

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND NOTES

CHAPTER I

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. Béranger—Féraud, *La Race Provençale*, Paris, 1883, p. 252).

² E. Littré, *Études 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 inèdit dels Feys d'Armes de Catalunya, acabat l'any 1420*, Barcelona 1873, p. 103)

(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, *Étude Historique sur l'Établissement des Espagnols dans la Septimanie aux VIII et IX siècles*, 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, Jordà, etc; but from an earlier date, the Christian names had been identical as well: Guillem, Gauceran, Ramon, Jofre, Gilabert, etc. (See M. Milà i Fontanals, *De los Trobadores en España*, 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—Catalus de Grao 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 *Castellví*, were from Bourgogne; the *Montcada*, who played such an

The Spirit of Catalonia

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 títols de honor de Catalunya, Rosselló y Cerdanya*, Perpignan, 1628; see also M. de Viciana, *Crónica 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 *Mossèn*, 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: Savartés, Montoliu, Monistrol, Mondar, 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. Menéndez 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. 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. Gén. du Languedoc*, Paris, 1730, I, p. 461.

⁷ M. Milà i Fontanals gives examples of modern Catalan words which were, and still are, used in limited areas of the Languedoc. For instance, the word *vaiet* (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 Trobadores en España*, p. 487.) It is more convincing still to examine the distribution throughout South 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

Bibliography and Notes

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. cu.*, 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*, Prov. and Cat. *pa.*; from Teut. *helm* (Goth. *hilms*): French *haume*, Span. *yelmo*, Ital. *elmo*, Prov. *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, *Eléments 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 Montpellier*, (Montpellier, 1851, i, p. 31) 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 vestres casas et vestras hereditates et venistis mecum populare ad meas terras'. (R. Menéndez Pidal, *op. cit.*, p. 115).

The Spirit of Catalonia

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 for ever 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 Pétrarque*, 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'.

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

Bibliography and Notes

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 *Archives 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 Guzmán 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 great 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,

The Spirit of Catalonia

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 Médecine Arabe et la Médecine Grecque* (Mém. 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 Guzmán destroyed the Provençal civilization. As an enduring reminder of the crushing of the Albigensian heresy the order of the Rosary was founded following also Guzmán's inspiration.

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

CHAPTER 2

¹J. Millàs Vallicrosa, *Assaig d' Història de les Idees Físiques i Matemàtiques 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. Jaffé, *De arte medica saeculi XII*, Berlin, 1853

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

⁶ A. Germain, *Cartulaire de l'Université de Montpellier*, Montpellier, 1890, I, p. 18

⁷ T. Desbarreaux Bernard, *Bull. des Biblioth.*, 10me série, p. 836

⁸ MSS Biblioth. Vatican., hispanice, 4804, (see Desbarreaux Bernard, *loc. cit.*)

⁹ E. Nicaise, *La Grande Chirurgie de Guy de Chauliac*, Paris, 1890, p. CIII

¹⁰ L. M. Mary-Lafon, *Tableau Hist. et Litt. de la Langue Parlée dans le Midi de la France*, Paris, 1842, p. 122

¹¹ M. Milà i Fontanals, *op. cit.*, p. 335

¹² G. K. Ghesterton, *St. Francis of Assisi*, London, 1923, p. 62

¹⁸ R. de Loi, *Trails of the Troubadours*, London, 1927

¹⁴ M. 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 the 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.*

Bibliography and Notes

- ¹⁷ J. Rovira i Ermengol, *Usatges de Barcelona*, Barcelona, 1933
- ¹⁸ F. Valls i Taberner, *Estudis d'Història Jurídica Catalana*, Barcelona, 1930
- ¹⁹ Published by Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Script.*, VI, p. 112
- ²⁰ A. de Capmany, *Memorias Históricas*, 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.)
- ²⁸ 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, *Història Nacional de Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1922, IV, p. 426
- ²⁷ J. Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, Saragossa, 1610, II, cxxxiv
- ²⁸ Martin de Alpartil, Aragonese from the neighbourhood of Saragossa, in his *Chronica actitatorum* (edit. F. Ehrle, Paderborn, 1906), says on several occasions *Yspani et Cathalani*, when referring to the subjects of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon.
- ²⁹ N. Antonio, in his *Bibliot. Hisp. Vetas* (Madrid, 1783-88) says he was an '*alter Tribonianus* for Aragon'.
- ⁸⁰ Bernardini Gómez, *De vita et rebus gestis Iacobi I, Regis Aragonensis*, Valencia, 1582
- ⁸¹ A. Bastero, in *La Crusca Provençale* (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 Aragón*, 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 Caesars, 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. Milà i Fontanals, *op. cit.*, p. 161
- ³⁵ M. Milà i Fontanals. *op. cit.*
- ³⁶ C. A. Gidel, (*op. cit.*, p. 7), writes: 'Provençal, Limousine and Catalane, those were the diverse names given to the language of the trouba-

The Spirit of Catalonia

dours.' Modern Spanish philologists, led by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, now maintain that Catalan is a Peninsular language; against this view W. Meyer-Lübke (*Das Katalanische*, Heidelberg, 1925) 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. Menéndez 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 Español...* 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 Tradició 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 Mairitima*, Trieste, 1805, p. 395), and the French jurist, B. M. Emérigon (*Traité 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. Bové, *op. cit.*, p. 304, stated in the XVIIth 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

Bibliography and Notes

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 thirty-six, and Spain twenty-two.

⁷ R. P. Hédyot, *Dictionnaire des 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 Baños 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 Rubió i Lluch*, Barcelona, 1936, p. 525)

² A. de Capmany, *Práctica y 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 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

The Spirit of Catalonia

masterpiece, not only of Catalan literature, but of European, and its intrinsic merits stand out the more strikingly by reason of its early date.' *Blanquerna* 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'Organyà* 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, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Munster, 1914, III, p. 111

⁸ O. Denk, *Einführung 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. Feyjóo 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. 113

¹⁴ *op. cit.*, III, p. 209

¹⁵ J. Torres i Bages, *op. cit.*, p. 316

¹⁶ *Introductorium Artis Demonstrativae*, in *Hist. littér. de la France*, XII, p. 114

¹⁷ J. Torres i Bages, *op. cit.*, p. 323

¹⁸ *Llibre de Contemplació de Déu tot Poderós i de la Creació del Món*. (MSS. of the Barcelona University published in part by J. Torres i Bages, *op. cit.*, 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, *Christopher Colomb Catalan*, Paris, 1927. See also S. Bové, *El Beat Ramon Lull i el descobriment d'Amèrica* in *Rea. Luliana*, Barcelona, 1902, p. 11

²² L. Ulloa, *op. cit.*, p. 84

²³ This book is now lost, but the erudite Spanish bibliographer Nicolás Antonio, mentions it in the seventeenth century. See also M. F. de Navarrete, *Disertación sobre la Historia de la Náutica*, 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

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- ²⁷ A. de Humboldt, *Cristóbal Colón y el descubrimiento de América*, Madrid 1892, II, p. 146
- ²⁸ *Liber de Contemplatione*, chap. 129 and 291. See also R. Pascual *Descubrimiento de la aguja náutica, de la situación de la América y del arte de navegar*, Madrid, 1789
- ²⁹ A. de Capmany, *Memorias Históricas*, Madrid, 1792, III, p. 72
- ³⁰ *Super psalmum quicumque vult* (in *Hist. Littér. 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. Menéndez Pelayo, *Arnaldo de Vilanova, Médico Catalán del siglo XIII*, Madrid, 1879; P. Diepgen, *Amald von Villanova*, Berlin, 1909; H. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, Berlin, 1908, II, p. 1291-1327; and E. Lalande, *Amaud de Villeneuve, sa vie et ses oeuvres*, Paris, 1896.
- ³⁴ MSS Library of Carpentras, *Agrimensure* (Catalogue of C. G. Lambert, Paris, 1862)
- ³⁵ P. Diepgen, *op. cit.*, p. 18
- ³⁶ P. Diepgen, *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, *History of Medicine*, London, 1929, p. 163
- ⁴⁰ A. de los Ríos, *Estudios Históricos, Políticos y Literarios sobre los Judíos de España*, Madrid, 1848
- ⁴¹ E. Lalande, *op. cit.*, p. 3
- ⁴² E. de Mondeville, *Chirurgie de . . .* edit. Nicaise, Paris, 1893
- ⁴³ E. Nicaise, *La Grande Chirurgie de Guy de Chauliac*, Paris, 1890
- ⁴⁴ C. Meaux Saint-Marc, *L'École 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 le Bel of France and Edward II of England, there were appointed, together with the representatives of bishops, noblemen, towns and harbours, 'differentes autres habitants de Genes, Catalogne, Espagne, Germanie, Zélande, Frise, Danemark et Norvège' (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 omium 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 dins les dites treves, ly Espagniel, ly Catelayn, ly Genoveys, ly Provincial, ly Esvesque, et les Chapitres de Caumbrey, ly Chasteaus en Chaumbreis, et tute ly Chaumbresin' (Rymer, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 84). Edward III granted his protection to the Catalan merchants in a document signed in Westminster, 5 October 1353 (Rymer, *op. cit.*).

The Spirit of Catalonia

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. 1:20).

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 econòmica de Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1929.)

CHAPTER 5

¹J. Rey Pastor, *La Ciencia y la Técnica en el descubrimiento de América*, Buenos Aires, 1942, p. 60

²A. de Humboldt, *op. cit.*, I, p. 146

³E. Serra i Ràfols, *Els Catalans de Mallorca a les Illes Canaries* (Hom. a Rubió i Lluch, Barcelona, 1936, III, p. 207)

⁴*La Plainte Catholique Adressée a la Majesté de Notre Souverain*, Amsterdam, 1641, p. 93.

In the Europe of that time, this form of government was not merely uncommon but non-existent, 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 Bernabó and the worst of the Roman Emperors is unmistakable; the most important public object was the prince's boar-hunting; 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

Bibliography and Notes

against reason and justice; and this is not the behaviour of the other lords of the world.' (from *Crònica Catalana 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 potissime nostros fideles et subditos pro investigandis scientiis nationes peregrinas expetere, nec in alienis ipsos oporteat regionibus mendicare'. (J. Villanueva, *Viage literario a las Iglesias de España*, Madrid, 1803-52, XVI, p. 106)

⁶ H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, Oxford, 1885, II, p. 87

⁷ Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II, p. 88

⁸ Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II, p. 90

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

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

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 Nicolás Aymerich contra las Doctrinas Lulianas*, Palma, 1910

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

¹⁹ A. de los Rios, *Estudios Hist., Polít. y Lit., sobre los Judíos de España*, Madrid, 1848, p. 27

²⁰ A. de los Ríos, *Historia de los Judíos de España*, 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' (11,112).

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

The Spirit of Catalonia

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 René 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, *La fi 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. Compayré, *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. Bové, *Assaig critic sobre'l filosof En Ramon de Sibiude*, Barcelona, 1896

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

⁸ Bové, *op. cit.*, p. 124

⁹ M. Menéndez Pelayo, *La ciencia española*, Madrid, 1880, p. 334

¹⁰ S. Bové, *loc. cit.*, p. 136

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

¹² P. Z. González, *Historia de la Filosofía*, Madrid, 1878, II, p. 345

¹³ S. Bové, *loc. cit.*, p. 10:

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

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, *Barcelona fué 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 (*Bibliografía Ibérica del siglo XV*, La Haya-Leipzig, 1903, p. 194);

Bibliography and Notes

but careful examination of the book . . . *grammaticas leges litterarissimi auctoris Bertholomei Mates* . . . by several experts has given evidence of the accuracy of the printing (see V. Oliva, *El libro español*, Barcelona, 1930, p. 11).

²⁰ One of the representatives of Alfons sent to the Council of Constance was the Castilian Gonzalo de Santa María. Two other Castilians, Hernando Velázquez de Cuellar and Martin de Torres, were nominated by Alfons, Viceroys of Sicily. (See F. Soldevila, *Història 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 López 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 Rosselló and Cerdanya. Several Castilians were also nominated Viceroys 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 Medula del Campo and of the textile industry of Toledo and Segovia (*Examen crítico-histórico del influjo que tuvo en el comercio, industria y población de España su dominación en América*, 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 Históricos* . . . 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 España*, Madrid, 1819, XII, p. 340)

²⁶ J. A. Llorente, *Anales de la Inquisición*, Madrid, 1812, I, Appen. 9. T. Hope in his *Torquemada* (London, 1939, p. 111) 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 Ríos. *op. cit.*, p. 192

The Spirit of Catalonia

³¹ J. A. Llorente, *op. cit.*, p. 93

³² *op. cit.*, p. 96

³³ F. Carreras Candi, *L'Inquisició 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 de 1490 a 1491*, fol. 86, V (Municipal Archive of Barcelona)

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

⁸⁹ 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, *Cròniques d'Espanya*, Barcelona, 1547, p. 255

CHAPTER 7

¹ J. A. de los Ríos. *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. Ximénez 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 Ximénez 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 Ximénez 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. When Talavera was made Archbishop of Granada, Ximénez was made confessor to the Queen; he then worked hard at a much-needed reform of the Spanish monasteries. It was with difficulty that Ximénez was persuaded to accept the Archbishopric of Toledo. In 1508 the new University of Alcalá, 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 Ximénez was engaged in the publication of the great *Complutensian Polyglot*, 'by which Ximénez has for ever

Bibliography and Notes

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 Ximénez founded Alcalá University with the intention of realizing Ramon Lull's proposal at the Council of Vienne (see p. 56). Ximénez was also responsible for the introduction of Lull's doctrines in Alcalá by appointing one of Lull's biographers, Nicholas de Pax, professor of Lullian science there in 1518. Ximénez formed also a Lullian library and subsidized an edition of Lull's works. In spite of Ximénez' 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 rush 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 Alcalá 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 Ximénez death, proving that the interest of Alcalá in the Catalans had not died with its founder. In 1547, the greatest of all Spanish writers, Miguel de Cervantes, was born in Alcalá; 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 firm 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 Alcalá was also born the greatest of the modern Spanish friends of the Catalans, Don Manuel Azaña, 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 Martín, *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. 1)

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 de morbo Gallico*, Rome, 1497

¹¹ St. Matthew xv, 14

¹² S. Bové, *Ramon de Sibiude*, Barcelona, 1896, p. 113

¹³ F. Watson, *Vives On Education*, Cambridge, 1913, p. ciii

The Spirit of Catalonia

- ¹⁴ A. Nebe, *Vives, Alsted, Comenius in ihrem Verhältnis zu einander*, Elberfeld, 1891
- ¹⁵ P. Hanse, *Die Pädagogik des Spaniers J. L. Vives und sein Einfluss auf J. Amos Comenius*. Erlangen, 1890
- ¹⁶ W. Roscher, *System der Armenpflege und Armenpolitik*, Stuttgart, 1894
- ¹⁷ F. Ludwig Weitzmann, *Die soziale 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 Éloges des Hommes Sçavants*, 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

CHAPTER 8

- ¹ H. Allwoerden, *Historia Michaelis Serveti*, Helmstedt, 1727
- ² R. Willis, *Servetus 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 the Reformation*, 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 libri iiii*, 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

Bibliography and Notes

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, alleading 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 vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V*, Valladolid, 1604-6, II, chap. XXX).

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

¹⁴ *De Syruporum* ... p. 36

¹⁵ See the edition by P. Bagnell of *Thoughts on Nature and Religion*, London, 1774

¹⁶ W. Wotton, *Reflections 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. 11

²¹ R. Willis, *William Harvey. A History of the Discovery of the Blood Circulation*, London, 1878 (he quotes Mosherim in *Anderweiliger . . . Ketzer geschrichte*, Helmstaedt, 1748)

²² E. Morse Wilbur, *The two treatises of Servetus on the Trinity*, Harvard, 1932, p. xviii; see also Aaron Ward, *op. cit.*

²³ C. Dardier, *Revue Historique*, 1879, X, p. 1

²⁴ Richet, *op. cit.*

The Spirit of Catalonia

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. 1095

²⁸ Quoted by K. J. Franklin, (edit of *De venarum ostiolis*), Baltimore, 1933, p. 2

²⁹ M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Hist. de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, 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, *Études sur l'Espagne*, Paris, 1925, IV, p. 221

³ *op. cit.*, p. 270

⁴ *op. cit.*, p. 221

⁵ *op. cu.*, 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 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. 11

⁸ *op. cit.*, p. 540

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¹⁰ J. Sans Barutell, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, Madrid, 1843, p. 184

¹¹ His family had given several great sailors to the navy, among them Galcerà 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.*

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- ²³ A. de Capmany, *op. cit.*, III, p. 355
- ²⁴ S. Venegas, *Agonía 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 Calasanzio*, 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 Ibáñez, *Ce que sera la République 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

INDEX

- Ad Animae Exmitationem in Deum* (Lluís Vives), 134
- Ad Sapimtiám Introdució* (Lluís Vives), 136
- Agrimensura* (Arnau de Vilanova), 64
- Aguirre, Pedro de, 115
- Alarcón, Alonso de, 103
- Albertus Magnus, 16, 64
- Alcalá, University of, 40, 115, 116-7, 184-5
- Alexander VI, Pope, 106
- Alfons I of Aragon, 23, 93-4, 171
- II of Aragon, 31, 32, 138
- V of Aragon, 55
- Alfonso III of Asturias, 31
- VII of Castile, 32
- VIII of Castile, 15, 17, 32
- X of Castile, 25
- XHI of Spain, 166
- America, discovery of, 106-7, 112, 136; partition of, 107; Catalans excluded from, 105, 107, 109-10, 136; exclusion cancelled, 136, 162, 189
- Andronicus II, Paleologu, 70
- Arabs, 19, 20, 40, 142, 169
- Aragon, aid in discovery of America, 106; Albarracin and, 47; army annihilates Moors, 17; Benedict XIII a native of, 82-3; Charter of, 69; conquest of Sicily, 33; conquest of Valencia, 38; Council of, 96; development of, 171-2; Ferdinand and, 106-9; flag of, 30, 66; Kings of, 12, 32, 36, 37, 68, 69, 82-3, 85, 93-4, 96, 171; map of kingdom, 67; popular government in, 43, 48; professional soldiers from, defeat Turks, 70; wealth transfused to Castile, 100
- Arbor Scientiæ* (Ramon Lull), 50
- Areopagitica sive de vetere Atheniensium republica* (Lluís Vives), 133
- Arnoullet, Baltasar, 144
- Ars generala et ultima* (Ramon Lull), 54
- Ars Magna* (Ramon Lull), 49
- Augustín, Antonio, Archbishop of Tarragona, 153
- Austria, Don John of, 154-5
- Averroes, 20, 52, 173
- Avignon, 50, 61, 76-7, 83
- Aycelin, Giles, 58
- Azaña, Don Manuel, 185
- Bacon, Francis, 88, 122, 134
- , Roger, 51, 64, 122
- Bages, Torres i, Bishop, 52-3, 75, 136
- Balearic islands, 27, 28, 33, 34, 37-8, 66, 94, 108, 166
- Barcelona, 34, 38, 42, 46, 86, 94, 109, 139, 162; Christ of Lepanto at, 155; Columbus received at, 107; *Corts* meet in, 47; Counts of, 10-12, 19, 25, 68, 82, 171; the Cross of, 43; Dominican province of, 16; expedition from to Valencia, 35; *Generalitat* in, 31; guilds of, 40-1; resists Inquisition, 101-3; liberated, 5, 7-8, 11, 30; Lullism in, 54, 77; municipal government of, 44, 105-6; 19th cent, revival, 164; occupied by Moors, 4-5, 30; Order of Mercy founded at, 42-3; political heart of Catalonia, 9, 12; ports and shipyards neglected, 108; Prince of Viana enters, 94; Servet at, 139; *Taula de Canvi* in, 180; University, 76, 88, 163; and War of Succession, 160
- Basques, 94; in Aragon, 172; in the Armada, 157; map of their territory, 167; no part in Spanish State, 98, 109-10, 132; proclaim Republic, 166; repel Moors, 5, 17; repel Romans, 2; return to plains, 6
- Benedict XI, Pope, 61
- XIII, Pope, 70, 82-5
- Benkelszoon, Jan, 130
- Berenguer, bishop of Narbonne, 15
- de Palou, 42
- Oller, 47
- I, Ramon, 25, 27
- III, Ramon, Count, 27, 28