needy persons who flock hither from all quarters as to a refuge readyprepared for the poor). The original cause for the rise of cities was, that there should be in all of them, by giving and receiving benefits and mutual aid, facilities for the increase of charity and for the strengthening of human fellowship. It should be the task and keen endeavour of the cities' governors, to care that all men should help one another, so that no one should be overwhelmed or oppressed by any loss falling on him unjustly that the stronger should assist the weaker, so that the harmony of the association and union of the citizens may increase in love; and that day by day harmony should prevail more among the citizens and in their assemblies, and should endure for ever. And just as in a wealthy family it were a disgrace for the father to allow anyone to go hungry, or naked, or to be disgraced by rags, so it is similarly unfitting in a city by no means needy that the magistrates should permit any citizens to be harassed by hunger and poverty. I hope you will read this book with pleasure, or at any rate that you will consider the subject with as great attention as you would give to a private lawsuit in which thousands of florins were at stake. I wish you and your city all prosperity and happiness.

Bruges, the sixth day of January, 1526.

The impressions of Vives' childhood are patent in the preface as in the whole book. He stresses the necessity of State inspection and control of houses for the assistance of the poor, among them hospitals and asylums for lunatics and for waifs and strays. In all this we can easily see the old tradition of his country, especially the Order of Mercy and the Hospital for Lunatics of Valencia, then more than a hundred years old. A few quotations will show how deeply he probed into the question.

The causes of poverty are, wars with the ensuing economic distress; continuous increase of population; a wrong basis in our economic system; and above all, insufficient education.

Church discipline is so depraved that nothing is done without payment. Beggars cannot pay their share of Church dues, and therefore have no chance of receiving instruction. Hence their opinions and morals are corrupt. If they grow up to be strong, they become intolerable on this account; but their offences are not so much their own fault as that of the magistrates who have neglected them and concerned themselves only with lawsuits about money and with the punishment of crimes. It were better to strive to turn these beggars into good citizens than to punish them when it is too late.

There is nothing so independent in a city as not to be subject to the cognizance of those who rule the State. For it is no liberty to refuse subjection and obedience to the public magistrates, rather is it an incitement to savagery and an occasion for licence, which will overflow in any direction it pleases. Nor can anyone withdraw his goods from the care and control of the city unless he himself at the same time leave the city.

In a well-ordered city, as in a well-ordered household, laziness is not to be tolerated. But health and age must be considered.

Let the natives of our city be asked if they know any trade. Let those who know none, if of suitable age, be taught that for which they declare themselves most inclined.

Nor would I allow the blind to sit or wander about idly, as there are many ways in which they can employ themselves. Some are capable of education, let them study; in several of these we may see a progress in learning by no means to be despised. Others are musical; let them sing, or play stringed instruments or the flute. Let some blow the bellows in the smiths' forges. We have known blind men to make satchels, little chests, baskets, and other receptacles. Blind women spin, and wind thread into balls. Provided only that they do not desire to be idle or refuse work, they may easily find some work they can do.

It is worth noting that this is the first time that care of the blind is considered a social duty.

Cure of reason, man's most precious possession, is of the first importance. When a person of unsound mind is brought to hospital, it should first be ascertained whether his insanity is congenital or caused by some mishap: whether there is a chance of recovery or not; nothing must be done to increase the insanity or to make it persist-as for instance by irritating or mocking the sufferer. How inhumane that is! Treatment suited to each individual case should be tried; for some, gentle care; for some, teaching; others may require coercion or bonds, but everything should be done in a way likely to pacify and lead to recovery.

Here perhaps is to be seen Vives' finest contribution towards a greater dignity of mankind. While in most European countries lunatics continued to be accused of witchcraft and to be burned in large numbers, Vives recognized the loss or disturbance of reason to be mental diseases. Thus it is from him that psychiatry originated. Before Vives' time, his fellow-countrymen (as I mentioned) had built the first mental asylum in 1409. And a century after Vives' book had been published the first work on deaf-mute education appeared-1620-written by Joan Pau Bonet, a follower of Vives.

Let there be a hostel [Vives continues] where abandoned children may be cared for, and let some women be appointed to act as mothers to them; these shall look after them until their sixth year; then let them be moved on to schools run by the city, where they shall receive their education and training, and maintenance as well.

This is all very well, some people will say. But who will pay for all this? For my part, far from foreseeing a deficit, I am inclined to think there will be a surplus, sufficient not only for the relief of ordinary daily needs but also of extraordinary ones, such as often arise in various cities.

He then explains in detail his system for the economic support of the city finances as a whole, touching in passing on the distribution of wealth:

Indeed, it is not to be tolerated in a city, I will not say in a Christian community alone but in any other as well, so long as it is a community of human beings, that some should be so wealthy that they can lavish thousands of pounds on their tombs, or on a tower, or pretentious buildings, or on a banquet, or public gifts, while for the matter of fifty or It hundred florins others are forced to endanger a girl's chastity, or an honest man's life and health, or to desert their wife and young children.

This note of realism is verywhere apparent.

Supposing that it is not expedient to put the whole scheme into operation at once, because perhaps long-established custom will oppose innovation, one can use tact and get the easier items started upon first, and then gradually those which may be considered more difficult.

Some will always fight against the good, the World against Christ. Thus some will calumniate these attempts at relief of distress, but adduce pretexts against them, such as that we make the conditions of the poor worse rather than better, or that we seek to disprove Christ's saying that there must always be poor. Christ did indeed foresee poverty to be inevitable, as St. Paul foresaw heresies, but it does not follow that we are to refrain from relieving the poor or withstanding heresy. We, like physicians, should raise these poor up from their miserable condition, and cure them. . . . There will perhaps be some, as there often are in public affairs, who disapprove of any efforts they have not themselves initiated, as though they had a monopoly of wisdom and talent.

As Roscher and many others have noted,¹⁶ the principles of Vives form the universally accepted basis of the social science of to-day; these principles are based on the psychological study of the poor as much as on the medical and educational understanding of the problem. Weitzmann emphasizes that Vives was the first to plan the assistance and prevention of want as a State obligation and not as a Church charity.¹⁷ Ideas such as these indeed make it difficult to rank Vives with the typical Spaniard as he is known abroad. Only if it is remembered that in the Iberian peninsula there still lives a nation which out of its fundamental Christianity developed a theory of economic welfare, can one see Vives in a proper light. His Catholicism may be compared to that of Ramon de Penyafort. The latter gave to the Catalans of the thirteenth century a moral standard on which to develop economic welfare (see p. 41); the former, in the sixteenth century, suggested to Europe the first plan of social collaboration, from which one of the most important characteristics of Western civilization was to evolve. Thus Vives' life of exile contributed to the progress of humanity when his efforts could no longer be of advantage to his own country. English readers interested in this aspect of Vives' personality may turn to Salter's book on poor-relief¹⁸ which deals at length with the *De Subventionem Pauperum*.

Another interesting side of the Catalan philosopher's nature is his religious candour combined with a pure Christian Catholicism utterly devoid of superstition. As his English biographer Foster Watson puts it, Vives' Catholicism was one of 'practical piety'.¹⁹ He published a collection of Prayers and Devotional Exercises which were incorporated in the Book of Christian Prayers issued in 1578 by the Royal Authority of Queen Elizabeth of England, and which apparently were used by the Queen herself.²⁰ Later, these prayers were included, with many others, in the official English Protestant Book of Private Prayers. 'We ought to pray' says Vives, 'that our studies may be sound, of no harm to anybody, and that so we may be sources of sound health to ourselves and the community.' Foster Watson pointed out that 'the fact of the Catholic source of these prayers must have been outbalanced in England by the sense of the fit expression in them of human aspiration'.²¹

For all-his hopes for a better world based on economic welfare, it would be a mistake to believe that Vives was a collectivist. In a pamphlet which he called *De Rerum Communionem ad Germanos Inferiores*, written to oppose the indigent egalitarianism of the German and Netherland anabaptists, and in particular the collectivism of Jan Benkelszoon of Leyden on whom had fallen the mantle of Jan Mathijsen, Vives stresses that this communism would have a fatal consequence for the

future of humanity and asserts that it would last for a short time only; believing it contrary to human nature, he is horrified at the prospect that in a communistic society freedom and liberty would vanish. These communistic societies, he apprehends, would be formed by a minority of unscrupulous men and a mass of ignorant ones, though some few might be attracted by the mere novelty. Our philosopher may be called a progressive individualist, who wished the State to be at the service of the individual. We can see the rational nature of his constructive individualism in his *De Conditione Vitae Christianorum sub Turcis* (1528), in which he explains that authority is essential to the stability of society and, further, that political liberty does not mean that everyone is entitled to do what he pleases. On the contrary, everyone should diligently observe the rules of society. A society in which these principles were not adhered to would, he thinks, collapse without delay.

Vives' outlook was so far in advance of his time that forty years ago his best Spanish biographer, Bonilla y San Martin, a modern progressive scholar, could still write of his social conception: 'It is an impossible policy, this strange mixture of pseudo-Christianity and hybrid socialism, known by some as Catholic socialism.'²²

To Vives' contribution to psychology, in his book *De Anima et Vita*, two contemporary historians of psychology, Zilboorg and Henry, have paid this tribute: 'The psychologist did not reach this scientific maturity until the last years of the nineteenth century, when Sigmund Freud published his first formulations. It is even more impressive to find that the first true forerunner of Freud was a deeply religious man who lived three hundred and fifty years before Freud and whose background of religious traditions was combined with a truly devotional personality. The man was a Spaniard from Valencia, Juan Luis Vives, and his contributions to psychology surpass those of any of his contemporaries and many of his scientific descendants for over three centuries.' It is not surprising to find these American scholars amazed at the sort of 'Spaniard' Vives was, when Erasmus himself, who was well acquainted with the nature and thoughts of Vives, writes of him that he was not a typical Spaniard, but better described as a mixture of French and Spanish. Erasmus, like a great number of more modern thinkers, had failed to realize that as early as the first part of the thirteenth century the Catalans had given up their crusading spirit for a more evangelical and rational system of correcting errors by education and self-conviction. In the words of Zilboorg and Henry 'this Catalan-Spaniard, from Valencia by birth, while living in England sent a clarion cry in a letter to Henry VIII'.²³ It is in this letter that Vives says: 'My anxiety is great in seeing the Christian world divided by dissensions and wars, and it seems that a perturbation cannot be caused in any part of the world without affecting all the rest.' Here again, in his belief in the 'indivisibility' of peace', Vives preceded us by more than four hundred years. In the early *In Pseudo-dialecticos* he had already sensed the birth of a new world. 'Out of the depths I see a change coming. Amongst all nations men are springing up, of clear, excellent and free intellects, impatient of servitude, determined to throw off the yoke of tyranny from their necks. They are calling their fellow citizens to liberty.' These were the words of the Renaissance of mankind, the Renaissance to which, while Erasmus represented intellect and *Budé eloquence*, Vives stood and stood worthily for judgement.²⁴ This was the period traditionally designated as that of Renaissance, and while it foreshadowed the coming rationalism, it also contained more than the mere germ of the romanticism which was so characteristic of the latter part of the nineteenth century and which revolutionized modern European philosophy (Bergson), science (Einstein) and psychology (Freud). The romantic trend, which put the accent on self-observation, introspection, and understanding of feelings and emotions and their role in human behaviour, was defined in all the writings of Vives. It was this trend which made him stand out among all the humanists of his Own and later days, and it was this trend which brought forth a social

consciousness, a sense of the emotional, interdependent unity of all people and all nations.'²⁵ The first description of psychological associations, which were to be rediscovered by modern science, is due to Vives.

It is obvious that a man who was more than four centuries ahead of his time (many of Vives' suggestions are still awaiting realization to-day) was bound to be deeply concerned about the conditions of his own country, where his was the first generation that used the term *Spaniard* instead of the ancient native names of Castilian, Catalan, and Basque. But if Vives was a Spaniard, he was one who felt great suspicion and apprehension of the means by which the new State was intending to mould its citizens. The imperial aspirations of the Kings of Spain and their continuous struggle for dynastic 'grandeur' were quite alien to Vives' mentality, in which the previous historical experience of his people had crystallized. He could not but visualize princes such as they had been in his own country throughout the centuries: namely, the servants of the common people. His ideas on law and justice are stressed in the foreword to his *Areopagitica sive de vetere Atheniensium republica*, a work dedicated to Cardinal Wolsey. In this he considers the profusion of laws to be a sure indication of bad government; governors should not be proud of the number of regulations they have laid down, but rather of their ability to convey to the conscience of every man the principles of justice, because 'it is not by decrees but by good customs that people should be governed'. The traditional customary laws collected in the centuries-old Catalan *Usatges* were Vives' source for his understanding of law and justice. By their means the Catalans had been able to maintain order and justice ever since 1060. Thus Vives was unable to acquiesce in the new principle of 'justice' introduced by the first kings of Spain and their followers, by which citizens became mere subjects and were at the mercy of any insignificant despot who happened to be supported by the Inquisition. And the manner in which the conquest of America was undertaken by the Castilians would have cooled Vives' enthusiasm-had he ever felt any-for their exploits. In his *De Concordia et Discordia in Humano Genere* he writes that if the language of a man is not understood he is as distant from other men as an elephant or a lion, and adds, 'This is perhaps the reason why our *conquistadores* thought that the Indians of the New World were not men at all, of which injustice I shall speak in another work.' This promised work he seems never to have written; it was written instead by 'Las Casas, a great and liberal-minded though hyper-emotional Spaniard, who there gave to posterity the best evidence of the Spaniards' faculty of feeling deep, humane sympathy and an unerring sense of justice.'²⁶ Vives himself had a poor opinion of the intellectual standard of the Spain of his time. He wrote: 'I do not believe that any men envy me, particularly in Spain, among other reasons because I am completely detached from that country; few people read my books there, and among those who do the majority do not understand them; very few have any interest in the study of letters.'²⁷

When Vives wrote his *De Subventionem Pauperum* in Oxford, he was also sowing his noble seed in the fertile soil of Britain. Less than a century later, Sir Francis Bacon was to give new dimensions to some of Vives' ideas, particularly to those on education. Some of the parallels between Vives and Bacon have been mentioned already (see p. 122). Others could be added, such as their common dislike for dialectics and their optimism. It seems, too, that Vives' *De Consultatione* was of great use to Ben Jonson.²⁸

But where Vives' influence was most strongly felt was in the Scottish 'Common sense' school of philosophy, whose outstanding figures were Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, and Sir William Hamilton. All these thinkers mention Vives with praise and admiration, and their ideas on the development of the human faculties correspond almost exactly to the thoughts of Vives. Britain, as Vives' Spanish biographer Bonilla y San Martin wrote,²⁹ 'is the country where the social individualistic philosophy of Vives has taken root'.

The influence of Vives on Spain was, unfortunately, negligible. Of all his works only the *Institutio Feminae Christianae* and three works of secondary importance, the *Dialogues*, the *Ad Animae Exercitationem in Deum*, and the *Commentatumenlae* were translated into Spanish, and published in his lifetime. No further work of Vives' appeared in Spain before the period of 'Europeanization' and liberalism introduced by Charles III in the eighteenth century. It was then that the Valencian Mayans i Siscar published the first collected edition in the original Latin, preceding it by a biography which has served as the basis for all the modern works on Vives. During the eighteenth century the *De Subventionem Pauperum*, also, was published in Valencia in a Spanish translation. The major works of Vives', *De Concordia et Discordia*, *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, and *De Anirrza et Vita* are still awaiting publication in Spanish and in Spain.³⁰ It is not surprising therefore that, as Bonilla admits, 'Lluis Vives has been, and still is, little known in Spain.'³¹

In the preface of the *De Officio Mariti*, which he dedicated to Joan Borgia, Duke of Gandia, Vives narrates that a friend of his, the Spaniard Alvaro de Castro, with whom he was then living, 'ardently desired' that he would write this new treatise in Spanish, and Vives says that he 'wrote some notes in Castilian, as de Castro did not understand Latin. These notes did not satisfy me completely. I think they need augmenting and correcting and they should be re-written in Latin. . . .' This points to one reason why Vives had no influence in Spain: the fact that he never wrote in Spanish. We have a few short letters in Spanish, signed by Vives, but, like Justinia's translation into that language (see p. 115), they are unmistakably written by a man whose native language was not Spanish. But the principal causes of such a striking lack of interest were the line of thought and the general mental attitude of the average Spanish reader, so opposed to Vives' approach to his problems, and, even more than this, the suspicion and mistrust with which the Inquisition looked upon the free expression of Vives' thoughts in his writings. A writer as critically-minded as the Spanish Jesuit Mariana wrote later in the sixteenth century: 'Others will be able to express their opinions. I, as a member of the Society of Jesus, may say with certainty that even before the Holy Inquisition had forbidden the works of Erasmus, Vives, and other people of suspect doctrine. . . .' ³² When a man of Mariana's standing was compelled to write that Vives' doctrine was 'suspect', we must infer that Spain had been as hermetically closed to Vives' influence as it was to any other contribution of Catalonia's distinctive culture.

In 1759 Charles III came to the Spanish throne from Naples, imbued with European ideas. It was he who in 1778 cancelled the prohibition by which in 1504, shortly after the discovery of America, the Catalans were forbidden to trade with, or settle in, the new continent. It was also mainly during his time that the Valencian Catalans, Mayans, Piquer, and Pau i Forner, spread the thoughts of Vives among their compatriots. Not long afterwards, in 1800, Majorca gave official approval to the teaching of Vives' doctrine, when his book *Ad Sapientiam Introductio* was translated by Felip Guasp and made a subject for reading in all the schools throughout the island. In the nineteenth century several Catalan philosophers of repute, among them X. Llorens, M. d'Eixela, and P. Codina became acquainted with the works of the Scottish school of Reid and Hamilton, through whom they were referred anew to Vives, and with this contact an astonishing intellectual revival set in in Catalonia. Mila i Fontanals, Rubio i Ors, Balmes, Pi i Margall, Almirall, Torres i Bages, Prat de la Riba, to mention only a few of the generation of yesterday, have all contributed to this notable re-awakening of Catalan cultural life in our own times. This new Renaissance would not have been possible had not the specific Catalan spirit survived all its persecutions. Its own reflected image, seen in Vives' work as in a mirror, was enough to call the Catalan mentality to life again.

When Lull gave to manual work a most important place in his social scheme, he was only expressing a national line of thought and valuation which two and a half centuries later was to produce, in Vives, the *De Subventionem Pauperum*. When Sibiude tried to understand the Divinity by observing Nature, he was a precursor of Vives' *De Veritate Fidei Christianae* and *De Prima Philosophia, sive de Intimo Naturae Officio*, which arrive at the same advanced conclusions. *The Indicium Naturale* of Vives is likewise conformable to the most characteristic teaching of Sibiude: namely, a belief in the high value of general consent based on the idea of Christianity as a faith which considered every single immortal soul to be equally precious, no matter what a man's worldly position might be. 'That which is recognized by "common sense" cannot be false, because there is no better procedure for discovering where the truth lies than the general consent of men', as Vives puts it. A hundred and fifty years before him the greatest of Catalan writers in the vernacular, Bernat Metge, had written that 'in every matter we must believe what is believed by the greater part of our fellowmen, as it is the nearest to the truth. The consensus of all men has the same virtue and force as the law of Nature.' It was this deep respect for the people and love to humanity that made so intense the sympathy between Thomas More and Lluís Vives, those forerunners of modern 'democracy'.

Servetus and the Circulation of the Blood

The death of vives marks a turning point in Catalan national life. Henceforth its contribution to Western civilization has less and less interest for the student, until it finally ceases to exist altogether. One may, nevertheless, before closing this modest essay, give a short account of three thinkers who lived when this decline was already well on its way. The most notable of these is Miquel Servet (Servetus); the others are Pere Gales and Josep de Calasañç.

Miquel Servet

Miquel Servet was born in 1511 in the racial no-man's-land between Catalonia and Aragon, either inhabited originally by Provençals or later re-colonized by Catalans. The village of Vilanova de Sixena, his birthplace, was founded by Ramon Berenguer IV and Petronella his wife, and was later given by their son King Alfons II to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who founded a model nunnery there.¹ For a long time Sixena had the status of the Order of St. John; later, it was included, for all religious matters, in the episcopal jurisdiction of Lleida. Miquel Servet's father was a notary; he was born in a village near the district of Tarragona and married an Aragonese lady, Dona Maria Conesa. From his father Miquel inherited the family nickname of Revec; or Reves, a word which in Catalan means 'obstinate'; in later days, he assumed it in earnest when trying to hide from his persecutors. In several documents the Servet family are mentioned as being 'ancient Christians', a very important statement in those days, when to be a converted Jew was a source of danger; the fact is also noteworthy because it shows that in the Catalan-Aragonese area the medical profession was not, as among other Peninsular peoples, considered an inferior occupation and therefore confined to Jews. Actually the great medical men of Catalan extraction were all 'ancient Christians', as witness, in addition to Miquel Servet, Arnau de Vilanova, Gaspar Torrella, Gaspar Casal, Antoni de Gimbernat and Mateu Orfila.

Young Servet was educated by the friars of Sixena and later went to Barcelona. It is not known for certain whether he studied in the Universities of Lleida and Saragossa. From his early youth he often changed his residence, never staying anywhere for long; but this was not due to any psychological disturbance-the 'escape' of the psychiatrists-but to more rational motives. When Servet had found a place where he was able to live in peace and security, he remained there for as long as he felt safe, as for instance during the twelve years he stayed with Archbishop Palmier of Vienne in the Dauphiné.

As early as his stay in Barcelona, Servet's frankness and his passionate love of free thought seem to have got him into trouble; Barcelona had already in the early sixteenth century ceased to be a safe place for such as he, and his parents sent him to Toulouse instead. In this University he began to study law; he there had the opportunity, too, of reading Sibiude's "Theologia Naturalis" which harmony between true piety and human intelligence appealed to him intensely.² The reading of this book left a deep impression on his young and highly receptive mind. From Toulouse he returned to Barcelona, where he met the Franciscan Joan de Quintana, of Majorca, who later became confessor to the Emperor Charles V. Quintana sympathized with the honest candour of Servet and advised him to leave Barcelona, where his uncompromising views would make life dangerous for him; the Franciscan accordingly engaged him as his private secretary and he became thereby a follower of the Imperial court. There, the

personal influence of the Emperor created a more tolerant atmosphere, and Servet felt he would be more secure. In 1529 he was present at the coronation of Charles V at Bologna; his austere and simple concept of Christianity was deeply shocked at the sight of the Pope being carried on the shoulders of other men, as he tells us in his *De Trinitatis Erroribus libri septem*. During this stay in Italy Quintana introduced Servet to the Franciscans of Padua and Mantua, with whom he kept up friendly relations for the rest of his life. He also made the acquaintance of medical men; Curione of Padua was probably one of them. From Italy, Servet followed the Imperial court to Germany and at Augsburg attended the assembly of the Diet, where he had the opportunity of meeting Melanchthon and Butzer; from Augsburg he went to Basle to meet Oecolampadius.

By that time the theological ideas of Servet were taking definite shape, and in every meeting with the great men of the Reformation he supported his views with unyielding energy, especially those on the nature of the Trinity and on the existence of the Son of God as a real man—an existence possible only, according to Servet's conviction, if a triune Trinity were not dogmatically accepted. All the reformers were horrified by his heresies; Oecolampadius in particular was so indignant after listening to him that he called him a Jew, a Mohammedan, possessed by the devil, and expelled him from his home. In a letter to Oecolampadius Servet writes shortly afterwards: 'It is an abuse to condemn to death those who are mistaken in their interpretation of Holy Writ. This punishment is permissible only for murderers.'³ To give vent to his ideas Servet wrote his *De Trinitatis Erroribus* and sent the manuscript to the printer Conrad Buss, of Basle. Some of the reformed Swiss priests, however, came to know of it and prevented the printing of the book. Servet then took it to Hagenau in Alsace, where John Setzer printed it. From the start this book was prosecuted and eventually suppressed by the Diet of Ratisbon; very few copies survived.⁴ Servet was forced to escape to France, where, in order to hide from his pursuers, he changed his name to Michel de Villeneuve. Faithful to his family nickname of 'obstinate', he had left, on his departure from Germany, another book in the hands of Setzer, which appeared in 1532 under the title *Dialogorum de Trinitate libri duo*. Historians of that period agree that the publication of the *De Trinitatis Erroribus* was, in a sense, epoch-making; 'in some ways. . . it was a remarkable book, too, in that it was the product of a young man -almost indeed a youth-not quite twenty years of age'.⁵ The work is a marvel of learned quotation from a wide and varied field. 'The author quotes some thirty authors Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Arabic. He is at home in them all.'⁶ The same year, 1532, in which the work of Servet appeared, John Calvin published his *L. Annaei Senecae, Romani Senatoris de Clementia*.

Servet's friend and protector, Joan de Quintana, quarrelled with him, and Servet now found himself isolated from the Imperial court and lacking in protection. He therefore established himself in Lyons, a notable centre of intellectual activities in those days, in particular for printing, and found employment as a proof corrector with the printer Trenchel, in whose offices he met La Boethie, L'Hopital, Champier and several other of the great French humanists. The first of his works to be printed in Lyons was a correction and an enlargement of Pirckheimer's Latin translation of Ptolemy's *Geography*. This great production is now considered a starting-point of comparative geography and ethnology, due not so much to Pirckheimer's work as to Servet's additions.⁷

It was in Lyons, too, that Servet studied medicine with Symphorien Champier, the editor of Arnau de Vilanova. He was devoted to Champier, in whose defence he wrote in 1536 his *In Leonardum Fuchsium Apologia*, answering the attacks made on Champier by the German professor Fuchs of Heidelberg.

In 1536 Servet changed his residence for Paris, where he studied anatomy with Silvius, Farnel, and Gunterius. Another young anatomist, the Fleming Vesalius, worked

with him as a pupil of those same masters. Gunterius of Andernach in his *Anatomicarum Institutionum* praises these two preceptors, or readers, of his: 'the first, young Vesalius, showed outstanding zeal in his study of anatomy; the second, Michel de Villeneuve, had imbibed the most various knowledge and has not been surpassed in the understanding of Galen's doctrine. With the help of these two men I have examined the muscles, veins, arteries, and nerves of the whole body and have shown them to my students.'⁸

In Paris, Servet published his *De Syruporum universa ratione* in 1537; this book had a most outstanding success and was reprinted, to mention only some editions, in Venice in 1545, in Lyons in 1546, and again in Venice in 1548. It was written to show the superiority of Greek over Arabian medicine. Servet supports his views not only by the great authority of the Greek classics, but also by the observation of Nature. One of the best descriptions of the purpose of medicine and of medical men is to be found in this book: 'Man is weakened or falls ill by accident only, due to lack of resources. Patients, even the most seriously ill, must be treated with the object of giving them back their health. Decrepitude can be delayed for a long time, and old age should be made tranquil and venerable. We must teach those who do not know better, with the purpose of opening the eyes of everyone. We must also give all men the means of subsistence, whereby we should improve humanity. We must cure without causing pain-it is an essential thing to suppress pain. The most humane tasks to be carried out by every doctor should be: to revitalize the feeble; to cure the sick; to regenerate the decrepit. Anyone whose body is weak may have an enlightened soul and high intellectual faculties. That is why it is necessary to treat the body: to enable the spirit to function normally.' In Ptolemy's *Geography* Servet also states his rationalistic views: 'the foremost of all virtues are science [knowledge] and liberty'. In *De Syruporum universa ratione* we find these significant words: 'I am not fond of disputing about words; it does not matter whether we use one term or another. It is the facts that count.'⁹

With the publication of the latter work, Servet's fame in Paris was again enhanced, until it roused suspicion and resentment in several professors of the University. When in one of his lectures he dealt with 'premonitions' or presentiments and also with telepathic phenomena, his enemies found the opportunity they had been waiting for. He was accused of witchcraft or sorcery. The Parliament of Paris met on 18 March 1538 to judge Servet, and the majority of its members upheld his innocence. Shortly before that date, Servet and Calvin had met for the first time; from the first moment they were irreconcilable enemies.

From Paris, where he felt he was in danger, Servet went to stay with a friend of his, a physician of Charleville; not long afterwards, Cardinal Palmier, or Paulmier, offered him the position of physician in his palace of Vienne, in the Dauphine, in the old Occitan area. There Servet lived peacefully for twelve years (1541-1553) until he was imprisoned, shortly before his tragic end. During the first year of his stay in Vienne, the printer Gaspar Trenchel published the Bible arranged and edited by Servet (who for the Old Testament followed Santos Pagnini's translation from the Hebrew, Lyons, 1542); Servet's comments on theology, history, and natural science give detailed evidence of his wide knowledge on the most varied subjects. The years of calm he enjoyed in Vienne enabled him to meditate on, and actually to write, his great work *Christianismi Restitutio*. Servet's original text has been preserved in a manuscript which is now in the National Library of Paris; it is dated 1546. In 1553 the work was printed by Baltasar Arnoullet of Vienne. One thousand copies were printed, of which three are known to have survived: one is now in the National Library of Paris, one in the old Imperial Library of Vienna, and the third in the library of Edinburgh University. The rest were burned in Vienne-except for a few copies which Servet had sent to his friends in Italy. P. Gener, one of his biographers, mentions that, according to information he was given,

several copies are collected among the books in the reserved department of the Vatican.¹⁰

In Vienne, Servet was persecuted and imprisoned by the Catholic Inquisition.¹¹ With the help of his friends -and very likely of Cardinal Pannier-he escaped from prison, his late captors then burning him in effigy. For a while he hesitated about which course to take; he realized that Spain was too dangerous for him and only Italy appeared to offer a chance of safety; thither therefore he turned his steps, probably intending to go to Naples.¹² While passing through Geneva he was recognized by a follower of Calvin and detained. Calvin accused him of being a dangerous heretic. It was one of the most memorable trials of history, Servet representing freedom of thought and Calvin intolerant dogmatism. Servet was condemned and finally burned at the stake on 27 October 1553. The speeches for the prosecution and for the defence, kept in the Municipal Archive of Geneva, are among the most dramatic documents in the history of mankind.¹³ The record is eloquent of the dignity to which the spirit of man can rise, when convinced that it is acting in obedience to God's commands and resolved not to concede the ascendancy of any other man, even at the risk of life. Servet was not, however, a dogmatic and self-righteous scholar, as such persistence might suggest. The following opinion of his is characteristic: 'It is evident that I cannot adhere to all the arguments of one of the contending parties only, nor refuse all the reasonings of the other. Either of them may have a share of reason and a share of error. Every one recognizes the errors of other men and overlooks his own.'¹⁴

Servet's theories on the Trinity, which were the cause of his death, are of no great interest to most people nowadays. But all our sympathy is roused by his indomitable perseverance in defending his right of free judgement.¹⁵

The memory of Servet would by now be confined to a small number of scholars, were it not for a few pages in his *Christianismi Restitutio*, in which there is described for the first time the pulmonary circulation of the blood. It is in his chapter dedicated to the Holy Ghost that Servet adduces 'the greatest of all miracles, that is, the constitution of the human body' to prove that everything in Nature is endowed with an eternal movement inspired by God's *permanent energy*. He continues:

The vital spirit-arterial blood-is first to be found in the left ventricle of the heart, owing to the lungs by which it is produced. It is a light spirit purified by heat, its colour is red. It is a lucid gas, issuing from the pure blood, and containing the elements of air, water, and fire. This vital spirit originates in a mixture achieved in the lungs, of the air these inhale and of the blood which the right ventricle of the heart sends to the left one. But this communication does not take place through the intermediate wall which divides the heart, as is commonly believed, but rather through a miraculous artifice, after the blood has been put in motion, by the right ventricle, through a long circuit across the lungs. The lungs prepare the blood, making it bright and alive, while from the vena arteriosa it is being turned to the arteria venosa, and immediately on entering this same arteria venosa, the blood is mixed with the inhaled air and is thus purged of all impurity. . . . We have evidence of this communication and purification being effected by the lungs in the close connection and communication of the vena arteriosa and the arteria venosa inside the lungs. . . . Therefore, there is no doubt that the mixture takes place in the lungs. The blood is given its bright colour not by the heart, but by the lungs. In the left ventricle there is -not room enough for so great and abundant a process of mixing, nor for the elaboration of so bright a colour. In short, the intermediate wall, without vessels or other means, cannot be the instrument of the changes, even if the blood could be filtered through this wall. In a similar way as the liver moves the blood from the aorta to the vena cava, the lungs perform the change of the blood on its way from the vena arteriosa to the arteria venosa... *This vital spirit then is poured further by the left*

ventricle to all the arteries of the body. [Ille itaque spiritus vitalis a sinistro cordis ventriculo in arterias totius corporis transfunditur.]

Thus the general circulation of the blood was, if not described in detail, yet clearly determined by the discovery of an observer of genius.

The paragraphs on the circulation in the *Christianismi Restitutio* were first observed in 1694 by William Wotton, who gave a short notice of the discovery in his *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*.¹⁶ In 1706, Leibnitz mentions Servei: in a letter to La Croze, saying that his merit must have been 'extraordinaire puisqu'on a trouve de nos jours qu'il r avoit une connoissance de la circulation du sang, qui passe tout ce qu'on en trouve avant luy'.¹⁷ In 1715 J. Douglas gave an account of Servet's discovery in his *Bibliography*,¹⁸ but this is merely quoted from Wotton. In 1723 the *Christianismi Restitutio* was reprinted in London, but the whole work was seized by the order of the Bishop of London, Dr. Gibson, before it was completed, and burnt; some unfinished copies alone escaped destruction.¹⁹ A more detailed transcription of the circulation passage was given by Allwoerden in 1728.²⁰ From then on, the notoriety of Servet's discovery increased progressively. French and German scholars joined the English in their interest in Servet and his work. In 1790 the *Christianismi Restitutio* was again reprinted by Murr in Nuremberg. Of this edition a number of copies may be found in public libraries.

The manner in which Servet's theory and description became, ultimately, a part of medical knowledge, in spite of official suppression, is not known with certainty. Information is lacking mainly because of the risk which, for many years, was involved in the mention of Servet's name. But the successive steps by which his great discovery was made accessible to humanity are likely to have been the following: Several copies of the *Christianismi Restitutio* were sent to Frankfurt and to Italy,²¹ either by the publisher or by Servet himself. Melancthon, in a letter to the Senate of Venice, in 1539, mentions that the earlier book of Servet, *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, had made its way into Venice (we should remember that Padua was the university of Venice).²² At least one manuscript copy of the *Christianismi Restitutio* belonged to Curione of Parma, the son of Celso Segundo Curio of Padua; it is also believed that the physicians of Padua-Mater, Grimaldi, and Giorgio Blandrata-had received copies of the *Christianismi Restitutio*.²³ The latter published *De Regno Christi*, extracted from Servet's *Christianismi Restitutio* 1569. As has been pointed out, Vesalius was a colleague of Servet as a teacher of anatomy in Paris from 1536 to 1538. In 1543 Vesalius published his *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, a treatise which is considered the starting-point of modern anatomy. In that book there is not the slightest mention or suggestion that Vesalius surmised the circulation of the blood; but in the edition of 1555-two years after the publication of the *Christianismi Restitutio*- Vesalius for the first time shows some knowledge of it.²⁴

The first full description of the pulmonary circulation, apart from Servet's, was given by Realdo Columbus of Cremona, professor of anatomy in Padua from 1540, when he was appointed to the chair occupied until then by Vesalius. In his *De Re Anatomica*, published in Venice in 1559, he advances the same theory of circulation through the lungs as Servet had done before him; but he affirms that no man had observed this before him, nor written about it. This suggests that he did not copy the theory from Servet-'unless indeed we were to suspect him of stealing the theory, without mentioning Servet's name'.²⁵ Three years earlier, in 1556, an assistant of Columbus, the Spaniard Juan Valverde, had published an anatomical book in Rome, in which he also described the pulmonary circulation, attributing the discovery to his teacher, Columbus. Valverde was a native of Amusco near the Spanish town of Palencia; he studied in Valladolid and later in Paris. The fact that a Spaniard attributed the discovery to an

Italian and not to a fellow-Spaniard has been quoted by Italian scholars as the most positive support for their claim of Columbus's independent discovery.²⁶ It is very likely that Valverde did not know of Servet's contribution; on the other hand he may have suppressed it on account of the risk attaching to any acquaintance with Servet's work. In 1571, Cesalpino in Pisa gave an account of the circulation in his *Quaestiones Peripateticae* and stated that the veins take the blood back to the heart; for this he was accused of heresy and was saved only by the personal intervention of Pope Clement VII, to whom he was attached as a physician. The immediate successor of Columbus as teacher of anatomy was Gabriele Faloppio (1523-62). One of his pupils, from 1550, was Hieronymus Fabricius of Aquapendente (1533-1619), who was appointed to the chair of surgery in 1565 and, in 1603, published his important book *De Venarum Ostioliis*, in which the venous valves were described in detail. In 1600 William Harvey went from Cambridge to Padua, to study with Fabricius; and in 1628, Harvey's *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus*, one of the masterpieces of medicine, was printed in William Fitzer's printing establishment in Frankfurt. It may thus be said without exaggeration that the seed left in Padua by Servet's book germinated at last when a genius of Harvey's magnitude received his great inspiration. It is certain that Harvey had no knowledge of Servet's work; but he mentions Columbus in connection with the lesser or pulmonary circulation, and also Vesalius, who was acquainted with Servet's revolutionary conception.²⁷ Thus, seventy-five years after the writing of Servet's manuscript, the initial idea had developed into one of the greatest of all medical discoveries. It has been well said that 'the true inventor is he who definitely places the world in full possession of knowledge and of facts of which one can every day and at will verify the reality and accuracy'.²⁸ From this point of view, the whole merit and honour of the discovery is due to Harvey. But it would be unfair to refuse to Miquel Servet the sympathy and respect he deserves, not only for his sufferings but also for the clear insight he had into Galen's great error. Servet knew that the valves existed. In *Christianismi Restitutio* (page 259) he says: *Quomodo potest esse anima in corde, si cor nec diastolem habet nec systolem? Nec cor nec pulmo ibi movetur? [in the foetus]... Valvulae cordis, seu membranae illae ad orificia vasorum, donec nascitur homo.*

It seems that Harvey benefited, too, from the publication of Sir Francis Bacon's *Novum Organum* in 1621, in which experimentation is recommended as a source of knowledge.

One is tempted to associate the two parallel heritages which were brought to England from the Catalan lands when the Kingdom of Aragon ceased to exist: from Vives to Bacon, and from Servet to Harvey.

In relation to Spain, Servet, like Vives, belonged to the first generations of 'Spaniards'. He had no high opinion of the Spaniards of his day, as may be gathered from the comment in his edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*: 'Speaking in general, the land of Spain is barren and dry. Its inhabitants are well-gifted for science, but they study little and badly, and when they are only half-taught they consider themselves very learned, wherefore it is easier to find a wise Spaniard abroad than in Spain. They make great projects, but they never carry them out, and in conversing they amuse themselves with subtleties and sophisms. They have no love for letters and print only few books, preferring to use those they import from France. The women use white lead and minimum to paint their faces, and they do not drink wine. The Spanish nation is valiant and sober, but it is also the most superstitious on earth. They are very courageous in battle, and patient in their work, and by their voyages and discoveries they have extended their fame all over the surface of the earth.' In another part of the same book, Servet says that 'inquietus est et magna moliens Hispanorum animus'. And in describing the Irish he writes that they were 'rude. . . and more given to idle play than to industry. Only three days' sail from Spain, the Irish have many customs in common with the

Spaniards'. The likeness between Vives' and Servet's opinions on the Spaniards is worth noting. Of the latter, the great Spanish scholar Sr. M. Menendez Pelayo says, not unnaturally, that his words are most unfair.²⁹ It is interesting to find the same opinion held by Servet's contemporary, the Portuguese humanist and friend of Vives, Damiao a Goes, who in his *De Rebus Hispanicis, Lusitanicis, Aragonicis, Indicis et Aethiopicis*³⁰ opposes 'Michaelis Villanovani, hominis mihi incogniti et hac in re non mediocriter lapsi, Hispanorum et Gallorum comparationem.'

•9•

Ex Tenebris Lux

In spite of all the adverse influences on Catalan collective life, the effect on individual and private conditions was still not sufficient to prevent the appearance of strong personalities during the course of the sixteenth century. Among these was the Valencian Fadric Furió Ceriol, who has been called 'a counsellor of princes and a prince of counsellors'; and who is known for his opposition to Spanish religious policy by stressing, in his book *Bononia, sive de Libris Sacris in Vernaculam Linguam Convertendis* (published in Basle in 1556) the necessity of translating the Bible into vernacular languages. He even went to the extreme of insisting-in reference to the Catalan language-that 'if the translation made for the men of Valencia could not be understood by men of Barcelona, Majorca or Elvissa, new translations should be made in each Catalan dialect'. He complained that in the province of Valencia there were 600 villages in which no sermons had been preached for many years and that the state of affairs was even worse in the province of Catalonia. ¹ Las Casas, the 'apostle of the Indians' attributes to Furió Ceriol views on the Spanish colonization of America identical with his own. In his book *El Consejo y Consejeros del Príncipe* printed in Antwerp in 1559, Ceriol writes: 'it is an enemy of the people's welfare who says that the King can do what he pleases and that he cannot'. This book was translated into Italian and twice into Latin. He accompanied Requesens to the Netherlands and in 1575 he wrote a project of peace settlement in which he gave satisfaction to the desires of the Flemish. Unfortunately, Philip II gave no support to Ceriol's plans.

Another important thinker of this time was Pere Gales, who was born near Tarragona in 1537. At the age of twenty-three he went to Italy and lived successively in Rome, Bologna, Turin, Asti and Naples. In 1580 he went back to Catalonia, and in 1582 he was in Padua. This same year he was appointed to the Chair of Philosophy in the University of Geneva, occupied until then by Pacius.² His professorship lasted five years; later he taught in Nimes, Orange (1588- 1591), and Casters (1591-1593). In 1593 he was arrested in Marmande on the charge of being a Huguenot. He was released, but on his way to Bordeaux he was again detained, this time by a Spanish officer serving the 'Sainte Ligue' in France, and was brought to Spain for trial by the Inquisition; he was confined in Saragossa and died while still in prison.

Galés was a friend of the great humanists Casaubon and Cujas, who praised him as doctissimus et acutissimus;³ he was a friend and protege of the great Aragonese scholar, Archbishop of Tarragona Antonio Agustin, and of the Valencian En Joan Baptista Cardona, Bishop of Vich and later of Tortosa. Both had died, however: Agustin in 1586 and Cardona in 1589, when Gales was imprisoned by the Spanish Inquisition. Cardona said of Gales: 'He is a great personality, and we have not deserved him in this country.'⁴ Among some letters Gales wrote to the secretary of Archbishop Augustin there is an offer of his to establish in Italy a trade in books bought in Spain, adding with an engaging candour ' . . . and because it is not in the nature of Catalans to forget their own interest even when handling another man's business. . . I am now going to speak of my own affairs'.⁵

In 1527 a council was summoned in Valladolid to examine Erasmus's doctrines and to determine whether or not they conformed to orthodox Catholic teaching. Among the great scholars who met there we find some of the best men of the Spain of that time. Fr. Alonso de Cordoba, Oropesa, Siliceo (the teacher of Philip II), and Frias, all of them from Castilian Spain; Fr. F. de Vitoria, the great Basque humanist;⁶ the Portuguese Margalho, and the Catalans Joan de Quintana (Servet's protector) and the Prior of the Order of Mercy, Fr. Samund. Of all these illustrious men only the two Catalans

supported the view that Erasmus's books should be admitted, without discussion, into the Peninsula⁷ Samund and Quintana-the latter suggesting only that certain verbal alterations should be made. In 1535 the attention of the Inquisitors was drawn to the 'deplorable effects caused by the diffusion of the vernacular translations of Erasmus's Colloquies, especially in Catalonia',⁸ and the Inquisition ordered the withdrawal of the book from sale under the pretext that the translation was incorrect. A year later, Erasmus having died, the Spanish inquisition followed the example of the Sorbonne and prohibited Erasmus's works.⁹

In other spheres we may still find specific Catalan activities during the sixteenth century. Though the decline was noticeable by comparison with the achievements of their ancestors in the preceding centuries, the Catalans yet had a prominent share in the defeat of the Turk very grateful to you' adding in the King's own handwriting: 'What you have done in this matter [the organization of the navy, and the actual battle] is not new to me; for it is the same as you have always done in my service, for which I thank you. . . .' The head of the allied artillery also was a Catalan, Sabria de Cervello (Capitan General de Artilleria), appointed on 21 June 1571. The commander of the s in the decisive naval battle of Lepanto. The supreme commander of the Mediterranean fleet of the allied Christian nations, admiral Lluís de Requesens, was a Catalan from Barcelona, uniting the blood of a Basque family established in Castile, Zuniga, with the Catalan Requesens. He had been nominated Lugarteniente General de la Mar by Philip II, on 25 November 1571;¹⁰ and even Prince John of Austria, the natural brother of Philip II, who was appointed to lead the expedition, could not issue orders to the fleet without the consent of Requesens. After the battle of Requesens it has been said: 'He was high-minded, and of a generous disposition. Had he been sent to the Netherlands ten years sooner, and allowed to act with a free hand, the history of Philip II wrote to Requesens congratulating him: 'I understand that a great part of the success was due to your work and care, and for this I am Figueroa, the head of the marines. A single coastal town of Catalonia-Sant Feliu de Guixols-gave more than eighty naval officers; and the number of Catalan sailors was so great that even to-day relics from the battle are preserved in Catalonia, among them the famous Christ of Lepanto in the Cathedral of Barcelona, and in San Feliu the Turkish Admiral's flag and many other trophies. Requesens, who had serious difficulties with Don John of Austria and his friends, retired from naval service soon after the battle, ending a long family tradition.¹¹ In 1573 he was sent by King Philip to the most troublesome spot in the whole Spanish Empire of those days, the Low Countries. The Duke of Alba had been sent there in 1567 with a contingent of Spanish troops to stop the rebellion of the Netherlands. After more than five years of strenuous repression the country was even less under Spanish control than before Alba's arrival.¹² In 1568, when hopes of a 'general pardon' were spreading, the Duke of Alba wrote to Philip: 'A great deal remains to be done first. The towns must be punished for their rebelliousness with the loss of their privileges; a goodly sum must be squeezed out of private persons; a permanent tax obtained from the States of the country. It would therefore be unsuitable to proclaim a pardon at this juncture. Everyone must be made to live in constant fear of the roof collapsing over his head.'¹³ This policy was carried out; and then, when the reign of terror had merely aroused increased resistance in the unhappy country, Lluís de Requesens was put in charge, in the place of Alba. His advice to the King was to moderate the oppression, 'for not the most faithful provinces in the world, had their sufferings been as great as those of this province have been during the last eight years, would have been as patient'.¹⁴ the Netherlands might have been different. . ." He immediately reversed the policy of Alba; he repealed the hated taxes, dissolved the Council of Blood, and published a general amnesty.¹⁵ By 1576 his only desire was to go back to his native land and to end his days among his family. It was then that he wrote to Philip that the Netherlands would be lost: 'they will not be

conquered by enemies, but will be forfeited because no appropriate measures have been taken in good time'.¹⁶

Of the Catalan companions of Requesens in the battle of Lepanto, some continued serving in the navy, among them Cardona, Cervelló and Torrelles. In 1587, however, when the great Armada was being organized against England under the direction of the eminent Castilian sailor the Marques de Santa Cruz, Catalan names are strikingly absent. Only Hug de Montcada, belonging to the Valencian branch of that noble family, was among the capitanes, but as the commander of four Neapolitan ships; actually, Montcada was the only commander who died in battle, in the attack near Calais made by Drake and Fenner. No other Catalan of any importance sailed with the Armada; of 362 names listed under the heading of *aventureros*, only one might be a Catalan (Cegarra de Croellas),¹⁷ Portugal contributed sixteen ships to the expedition. The great sailors from the Basque country, Oquendo and Recalde, were at the head of a squadron of twenty-six Basque ships. From the Spanish-speaking part of the Peninsula, seventy two ships took part. The Italian possessions sent Bettendona with ten ships, and Naples sent Montcada with four. But the Catalan lands were not represented. This absence has been attributed to the Atlantic nature of the enterprise, which would be of no interest to a Mediterranean people; but the explanation is not convincing, since the Italian participation was considerable. Perhaps the Catalans were not asked to join; perhaps they refused to do so.

After the defeat of the great Armada, Philip II remembered the skill of at least one Catalan sailor, Joan de Cardona; and in a document dated, in San Lorenzo del Escorial, 16 October 1588, he invested him with full powers for directing an investigation into responsibility for the disaster, mentioning that Cardona had 'such great experience'.¹⁸ Cardona made answer that it was difficult to know what had happened to the Armada and brought about its defeat, but that he believed the principal cause of the disaster had been the lack of mutual help and collaboration among the heads of the participant navies. This he exemplified by the following incident: The ship of Don Pedro de Valdes, Admiral of the Andalusian navy, struck another ship and was perilously damaged; thereupon the Duke of Medina Sidonia-the supreme commander-asked Don Diego Flores de Valdes, head of the Castilian squadron, to advise him on a course of action, and the latter counselled him to abandon the Andalusian. 'This had a deplorable effect on everyone, for, so people thought, if one of the admirals was abandoned, what would be the fate of anyone else in such a plight?' Cardona also mentions some irregular proceedings during the nava preparations for the enterprise. Finally, he advised Philip to desist from planning any new enterprise against England with the remains of the Armada.¹⁹ This is the voice of the last great Catalan sailor of whom we know.

As soldiers, the Catalans appeared for the last time on foreign soil in 1580, when the Catalan regiments, still commanded by a Catalan, En Lluís de Queralt, fought in Flanders. We do not know exactly what occurred; but it seems the Spanish authorities were not well pleased with them, for they were dissolved and mixed with the Spanish tercios, under Spanish command, before a year had gone by.²⁰ They were known in Flanders as the Spanish Walloons, due to their non-Castilian language and customs.²¹ From that time, the Catalans ceased to figure in the wars of the Spanish dynasty. Commercial, industrial, intellectual, and military and naval activity continued to decline throughout the seventeenth century. The country of the Catalans was then poor, but it never was the land as destituted that Castile was even at the height of her power. The eighteenth-century Spanish statesman, Count of Campomanes, tells us that 'the city of Toledo presented to the King, Philip III, a memorandum saying that the misery suffered in the country for the last ten years was due to the establishment of foreign industries'.²² This is in accord with the evidence of the Spaniards of that time: Sancho de Moncada,

who wrote in 1619, asserted that of every six traders in Spain, five were foreigners, and, where trade with America was concerned, nine out of ten.²³ The complaint and its causes were of long standing. A Spanish writer of the sixteenth century, Venegas, had already complained in 1537 that 'only in Spain is it dishonourable to work in a manual trade, which is the reason of there being so many idle men and lost women there'.²⁴ And Fr. Juan de Medina wrote to the future Philip II in 1545, desiring the introduction of a compulsory scheme to make the people 'work and serve because there is a shortage of labour, as many people prefer to live as beggars'.²⁵ From these quotations we may deduce that it was not so much the competition of foreign industries that caused the misery of the country, but rather the mistaken attitude towards the people and, in particular, of many prominent persons who considered work as below the dignity of a pure Spaniard. It was in those days of the early sixteenth century that the great writers of Spain gave birth to the literature of social distress and mendicancy known as *Novelas Picarescas* phenomenon to which the rest of Western Europe can offer no parallel.

Nothing happened to interrupt the steady decline of the Catalans during the seventeenth century; they had lost all interest in Spanish expansion, for wars of prestige and the new concepts of right and wrong were alien to them. Compulsory absence from the American enterprise, the ruin of maritime trade in the Mediterranean, and the almost total suppression of Catalans in their own dominions, together left the country so prostrate that so superficial an observer as the Count-Duke of Olivares could suppose them to be completely exhausted. Inspired by the example of Richelieu in France, he advised King Philip IV to make an end for ever of the Catalans as a nation. But he had misjudged the power of Spain and the strength that still remained to the Catalans. Against the ruthless Spanish absolutism of 1640 the Catalans rose with such violence that they became a major factor in the regaining by the Portuguese of their national liberty and also in the achievement by the Low Countries of final independence from Spain. After twelve years of struggle and the dismissal of Olivares, the Catalans signed a peace with Spain which left them in the status quo ante. This was the second great national rising of the Catalans in order to regain their liberty (the first being the ten years war against their own King, Joan II, in 1460-see p. 95). But inevitably this war, too, accelerated the decay of the country. It is like a lost melody echoing across the centuries, when we find a man like Josep de Calasanc; planning a system of schooling for poor children, based on broad liberal principles; his founding of the 'Pious Schools' was a great achievement whose benefits may even now be seen not in Catalonia alone but in many other countries. Calasanc; was born in 1556 in the village of Peralta de la Sal, which, though now included in the administrative province of Aragon, was then and still remains an integral part of Catalonia, inhabited by Catalans speaking their own language. Calasanc; studied in Lleida University and later in Valencia and Alcalá, and afterwards became vicar-general of the town of Urgell.²⁶ He followed the path of enlightened humanism marked out by Vives, and paid the now common price of persecution by the Inquisition. He died in 1648 and was later canonized by the Catholic Church.

Steadily and constantly the decline continued. In 1658, by the treaty of the Pyrenees, Spain ceded to France three of the Catalan counties, Rosselló, Vallespir, Conflent, and half of the Cerdanya. Thereby, for the first time, the Catalan lands were severed, just when the Low Countries and Portugal had obtained their freedom, thanks, at least in part, to the efforts of the Catalans during their twelve years' fight.

In 1704 the Spanish War of Succession began. Castilian Spain supported the grandson of Louis XIV, whose absolutism and policy of Centralization the Spaniards of the time admired. But the whole of the old Aragonese crown lands, headed by Barcelona, decisively took the side of the Austrian claimant, as the member of a dynasty not traditionally bent upon the absorption of other nationalities under their power.

Antoni de Peguera and Doctor Domenec Perera, Catalan plenipotentiaries, signed, on 20 June 1705, the treaty with Mitford Crow, the plenipotentiary of Queen Anne, by which both sides promised full assistance to each other. And war for the national existence of Catalonia ravaged the country, this time with the help, on the Catalan side, of English, Austrian, Portuguese, and Dutch troops. On 13 July 1713 Spain and England signed the peace of Utrecht by which the political state of Europe was settled for at least a century.

Among other points settled by this treaty was the fate of the Catalans in the name of European peace: they were to be made Spaniards of the Castilian type by 'force of arms', with the same laws, rules, justice, and language as the Castilian provinces and with a form of government which they had superseded in the early thirteenth century. And once again, as in the time of the Catholic Kings, men speaking a language other than their own, moulded by a different national experience, and adhering, in many vital points, to convictions opposite to their own, rode roughshod over what survived of traditional Catalan values. The island of Minorca, inhabited by Catalans, was annexed to the British Empire. Thus, for more than seventy years, the Catalans were divided among three different States: Spain, France, and England, and-apparently at least-the destiny of Catalonia was thereby settled.

But the Catalans were not willing to disappear from the concert of nations, in which they had for long played a part not void of distinction, without making their protest felt.

So for more than a year after the signature of the Treaty of Utrecht they carried on a suicidal fight against the formidable coalition of the armies of France and Spain combined under the expert command of the Duke of Berwick. On 11 September 1714, Barcelona fell, and the first part of the history of the Catalans-of just one thousand years, 712 to 1714-was at an end. From then on, the Catalans were to be Spaniards, without any distinction from the Castilians. The Catalan universities of Lleida and Barcelona were dissolved and a Castilian university was created in a small town, Cervera, which during the long fight had been unfaithful to her Catalan ascendancy; all democratic institutions were banished from Catalonia, and the language of Lull and Ausiàs March was prohibited in its own native country, for official purposes first, and soon even in the schools. In 1778, it is true, Catalans were admitted at long last to the American colonies of Spain by the liberal-minded Charles III, who had acquired many of his views during his twenty-five years of residence in Naples; but he was the one exception among the Spanish monarchs.²⁷ When, after this period of liberalism, the Spaniards were again ruled with intransigency and despotism, the colonists in South America-many of them liberal Castilian Spaniards -and the Catalans and Basques severed the political connection of the Spanish colonies with their mother land and declared them independent. It is hardly possible to find any 'Committee of Liberation' of the newborn South American republics without names of Basque and Catalan origin: Bolivar, Artigas, Mateu, Larrea, Marti, Duran and Giro may serve as examples. Shortly before, an English visitor to Barcelona had still been astonished at the activity of the Catalans and their disposition for the industry, 'as if the people were not Spaniards'²⁸

With the loss of her American colonies, Castile entered the closing stages of her Imperial period. Violent internal convulsions followed one upon another as she struggled between two irreconcilable conceptions of the political and social structure of the State. On the one hand traditional Castile opposed any attempt at modernization, and produced the most bigoted and cruel of her modern rulers in the person of Ferdinand VII; on the other, progressive Castilians tried to mould a new Spain on the uniform centralized French pattern. The death of Ferdinand VII caused a rising in Catalonia and the Basque country, the first national rising since the end of the War of Succession in 1714; but in this new War of Succession, known as the Carlist War, only peninsular peoples took part. The aim of the Catalan and Basque traditionalists was the re-

establishment of the ancient separate States united by a common monarchy—a return, that is to say, to the system of government overthrown in 1714. Against them the army of the central Spanish government fought for the unification of Spain on the French model. The war began in 1833; in 1835 the whole country was divided into forty-nine administrative provinces or departments of which eight were carved from the Catalan lands. The war ended in 1839 by an uneasy compromise between the two contending armies, but the problem was never settled and fresh Carlist risings flared up in 1848 and 1872. During the course of the nineteenth century Spain was bled white by twenty-one military risings (pronunciamientos), three major civil wars, and three violent changes of the head of the State; on eight occasions the Catalans and Basques forcibly unified their mutilated lands under local governments, and in 1873 a short-lived Catalanian State was proclaimed.

The University of Barcelona was re-established in 1836; teachers came from the University of Cervera and, fired by the then emotional atmosphere of romanticism, they spread the ideas of Vives and other Catalan thinkers of the old days. Some years later Mila i Fontanals and Llorens i Barba in the new University, by their teaching inspired two Castilian-Spanish pupils who were later to be responsible for much of the great progress of Castile in the last half century. Those two men, Menendez Pelayo and Giner de los Rios, introduced thoughts and ideas from Catalonia to Castile, much as did Ximenez de Cisneros in the Renaissance period. In 1876 Giner de los Rios founded in Madrid the Institucion Libre de Enseñanza for reviving the study of Nature and furthering the spread of education. These lines addressed by the founder to the International Congress of Education held in London in 1884 might have come from Lull six centuries earlier: 'The Institucion Libre de Enseñanza has the honour of being the first institution in Spain that has introduced manual work throughout the whole course of elementary education and is perhaps the first in Europe to have made it compulsory in the secondary course, on the ground of its being an absolutely indispensable element, not only of technical education, but within certain limits, of all education that is rational and human.' Both Menendez Pelayo and Giner de los Rios retained their admiration for the spirit which had guided the Catalans in their hours of freedom.

In 1832 the Bible Society of London published the Bible in Catalan—the first Catalan book for many decades. This may be held to mark the beginning of the Catalan renaissance. Within the next hundred years, Barcelona stepped forward to become, from a silent medieval town, the first Mediterranean city and the second largest in the whole of Latin Europe. Commerce and industry proved anew, as in the past, the basis of her progress, and by the efforts of its people, the town in which European democracy had first been achieved grew from one hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants to nearly one and a half millions. In all the Catalan provinces, the old creative power sprang to life again; there were even attempts to intervene in the ruling of Spain with the purpose of making the Peninsula accessible to progress and freedom. In 1870, after the abdication of Isabel II, General Joan Prim introduced a king from Italy, Amadeo of Savoy, thus claiming for Spain, as England had claimed in 1689, the right of a country to choose its own sovereign. Most unfortunately, however, Prim was murdered, and King Amadeo found no support in Madrid, so that this first experiment ended in failure. The second was carried out by two Catalan republicans of repute, Figueras and Pi i Margall, and a brilliant Spanish scholar, Castelar, of Catalan descent on his mother's side; but this premature attempt at republican democracy, whether unitarian or federal, broke down utterly as well, and general disorder ensued.²⁹

Shortly afterwards, there appeared on the scene one of the most high-minded and finest figures the Peninsula ever produced, Joaquim Costa. This great propagandist of the ideas of Vives made a profound impression on Spanish life. He was born in the village of Graus, within the Catalan-inhabited area of Aragon. In his great work *El*

Colectivismo agrario en España, published in Madrid in 1898, Costa pays a sincere tribute to Vives. A contemporary in Valencia was the novelist Blasco Ibanez, who put his capable and brilliant pen at the service of democracy and tolerance, not only in Spain but in every other country in which he lived during his life of frequent exile (though not quite so prolonged as that of his predecessor Lluís Vives). These are his words: 'I hope that one day the whole of the Peninsula, from the Pyrenees to the Straits of Gibraltar, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, will form a Confederation of autonomous States, each having its own life, with healthy administrative organs, remaining in perfect equilibrium, with none seeking to dominate the others; which States may unite for the glory of their common fatherland and of the diverse races of the whole country, with their different languages, their varied characters and historical traditions so distinct and so rich; and which may bear with noble pride her name of "United Hispano-Lusitanian States", constituting the great Federal Republic of Iberia.'³⁰ Blasco Ibáñez's ideas on the solution of the Spanish problem are those of a typical Catalan, a native of the town where Vives was born.

The Balearic islands were the birthplace of Antonio Maura, a Majorcan established in Madrid, who tried repeat Prim's experiment of modifying the government of Monarchist Spain to a more European constitutional system. But this attempt likewise failed. In 1931, following the overthrow of Alfonso XIII, the Catalans proclaimed the Republic in Barcelona, and the Basques did so at the same time. Madrid followed. With the Republic, Catalans and Basques gained some measure of autonomy; but while both Catalans and Basques were still trying to revive their old tradition of democratic rule, a new aggression of the now familiar kind, the pronunciamiento of July 1936, put an end to all liberties not only of Catalans and Basques but of Castilian Spaniards as well.

In science, when the result of an experiment remains always the same it is because the causal factors do not vary. The same may be said here. Thus it is beyond doubt that in the oft-repeated tragedy of Spain, and more particularly of the Catalans, there is a determinable and eradicable cause. This is not a matter that concerns the Catalans alone. The entire civilized world should not be indifferent to the threatened extinction of a possible source of light and progress, which shone bright in the past when self-government gave security to Catalans and Basques alike. Superficial observers may assert-- as some have asserted in the past--that 'this time' the problem of the Catalans has been settled for ever, under the pressure of a totalitarian regime. They will be proved wrong. Years ago, two Anglo-Saxon observers of fine sensibility were, at an interval of several years, similarly impressed by the vitality and individual character of a people of whose very existence they had previously been unaware, so scanty is the attention paid by the average historian to the modern Catalans. The first of these travellers, Havelock Ellis, wrote in 1908:³¹ 'The Catalans are a sturdy and vigorous people who from of old have been planted firmly astride the eastern portion of the Pyrenees, for it is still easy to trace the Catalan characteristics of Roussillon. They are not French, they are not completely Spanish, though both French and Spanish characteristics may be found here blended, for an indomitable strength of fibre has enabled them to preserve a high degree of independence.' Some years later, the American Waldo Frank wrote of the Catalans.³² 'It is a subtle and gracious people. Its secret of survival is manifest in the women: delicate daughters of Eve, perhaps the fairest of all Europe, hued like April orchards, and with eyes like twilight. They have the permanence not of the eternal, but of the evanescent which returns. The flower that was Greece has been cast upon a coast of Spain and has grown afresh. This life does not resist: it returns. France mastered the Catalans: and they returned. Aragon used them ruthlessly in war: they returned. Castile stifles and racks them: they are returning. For they are like the Spring, the evanescent Spring--which returns. . . .'

Once again, in the near future, Catalonia will return, peacefully and anxious to be a good neighbour, if she too is shown good neighbourliness; rough, distracted, and a source of permanent trouble, if she is tortured. For the sake of all nations, and especially of Spain, one may utter the fervent hope that Catalonia is witnessing the end of her tragic interlude.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1 The 'Teutonic' tribes-Cimbri and Teutons-invaded Southern Gaul in 107 B.C.; they were expelled by the Roman army of Marius, but the country the Romans recovered was held by them and never given back to its former owners. Later, during the long war between Sulla and Marius, many of the Romans who were proscribed by Sulla settled in Provence (100/80 B.C.). (See L. J. B. Berenger-Feraud, *La Race Proverlfale*, Paris, 188g, p. 252).

2 E. Littre, *Etudes sur les Barbares et le Moyen Age*, Paris, 1867.

3 A great number of arguments may be adduced in support of this decisive historical fact, e.g. :

(a) The medieval historian, B. Boades, mentions that 'Nobles of Gothic origin from the part called Catalonia, escaped to the Pyrenees, to the Cerdanya, and to the part of France called Limoges'. (*Llibre inedit dels Feys d' Armes de Catalunya*, acabat l'any 1420, Barcelona 1873, p. 109)

(b) The population which remained after the Saracens' occupation, decreased more and more by successive migrations when the liberation from the Moors of new regions of Southern Gaul allowed the Spanish Christians from Catalonia to settle in areas ruled by the Franks. This migration seems to have been very considerable during the whole of the eighth and ninth centuries. (See C. E. Cauvet, *Etude Historique sur l' Etablissement des Espagnols dans la Septimanu aux VIII et IX siecles*, Montpellier, 1898, p. 409)

(c) By the treaty of Carcassonne we know that the Mohammedans forced the Christians of the eastern part of the Peninsula and of Southern Gaul to pay a high tribute and to fight under Mohammedan command against free Christians. These humiliating conditions increased the number of fugitives from Moorish occupation. (F. Carreras Candi, *Geografia General de Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1913 /18, p. 859)

After the reoccupation of these lands by the Christians once the Moors were expelled, we find many proofs of the depopulation suffered at the time of the Arabian invasion. The following examples are part of a large number.

(d) The family names of the re-established Christian inhabitants were the same on both sides of the Pyrenees: Duran, Vidal, Pons, Rossell, Borrell, Jorda, etc; but from an earlier date, the Christian names had been identical as well: Guillem, Gauceran, Ramon, Jofre, Gilabert, etc. (See M. Mila i FontanaIs, *De los Trobadores en Espana*, Barcelona, 1888, p. 57)

(e) The origin of the new lords of the Catalan country, is found north of the Pyrenees; the great majority from Southern Gaul, but some too, from Frankish parts and even from Germany and England. Thus, the great family of Centelles came from Bourgogne- Catallus de Crao mentions them in the Charlemagne act of foundation of the village of Centelles, in 792; the Fenollet were from San Pau de Fenollet, near Narbonne; the Castellvi, were from Bourgogne; the Montcada, who played such an important part in the history of Catalonia, were the Napifer, probably from Bavaria; about the same may be said of all the other great families. (See A. Bosch, *Summari index o epitome dels admirables y nobilissims titols de honor de Catalunya*, Rosselto y Cerdanya, Perpignan, 1628; see also M. de Viciana, *Cronica de Valencia*, Valencia, 1881/82.) The Gallic origin of the majority of the Catalan nobility gave rise to a uniform type of feudal hierarchies throughout Southern Gaul and north of the Ebro. Thus in Catalonia, Valvasors, Barons and Counts were the nobiliary status, while in Castilian Spain the Ricosomes and Fijosdalgo were the corresponding nobiliary status. In the Catalan country, the abbreviation En, from Mossen, preceded names when in Spain the abbreviation Don, from Dominus, was used. This prefix En was used all over Southern Gaul.

(f) The villages and towns founded by the new settlers were given the names of the old homes, on the other side of the Pyrenees from which their inhabitants had come; thus we even nowadays find two places, on either side of the mountains, called: Savartes, Montoliu, Monistrol, Monclar, Rocafort, Vic, and Balaguer (Balesguier), Montesquiu (Montesquieu), Mongrony (Mongronh), Castellvell (Castelviel.), Valmanya (Valmagna), Vilamur (Villemur), and Avinyonet (Avignonnet). A migration from North to South happened in the centre of the Peninsula as well, the inhabitants of which, of indigenous origin, had sheltered north of the Cantabric mountains. R.

Menendez Pidal mentions that the Spanish towns of the now Castilian area which had been deserted by its inhabitants, began to be repopulated, as early as one century after their abandonment, by Christians from the north of Spain together with others who came from the zone 'occupied by the Moors, which was called Spania'. (El Idioma Español en sus primeros tiempos, Madrid, 1927, p. 71.) Thus the same happened in both zones; the difference was that the central or Castilian deserted area was re-populated by Castilians or Goths, whereas the Mediterranean deserted part of the Peninsula was re-populated by the people from the north of the Pyrenees, under Frankish command.

4. See E. Nigellus, *De Rebus gestis Ludovici Pii*, in *Rec. Hist. des Gaules*, Paris, 1869, VI, p. 15.

5. When in 1157 Raymon de Puy of the knights Hospitallers of St. John visited Portugal, he went across Castile. The next year the Order of Calatrava was founded in Castile and the Catalan Count Ramon Berenguer IV offered Sixena to the Hospitallers. The Order of St. John had in Spain a Prior of Portugal who conducted the affairs of the Order in Castile, for Portugal and Castile were always closely united in the Order's administration. 160 The affairs of the Order in Catalonia were directed by the Prior of St. Gilles in Southern France, until late years. (E. J. King, *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, London, 1931, p. 59)

6 De Vic et J. Vaissete, *Hist. Gin. du Languedoc*, Paris, 173^o, I, p. 461.

7 M. Mila i Fontanals gives examples of modern Catalan words which were, and still are, used in limited areas of the Languedoc. For instance, the word *vailet* (page, attendant) is found in Bordeaux, and the word *rai*, a very typical Catalan word meaning 'that is nothing compared with. . .' is used in Toulouse. (See *De los Trovadores en España*, p. 487.) It is more convincing still to examine the distribution throughout Southern France of modern Catalan words and expressions; in the *Atlas Linguistique de la France*, by J. Guilleron and E. Edmont (Paris, 1902), we find that the majority of words and phrases used in the Catalan area of France (Roussillon), are also employed in different parts of the old Provençal area. Many of the expressions are common to both the Catalan and the Provençal of the Alpine valleys.

8 De Vic et Vaissete, *op. cit.*, II, p. 515.

9 The Viscount of St. Antonin de Ruerge conferred on the inhabitants of that village the functions of police and government, in 1136; in Toulouse the bourgeois formed part of the court in the twelfth century. (De Vic et Vaissete, *op. cit.*)

10 It should be remembered that at that time the Provençal people gave the name of Spain to the parts occupied by the Moors as it was used in the written Catalan law *Usatges*, and also in the book of the *Consulat de Mar*.

11 For instance, all philologists agree that Old Provençal is the Romance language which tends to amputate most radically the long Latin endings; they also acknowledge that modern Catalan surpasses even Classic Provençal in this tendency. Examples: from Lat. *panis*: French *pain*, Span. *pan*, Ital. *pane*, Port. *pao*, Provo and Cat. *pa.*; from Teut. *helm* (Goth. *hilms*): French *haume*, Span. *yelmo*, Ital. *elmo*, Provo *elme*, Cat. *elm*. Another characteristic of the older Provençal preserved by modern Catalan is the double translation of the verb *to be*; one meaning 'to be in essence', the other 'to be in a state'. In Spanish, Portuguese and Italian the same distinction is made, but it does not exist in French. (M. Raynouard, *Elements de la Grammaire de la Langue Romane*, Paris, 1816, p. 80).

12 H. Bouche, *La Chorographie et l' Histoire de Provence*, Aix, 1664, I, p. 94: . . . at the same time of the Berengiers, Counts of Barcelona. . . the Provençal language became so clear, so polished and so beautified by every kind of lucid expression that during three hundred years it was commonly preferred to all others in Europe. . .

J. Scholastique Pitton, *Hist. de la Ville d'Aix, Capitale de Provence*, Aix, 1666 II, p. 104: 'Among so many good and rare qualities which our Catalan princes possessed, not the least was their love of poets and writers; it is to them that we are indebted for the renewed cultivation of literature. Under them our Provençal people founded their art of literature and gave to Parnassus a tenth companion'. As for the supremacy of the house of Barcelona on the South of France, we may quote the French historian A. Germain who in his *Hist. de la Commune de Montpeltier*, (Montpellier, 1851, I, p. 3 I) says: 'The house of Barcelona soon appeared as the centre of the several states of the South. Its princes at the

beginning of the XIII century played among these states a similar role in many aspects than that of the Capetians in the North of France'.

13 Aragon was at that time inhabited by people of three different extractions. The people of the East and North-East were mainly of Provençal origin who had either come there directly through the mountains or had previously settled in Catalonia. The main centre of that part was the town of Huesca. In the West and North-West, the people were of Basque origin; their main town was Jaca. The third part (the South and South-West) was linked with the Castilians or purely Spanish people through former inhabitants of the Centre and South of the Peninsula, whom king Alfons I of Aragon had settled in his newly conquered lands, 'quia vos, pro Christi nomine et meo amore, laxastis vestras casas et vestras hereditates et venistis mecum populare ad meas terras'. (R. Menendez Pidal, op. cit., p. 115). Also the close neighbourhood of the Castilian people and constant intercourse with them made that part of Aragon virtually a Castilian province from the beginning of its history. Its main town was Saragossa. In the course of history Aragon changed its national consciousness: after being mainly a Basque country during the eighth and ninth centuries, it inclined towards Provençal-Catalan from the tenth to the fifteenth century, and finally became a Castilian province which it has remained up to the present day. Aragon, originally part of Navarre, was bequeathed as an independent kingdom by Sancho the Great of Navarre to his son Ramiro in 1035. Later the kingdom was enlarged by the acquisition of lands taken in part from the Moors, in part from the Christians of the Pyrenean counties of Sobrarbe and Ribagorça.

14 'The country where the Provençal language had been formed, was forever separated from the North, where the Teutonic influence reigned. Full of memories of Roman civilization, the Meridional regions of France felt with terror the domination of the inhabitants of the North falling upon them.' (C. A. Gidel, *Les Troubadours et Petrarque*, Angers, 1856, p. 17).

15 H. Glaber, (*Recueil des Hist. de France*, St. Maur, 1738, X, p. 42) mentions how deep was the impression made on the people of the North of France by the luxury and refinement of the southerners when Constance, daughter of Raymon, Count of Arles married northern king Robert, circa 1000 A.D. Among other things the Provençals introduced the custom of shaving the beard and the back of the neck, 'with which they resemble comedians' . 161

16 The following is a good summary of the state of the country just when the fight against the great heresy began. It is taken from Macaulay's review of Ranke's *History of the Popes* (reprinted in his *Critical and Historical Essays*, Everyman's Library, II, p. 44): 'The first of these insurrections broke out in the region where the beautiful language of Oc was spoken. That country, singularly favoured by nature, was, in the twelfth century, the most flourishing and civilized portion of Western Europe. It was in no wise a part of France. It had a distinct political existence, a distinct national character, distinct usages, and a distinct speech. The soil was fruitful and well cultivated; and amidst its cornfields and vineyards arose many rich cities, each of which contained a miniature of an imperial court.. It was there that the spirit of chivalry first laid aside its terrors, first took a humane and graceful form, first appeared as the inseparable associate of art and literature, of courtesy and love. The other vernacular dialects which, since the fifth century, had sprung up in the ancient provinces of the Roman empire, were still rude and imperfect. The sweet Tuscan, the rich and energetic English, were abandoned to artisans and shepherds. No clerk had ever condescended to use such barbarous jargon for the teaching of science, for the recording of great events, or for the painting of life and manners. But the language of Provence was already the language of the learned and polite, and was employed by numerous writers, studious of all the arts of composition and versification. A literature rich in ballads, in war-songs, in satire, and, above all, in amatory poetry, amused the leisure of the knights and ladies whose fortified mansions adorned the banks of the Rhone and Garonne. With civilization had come freedom and thought. Use had taken away the horror with which misbelievers were elsewhere regarded. No Norman or Breton ever saw a Mussulman except to give and receive blows on some Syrian field of battle. But the people of the rich countries which lay under the Pyrenees lived in habits of courteous and profitable intercourse with the Moorish kingdoms of Spain, and gave a hospitable welcome to skilful leeches and mathematicians who, in the schools of Cordova and Granada, had become versed in all the learning of the Arabians. The Greek, still preserving, in the midst of political degradation, the ready wit and the inquiring spirit of his fathers, still able to read the most perfect of human compositions, still speaking the most powerful and flexible of human languages, brought to the marts of Narbonne and Toulouse, together with the drugs and silks of remote climates, bold and subtle theories long unknown to the ignorant and credulous West. The Paulician theology, a theology in which, as it should seem, many of the doctrines of the modern Calvinists were mingled with some doctrines derived from the ancient Manichees, spread rapidly through Provence and Languedoc. The clergy of the Catholic Church were regarded with loathing and contempt. "Viler than a priest", "I would as soon be a priest", became proverbial expressions. The Papacy had lost all authority with all

classes, from the great feudal princes down to the cultivators of the soil.' 'Under these circumstances, it seemed probable that a single generation would suffice to spread the reformed doctrine to Lisbon, to London, and to Naples. But this was not to be. Rome cried for help to the warriors of northern France. She appealed at once to their superstition and to their cupidity. To the devout believer she promised pardons as ample as those with which she had rewarded the believers of the Holy Sepulchre. To the rapacious and profligate she offered the plunder of fertile plains and wealthy cities.' 'A war, distinguished even among wars of religion by merciless atrocity, destroyed the Albigensian heresy, and with that heresy the prosperity, the civilization, the literature, the national existence, of what was once the most opulent and enlightened part of the great European family.'

17 H. C. Lea, *Hist of the Inquisition of the middle ages*, New York, 1888, I, p. 246

18 G. de Tudela, *Cansó de Crozada*, edit. Paul Mayer, Paris, 1875. See also the *Archiz'es de l'Inquisition*, published by Doat and the letters from Pope Innocent III, in *Historiens de France*, XI.

19 De Vic et Vaissete, *op. cit.* III, p. 4

20 *op. cit.*, p. 2

21 H. Nickerson, *The Inquisition*, London, 1932, p. 128

22 The intransigent attitude postulated by Domingo de Guzman had had a precedent in Spain: the victorious Unitarian Almohade tribes which occupied Cordova in 1148, brought with them from North Africa an orthodox reaction. Until then the city of Cordova, being the seat of the Western Caliphs, was known as the 'centre of religion', the 'mother of philosophers', the 'light of Andalusia'. At the height of its glory under Islam, it is said to have contained 300 mosques, 200,000 houses and about 1,000,000 inhabitants, besides 50 hospitals. The library of Cordova is estimated to have contained at least 225,000 volumes. When Cordova was over powered by the Berber hordes, the Arabic civilization of the West collapsed; Maimonides, the g'reat Jewish physician (1135/1208) and Averroes (1126/1198), the philosopher, were expelled, and the former was persecuted and tormented until he escaped from Spain. At that time, Christians and Jews were fleeing from Cordova, and many of them settled in Toledo, where they worked in the School of Translators of Archbishop Raymond. Others went to Montpellier. (See D. Campbell, *Arabian Medicine*, London, 1926, I, ps. 45, 96, 140). The French historian, A. Germain, in his *La Midicine Arabt et la Midicine Grecque* (*Mem. Soc. Arch. Montpellier*, 1881, VII, p. 227) says that the Arabian catastrophe was due to the 'fanatisme unitaire des Almohades'. Unfortunately for the future of Spain, this authoritarian unitarism took permanent root; as the intolerance of the Almohade Caliphs of Cordova for ever put an end to the flourishing Arabian civilization of the West, the inquisitorial persecution inspired by Domingo de Guzman destroyed the Provençal civilization. As an enduring 162 reminder of the crushing of the Albigensian heresy the order of the Rosary was founded following also Guzman's inspiration.

23. For St. Dominic's life, see A. Drane, *The Life of St. Dominic*, London, 1856, artd G. B. Malloni, *Vita di S. Domenico*, Bologna, 1789

CHAPTER 2

1 J. Millas Vallicrosa, *Assaig d' Histaria de les Idees Fisiques i Matematiques a la Catalunya Medieval*, Barcelona, 1931, p. 102

2. R. Beer, *Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de Ripoll*, Vienna, 1907/8

3. F. H. Garrison, in *History of Medicine*, (London, 1929, p. 163) gives the date 738 as that of the foundation of the Montpellier medical school. If that date is correct the teaching of medicine in Montpellier would have been initiated during the Arabic domination.

4. P. Jaffe, *De arte medica saeculi XII*, Berlin, 1853

5. G. Bayle, *Medicins d'Avignon au Moyen Age*, Avignon, 1882

6. A. Germain, *Cartulaire de l'Universitl de Montpellier*, Montpellier, 1890, I, p. 18
- 7 T. Desbarreaux Bernard, *Bull. des Biblioth.*, 10 me serie, p. 836
8. MSS *Biblioth. Vatican.*, hispanice, 4804, (see Desbarreaux Bernard, loco cit.)
9. E. Nicaise, *La Grande Chirurgie de Guy de Chauliac*, Paris, 1890, p. CIII
10. L. M. Mary-Lafon, *Tableau Hist. et Lilt. de la Langue Partle dans le Midi de la France*, Paris, 1842, p. 122 .
11. M. Mila i Fontanals, op. cit, p. 335
12. G. K. Chesterton, *St; Francis of Assisi*, London, 1923, p. 62
13. R. de Loi, *Trails qfthe Troubadours*, London, 1927 U M.
14. Raynouard, op. cit.
15. "To Brunetto Lattini-the teacher of Dante-who, in his "Canzoni", adopts the customary manner of the "Trovatori" we owe the first-known "Versi Sciolti" (J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of th~ Renaissance in Italy Engl. translation*, London, 1928, p. 310). See also H. J. Chaytor, *The Troubadours of Dante*, Oxford, 1902
16. C. A. Gidel, op. cit.
17. Rovira i Ermengol, *Usatges de Barcelona*, Barcelona, 1933
18. F. Valls i Taberner, *Estudis d'Hiseoria Jurldica Catalana*, Barcelona, 1930
- 19 Published by Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Script.*, VI, p. II2
20. A. de Capmany, *Memorias Historicas*, Madrid, 1779, III, p. 332
- 21 The Catalan shield which may be seen in Westminster Abbey was brought from Provence at the time when the kings of England were great lords in southern and western France.
22. A. de Capmany, op. cit., II, p. 5 (append.)
23. W. G. Perrin, *British Flags*, Cambridge, 1922, p. 23
24. A. de Capmany, op. cit., II, p. 101
25. M. de Veciana, op. cit., II, p. 28
26. A. Rovira i Virgili, *Histaria Nacional de Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1922, IV,p.426
- 27 J. Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, Saragossa, 1610, II, cxxxiv 28 Martin de Alpartil, Aragonese from the neighbourhood of Saragossa, in his *Chronil:a actitatorum* (edit. F. Ehrle, Paderborn, 1906), says on several occasions Tspani et Cathalani, when referring to the subjects of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon.
- 29 N. Antonio, in his *Bibliot. Hisp. Vetus* (Madrid, 1783-88) says he was an 'alter Tribonianus for Aragon'.
- 30 Bernardini Gomez, *De vita et rebus gestis Iacobi I, Regis Aragonensis*, Valencia, 1582
31. A. Bastero, in *La Crusca Provenfale* (Rome, 1724), publishes a document written in Catalan by the municipality of Cagliari (Sardinia) in 1718, and quotes his contemporary, the Italian Angelo Rocca, as saying in a book then published 'sun autem duae precipual in ea Insula [Sardinia] lingua, una in Civitates. . . fere lingua Tarraco. . . vel Catalana'. Even nowadays, the Sardinian terms used for trade, navigation and professions are of Catalan origin; and in the town of Alguero, the Catalan language is still

spoken. (See A. Griera, *Bull. de Dialect. Catalana*, Barcelona, 1932, XIX, P.259). In 1565, the new municipal laws were translated into Catalan, to make them comprehensible to the people of towns and villages.

32. M. Madramany, *Nobleza de Aragon*, Valencia, 1788, p. 281

33. I quote from A. F. Calvert's *Spanish Arms and Armour*, London, 1907, p. 6: 'Although experts consider that Italy set the fashion in the craft during the Middle Ages, it is by no means certain that Barcelona did not, at some periods, assume the lead. Swords, as in the days of the Cresars, continued to be exported to Italy from Catalonia through the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. . .' and later, p. 34: 'As Aragon seems in all improvements in armour to have kept well ahead of the rest of the world, we need not be surprised to find there an example of what was evidently a fashionable style in Europe generally.'

34. M. Mila i Fomanals, *op. cit.*, p. 161

35. M. Mila i Fontanals, *op. cit.*

36. C. A. Gidel, (*op. cit.*, p. 7), writes: 'Provensal, Limousine and Catalane, those were the diverse names given to the language of the troubadours.' Modern Spanish philologists, led by Ramon Menendez Pidal, now maintain that Catalan is a Peninsular language; against this view W. Meyer-Lubke (*Das Katalanische*, Heidelberg, 1925) 163 supports the biological theory of its common origin with Provençal. W. J. Entwistle, in *The Spanish Language* (London, 1936, p. 94) writes: 'For the sake of simplicity I have made the comparison of the three languages (Spanish, Provençal and Catalan) on the basis of phonology and morphology alone. Naturally, they can be compared in respect of vocabulary, word-formation or syntax also, and the resemblance of Catalan to Provençal would be striking'.

CHAPTER 3

1 It is worth mentioning that Valencia was inhabited by Mohammedans only, when the army of King Jaume I recovered it. The Spanish philologist, Sr. Menendez Pidal, explains this by the fact that, after the death of El Cid (the Castilian hero who had recovered Valencia in 1094) his widow, Doña Jimena, abandoned the town to the Africans in 1102; all the Christians of Valencia followed the Cid's widow to Castile, and the town was burned. (*El Idioma Espanol* . . . p. 40)

2 J. Finn, *Sephardim or the History of the Jews in SPain and Portugal*, London, 1841, p. 352

3 J. Torres i Bages, *La TradiciO Catalana*, Barcelona, 1892, p. 255

4 Toledo had a 'Society of Translators' under Archbishop Raymond (1130-1150), formed by converted Jews who were well acquainted with Arabic; the method by which Arabic texts were translated into Latin, was interlinear word-by-word translation, irrespective of the context of the original. It was from these translations that all the languages of Western Europe acquired such words as alchimia, alcohol, cipher, etc. In those years, Jews and Christians were leaving Cordova, where the Almohade Caliphs had introduced the orthodox reactionary movement of later Islam. Among the early scholars who visited Toledo before the 'Society of Translators' was founded, was, it is said, Adelard of Bath. (See D. Campbell, *Arabian Medicine*, London, 1926, p. 137)

5 The Genoese writer, C. Targa, says that 'this capitulation was the rule adhered to of their own free will by almost all those nations of the Christian world which were engaged in maritime trade' (*Ponderazioni sopra la Contrattazione Maritima*, Trieste, 1805, p. 395), and the French jurist, B. M. Emerigon (*Traite des Assurances et des Contrats*, Marseilles, 1783, I, p. viii) states that 'the decisions made in the Consulat de Mar, are based on the rights of man; that is why they obtained the consent of all nations. In spite of a Gothic flavour sometimes found in them, the spirit of justice and equity always prevails in them.' A. Vinnius, quoted by S. Bove, *op. cit.*, p. 304, stated in the XVII th century: 'The majority of maritime laws valid to-day in Spain, Italy, France, and England, have been taken from the Consulat de Mar.' Up to the promulgation of the first Commercial Code by Napoleon I in 1807, the old maritime law of Barcelona was almost universally accepted in Western 'Europe.

6. Barcelona had obtained the right to appoint Consuls in 1266, Genoa in 1267,

Narbonne in 1278, Venice in the fourteenth century, and England in 1486, when Henry VI introduced the Consulate of Pisa. In the fifteenth century, fifty-five Consuls supervised Catalan interests throughout the civilized world of that time. It is interesting to note that at the middle of the eighteenth century France had no more than forty, England had thirtysix, and Spain twenty-two.

7. R. P. Hedyot, *Dictionnaire dej Ordres Religieux*, Paris, 1863, II, p. 931

8. The traditional activities of the Friars of Mercy continued through the centuries during which Catalonia was an independent country. In 1568, when Catalonia and Castile were under the same king, Philip II, Matias Papiol was elected General of the Order; the Pope, however, refused his recognition, and Papiol died of sorrow. The Pope then forced the Friars of Mercy to submit to Dominican-that is, Castilian-control, and in 1574, when the Order was convened in Guadalajara, a Castilian, Francisco de' Torres, was elected General. Thereafter the activities of the Order of Mercy slowed down until they reached virtual extinction; but even then the Order rendered a major service to humanity and to Spanish culture, ransoming from slavery the greatest of all Spanish writers and thinkers, Miguel de Cervantes, who had been captured and enslaved by Argeline corsairs. Cervantes has left an imperishable testimony of his gratitude to the Order of Mercy and to Fr. Jordi d'Olivar who, together with Fr.J. Gil, secured his freedom in 1580, after five years of servitude. In *El Trato de Argel* and in *Los Banos de Argel* Cervantes has paid homage to the 'admirable Order of Mercy' and stressed his devotion to the Virgin of Montserrat, shrine' of the Order.

9. J. Torres i Bages, *op. cit.* p. 255

CHAPTER 4

1 For a good account of the introduction of democracy in Catalonia, see E. S. Procter, *The Development of the Catalan 'Corts' in the Thirteenth Century*. (Homenatge a Rubio i Lluich, Barcelona, 1936, p. 525)

2. A. de Capmany, *Prctticay Estilo de Celebrar Cortes*, Madrid, 1821, pp. 56 and 180. As early as 1169 popular representation had been admitted in the Cortes of Castile.

3. M. Mary-Lafon, *Histoire du Midi de la France*, Paris, 1845, III, p. 296

4. From now on the term 'Catalan' is used for the old Provençal-Catalan language. Provence had already lost the conditions requisite for the development of her dialect.

5. Of Lull's literary masterpiece *Blanquerna*, Allison Peers wrote in his English 164 translation, London, 1926, p. 20: 'It is a century older than Froissart's *Chronicles*, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and Wyclif's translation of the Bible, and a full two centuries older than Caxton, Malory and Commins. Two hundred and fifty years separate it from the masterpiece of Rabelais, which occasionally resembles it in minor detail. In Spain, Lull is roughly contemporary with Alfonso the Wise and Juan Manuel, but was older than almost all the men who are commonly spoken of as the founders of Spanish [i.e. Castilian] prose.' In *Ramon Lull*, London, 1929, p. 167, the same writer says: 'Even in Italy, where genius flowered early, though Dante was almost Lull's contemporary, Boccaccio and Petrarch were not born till about the time of his death. These facts once realized, *Blanquerna* becomes a masterpiece, not only of Catalan literature, but of European, and its intrinsic merits stand out the more strikingly by reason of its early date.' *Blanquema* is the first romance written in any vernacular language; in it Ramon Lull describes his ideal type of society. *The Book of the Friend and the Beloved*, a masterpiece of mystical literature, forms part of the novel.

6. The oldest documents written in Catalan which have reached our time are the *Homilies d'Organya* of the twelfth century. For the study of Catalan prose in the first part of the thirteenth century we have another important work in the *Commemorations of Pere Albert* (comments on the Catalan law *Usatges*). Between these *Commemorations* and Lull's works, that is, between the beginning of the thirteenth century and its last third, we have the *Chronicle of King Jaume I*, written shortly after the middle of the century.

7. J. H. Probst, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Munster, 1914, III, p. III

8. O. Denk, *Eiriführung in die Geschichte der altcatalanischen Literatur*, Munich, 1893, p. 198
9. Among the ten clauses of his Petition to the General Council of Vienna, he planned 'reforming the science of medicine by exalting experience and experiment at the expense of authority'. (See Allison Peers, *Ramon Lull*, p. 352)
10. See, for instance, the complete lack of understanding shown by the otherwise intelligent Spanish scholar B. C. Feyj60 in his *Cartas Eruditas y Curiosas*, Madrid, 1781, II, p. 181.
11. J. H. Probst, *op. cit.*, p. 10
12. *Obres de Ramon Lull*, Palma, 1906, VIII, p. 549. See also Allison Peers, *Ramon Lull*, p. 53
13. *Doctrina Pueril*, *Obres*, III, p. I 13
14. *op. cit.*, III, p. 209
15. 15 J. Torres i Bages, *op. cit.*, p. 316
16. *Introductorium Artis Demonstrativae*, in *Hist. litter. de la France*, XII, p. 114
17. J. Torres i Bages, *op. cit.*, p. 323
18. *Llibre de ContemplaciO de Deu tot Poderos i de la CreaciO del Mon.* (MSS. of the Barcelona University published in part by J. Torres i Bages, *op. tit.*p.336
19. *Liber de Contemplatione*, edit. Maguntiae, 1721-42, IV, p. 298
20. *Questiones per artem demonstrativam*, edit. Lyons, 1491, question 153
21. See, for instance, L. Ulloa, *Ch.;~topher Colomb Catalan*, Pans, 1927. See also S. Bove, *El Beat Ramon Lu/t i el descobriment d' America* in *Rev. Luliana*, Barcelona, 1902, p. I I
22. L. Ulloa, *op. tit.*, p. 84
23. This book is now lost, but the erudite Spanish bibliographer Nicolas Antonio, mentions it in the seventeenth century. See also M. F. de Navarrete, *Disertaci6n sobre la Historia de la Ndutica*, Madrid, 1846, p. 47
24. J. Winsor, *Christopher Columbus*, Cambridge, 1892, p. 93
25. M. F. de Navarrete *op. cit.* p. 4
26. A. T. Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford*, Oxford, 1923, II, p. 226
27. A. de Humboldt, *Cristobal ColOn y el descubrimiento de America*, Madrid 1892, II, p. 146
28. *Liber de Contemplationtl*, chap. 129 and 291. See also R. Pascual *Descubrimiento de la aguja ndutica, de la situacion de la America y del arte de navegar*, Madrid, 1789
29. A. de Capmany, *Memorias HlstOricas*, Madrid, 1792, III, p. 72
30. *Super psalmum quicumque vult* (in *Hist. Litter. de la France*, XXIII, p. 144)
31. *Blanquerna*, English translation by E. Allison Peers, London, 1925, p. 408.
32. T. S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII*, London, 1933, p. 226
33. See, among others, M. Menendez Pelayo, *Arnaldo de Vilanova, Medico Catalan del siglo XIII*, Madrid, 1879; P. Diepgen, *Arnald von Villanova*, Berlin, 1909; H. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, Berlin, 1908, II, p. 1291-1327; and E. Lalande, *Arnaud de Villeneuve, sa vie et ses oevres*, Paris, 1896.

34. MSS Library of Carpentras, Agrimensure (Catalogue of C. G. Lambert, Paris, 1862)
35. P. Dieppen, op. cit., p. 18
36. P. Dieppen, op. cit., p. 25
37. H. Finke, op. cit., I, p. 104
38. J. A. van der Linden, *Selecta medica et ad ea exercitationis Batavae*, Leyden, 1656, -I, p. 90
39. F. H. Garrison, *Histo'ry of Medicine*, London, 1929, p. 163
40. A. de los Rios, *Estudios Históricos, Políticos y Literarios sobre los Judios de España*, Madrid, 1848
41. E. Lalande, op. cit., p. 3
42. E. de Mondeville, *Chirurgie de . . .* edit. Nicaise, Paris, 1893 165
43. E. Nicaise, *La Grande Chirurgie de G~y de Chauliac*, Paris, 1890
44. C. Meaux Saint-Marc, *L'Ecole de Salerne*, Paris, 1880, p. v
45. E. Nicaise, op. cit., p. xlv
46. E. Nicaise, op. cit., p. xlv
47. In an arbitral commission formed in London in 1303 to settle the quarrels between Philip I of France and Edward II of England, there were appointed, together with the representatives of bishops, noblemen, towns and harbours, 'différents autres habitants de Genes, Catalogne, Espagne, Germanie, Zelande, Frise, Danemark et Norvege' (A. de Capmany, op. cit. I, part 2, p. 141). Also, King Edward II in a chart of privileges to foreigners, stresses that 'Circa bonum omnium mercatorum subscriptorum Regnorum, terrarum et Provinciarum; videlicet Alemaniae, Franciae, Hispaniae, Portugaliae, Provinciae, Cathaloniae, Ducati nostri Aquitaniae' (T. Rymer, *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae*, etc., London, 1821, II, part III, p. 15) 'In a truce between Edward III and Philip of Valois in 1340 it is said: 'Et soient auxit compris dans les dites treves, Ly Espagniel, Ly Catalayn, Ly Geneveys, Ly Provincial, Ly Esvesque, et les Chapitres de Caumbrey, Ly Chasteaus en Chaumbreis, et tute Ly Chaumbresin' (Rymer, op. tit., VI, p. 84). Edward III granted his protection to the Catalan merchants in a document signed in Westminster, 5 October 1353 (Rymer, op. cit. Previously he had signed: 'susceptimus in protectionem et defensionem nostram specialem universos et singulos fideles Mercatores de partibus Hispaniae, Catalauniae et Majoricarum, ac aliis partibus veniendo . . .' (Rymer, op. cit., II, p. 1120).

48. Barcelona was the first town to organize in its *Taula de Canvi*, an official banking centre in 1401, together with the first stock exchange. The *Llotges*, those dignified Gothic edifices which we can still see in Valencia, Barcelona, Perpignan, Tortosa and Majorca, were of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but trade was already blossoming profusely in Lull's and Vilanova's lifetime. The maritime insurances were initiated in Barcelona. The oldest document referring to them was dated in Barcelona in 1435. (For Catalan mercantile and financial skill see C. Pi Sunyer, *L'aptitud economica de Catafunya*, Barcelona, 1929.)

CHAPTER 5

- 1 J. Rey Pastor, *La Ciencia y la Técnica en el descubrimiento de America*, Buenos Aires, 1942, p. 60
2. A. de Humboldt, op. cit., I, p. 146
3. E. Serra i Rafols, *Els Catalans de Mallorca a les Illes Canaries* (Hom. A Rubio i Uuch, Barcelona, 1936, III, p. 207)

4. La Plainte Catholique Adressee a Ia Majestt! de Notre Souverain, Amsterdam, 1641, p. 93., In the Europe of that time, this form of government was not merely uncommon but non-extant, apart from the traditional and remote democracy of Iceland and that of the Basques. To give only one example, we quote the description of Milan during the rule of the Visconti family in the latter part of the fourteenth century, as given by J. Burckhardt (*The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, London, 1928, p. 12): 'The most complete and instructive type of the tyranny of the fourteenth century is to be found unquestionably among the Visconti of Milan, from the death of the Archbishop Giovanni onwards (1354). The family likeness which shows itself between Bernabo and the worst of the Roman Emperors is unmistakable; the most important public object was the prince's boarhunting; the terrified people were forced to maintain 5,000 boar-hounds, with strict responsibility for their health and safety. The taxes were extorted by every conceivable sort of compulsion; seven daughters of the prince received a dowry of 100,000 gold florins apiece; and an enormous treasure was collected. On the death of his wife (1384) an order was issued "to the subjects" to share his grief, as once they had shared his joy, and to wear mourning for a year.' One may quote in contrast the words of the chronicler Muntaner, who in the fourteenth century said of the Catalan kings: 'I will not call them the masters of their subjects but rather their fellow citizens. Anyone who knows how roughly other kings deal with their vassals, should worship the soil on which the kings of Aragon have set their feet. And if anyone should ask me: "En Muntaner, which are the favours that the Lords of Aragon bestow on their subjects in a better fashion than others do?" my answer is: firstly, that they govern their noblemen, knights, citizens, villagers and peasants more fairly and justly than any other lords in the world. Further, that everyone may increase his riches without fear of being despoiled against reason and justice; this is not the behavior of the other lords of the other world.' (from *Cronica Catalonia de Ramon Muntaner*. Edit Barcelona, 1860). See also the English translation by Lady Goodenough, London, 1920, I, p. 53)

5. The charter of foundations says 'ut nec potissi menostros fideles et subditos pro investigandis scientiis nationes peregrinas expetere, nec in alienis ipsos oporteat regionibus mendicare'. (J. Villanueva, *Viage literario a las Iglesias de Espana*, Madrid, 1803-52, XVI, p. 106)

6 H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, Oxford, 1885, II, p.

7 Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II, p. 888

8 Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II, p. 90

9. F. Baker, "Bull, John Hopkins Hosp.", Baltimore, 1909, XX, p. 329.

10. 1A. de Capmany, *op. cit.*, I, p. 27 166

11. R. Muntaner, *op. cit.*

12. Letter in Coroleu, *Documents hist. catalans del segle XIV*, Barcelona, 1889

13. F. Eiximenis, *Tractat del Regiment de Princesps e de Comunitats*, edit. Barcelona, 1904

14. Eiximenis, *op. cit.*, Chap. 400

15. Eiximenis, *op. cit.*, Chap. 154

16. J. Torres i Bages, *op. cit.*, p.528

17. R. P. F. Gazulla, *Hist. de la falsa bula a nombre del papa Gregorio XI, inventada por el dominico fray Nicolas Aymerich contra las Doctrinas Lulianas*, Palma, 1910

18. A. Peers, *Ramon Lull*, London, 1929, p. 380

19. A. de los Rios, *Estudios Hist., Polito y Lit., sobre los Judios de Espana*, Madrid, 1848, p. 27

20. A. de los Rios, *Historia de los Judios de Espana*, Madrid, 1875. This authority on the Spanish Jews says that 'at the same time as the Tortosa assembly took place, a Council was summoned in the Spanish town of Zamora by the Archbishop of Santiago, Rodrigo, during which the bishops of Soria, Ciudad-Rodrigo, Plasencia, Avila and others, far from giving way to theological discussion, thought

better to direct all their efforts to the destruction of the descendants of Judah who had remained firm in their doctrines and beliefs' (II, p. 108). He also tells us that the decision of the bishops achieved practically no results 'because the methods employed by them in Zamora differed from those of Tortosa' (II,II2).

21. Massacres of Jews had occurred in almost all the countries of Europe in various times and circumstances. In 1313 a great number of Jews were burned in France, the persecution being especially cruel in Bordeaux, Agen and Foix. Before that date, Toledo saw the first great slaughter, in 1108, and France the second in the time of King Philippe Auguste. (A. de los Rios, Estudios . . . p. 26)

22. The last 'witch'-Anna Maria Schwagelin-was beheaded in Germany in 1775, and in Switzerland (Glarus) in 1782. The *Malleus Maleficarum*, written by the German Dominicans Sprenger and Kraemer and published in 1487-88, supported the view that witches and people possessed by the devil should be burned. Thousand of lives were lost in Germany, Switzerland, and Alsace-Lorraine and Burgundie. (See G. Zilboorg and S. Henry, *A History of Medical Psychology*, New York, 1941, P.151)

23. G. Zilboorg and S. Henry, op. cit., epilogue by Rene Semelaigne

24. Bernat Metge, *Lo Somni*, Barcelona, 1924, p. 25

CHAPTER 6

1. H. J. Chaytor, *A History of Aragon and Catalonia*, London, 1933, p. 203

2. 'I made you a king out of nothing, and now you pay me by abandoning me in the desert. Your life will be very short, and your descendants will not reach the fourth generation.' Both predictions were fulfilled. (See P. Tomich, *Histories e Conquestes de Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1495, 1886, p. 276; B. Boades, op. cit., p. 449; Anonymous, *Laft del Comte 'd'Urgell*, Barcelona, 1889, p. 55)

3. M. de Montaigne, *Essai XII, Apologie de Ramon de Sabonde* (see any edition of Montaigne)

4. R. de Sibiude, *La Theologie Naturelle de Raymon Sebon*, trad, Michel Segneur de Montaigne, Paris, 1568

5. G. Compayre, *De Ramondo Sebunde as de Theologiae Naturalis Libro*, Paris, 1872, J. H. Probst, *Le Lulisme de Raymon de Sabonde*, Toulouse, 1912; J. Schenderlain, *Die philosophischen Anschauungen des Raimund v. Sabunde*, Leipzig, 1898

6. S. Bove, *Assaig critic sobre'l ftlosof En Ramon de Sibiude*, Barcelona, 1896

7. J. A. Comenius, *Oculus Fidei, Theologia Naturalis sive Liber Creaturaum*, Amsterdam, 1661

8. Bove, op. cit., P 124

9. M. Menendez Pelayo, *La ciencia espanola*, Madrid, 1880, p. 334

10. S. Bove, loco cit., p. 136

11. B. G. Feyj60, *Cartas Eruditas y Curiosas*, Madrid, 1781, II, p. 189

12. P. Z. Gonzalez, *Historia de la Filosofia*, Madrid, 1878, II, p. 345

13 S. Bove, loco cit., p. 101

14 A. de Humboldt, op. cit., I, p. 146

15. J. Rey Pastor, op. cit., p. 52

16. 'The Portuguese, at this time, had the reputation of being the most expert seamen in Europe, or at least they divided it with the Catalans.'(J. Winsor, op. cit., p. 85)

17. M. Raynouard, *Des Troubadours et des Cours d'Amour*, Paris, 1817 16 Chaytor, op. cit., p. 275

18 Chaytor, op. cit., p. 275

19. In 1833, a small book was found in a convent in Vic which in Roman ciphers gives the date of 1468 as that of its printing (J. Ripoll Vilamajor, *Barcelonafue la primera ciudad de Esp. donde se introdujo la imprenta*, Vich, 1833). C. Haebler thinks that this date is unacceptable and due to a printing mistake (*Bibliografia Iberica del siglo XV, La Haya- Leipzig, 1903, p. 194*); but careful examination of the book. . . *grammaticas leges 167 litterarisimi autoris Bertholomei Mates. . .* by several experts has given evidence of the accuracy of the printing (see V. Oliva, *Ellibro espanol, Barcelona, 1930, p. II*).

20. One of the representatives of Alfons sent to the Council of Constance was the Castilian Gonzalo de Santa Maria. Two other Castilians, Hernando Velazquez de Cuellar and Martin de Torres, were nominated by Alfons, Viceroy of Sicily. (See F. Soldevila, *Historia de Catalunya, Barcelona, 1935, II, p. 44*)

21. This was the first time that social discord was stimulated by foreign interests in order to undermine the national unity of the Catalans and their fidelity to the interests of their country as a whole. Since that time any revival of the Catalan spirit has been followed by a wave of social disturbances.

22. The Castilians Diego L6pez de Haro, Alfonso de Silva, and Antonio de Fonseca were appointed Aragonese Ambassadors to Italy. Juan de Rivero and Juan Arias were sent as Ambassadors to the court of France, to discuss with Charles VIII the question of the Catalan Counties of Rossello and Cerdainya. Several Castilians were also nominted Viceroy of Sicily and Sardinia.

23. The eminent Spanish economist Arias Miranda thinks that 'the Catholic Monarchs were responsible by their lack of economical insight, for the reduction of newly-born Spain to inferior conditions, thus rendering her unable to compete with other nations whose economy was better cared for'. As example he quotes the decline of the Castilian fair of Medina del Campo and of the textile industry of Toledo and Segovia (*Examen criticohistorico del injujuo que tuvo en el comercio, industria y poblaciOn de Espana su dominaciOn en America, Madrid, 1854*). A. de Capmany, on the other hand, believes the economy of Castile to have been as yet undeveloped when the Catholic Monarchs ascended the throne (see *op. cit. III, p. 113*).

24. 'Religion was the only common element among the Spanish provinces. Ferdinand and Isabella created a religious unity in order to build up political unity.' (J. A. de los Rios, *Estudios Historicos . . . p. 166*)

25. 'What caused most surprise were the facts that sons were made responsible for the faults of their parents; that the accuser was kept unknown and was not confronted with his victim. . . all this being contrary to ancient custom, (Mariana, *Historia General de Espaiia, Madrid, 1819, XII, p. 340*)

26. J. A. Llorente, *Anales de la InquisiciOn, Madrid, 1812, I, Appen. 9*. T. Hope in his *Torquemada (London, 1939, p. III)* writes: 'Once it had been established, there was no serious opposition to the Inquisition in Castile. The country had for so long been accustomed to tyranny of one sort or another, the tyranny of favourites under weak kings, the tyranny of feudal overlords, the continuously changing tyrannies of civil war, that the old evil in a new cloak blazoned with the Cross and the Crown to both of which it was willing to be loyal. . . .'

27. J. A. Llorente, *op. cit., I, p. 56*

28. *op. cit., p. 78*

29. *op. cit., p. 92*

30. A. de los Rios. *op. cit.,*

31. J. A. Llorente, *op. cit., p. 93*

32. *op. cit., p. 96*

33. F. Carreras Candi, *L'InquisiciO barceloniana, etc. (An. Inst, Est. Catalans), Barcelona, 1911, p. 130*

34. J. A. Llorente, *op. cit., p. 159*

35. S. Sanpere i Miquel, op. cit., p. 24

36. op. cit., p. 47

37 Deliberacions tk 1490 a 1491, fol. !J6, V (Municipal Archive of Barcelona)

38 L. Ulloa, Christophe Colomb Catalan, Paris, 1927, p. 40

39 S. Sanpere i Miquel, op. cit., p.

40. The same dismissal of democratically elected authorities as in the municipality of Barcelona was also carried out by Ferdinand in the Catalan Generalitat in 1488.

41. Catalans had been established in Seville from an early date in the thirteenth century. King Alfonso the Wise of Castile had granted them several privileges.

42. A. de Capmany, op. cit., II, p. 113

43. S. Sanpere i Miquel, op. cit., p. 79

44. M. Carbonell, Croniques d'Espanya, Barcelona, 1547, p. 255

CHAPTER 7

1. J. A. de los Rios. op. cit., p.168

2. See the letter of Erasmus to Thomas More, published in *Epistolarum Erasmi*, edit. London, 1642, col. 640, in which he says that 'Vives will overshadow the name of Erasmus'.

3. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Rev. Hispan.*, LXXXI, 1933, p. 305

4. Cardinal F. Ximenez de Cisneros was born in 1436, and was sent to the University of Salamanca. From there he proceeded to Rome, and obtained a Papal Bull promising him the first valuable benefice which should become vacant in the diocese of Toledo. When the vacancy occurred Ximenez took possession of the living, but the Archbishop of that time, Alfonso Carrillo, had destined the post for a follower of his own, and when Ximenez refused to give it up the Archbishop put him in prison, where he remained for six years. Not long after his release he joined the Franciscans and led a life of severe ascetism. 168 When Talavera was made Archbishop of Granada, Ximenez was made confessor to the Queen; he then worked hard at a much-needed reform of the Spanish monasteries. It was with difficulty that Ximenez was persuaded to accept the Archbishopric of Toledo. In 1508 the new University of Alcala, largely his handiwork, was completed. There, forty-two professors and lecturers were appointed to teach, and at the end of twenty years there were as many as 7,000 students. About the same time Ximenez was engaged in the publication of the great Complutensian Polyglot, 'by which Ximenez has for ever earned a first place among Biblican critics' (P. Meyrick, *The Church in Spain*, London, 1892, p. 376). It consisted of six volumes folio, and its compilation took fifteen years. We know that Ximenez founded Alcala University with the intention of realizing Ramon Lull's proposal at the Council of Vienne (see p. 56). Ximenez was also responsible for the introduction of Lull's doctrines in Alcala by appointing one of Lull's biographers, Nicholas de Pax, professor of Lullian science there in 1518. Ximenez founded also a Lullian library and subsidized an edition of Lull's works. In spite of Ximenez' love of power, which drove him to the agitated life of politics, and more particularly in spite of the burning of 2,000 Arabic MSS at Granada and of the harsh treatment he gave to the Basques, his Franciscan devotion made him in many cases an admirer, and always an accurate observer, of the Catalan mode of life. The translation into Castilian of Vicenç Ferrer Treatise of the Spiritual Life was made by his order (see p. 80). From its foundation the University of Alcala surpassed Salamanca in tolerance and humanistic sympathies. The first of Spanish humanists, Antonio de Lebrixa, taught there and when he died his chair was offered to Vives (see p. 116) in 1522; this was five years after Ximenez death, proving that the interest of Alcala in the Catalans had not died with its founder. In 1547, the greatest of all Spanish writers, Miguel de Cervantes, was born in Alcala; he, too, preserved all his life a deep appreciation of the Catalans and their ways. In the second part of *Don Quixote* he wrote: 'Barcelona, the archive of courtesy, the asylum of foreigners, the hospital of the poor, the country of the valiant, the avenger of the wronged, the pleasant

interchange of finn friendships, and unique in its position and its beauty.' Similar tributes are to be found in his *Las dos doncellas* and in *Persiles y Segismunda* from which we take the following: 'The polite Catalans are terrible when offended, but gentle when calm; they are people who will readily give their lives for their honour, and to defend them both, they are superior to themselves, which is as much as to say they are superior to any other nation in the world.' Cervantes is known to have fought in the battle of Lepanto under the orders of the Catalan En Miquel de Montcada. In Alcala was also born the greatest of the modern Spanish friends of the Catalans, Don Manuel Azana, late president of the Spanish Republic and one of the Castilians who consented without rancour to the resurrection of Catalan government within a Spanish Republic.

5. A. Bonilla San Martin, op. cit., p. 153
6. *Le Petit Bleu*, Brussels, 6 May 1897
7. Vives, *Opera Omnia*, edit. Mayans, Valencia, 1782-90, I, p. 166
8. F. Watson, *Les relacions de Joan Lluís Vives i Anglaterra*, Barcelona, 1918, p. 256 (published in *Arxius de l'Inst. de Ciències*, III, n. I)
9. *Satellitum animi, sive vel Symbola*, Lugduni, 1544
10. The Valencian physician, J. M. Poblacion, was in charge of the treatment; it is probable he used mercury. Another Valencian, Gaspar Torrella, had described for the first time in history both disease and treatment in his *De Pudendagra seu tk morbo Gallico*, Rome, 1497
11. St. Matthew xv, 14
12. S. Bove, *Ramon de Sibiutk*, Barcelona, 1896, p. 113
11. F. Watson, *Vives On Education*, Cambridge, 1913. p. ciii
14. A. Nebe, *Vives, Alsted, Comenius in ihrem Verhiilnis;:u einander*, Elberfeld, 1891
15. P. Hanse, *Die Padagogik des Spaniers J. L. Vives und sein Einfluss atif J.Amos Comenius*. Erlangen, 1890
16. W. Roscher, *System der Armenpflege und Armenpolitik*, Stuttgart, 1894
17. F. Ludwig Weitzmann, *Die so;:iale Bedeutung des Humanisten Vives*, Berne, 1905
18. F. R. Salter, *Some Early Tracts on Poor Relief*, London, 1926
19. F. Watson, op. cit., p. xciv
20. op. cit., p. xcvi
21. op. cit., p. xcvi
22. op. cit., p. xcvi
23. G. Zilboorg and G. W. Henry, *History of Medical Psychology*, New York, 1941, p. 189
24. A. Teissier, *Les Bloges des Hommes Sfavants*, Utrecht, 1696, I, p. 115
25. Zilboorg and Henry, op. cit., p. 189
26. B. de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, edit. Madrid, 1875
27. Vives, *Opera*, edit. Mayans, VII, p. 222
28. F. Watson, op. cit., p. cviv

29 Bonilla San Martin, op. cit., p. 460

30 Recently, *De Concordia* and *De Anima et Vita* have been published in Spanish, the former in Mexico and the latter in Argentina.

31 Bonilla San Martin, op. cit., p. 263

32 Vives, *Opera*, edit. Mayans, I, p. 47 169

CHAPTER 8

1 H. Allwoerden, *Historia Michaelis Serveti*, Helmstedt, 1727

2 R. Willis, *Serve/us and Calvin*, London, 1877, p. 12

3 H. Tollin, *Michel Servet, Portrait-Character*, Paris, 1879, p.30

4 The British Museum has a copy of the first edition.

5 D. Cuthbertson, *A Tragedy of/he R~formation*, Edinburgh, 1912, p. 20

6 A. Gordon, *The Personality of Michel Servetus*, Manchester, 1910, p. 15

7 C. Richet, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1879, p. 6

8 Johannes Guinterius, *Anatomicarum Institutionum ex Galeni sententia libriiiii*, Basle, 1539, preface, p. 7

9 *Syruporum universa ratio*, Paris, 1537, p. 27

10 P. Gener, *Servet*, Barcelona, 1911, p. 127

11 On 24 May 1532, the Spanish Inquisition had persecuted Servet; in a meeting of the Council held in Medina del Campo the supreme authorities transmitted to the Inquisitor of Aragon two letters accusing Servet of heresy. The Inquisition ignored from which part of the Kingdom of Aragon Servet came; they recommended that he be called to Spain in order to be able to imprison him (M. Bataillon, *Bull. Hispan.*, 1925, XXVII, p. 5 and 151).

12 Aaron Ward, in his *An Impartial History of Michael Servetus burnt alive at Geneva for Heresy* (London, 1724) p. 30, says: 'That unhappy physician having resolved to retire to Naples, where he hoped to practise physics among his countrymen. . . .' The authority of the Spanish Inquisition was not firmly established in Naples. Paul Sarpi in his *History of the Inquisition* (English translation printed in London, 1639) p. 13, writes: 'But the King and his royal Councel, would have the Inquisition to be brought into the Kingdom of Naples, and subjected to that of Spain, as also Sicilie, Sardinia, and the Indies; and the Court of Rome would have it depending from it, alleadging therefore, besides the Pontificall spirituall Authority, the Temporall superiority which the Pope hath in that Kingdome. In the years 1547 Don Frederico [?] di Toledo being Vice-roy there, would overcome these difficulties and came to execution; which thing excited such a commotion and sedition amongst the people, that it was almost grown to a Warre between them and the presidari Spaniards.' The grip of the Spanish Inquisition was never firm in Naples after the violent opposition of the Neapolitans. The Spanish historian Sandoval narrates that Toledo with 2,000 Spanish soldiers and 24 galleys bombarded Naples for three days and later forced the town to pay a fine of 10;000 ducats besides the expenses caused by the insurrection. Charles V was nevertheless obliged to desist from his purpose of establishing the Inquisition in Naples (P. de Sandoval, *Historia de la viday hechos del Emperador Carlos V*, Valladolid, 1604-6, II, chap. XXX).

13 J. Calvin, *Actes du proces de Michel Servet*, 1553, in *Calvini Opera*, Braunschweig, 1863-1900, viii. See also, A. Gachet d'Artigny, *Memoires pour servir l'histoire de Michel Servet*, Paris, 1749, in *Nouveaux Mem. d'histoire*, II, p. 55; and I. G. Sigmond, *The Unnoticed Theories of Servetus*, London, 1824

- 14 De syrurorum . . . p. 36
- 15 See the edition by P. Bagnell of Thoughts on Nature and Religion, London, 1774
- 16 W. Wotton, ReHections upon Ancient and Modern Learning, London, 1694 and 1697, p. 224
- 17 W. Leibnitz, Epistolas ad Diversos, edit. Lipsiae, 1734, p. 379
- 18 J. Douglas, Bibliography Anatom. Spec., London, 1715, p. 189, and 1734, p. 104
- 19 I. G. Sigmond, op. cit.
- 20 Allwoerden, op. cit., p. I I
- 21 R. Willis, William Harvey. A History of the Discovery of the Blood Circulation, London, 1878 (he quotes Mosherim in *Anderweiliger* . . . Ketzger geschrichte, Helmstaedt, 1748)
- 22 E. Morse Wilbur, The two treatises of Servetus on the Triniry, Harvard, 1932, p. xviii; see also Aaron Ward, op. cit.
- 23 C. Dardier, Revue Historique, 1879, X, p. I
- 24 Richet, op. cit.
- 25 W. Wotton, op. cit., p. 231
- 26 It is commonly believed in Spain that even if the discovery were due to Servet, 'the influence of the discovery was slight' (J. Goyanes, Miguel Serveto, Madrid, 1933, p. 8).
- 27 D. F. Fraser-Harris, Bull. Roy. Soc. Med., 1934, XXVII, p. I095
- 28 Quoted by K. J. Franklin, (edit of De venarum ostiolis), Baltimore, 1933, p. 2
- 29 M. Menendez Pelayo, Hist. de Los Heterodoxos Espanoles, Madrid, 1880, II, p. 313
- 30 D. de Goes, De Rerum Hispaniis, Colonia, 1602, p. 25

CHAPTER 9

- 1 M. Bataillon, Erasmus et l'Espagne, Paris, 1933, p. 592
- 2 A. Morel-Fatio, Etudes sur l'Espagne, Paris, 1925, IV, p. 221
- 3 op. cit., p. 270
- 4 op. cit., p. 221
- 5 op. cit., p. 259
- 6 It is surprising to find the great Vitoria among the persecutors of Erasmus's works. In his Relectiones (published in 1557 in Lyons) he advocated a humane treatment of the Indians of America and that international moral code which is considered the basis of 170 modern international law.
- 7 Bataillon, op. cit., p. 572. Of Joan de Quintana, the French erudite C. Dardier says that he concealed under his Franciscan cloak ideas more liberal and tolerant than those current in his time. Op. cit., p. II.
8. op.cit., p. 540 .
9. op.cit, p 450

10. J. Sans Barutell, Coleccion de documentos ineditos para la historia de España, Madrid, 1843, p. 184

11 His family had given several great sailors to the navy, among them Gálcer de Requesens, the Admiral of Ferdinand the Catholic, and Lluís de Requesens who in 1516 defeated the Turkish Admiral Soliman.

12 P. Geyl, The Revolt of the Netherlands, London, 1933, p. 136

13 op. cit., p. 102

14 L. P. Gachard, Correspondence de Philippe II, Brussels 1848-79, II, p.217

15 T. M. Lindsay, History of the Reformation, Edinburgh, 1934, p. 263

16 L. P. Gachard, op. cit., p. 427

17 Acad. de est. hist. Soc. Valladolid, Madrid, 1930, II (chapter La Armada Invencible)

18 op. cit.

19 Acad. de est. hist. soc. Valladolid, op. cit.

20 C. Coloma, Guerra de los Estados Baxos, Antwerp, 1625, p. 8

21 N. Feliu de Ja Peña, Anales de Gataluna, Barcelona, 1709

22 Conde de Campomanes, Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos y su fomento, Madrid, 1775

23 A. de Capmany, op. cit., III, P 355

24 S. Venegas, Agonia del tránsito de la muerte, Toledo, 1538

25 J. de Medina, La caridad discreta practicada por los mendigos, Salamanca, 1545

26 V. Talenti, Vita e miracoli del B. Giuseppe Galasanzio, Rome, 1748

27 In 1707, early in the Spanish War of Succession, Philip V had nominated Oms de Santa Pau Viceroy of one of the American possessions. He had been one of the few exceptions among the Catalan nobility who had sponsored the cause of Castile and France during the war. After the Catalan defeat, we do not find any other Catalan appointed for the administration of the American colonies until 1753 when Ferdinand VI nominated Folch de Cardona Viceroy of Nueva Granada.

28 E. Clarke, Letters on Spain, London, 1763, p. 210

29 The Spanish newspaper 'El Eco de España' printed in 1873 the following lines: 'With the advent of the Republic. Spain has become the patrimony of Catalonia. The President of the Executive is a Catalan. The Home Minister is another Catalan: the Minister of Finances is also Catalan. Of the forty-nine provincial governors thirty-two are Catalans. The Catalans cannot be blamed for this. It is the fault of the other Spaniards who allowed it.'

30 B. Blasco Ibañez, Ge que sera la Republique Espagnole, Paris, 1925, p. 53

31 H. Ellis, The Soul of Spain, London, 1908, p. 277

32 W. Frank, Virgin Spain, London, 1926, p. 250