

The Spanish Element in Luis Vives

I

THE INFLUENCE OF VALENCIA ON VIVES

In this wonderful age of the Spanish Renaissance, with its scholarly splendour of Antonius Nebrissensis and Arias Barbosa, its academic glory of Jiménez and Alcalá, its brilliancy of the Royal Court of Ferdinand and Isabella, no account of the Southern Renaissance can be regarded as complete, however detailed the record of Italian intellectual vigour, which omits to include Spain, in the perspective, at this epoch. In fact, at the beginning of the 16th century quite apart from the torrential linguistic movement in Italy, there were Renaissance movements, consciously recognised throughout cultured Europe: in France, associated with Guillaume Budé; in the Low Countries, represented by Desiderius Erasmus; and in Spain, whose chief contribution was in the person of Juan Luis Vives. These three names were acknowledged as the great Triumvirate in the Republic of Letters.

It has been said that «Luis Vives was Spanish only by the accident of his birth» (1). The thesis which I shall attempt to expound and illustrate, will be opposed to this statement. I shall give reasons for the opinion that the natural surroundings in which Vives was brought up, made a very deep impression upon him, and in the alembic of his imagination, worked in upon his thoughts, so as to modify them e. g., in his most important constructive work—the *De Tradendis Disciplinis* so that we may not unreasonably trace to his native city and country the source of some of his most strikingly original educational pronouncements.

It was at Valencia that Luis Vives was born in 1492, and it was at the Valencian

(1) In a chapter which surveys Spanish history at the time of the Renaissance, written by a scholar of great knowledge and insight and whose opinions one is bound to respect highly, the late Mr. H. Butler Clarke in the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I. p. 379.

School or Academy, so recently confirmed in its studies by Papal sanction, that Vives went to school. Valencia was fully conscious of the great change of the Renaissance, and of the glorious prestige of the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella. It is true that in some respects Valencia showed itself reactionary. Thus in 1481 the distinguished scholar Antonio Calá Harana del Oïo, known throughout Europe by his Latinised name, Antonius Nebrissensis, produced his *Introductiones latinae*, expounding Latin Grammar on Renaissance principles, and, for a long time, the fight continued in Spanish schools between the old grammars of mediaevalism and the new Grammar of Antonius Nebrissensis. At the very time that Vives was at the Valencia School, his schoolmaster, Amiguet, engaged himself in a resistance to a new edition of Antonius' grammar prepared by Peter Badia, and issued in 1505. The story goes that Amiguet induced Vives, a boy of not quite fifteen years of age, to write and speak declamations against Nebrissensis and Badia. But this opposition led by Vives' schoolmaster failed, and the new grammar won its way into the Valencian Academy in 1507. It is not necessary to trace the history of the Valencian Schools, culminating in the foundation of the University. This has been done fully by Señor D. Vicente Vives y Liern in his *Las casas de los Estudios en Valencia* (1902) and by Señor D. Francisco de P. Vilanova y Pizcueta, in his *Historia de la Universidad Literaria de Valencia*. Vives gives a description of the Valencian School in his *Ovatio Virginis Mariae* (1). The intellectual and literary traditions attaching to the schools dates right back to 1245, in the reign of James I of «El Conquistador», of Aragon, and must clearly have had an environmental influence on the keen and earnest youth of Valencia, and amongst them, not least, on Juan Luis Vives.

As to the boy Vives' part in the matter, his quick sense of loyalty was shown by his support of his master's view. But, afterwards, in the *de Causis Corruptarum Artium* (2), he recognised Nebrissensis as a scholar, who, for his varied and far-reaching erudition, versed as he was in every kind of writer, might have assumed any description or title he liked.

Though Amiguet had drawn the loyal schoolboy into antagonism to the new Renaissance grammar, yet Valencia was a town remarkably progressive, and open to new ideas, and Vives, undoubtedly was readily responsive to his environment. Valencia was the first town in Spain to set up a Printing Press, in 1471. The first classical book printed in Spain, came from the Valencian Press in 1475 (3). Later, in 1521, when Alonso Manrique was Grand Inquisitor, two great casks of Lutheran literature in a Flemish

(1) *Opera* 1792-80, vol. VII, p. 127. See Foster Watson: *Vives: on Education*, p. xlvii, n. 27.

(2) Book ii. cap. 2. *Opera Omnia*, edited by Majansius at Valencia 1782-90, pp. 84, 85.

(3) J. E. Sandys: *History of Classical Scholarship*, Vol. ii, p. 157, Von Hefele states that in 1478, at Valencia a translation of part of the Scriptures was made by the brother of St. Vincent Ferrer.

vessel, were captured and burnt in the market-place of San Sebastian. They were on their way to Valencia.

Thus, we see that Vives' native city, in spite of conservative schoolmasters and academic students, associated itself with what were, relatively to the times, progressive intellectual and literary movements, very impressively, for a keen-witted, earnest youth, even if he did not at the time, realise their full significance. But even apart from the Renaissance contemporary events in Vives' boyish days, the earlier historical traditions were soul-stirring. The very word Valencia was regarded as equivalent to the name of Rome, since Rome was derived from the Greek *Ρώμη*, and meant the same as Valencia — viz. power. It had been the capital of the Edetani, and a colony under Rome. 'Powerful city' as it regarded itself, it was taken in 413 A. D. by the Goths, and in 712 A. D. it came under the dominion of the Moors, who gave to it the prosperity and sources of wealth, which it has never since lost. In Mahommedan hands, Valencia showed remarkable enterprise and actually established a republic.

After twenty months siege, Rodrigo Ruy Diaz of Vibar, El Cid Campeador, associated by birth with Burgos, with his army of «bold adventurers» captured Valencia from the Moors in 1095, and ruled over it himself till his death in 1099. Valencia, not always so powerful as it claimed to be by name, reverted to the Moors, and was only finally won back to Spain by Jaime I of Aragon in 1238, and became part of the Castilian dominions on the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. Valencia preserved, and preserves to this day, the fruits of the solid services of the Moors to agriculture and to industry, and the refinement of manners and courtesy has left a distinct mark on the province. Every time Valencia was conquered, it always assimilated characteristics which amid its unity, revealed diversity of traits. The leadership in scholarship and knowledge of the Moors from the 8th to the 10th century gave a special grace and charm to Valencian scholarship, which accounts to some extent for the high standard of its distinguished physicians and lawyers. This keen interest in law and medicine is characteristic of Luis Vives — in his educational book, the *de Tradendis Disciplinis*, and we can thus quite naturally ascribe the origin of his legal and medical interest to the Valencian tradition, especially when we remember how affectionately he refers to his maternal grandfather, the juriconsult Henry March (1), who had begun to instruct Vives in law at Valencia, and his friend, the physician, Juan Población (2).

(1) For an account of the family of March, see the Introduction to *Les obres d'Auzias March*, Vol. I, published by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans.

(2) See p. 34 *infra*. These topics are specially considered in Vives' *de Subventionem Pauperum*, though there are allusions in the *de Anima*, which the Valencian medical traditions must have suggested.

The Valencian attention to medicine, derived from the Moors, also explains Vives' earnest interest in his suggested treatment of the sick and infirm poor, and especially in his references to the abnormal and afflicted, and the necessity of municipal public provision for them. The allusion to the deaf and dumb in the *de Anima* (1) may readily be due to Valencian experiences, but it is worth noting that with the exception of Rodolph Agricola, Vives apparently is the earliest writer to refer to the educational aspect of deafness. With regard to blindness probably many cases had presented themselves to Vives whilst a boy in Valencia. Naturally, the writers of Northern Europe in countries where the direct rays of the sun are not so keenly felt, were less given to the consideration of the subject.

Valencia is justly described as the «garden of Spain». The rice-grounds with the Moorish system of drainage are a striking feature to the Northern visitor. But it is rich in every kind of vegetable and of fruit, and the sub-tropical climate could not but remain as a delightful memory, for one whose fate brought him to lead his later life in the North of Europe. There is no city in Spain equipped with men and women of better physique or with a deeper sense of the colour of life in every direction, in countenance, costume, and in every possession of voluntary choice. No doubt these characteristics were as marked in the time of Vives, as they are to-day. The visitor is attracted by the Cathedral and the remarkable specimen of Gothic architecture - the Lonja, itself an outward sign of the prosperity of the silk trade in Valencia. Yet although the Cathedral tower — the Micalete was built, before the end of the 14th century, and the Lonja before the end of the 15th century, and both therefore existed in the time of Vives, it is not of these interesting buildings that he writes in his books. It is rather the natural features of his beloved fatherland, and the characteristics of the throbbing human life in Valencia that arrest Vives' thoughts; which he wishes to describe to others. It appeared to Vives as it appeared to Richard Ford (2). «If the poets of antiquity placed their Elysian fields on the banks of the Baetis, the Moors with no less justice placed their Paradise in the *Huerta*, or the garden of the Turia. Over this they imagined Heaven to be suspended, and that a portion of it had fallen down on earth — *coelum hic cecidisse putes.*»

One of the outstanding merits of Vives is that he broke away from the mediaeval metaphysical subtleties and abstractions, and gave himself to the spontaneous and delighted enjoyment of the concrete. From the metaphysical, he turned his gaze to the physical, to the natural.

(1) *Opera*, III, p. 373.

(2) *Hand-book for Travellers in Spain*, 1845. Vol. I, p. 429. The first edition of Ford's «Spain» is now scarce. But as a record of the antiquities and traditions of Spain it is still unsurpassed by any English book on Spain.

Vives left Valencia, at about seventeen years of age, but the effect of his early natural surroundings never left him. In 1538, ten years before his death, he wrote his *Exercitationes Linguae Latinae*. This book consisted of twenty-five dialogues or colloquies for schoolboys, intended for the training of students in Latin-speaking, written in good Latin, so as to expel from schools the barbarous phrases which had developed in Latin speech during the Middle Ages, almost universally prevalent in the ordinary schools. But, besides the attempt to introduce good Latin, these colloquies endeavoured to present *interesting subject-matter* of conversation to the pupils. By their realistic sincerity the dialogues bring with them their own evidence of unconscious reality (1). Vives' *Exercitationes*, therefore, though only intended as a text-book, is really a very important educational treatise, in which, in a concrete form, Vives spontaneously puts forward the subject matter which he considers suitable for school-boys. The reader who considers the passages which follow, will recognise that Vives, with much simple charm, brings forward the subject of Nature study and observation, though he only professes to be teaching the pupils Latin-speaking. I believe that, in so doing, Vives is the first amongst modern educationists to advocate nature observation as a desirable and worthy study for school-boys. It will be noted that, even when speaking of other places, characteristic features of his native Valencia seem to come spontaneously to the foreground of his imagination.

I. In a Dialogue describing an academic journey (2). The country on the journey from Paris is described.

Misippus : Look how softly the river flows by! What a delightful murmur there is of the full chrysal water amongst the golden rocks! Do you hear the nightingale and the goldfinch? Of a truth the country round Paris is most delightful!

Philippus : How placidly the Seine flows in its current... Oh, how the meadow is clothed with a magic art.

Misippus : And by what a marvellous Artist!

(1) Foster Watson: *Tudor School-boy Life: The Dialogues of Juan Luis Vives translated for the first time into English*, London: J. M. Dent (1908) p. xxxii.

(2) Dialogue IX *Iter et Equus*, *Tudor School-boy Life*, p. 61. May not this be said to be a prototype of the modern 'school-journey'?

Philippus : What a sweet scent is exhaled... Please sing some verses as you are wont to do.

II. In the Dialogue entitled: *Garrientes* (1).

Bambalio : Listen, there is the nightingale!

Graculus : Where is she?

Bambalio : Don't you see her there, sitting on that branch? Listen how ardently she sings, nor does she leave off.

Nugo : (as Martial says) Flet philomela nefas. (The nightingale weeps over an injustice.)

Graculus : What a wonder she carols so sweetly when she is away from Attica, where the very waves of the sea dash upon the shore, not without their rhythm.

Then is introduced the classical story of the Nightingale and the Cuckoo (See Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, lib. VI, and Virgil: *Æclogues*, VI.

III. Although Vives does not himself specifically associate Valencia with the dialogue *Deambulatio Matutina* (2), we can readily see that he was, in imagination, back in his boyhood's Valencia, when one of the interlocutors says to his friends:

«Do not let us take our walk as if in a rush, but slowly and gently. Let us make the circuit of the city walls twice or three times so that we may contemplate so splendid a view the more peacefully and freely (3).»

Vives then describes the Spring:

Joannius : «There is no sense which has not a lordly enjoyment! First the eyes! what varied colours, what clothing of the earth, and trees! what tapestry! what

(1) *Tudor School-boy Life*, p. 45.

(2) *Tudor School-boy Life*, pp. 88-90.

(3) Unfortunately this is no longer possible at Valencia. The story goes that the Cid took his wife to the top of the Micalete to see the pleasant country he had conquered. This is an ascent which no visitor to Valencia omits to make. Ford, writing in 1845, says «The walls of Valencia built in 1355 by Pedro IV are very perfect. Walk round them». Vol. I. p. 438.

paintings are comparable with this view?... Not without truth has the Spanish poet, Juan de Mena called May the painter of the earth. Then, the ear. How delightful to hear the singing of birds, and especially the nightingale. Listen to her (as she sings in the thicket) from whom, as Pliny says, issues the modulated sound of the completed science of music... In very fact, you have, as it were, the whole study and school of music in the nightingale. Her little ones ponder and listen to the notes, which they imitate. The tiny disciple listens with keen intentness (would that our teachers received like attention!) and gives back the sound. And then again they are silent. The correction by example, and a certain criticism from the teacher-bird are closely observed. But Nature leads them aright, whilst human beings exercise their wills wrongly. Add to this, there is a sweet scent breathing in from every side, from the meadows, from the crops, and from the trees, even from the fallow land, and the neglected fields! Whatsoever you lift to your mouth has its relish, as even from the air itself, like the earliest and softest honey.»

Thus Vives speaks out his whole heart to the school-boys, showing that he has still the strong, nature-loving feelings of his Valencian youth. Nor is this love of Nature solely aesthetic sentiment. In the *de Tradendis Disciplinis* (1), Vives lays down his educational theory that training in logic must be balanced and supplemented by nature-study.

With deep educational insight, the Valencian says: «The youth will find the study of the knowledge of Nature much easier than an abstract subject, for it can be acquired by the sharpness of the natural senses, whereas an abstract intellectual study requires knowledge in many subjects of life; experience, and a good memory (2).» We must first consider the easiest kinds of knowledge, viz. those things which are evident to the senses. «For the senses are the entrances to all knowledge» (3).

Vives deprecates too much book-study of Nature. The student must be keenly observant. He must not be obstinate, arrogant, contentious. It is this steady observation which brings advantage to husbandry, to the culture of palatable fruits, to foods and to the supply of remedies and medicines. If nature is closely observed, no other

(1) *Opera* (1782-90). Vol. VI, p. 345 et seqq. Book iv. cap. I.

(2) *Ibid.*, vol. VI. p. 347.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 348. Vives' words are: *Initio exhibenda sunt facillima, id est, sensibus ipsis pervia, hi sunt enim ad cognitionem omnem aditus.*

recreation is needed. It is in itself a walking exercise (*deambulatio ipsa*). It is at once School and Schoolmaster (1).

For this study of Nature, contrary to the mediaeval practice, no «disputation» is necessary, only «silent contemplation». And even this «contemplation of Nature» is unnecessary or harmful if it leads to idle reverie. Nature study must either serve the useful arts of life or else raise the student from a knowledge of God's works, to an admiration and love of the Author of those works (2). The penetrative as well as the comprehensive effect of Nature Study is noted by Vives with remarkable insight when he says: «Whatever is in the arts, *was in Nature first*, just as pearls are in shells, or gems in the sand.» (3)

Here, then, for the first time in modern history, from Luis Vives we have the call to the significance of sense-training in the observation of Nature. He had also the intellectual enterprise to see that observation must be supplemented by experiment. Here is a crucial passage, showing his appreciation of the significance of observational experiment, a couple of generations before Francis Bacon: «Man possesses bodily senses, the gift of Nature, and mental sharpness of discrimination by which he may discern, observe, understand, apprehend. Then, he has a power of judgment by which he can bring together what is scattered and dispersed, so as to gain possession of truth. On the other hand, he can reject what is contrary to truth. In these judgments, he can be helped by experiments and experience in the use of things, by the concentration of his mind, by application, by persistence, by memory, by exercise of faculty. When all these efforts on his own part do not suffice, then there are the aids furnished by other men, through their teachings, handed down from man to man.» (4)

Vives did not stop at the suggestion of the employment of observation and experiment. He pointed out the value of the Inductive Method, which indeed became necessary directly he insisted on the observational study of Nature. He showed how necessary it was not only in the study of Nature but also in the building up of a theory of law and of medicine, and showed how its application to studies of the external world was only parallel to the method by which the art of Rhetoric had been built up from the study of the practice in each trope and figure used by Cicero and Demosthenes and other models, in writing their persuasive speeches (5).

(1) *Ibid.*, pp. 350, 1.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 348.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 250.

(4) Vives' words in this important passage are: —Dedit natura homini sensus in corpore; in animo vero acumen, quo cernat, speculetur, intelligat, apprehendat; tum iudicium, quo sparsa et dissipata indagine quadam colligat, ad nanciscendum verum ... contrarium reiicit ... hinc adiuvatur experimentis, ac usu rerum, intentione animi, studio, sedulitate, memoria, exercitatione, quae quando sua cuique non sufficiunt, accedunt aliena per doctrinam homini ab homine traditam. *De Causis Corruptarum Artium*, Bk. V. cap. 2. *Opera* VI, p. 185.

(5) For a fuller criticism by the present writer of Vives as the Pioneer of Nature-Study and Modern Science, and as the forerunner of Bacon, and his use of the Inductive Method, see Foster Watson: *Vives: On Education*, Cambridge University Press, 1913.

Whence, then, did Vives gain this love of Nature which impelled him to such far-reaching suggestions as the inclusion in educational studies of the essentially modern subject of natural science? He did not gain it from his teachers in the University of Paris. It was not communicated to him by the lecturers at Louvain, or even by Erasmus. England, with its severe weather and distasteful fogs, did not attract his attention, at any rate favourably, to its physical aspects. This devotion to Nature—this new direction of educational interest seems to have been derived, I suggest, from his early life at Valencia. It has been objected that he left his native city so young, that his intellectual interests must have been derived from the surroundings of his mature life. When he went to Paris in 1509 as already mentioned, he was only 17 years of age. He died in 1540. The books from which we have quoted, the *de Causis Corruptarum Artium* and the *de Tradendis Disciplinis* were published in 1531, and the *Exercitationes* in 1538—both therefore belonging to the last portion of his life. But this fact presents no difficulty to the supposition that the natural surroundings of Valencia to him as a youth furnished the background of his love of nature, and insight into the educational possibilities of the study of Nature, when he became a man. It is only another striking instance of the depth of early impressions—the well-known psychological fact that the sense-impressions of childhood are often stored up and transfigured into the material of the later intellectual conceptions of the man. It is not improbable that it will generally be found that the greater the intellectual ability of any man, the more deeply he pondered over, and was permeated by sense-impressions of the external world, as a child. We venture, therefore, to refer Vives' later views on Nature-studies to the sense-experiences, and natural impulses aroused in him in Valencia, in the first place, and by his native country, Spain, in the second. It must be allowed, however, that this was not the common case in the time of the Renaissance. Erasmus gave utterance to the general sentiment, and indeed, the general experience of the humanists, when he wished to be a citizen of the Republic of Letters—and in that Republic only, to acknowledge any *status*. All that is attempted in the present article is to point out considerations which may prepare us for judging whether Vives was not an exception to the rule. In other words, unlike his many humanist friends, Vives had found his inspirations largely in his early life at Valencia, and in Spain. In his educational views, he is often unlike other humanists. His views were often such as were likely to be formed only by a man who had warm recollections of home-life, of beautiful natural environment, and a consciousness of his nation's brilliant achievements and aspirations.

With regard to the vernacular, the pioneer work of Antonius Nebrissensis needs to be named. In 1492, he published a dictionary of Latin-Spanish words, and in the same

year he wrote his *Grammatica Castellana*, which would seem to be the first vernacular grammar of a romance language written by a humanist scholar. In 1517 this grammar was followed by his *Reglas de Orthographia en la lengua Castellana*. Though Antony de Lébrija had written the first Spanish grammar, Vives was the first humanist to come forward with distinctively educational suggestions (1), as to the place of the vernacular in school instruction.

By his suggestions for the direct contemplation and interrogation of Nature, by his insistence on the educative significance of sense-training, Vives had differentiated himself from the whole atmosphere and surroundings of the mediaeval scholastics and even from most physicians. He had asserted his independence of thought against the whole weight of authority. As he himself said in the *de Tradendis Disciplinis*: «Students will see that the ancients too were men, and often held mistaken opinions on matters which are most self-evident.» (2). And so, inquiring students will learn to *give their assent to reason, rather than to human authority*. So Vives was prepared to break with the past. In this point, the leading humanists were in sufficient accord. But Vives was also ready, when he considered truth was at stake, to separate himself from the humanists themselves. And if Vives deserves such high rank as the pioneer of scientific study and inquiry, his educational suggestions for the thorough knowledge of the vernacular by the teachers, and its employment in teaching pupils — are almost as significant—and in utter opposition to the old mediaeval teachers as well as to the contemporary humanists. Vives' decisive advocacy of the mother-tongue, seems to me, again, largely to have its origins, in the period of impressions vividly received during his youth at Valencia. It is quite clear that the earlier history of Valencia brought to his mind the urgent need of consideration of problems of the vernacular. He points out the importance of speech in pure accurate vernacular in the child's home. He requires the mother's speech to be careful and exact, because the children will never forget the form of the speech which she gives to them in their infancy (3). «They will counterfeit both the virtue and the vice, if there be any in it.»

To illustrate this statement, Vives appeals to history—to the past experience of his own Valencia, and shows that James the Conqueror in 1238 «after winning my country of Valencia» out of the hands of the Saracens, introduced men of Aragon and women of Lérida into it, and thus «their children, with all their posterity, kept their mother's

(1) Vives provided his suggestions in the *de Tradendis Disciplinis* in 1531. In England Roger Ascham in 1545, in his *Toxophilus* glorified the use of English as an instrument for literary writing, and in 1581, Richard Mulcaster in his *Positions* and in 1582 in his *Elementarie* boldly advocated the teaching of English in schools.

(2) *Opera* (1782-90) VI. p. 376.

(3) Foster Watson: *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*, p. 124. The passage including the allusion to Valencian history occurs in the *de Institutione Feminae Christianae*, *Opera* (1782-90), Vol. IV, p. 259.

language, which we speak there unto this day». But it is not enough that the mother's speech should be pure; for the sake of the child, the teacher's knowledge of the vernacular must be thorough. Vives was well aware that in the nearly three hundred years which had elapsed since Valencia fell into the hands of the King of Aragon, there had been a constant change and development in the spoken and written vernacular. He therefore requires teachers to know the mother-tongue thoroughly, and to speak it so that no errors of speech will be imitated by boys, only to accompany them persistently when grown up. But more than this. The teacher should preserve in his memory all the old forms of vernacular words, even those which have gone out of use, so that he may know the history of the language. «Let the teacher be as it were, the Prefect of the treasury of the vernacular; for unless this is the case, books written in a language a hundred years before, will not be understood by posterity» (1). Vives thus advocates the study by the teacher of the history of the vernacular language.

So far is Vives in accord with what is now the linguistic pedagogic method, that he requires from pupils «the direct naming of things which present themselves to the senses». When authors in another language begin to be studied, exposition, in the beginning, should be *in the words of the vernacular*, and the pupil should only proceed gradually to use the Latin (2). And, again he states his method in another passage: «Let pupils at first speak in the speech which was born in them, in their home. *If they make mistakes, let the teacher correct them.* From this start let them gradually proceed to speech in Latin... *Out of doors let them speak their own language*, so that they may not accustom themselves in any way to make a hotch-potch of the two languages.» (3) It would be difficult to find similar advocacy by any humanist of the period, for speech by boys in the vernacular instead of in Latin, even in play-time. And, evidently, in the background of Vives' thought, is the experience suggested by Valencian history, and the memories of his own youth. One further proposal of Vives with regard to the vernacular should be mentioned. In his noteworthy exposition of the educational aspects of legal training, he demands that all laws should be written in the vernacular, in intelligible and clear language. Since languages undergo many changes in the course of development, and older forms become obscure, the State should from time to time revise the language of the laws and statutes, and bring them to the standard of current speech (4). Every individual should understand clearly

(1) *De Tradendis Disciplinis* Bk. III, chap. 2. *Opera* (1782-90), vol. VI, pp. 306, 7.

(2) *Ibid.*, VI, p. 307. Vives hopes thus to secure pure Latin speaking. Latin is only valuable as an international language when it is spoken correctly. As he says: the Spanish *barbarissans* is not understood by the German *barbarissans*, and *vice-versa*. *Opera* VI, p. 302.

(3) *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 311, 2. Mr. W. H. Woodward in his *Erasmus: concerning Education*, p. 63, says of the Strassburg School Ordinance of 1528, that it is strictly Erasmian in spirit when it declares: *Vernacula lingua loqui in ludo nostro piaculum est, atque non nisi plagis expiatur.*

(4) *Ibid.*, VI, p. 411.

what is expected from him by legal authority. We can understand how familiar the idea was to Valencians when we remember that, to this very day, the Tribunal de Aguas meets every Thursday morning in front of the Puerta de los Apóstoles and adjudicates on all disputes in connexion with the irrigation system handed down from time immemorial. The Tribunal consists of seven members, elected by the peasants themselves, one from each district, together with one government representative. The Court dates back from the Moorish occupation. The proceedings are carried on in Lemosin, the dialect of the people, and are gratuitous. The cases are discussed in public; and the proceedings are simple, and are summarily settled. We can, therefore, readily see how, with this tribunal before his mind, Vives was likely to be impatient of needless obscurities in legal language, forms and methods, and how naturally, he could urge European lawyers, to follow the Moorish simplicity. If Vives had not had his Valencian experience, it would seem no more reasonable for him than any other humanist, say, Erasmus to require lawyers to dispense with the learned language of Latin, as the instrument of legal enactments.

Nor was the fact that Valencia had El Grao, and, stretching along the coast, its local fisheries, without its significance in the memory of Vives. For he saw, with unusual keenness of insight, the bearing of the study of fishes, as a part of Nature knowledge, on the general problem of language. «In this part of Nature-Study» he says, «we are extremely ignorant (1), for Nature has been almost incredibly prodigal in the supply of fishes, and in the naming of them there is similar prodigality... Not only do national languages vary in naming them, *but also there is a difference in the local names given to fishes by the various towns, and cities which are quite near each other, and whose inhabitants speak the same language.*» (2). Surely Vives was then thinking of the Valencian coast. In the same connexion may be noticed the remark of Vives «Drivers are the scum of the earth; boatmen, the scum of the sea (3). Give a driver half what he asks.»

There is absolute proof of the deep impression made upon Vives, of his native city, even to minute details. Besides the passages on Nature, and in connexion with the advocacy of the vernacular which have been quoted, the *Exercitationes* written for children all over Europe, and certainly not specially for Spanish (and much less, merely Valencian children) have many references to Valencia, more even than to Flanders, the country in which Vives wrote the book, Yet he felt a keen interest, in one

(1) Yet in the *Exercitationes*, Dialogue XVII *Convivium* (the Banquet) he devotes a section to «Fishes», in the course of which he says: «If a philosopher begins a controversy on fish i. e. a most uncertain debateable question, let us have beds set up, so that we can sleep here».

(2) *Opera* VI, p. 350.

(3) *Exercitationes* IX. *Iter et Equus*. Journey on Horseback. Richard Ford says, «Of all the rascally tribe of watermen, the boatmen of the Grao are the most unconscionable» I. 450.

Flemish city, viz. Bruges, because as he said, it seemed more like his native city than any other. The *Exercitationes* were written thirty years after Vives had left Valencia, and apparently, having once gone from it, he had never visited it again. It is, perhaps, therefore, worth recalling some of the Valencian details to be found in this Latin Exercise-book for children.

The twenty-second Dialogue is entitled *Leges Ludi*, but its sub-title is a *Varied Dialogue on the City of Valencia*. The following definite local names are used by Vives, in spite of his thirty years' absence from Valencia: *Ludus Miraculi* i. e. (el juego del Milagro y el de los Carroces. San Esteban, la Puerta del Real, el Palacio á Don Fernando, duque de Calabria, San Juan del Hospital, Platea Ficus (i. e. Plaza de la Higuera), Plaza de Santa Tecla, la calle de la taberna del Gallo (1), la casa de Vives (2), San Martín, la calle de Valesio, la Plaza de Villarasa, el juego de la pelota de Barcia, y de los Mascones, la Plaza de los Penarroches, la calle de los Cerrajeros, y la de los Confiteros, la Plaza de la Fruta (Fruteriá), la Plaza de la Verzas (Verceriá), El Fiel mayor (Almotacén), la Plaza de nuestra Señora de la Merced, la calle de la Chiminea (carrer del Fumeral) y de San Agustín, la calle de la Bolsería, el Tosal, la calle de Caballeros, la casa de la familia Scintilla, la corte de los Tribunales, Audiencia.

In any topographical account of Valencia at the beginning of the 16th century, Vives' account from memory, though after his long absence, would be of the first importance (3).

In the above mentioned Dialogue Vives sends three men Borgia, Scintilla and Cabanillus through the town of Valencia, and the mention of the two tennis courts suggests a discussion of the right laws to regulate games and play. When they reach the Audiencia, Scintilla is requested to state the laws which should regulate play, as they had been written by a teacher named Anneus on a tablet which it was known that he had kept hung on the wall in his bed-chamber. Vives thus, in a very interesting manner, expounds to school-boys the times when games should be played, the right choice of companions, the best kind of games, the question of stakes, the right spirit in which to play, and the length of time to be spent, on play. He thus surrounds his educational principles of play, with associations of the native city of his youth. The topography of Valencia was not necessary. It was the spontaneous outburst of Vives' love of the city, not lost or even diminished by lapse of time.

One quotation from his remembrances in this Dialogue may, perhaps, be permitted.

(1) There is also a reference in the *Dialogues* to an eating-house called the Cock (gallus gallinaceus).

(2) Vives mentions his sister, as living in Valencia, at the date of the *Exercitationes*, i. e. in 1538.

(3) The attempt was enthusiastically made by Dr. Christoval Coret y Peris in his translation of the Dialogues into Castilian (1723), to identify many of the above places. Professor D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín brings together all the ascertainable knowledge from other authorities as well as from Coret in his extremely comprehensive work *Luis Vives y la Filosofía del Renacimiento* (p. 576).

He could not forbear, when speaking of Valencia, to mention, the great Market-place, the Mercado, still the wonder of all visitors.

Borgia : Let us proceed on foot. Enter through this narrow street into the Plaza de los Penarrochas.

Scintilla : Nothing could be better. Thence by la Calle de los Cerrajeros, la calle de los Confiteros, into la Plaza de la Fruta.

Borgia : Or shall we say la Plaza de los Verzas?

Scintilla : The market is both. Those who prefer to eat vegetables call it the vegetable market; those who prefer fruit call it the fruit market. What a spaciousness there is of the market, what a multitude of sellers and of things exposed for sale! What a smell of fruit, what variety, cleanliness and brightness! Gardens could hardly be thought to contain fruit sufficient for the supply of what is in this market.»

Vives then pays a tribute to the town officers for their care that no buyer shall be deceived by fraud (1). There is another Dialogue in the *Exercitationes* (No. IV). — *Euntes ad Ludum literarium*, boys going to school, which actually introduces as an interlocutor, an old woman seller of vegetables. This colloquy, again, is Valencian, and refers to la Iglesia de Santa Ana, the Plaza de Villarasa, the *Platea Domini Veterani* (translated by Coret as Plaza del Señor de Betera, la taberna Verde, la calle del Gigante). Instead of going to school, the boys go a further way so as to pass through the Mercado, where they are told they can buy salad, radish and cherries, from a certain old woman cheaper than else where. The boys tease the old woman, who threatens them. They «sample» her cherries, and pronounce them bitter and call her a poisoner, selling cherries which will only choke people. So, after all, Vives shows us that in spite of the excellent officers, charges of deceit were made!

In his *de Institutione Feminae Christianae*, Vives protests against the custom amongst women of painting their faces. He says: «Juvenal rightly asks the question: Is the face of the woman slubbed and starched with so many ointments, to be called a face, or should it be called a sore?» Vives then refers upbraidingly, to his Valencia.

(1) This statement of Vives suggests that the inscription on the walls of the Lonja at Valencia had borne fruit. «He only that shall not have deceived or done usury shall inherit eternal life.»

«I would treat further of this question, were it not that I am born in that city in which the women have a vile name on this account, and in my opinion, not without a cause. I will rebuke *my own country*, which is to me the most dear, that for shame, it may alter its customs (1).» So trenchantly could Vives write of Valencian women!

Many years before the *Exercitationes* were written, Vives wrote, in his Preface to the *Somnium Scipionis Ciceronianum* (1520) a description of Valencia and the Valencians. This was written twelve years after he had left the city. The Preface is in the form of a letter and dedication to Everard de la Marck bishop of Liège, and Archbishop designate of Valencia. Since it bears so intimately on the affection of Vives for his native city, I give it in full:

«Which shall I first congratulate on your election as Archbishop of Valencia, reverend Father and most illustrious Prince, yourself, or my fellow citizens and myself? For both parties must be congratulated; you to whom this high charge has fallen, for it could not be anything but most pleasant and gratifying to yourself, both for the sake of the ministering to the souls of people, as well as for the pleasantness of the country in which you will live. For the multitude of that people is by nature joyous, alert, facile, and yet tractable and obedient. Towards their princes and magistrates, they show singular friendship and good-will. In their ecclesiastical relations, they manifest an incredible devotion, and respond to the injunctions of their priests with no wavering or insolent airs. The members of the nobility are more numerous in that city than in any other, of marvellous splendour, magnificence, affability and humanity. Intimate intercourse with them will never become hateful, or pall upon you. For that district is the one described by Claudianus, «where the Turia flows, beautiful with flowers on its rosy banks» (2).

So fertile is the country, there is almost none of the races of men, or any kind of fruit, or vegetables, or health-giving herbs, which it does not produce and pour forth in richest measure. It is so beautiful and delightful, that there is no season of the year in which both the meadows and abundant trees, are not clothed and painted with foliage, flowers, verdure, and variety of colours. The sky is clear, pure, mild, calm. The country is not stiffened by the frosty weather, nor is it misty with clouds, nor is the air thinned and heated with hot vapour. But such an admirable temperature is maintained constantly, that the health of all living beings is most prosperous in the whole of that region, and remains in strong and constant vigour.»

He concludes: «The charms of Valencia are greater than can, or ought to be com-

(1) Foster Watson: *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*. p. 72.

(2) *Floribus, et roseis formosus Thuria ripis.*

pressed into a letter. I speak of my country as of my possessions, somewhat modestly, lest my words should afford ground for the suspicion that I was boasting.»

We have still to consider the marvellous intellectual vigour of Spanish national life and thought in the formative period of Vives' life — for the age of Ferdinand and Isabella made the Spanish Court the most glorious and distinctive in Europe, at that date. The influence of this national self-expansion could not but enter into the spiritual and mental life even of a youth, who was to leave his native country at seventeen years of age. Moreover, it is necessary to show that the intellectual and literary activity of Spain was in intimate connexion, and in close inter-relations, with the Low Countries of the North of Europe, and with England, — the very parts in fact, in which Vives was to spend the whole of his later life.

II

THE SPANISH REVIVAL OF LETTERS

We are apt to regard the great movement of the Revival of Learning as if it were to be divided into the Northern Renaissance, and the Italian or Southern Renaissance. We take the great names of Rodolph Agricola, Reuchlin, Melanchthon, or the English Linacre, Grocyn, More and Colet, and finally, the chief of all, *Erasmus*, as the protagonists in the North of Europe. Then we familiarise ourselves with the names of Pico of Mirandola, Laurentius Valla, Ficinus, Politian, Sannazaro, Pontanus, Bembo, Sadolet, Alciat — and so on. If we reflect, we shall observe that we have identified the Southern Renaissance with Italy. We have left out any reference to Spain.

I will not dwell upon the Revival of Letters in Spain from the literary point of view. The great scholars produced there in certain directions are comparable with, at any rate, the average scholars of the other parts of Europe. Names such as those of Arias Barbosa, the pupil of Politian, who taught Greek at Salamanca (1), Antonio of Lébrija (1444-1522) (*Antonius Nebrissensis*), who had spent twenty years in Italy and lectured in succession at Seville, Salamanca and Alcalá; the scholars who undertook the Polyglot Complutensian edition of the Bible, Fernán Núñez de Guzmán (1471-1552), better known as Pincianus, distinguished themselves, beyond the average scholar.

Amongst the other scholars who assisted in the preparation of the Complutensian text of the Bible, under the direction of Cardinal Jiménez were scholars such as Demetrius

(1) Nicolás Antonio says of Barbosa: in poetica facultate Graecanicæ doctrina Nebrissense melior.

Ducas of Crete, a Greek, López de Zuñiga (Stunica) who afterwards engaged in well-known controversies with Erasmus. Amongst the learned Hebraists were the Jews, Alfonso, physician at Alcalá, Paul Coronel of Segovia, and Alfonso de Zamora. Another of the Complutensian scholars was Peter Vergara (1). And if some of the greatest names in Spanish scholarship were of Italian origin, such as Peter Martyr from Arona on Lake Maggiore, and Lucio Marineo Siculo, afterwards the renowned historian of Spain — yet the leisure and opportunity for their scholarship, and dissemination of the new scholarship came from the brilliant court of Ferdinand and Isabella, and their successors. Erasmus himself declares that in literature, i. e. in the classics, the Spaniards not only excited the admiration of the most polished nations of Europe, but actually served as examples to them.

III

LOUVAIN AND ALCALÁ

It has been said that Erasmus contributed more than anyone else to the realisation of the project of Jerome Busleiden, the man who must have served as model to Sir Thomas More in many of his arrangements for his Chelsea house. Busleiden bequeathed his money for the foundation of a college to further the study of «good letters» at Louvain. Without the prestige and wise direction of Erasmus, we are told, probably Busleiden's College would not have successfully met the crises of the first ten years of its existence. On September 1518, Busleiden's College was opened in rooms lent by the authorities of the monastery of the Augustinians (2) — with three professorships; and on the 18th of October 1520, Conrad Glocenius (Latin), Rutger Rescius (Greek), and Johannes Campensis (Hebrew) solemnly took possession of the rooms assigned by the Augustinians in their Convent in the Fishmarket. Erasmus had entered into residence at Louvain in July 1517, and remained there till 1521, as promotor of the College of Busleiden — the Collegium Buslidianum.

Here in Northern Europe, under Erasmus, in the most important of all academic centres, outside of Paris, at Louvain was unfurled the banner of the study of the good classical literature, in preference to the mediaeval ecclesiastical and dialectical confused glosses of mediaeval commentators. In ages before printing, purely oral transmission

(1) *Life of Cardinal Jiménez* by Dr. Von Hefele. English translation 1860, pp. 138 9. From Hefele I have derived much help.

(2) A building which had one entrance from the Square of the Augustines and another from the street of the Ecriniers.

had hidden the text of the writings which scholars professed to expound in seas of mystical and metaphysical speculations. The new attitude was that of going straight to the classical authors themselves, for the most part, the Latin classical authors, though the progressive scholars demanded the inclusion of Greek authors.

These studies had professedly been followed, but with unsettled texts, in a fragmentary way, and with accretions of commentaries, which obscured and confused the knowledge of the original texts.

The task of education was to bring back the ancients to the leadership to which their inherent intellectual and literary splendour entitled them, and to provide all the grammatical and other apparatus, necessary for the student in his struggles to master them, in face of all the hindrances of the mediaeval traditions hanging round his neck. This task was the common aim of all European teachers.

The part played by Erasmus in reforming education at Louvain and in the North of Europe, and indeed, to a high degree, the whole of the cultured countries of Europe was conspicuous, and is recounted in every history of education. But the Spanish counterparts, and parallel movements are often overlooked, at any rate, in the North of Europe.

For instance, is it not significant, or at least suggestive, that Jerome Busleiden, the founder of the famous college at Louvain, over which as we have seen Erasmus was placed as director of studies, had a brother, by name Giles, who was at one time, the tutor of Philippe le Beau, and afterwards became Archbishop of Besançon. This Giles Busleiden was a distinguished diplomat, and travelled in Spain where he died at Toledo in 1502. The Latin epitaphs, in Latin verse, composed in his honour show him to have been a man, both of high merit, and of considerable reputation (1). We see, therefore, that Jerome Busleiden, who had planned that Erasmus should direct his College was himself connected with Spain, through his brother Giles.

Another name for Busleiden's College at Louvain was the Collegium Trilingue, the Collège des Trois Langues. This name, so excellently expressive of the object of the New Learning (2), was not invented by Busleiden, nor even by Erasmus. The name had already been applied in the South of Europe in Spain to a Renaissance College in the University established in 1508, at Alcalá de Henares, built at the expense of Cardinal Jiménez. It is an interesting fact, not ordinarily mentioned, I believe, in the accounts of Busleiden's Collegium Trilingue at Louvain, that Cardinal Jiménez had founded at Alcalá de Henares, a *Collegium Trilingue*, dedicated to an early Father of

(1) See Felix Nève: *Mémoire historique et littéraire sur le Collège des Trois Langues à l'université de Louvain*, pp. 58-9. Professor Nève notes that epitaphs on Giles Busleiden were collected and published in the *Exordia* of V. André (pp. 33-5).

(2) For, of course, the three languages were Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

the Church, St. Jerome, for whom Erasmus had the highest reverence. Jiménez' College was avowedly built for thirty scholars. «Ten were taught Latin; ten Greek; and the same number learned the Hebrew language» (1). But these were to be taught with all the life-giving force of the new Humanist spirit as opposed to the old Mediaeval methods. The Latin, Greek and Hebrew were to be «pure», and they were to be imparted with due regard to elegance and style — precisely the aims of Erasmus, later, at Louvain.

In this instance, Northern Europe had followed Southern Europe; the Low Countries had profited by the example of Spain, the country which was to counterbalance this early precedence in learning, by its reactionary political tyranny and religious oppression, and to arouse, not unduly, the bitterest hatred of every Protestant country. Nevertheless, as a matter of fact, it was Jiménez at Alcalá who first established a Collegium trilingue, as it was Jiménez — who preceded Erasmus, in producing the first text of the New Testament. The first volume of the New Testament of the Complutensian Polyglot was finished 10th January 1514. The Introduction to the Old Testament was dated, May 1514. The putting into type of the whole work, six folio volumes, was finished 10 July 1517. The work bore the imprint, surely worth noting, of Arnoldus Gulielmus de Brocario, of Alcalá. The brief of the Pope Leo X, authorising publication, is dated 22 March 1520. It was only after that date that the work was sold. The first edition of Erasmus's New Testament was published at Basle by Froben in 1516. By a comparison of these dates, we see that Jiménez' text is the *editio princeps* of the New Testament in order of time of completion, whilst Erasmus's text is the *editio princeps*, in its publication. But the point I wish to emphasize is the parallelism, once more, between the Revival of Letters in Spain, and the Northern Renaissance, and their mutual influence. When Erasmus came to make later revisions of his New Testament, he consulted the text prepared by the scholars organised by Jiménez at Alcalá. By thus dwelling upon the parallelism between Alcalá and Louvain, educationally, and the race between Jiménez and Erasmus, in their activity to give to the world, a text of the New Testament, I have no desire to seem to ignore the educational activity of the University of Salamanca. But Salamanca was an old foundation (2) like the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge in England or of Paris in France. The Revival of Learning gave

(1) Dr. Von Hefele: *Life of Jiménez*, p. 123. He quotes from Eugenio de Robles: *Compendio de la vida y hazañas del Cardenal Don Fray Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros* (Toledo, 1604), p. 132. «También el Colegio Trilingue, con título de San Geronymo, con treynta colegiales ... en quien se ha fundado la puridad de la lengua y elegancia de la retórica.»

(2) Salamanca, the Spanish Athens as it has been called, received the powerful impetus of the Renaissance. Peter Martyr states that when he lectured there on Juvenal, in 1488, there was such a vast audience that he had to be carried in «on the shoulders of the students» (quoted by Von Hefele, p. 116).

to Jiménez (1) the impulse to found a magnificent Alcalá, and to Busleiden, a Renaissance College at Louvain. The parallel between Alcalá and Louvain is still further preserved in the extraordinary pains taken by both Jiménez and by Erasmus to secure the best possible teachers and students for their respective institutions.

The educational example of Jiménez was followed by other Spaniards. For instance, Juan Lopez de Medina Coeli founded the Academy of Sigüenza. It would be unsound to attribute to the influence of Jiménez, the whole effect of the atmosphere induced by the great intellectual and literary Renaissance, in which we see Spain was moving, as well as the other parts of Europe. But from the point of view of educational history, we must notice that schools were instituted at dates not far removed from Jiménez' foundations at Alcalá, in some cases, it may be noted, before he had established his Colleges there. Amongst the institutions either called into existence, or, much more probably, amplified in scope, by new pioneers, we may instance the Renaissance school of Toledo, founded by Francisco Alvar; Seville, by Roderigo de San Ælia; Granada by Archbishop Talavera; Ognate by Mercato, Bishop of Avila; Ossuna, by Giron, Count of Ureña; and particularly of interest in connexion with Luis Vives the school or Academy of Valencia, provided with new statutes by the sanction of Pope Alexander VI, 30 April 1499.

IV

THE ROYAL COURT OF SPAIN IN THE SOUTH, AND ENGLAND IN THE NORTH, OF EUROPE

I have spoken of the Spanish scholars of the Renaissance, and of the educational impulses of the Revival of Learning in the new University of Alcalá, and I have shown their suggestiveness to each other, with on the whole, a priority, chronologically, in Spain, as against the Northern Europe of Erasmus. Another parallelism remains to be mentioned, though it cannot be treated at the length which it deserves, if it were to be brought into perspective, in an account of the Spanish Renaissance. I mean the intellectual sympathy and support given to the Revival of Letters by Spain, in the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella. The union of the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon was emblematic of that closer union which these monarchs sought to effect in raising every element in their Kingdoms on to the higher level of the new culture and learning. Parti-

(1) As is well known, Jiménez founded other and even more prominent colleges at Alcalá besides the College of the Three Languages, the chief of which was the splendid College dedicated to S. Ildefonso, the patron saint of the Cathedral of Toledo. The effect of these magnificent benefactions may be seen by the designation of Alcalá as «the eighth wonder of the world».

cularly was this the case in connexion with the New Learning. Not since the time of Charles the Great had a Court identified itself so closely with school learning, and not unjustly was the school established in the Court with Peter Martyr as head, regarded as a *Schola Palatina* i. e. a school required to accompany the Court, wherever it went, after the manner of the school inaugurated, centuries before, by Charlemagne. In 1492, the *Annus mirabilis* of Spain, when America was discovered by Columbus, and Granada wrested from the Moors, the Court School was filled with crowds of Spanish nobles. Nobles were inspired by the example of the monarchs. Enthusiasm ran so high as to induce Spanish nobles, such as Don Gutiere de Toledo, son of the duke of Alva, and cousin of the King, to lecture in the University of Salamanca and other nobles followed his lead. Queen Isabella herself learned Latin, and took an interest in the formation of libraries (1). Besides Peter Martyr she brought into Spain other foreign classical scholars, especially from Italy. Before sanctioning ecclesiastical promotions, Queen Isabella inquired into the literary attainments of the candidates. An instance of the honour and consideration for intellectual interests showed itself in civil advantages, and in the exemption from taxation bestowed on printers of books, Spaniards and foreigners.

The development of women's education proceeded rapidly. Two ladies were appointed Professors, one at Salamanca, in Classics; one in history in the University of Alcalá (2). Trained in a scholarly way, Catharine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella went to England, and became the centre of the most gloriously intellectual Court (3) ever known in that country, that of Henry VIII to which belonged Sir Thomas More, Colet, Grocyn, Lily, Pole, Fisher, Tunstall, etc. Here, again, we see a parallelism, between the cultured Court of Isabella in Spain, and the Northern Court of England, certainly enhanced in its culture by the influence of the Spanish princess, Catharine, wife of Henry VIII.

Catharine, who was born at that very Alcalá to which Jiménez brought such high educational aspirations, and where he established such fine traditions, penetrating, as we have seen, to the Low Countries and to England (in the foundation at least by

(1) Jiménez had researches made for manuscripts of the Old and New Testaments. He was keenly interested in the collection of books. At Toledo, in 1502, he discovered that the Cathedral library was in bad repair. He decided to erect a new and suitable building, and to endow it with such funds as to vie with the Vatican library itself. (Von Hefele: *Life of Jiménez*, p. 179). Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503-1575), who was, like Vives, the stalwart advocate of the vernacular, it is well-known, collected a splendid library. It seems probable that the idea of the necessity of good libraries was an early impression on Vives from Spanish tradition. At any rate Vives, appears to be the first educational writer to suggest that each school should have its library. See Foster Watson, *Vives: on Education*, pp. cxxxvii 124, 149, 247, 271.

(2) Prescott (*Lives of Ferdinand and Isabella*) also mentions, the Marchioness of Monteagudo, and the Donna Maria Pacheco. There were also Queen Isabella's instructors in Latin, the donna Beatriz de Galindo, donna Lucia de Medano and donna Francisca de Lébrija, the daughter of Antonius Nebrissensis. In the *Exercitationes* in the dialogue on the city of Valencia, Vives suggests calling on Angela Zabata «with whom we could have a talk on questions of learning» (*Tudor School-boy life*, p. 201).

(3) For an account of the influence of Queen Catharine of Aragon, in helping to establish a high level of culture, see Foster Watson: *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*, London, 1912, p. 9, 10.

Cardinal Wolsey of Christ Church Oxford). The Queen, like all her sisters, had been carefully trained by her mother Isabella. To this Vives bears witness. «Queen Isabella», he says, «taught her daughters to spin, sew and paint: of whom two were Queens of Portugal, the third of Spain, mother unto the Emperor Charles V, and the fourth, most holy and devout wife unto the most gracious King Henry VIII of England» (1). And, again, in a historical retrospect of holy women who were also of good learning, Vives adds (2): «There hath been seen in our time the four daughters of Queen Isabel, that were well learned all. It is told me with great praise and marvel in many places that Joan, the wife of King Philip, mother to Charles V, was wont to make answer in Latin, and that without any study, to the orations that were made after the custom in towns to new princes, and likewise the Englishmen say by their Queen, sister to the said Joan. Everyone says the same of the other two sisters in Portugal: than which four sisters there were no queens..... that did ever more perfectly fulfil all the points of a good woman.» How deeply Vives was impressed by his compatriot, Queen Catharine, in the English Court, is seen by his suggestion that her name might be fittingly added to a new Book of Saints. He offers most devoted tribute to her (3) «I am ashamed of myself, and of all those that have read so many things, when I behold that woman so strongly to support and suffer so many and divers adversities, that there is not one (although highly spoken of amongst our ancestors) that hath suffered cruel fortune with such constancy of mind, or could have ruled flattering felicity, as she did. If such incredible virtue had been shown then, when honour was the reward of virtue, this woman would have obscured the brilliance of the heroes, and would have been prayed unto, as a goddess in temples, as a being sent down from heaven. But there cannot be erected unto her a more magnificent temple than that which all men, in marvelling at her virtues, have built and erected to her, in their own hearts.»

The figure of the Spanish princess who had thus presided over the English Court fascinated Vives, and her goodwill and friendship had counterbalanced many of the drawbacks of the English climate, by which, as a true son of Valencia, he had been disappointed and distressed.

(1) Foster Watson: *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*, p. 46. In the *Exercitationes*, in the Dialogue *Domus*, reference is made to a window in the Dining-Room, on which was painted the story of Griselda. Vitruvius says that his master intends to add true stories to this viz that of Godelina of Flanders, and the English Catharine of Aragon. (Foster Watson, *Tudor School-boy life*, p. 96.

(2) Foster Watson: *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*, pp. 52-3. The passages in these two notes are taken from Richard Hyrde's translation into English of Vives: *de Institutione Feminae Christianae* (1540).

(3) In the *de Officio Mariti*, 1529 (Thomas Paynell's translation into English 1540; from which the above passage slightly modernised, is quoted. See *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*, p. 10, 11.

V

VIVES AT PARIS

The national achievements of Spain in learning, literature and culture, and the brilliancy of the Spanish Court seem to suggest the high probability that there would arise a great literary and intellectual leader, who would be marked by national characteristics and colouring. But when the name of Luis Vives, as a specifically Spanish humanist is put forward, it is objected that his most important academical training was received in the University of Paris, and was followed by instruction from, and intercourse with, the older humanist, the literary chief of Europe, Erasmus, in connexion with the Collège des Trois Langues at Louvain.

There can be no doubt that at Paris, Vives drank in eagerly the whole of the academic course presented to him. But Paris was permeated with the old scholastic philosophy, which, mercilessly triumphant, was able to beat down all opposition. Here Vives spent his strength in pursuing the useless subtleties of logic, the wordy inanities of unapplied rhetoric, and the maze-like intricacies of metaphysical and didactical disputation. The new learning of humanism, founded upon the conception of grammar, as an interpretation of the great classical literatures of Rome and Greece was swept aside, and was regarded as harmful and misleading. Vives was even told that the grammar suitable for literature was incompatible with theological study (1). Accordingly, the Parisian influence, in so far as it was effective, tended to lead Vives into the paths of scholasticism, not into those of the new humanism. In the first instance, Vives actually was influenced in this direction, and appears to have been an ardent and enthusiastic student of the old scholastic philosophy. This is shown by his knowledge in detail of mediaeval authors, especially of St. Thomas Aquinas, in the *de Disciplinis*, in the *de Anima*, and particularly in the *In Pseudo-dialecticos*. In the last named book, dated from Louvain 1519, Vives completely gave up his connexion with mediaeval scholasticism and accepted the return to the old authors, and the Renaissance methods of study. «I thank God», he says «that I have left Paris, as if escaping from Cimmerian darkness into light.» The formation of Vives' progressive intellectual opinions can, therefore, scarcely, be ascribed to Paris, excepting that the reactionary effect against the unnatural mental food offered, served to bring out and develop the wholesome, natural disposition of his Valencian love of external Nature and internal

(1) It was his teacher, John Dullard (see *infra*, p. 31) who said: *Quanto eris melior grammaticus, tanto peior dialecticus et theologus. De Causis Corruptarum Artium*, II, 3. *Opera* (1782-90) VI, p. 86.

spontaneity. But the thoroughness which had characterised his responsiveness to the Paris teachers showed that the eager desire for knowledge had delayed his critical mental activity for so long a time, that the struggle to exchange the «new for the old», was fierce and painful. Vives confesses, that the acquisition of scholasticism in his eagerness for knowledge had caused him keen anxiety by day, and constant sleeplessness by night. The new learning was «so odious to me that often I turned away from the better humanistic studies to my old studies so that I might persuade myself that I had not spent so many years at Paris to no good purpose» (1). Thus the effect of the mediaevalism of his studies in Paris on Vives can no more be called a formative influence upon his intellectual standpoint than can the antiquated curriculum of the Valencian School, which, with his boyish impulsiveness, he had defended against the reformer, Antonius Nebrissensis. In both cases, his strong, healthy, wholesome responsiveness to the world of sense-experience in outward nature, and of intellectual inquiry, were stung into rebellion by the dry-as-dust, out-worn instruction offered by the authorities. Such an attitude of resistance, was not, of course, either Spanish or French, but simply humanist. Vives' training, in the good Spanish home-life of his family, in his love of the simple, sincere sanctities of that life, in the conscious enjoyment and observation of external Nature, in his pride of the vernacular, and the whole background of the Spanish national outburst of self-consciousness, gave him the mental spontaneity of mind, before which the older forms retreated, as good ventilation makes tolerable the room, previously filled with warm, stuffy and foul air.

This power to resist old ideas, this necessity of submitting the accepted ideas to the ventilating shaft of thought, this need to investigate and seek for truth, seem to me to have arisen in Vives from his singleness of mind, and sincerity of delight, in seeing the many-coloured, multitudinous, rich Valencian life, in the exercise of visual observation of things, clearly and distinctly. In other words he is an illustration of what we have seen that he himself says: «We must first study those things that are evident to the senses. The senses open up the way to all knowledge.» (2) This *observing power* had been developed, physically, before he came to Paris. Paris probably sharpened it, and helped it (as did the whole of the rest of his life), to become refined and transfigured into intellectual insight. The richness of content of sense experience, which he had stored up in his Valencian days, together with the habit of observation then formed, established within him the intellectual attitude of keen criticism of all that came before his mind for consideration. Hence the freshness and suggestiveness of his views, especially on

(1) *In Pseudo-dialecticos, Opera*, III, p. 63.

(2) See, *supra*, p. 13.

Education and other subjects connected with social questions, to which in later years he gave his chief attention.

In the narrower sense of the term, Vives was still accompanied by Spanish influences, whilst resident in Paris. One of his chief tutors in Paris was a Spaniard, viz. Gaspar Lax, a native of Sariñena, educated at Zaragoza, and then a Professor in the University of Paris. Lax instructed Vives in Philosophy (1). Another of his teachers was John Dullard (2) a native of Ghent, who taught physics and philosophy (3). The latter, of course was not Spanish, but besides Vives he had a very note-worthy Spanish student, Juan Martínez Silíceo. Señor Bonilla gives the names of Spaniards who had been appointed to important academic posts in Paris. Amongst them were Juan de Celaya (from Valencia) Professor in the Collège de Ste. Barbara; the three brothers Coroneles, one of whom was rector of the College of Montaigu; Juan Dolz del Castellar, Professor at the Collège de Lyons; Fernando de Enzinas, a teacher in the College at which Vives was a student viz. the Collège de Beauvais, together with eight other important Spaniards, all at Paris, as contemporaries with Vives, «decided champions of the reactionary hosts». We know from Vives, that afterwards, notable Spaniards such as Juan Martínez Población, Gabriel de Aguilar and Juan de la Encina (4) «keenest youth of all» took the humanist side. It must be remembered that the students in the University of Paris were very numerous, and were therefore divided into four nations. Vives, no doubt, mixed with fellow-students compatriots, associated like himself with the «nation of the Gauls» (5).

VI

THE SPANISH ELEMENT IN VIVES AFTER LEAVING SPAIN

Returning to the name of Juan Martínez Silíceo, the student, in Parisian days, of John Dullard of Ghent, some close connexions of Vives' educational ideas with Spain call here for mention. Silíceo, together with the better known Stunica (6) were

(1) Bonilla says, perhaps, also in Sciences and Mathematics.

(2) See, *supra*, p. 29.

(3) One of the pleasing characteristics of Vives is his loyalty and affection to old teachers. Of Lax and Dullard he says: Dullardum et Gasparem Laxem praeceptores olim meos, quos honoris gratia nomino, quaerentes saepe summo cum dolore audivi, se tam multos annos rei tam futili, atque inani impendisse. *In Pseudo-dialecticos. Opera* (1782-90), III, p. 63.

(4) Vives mentions Enzina in a letter to Erasmus in a letter from Bruges, apparently in 1521. *Opera*, 1782-90, VII, p. 152.

(5) Bonilla: *Luis Vives*, pp. 45-6.

(6) Foster Watson: *Tudor Schoolboy Life*, p. 173. Siliceus is the Latin form of Pedernales. He had studied Philosophy at Valencia. Vives refers to Siliceus also in the *de Tradendis Disciplinis*, as an authority in Arithmetic. *Opera*, VI, p. 373.

the two tutors of Prince Philip (who was born in 1527 and died in 1598) son of the Emperor Charles V. The *Exercitationes* (1538) has a dialogue *Princeps Puer* — which introduces Prince Philip, who is represented as saying that Stunica is his educator (*educator*) and Siliceo his literary tutor (*institutor literarius*). Two counsellors discuss «political» questions with Philip, but the dialogue may be said to be educational. Morobulus is a foolish, and Sophobulus a wise, counsellor. Morobulus advises the prince to put aside the authority of Stunica and Siliceus, for they are politically, his *subjects*. Sophobulus, on the contrary, says: «If thou dost not obey them, thou wilt be a slave of the lowest order, worse than those who are bought and sold from Ethiopia or Africa and employed by us here (1).» Sophobulus then advises Philip to acquiesce neither in the opinions of Morobulus «nor in mine», but to judge for himself. For this purpose, so as to act wisely in all the events of life, knowledge and practised skill are necessary.

This proposition is then developed at some length. First, a game, involving an election of a King is proposed, in which the King is to prescribe what should be done to others, and Sophobulus suggests Philip be the King. But Philip protests he cannot take this part, since he does not know the rules of the game. Sophobulus then addresses Philip as «darling of Spain» and asks: «Are you willing seriously to undertake to rule so many and so great Kingdoms, ignorant of the condition of the people and of the laws of administration, uninstructed in practical wisdom and knowing only ridiculous trivialities.»

Secondly, Sophobulus calls on the Master of the Horse to lead forth the Neapolitan horse, the ferocious kicker, who throws his rider to the ground. Let Philip ride him. «No», says Philip, «I have not learned to manage a refractory horse, and have not strength for it». He is told that his people will be more difficult to govern and manage than any horse.

Thirdly, he is asked to take the rudder, and guide a boat on the river. But he replies that he might plunge the others all into the water, if he were to act as pilot. «What» says Sophobulus, «you will not guide a boat on a calm stream, because you are untrained, and yet you will commit yourself to that sea, those waves, and that tempest of ruling the people, without knowledge and experience». Philip thus is led to realise that since to play games rightly, to ride well, to direct a boat safely, adequate knowledge and skill is necessary — so still more for government, trained wisdom must be sought. Vives is ready, through Sophobulus, to tell him how it can be acquired. «Wisdom can be obtained from Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Plutarch. These very men and others like them, though departed from this earth, will talk to you as often and as much

(1) Foster Watson: *Tudor Schoolboy Life*, p. 174.

as you like.» *The dead can speak, as well as the living.* Such is the realism of Sophobulus, «The whole mind should be intent on the study of literature and the cultivation of goodness of soul». There, in a sentence, is the educational message of the Renaissance, from the Spanish Vives to the Spanish Philip.

Vives thus wrote his dialogue with Philip as an interlocutor, then a child of eleven years. In 1523, he had written, in England, a *Plan of Studies* (1) for the Princess Mary, daughter of Catharine of Aragon, Philip's cousin, whom in 1554, he married. Vives is thus in the noteworthy position of having acted as consultant-educationalist for the Spanish Philip in 1538 (2) and also for the daughter of the (Spanish) Queen Catharine of Aragon fifteen years earlier, that is, in 1523. How deeply in earnest Vives is, may be seen by the Dedication of these School Dialogues to Prince Philip himself, «because of thy father's goodwill to me, in the highest degree», and for a second reason which deserves close attention. «Also because I shall deserve well of *my country, that is Spain*, if I should help in the forming of sound morals in thy mind. For *our country's* health is centred in thy soundness and wisdom.»

I have ventured this digression — at the naming of Juan Martínez Silíceo, trained by Vives' teacher, John Dullard — as it shows conclusively, that in 1538, fourteen years at least, after leaving Paris, he himself looked to Spain as his own country, and cared deeply for its «health», which he saw was dependent on Philip.

VII

SPANISH BRUGES

Born in 1492, Vives left Valencia in 1509, was in Paris from 1509 to 1512 (3); from 1512 to 1516 at Bruges; from 1516-1520 chiefly at Louvain though partly at Bruges; from 1523 to 1528 part of the year was passed in England, and the remaining part of the year in Bruges; from 1528 to 1537 he was domiciled in Bruges; from 1537 to 1539, Vives is believed to have found a home at Breda in Brabant; and finally in 1540, to have returned to Bruges, and to have died there, at the age of 48 years, having left Valencia, over thirty years before.

(1) Foster Watson: *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*, pp. 137 et seqq. Mary was born in 1516 and was thus eleven years older than Philip.

(2) The last two dialogues of the *Exercitationes*, written for boys (and Philip amongst them) to read, should by no means be omitted by any one desirous of knowing Vives' views on Education, for there he speaks freely and impressively to boys on «real, solid, noble education».

(3) Some accounts date his leaving of Paris at 1512 for Bruges, but it seems more likely to have been a temporary visit from Paris and that his final departure from that city took place in 1514.

The earliest date for Vives' arrival in Bruges is 1512. In 1526, he wrote the *de Subventionem Pauperum* in which book he says he has been a resident in Bruges for the last fourteen years. His closeness of connexion with this city is described in his own words: «To think that anything connected with this city is alien to me distresses me as if I were in my own city of Valencia». Whatever the reasons were, which induced Vives to settle in Bruges, they were doubtless strengthened by the fact that there was a Spanish colony there, which contained well-to-do merchants; and, outside of Spain, it is doubtful if he could have found more of the Spanish spirit and thought, than at Bruges. Señor Bonilla has cited authorities, contemporaneous with Vives, or nearly so, showing the Spanish predilections of the people of Bruges (1). Books of travel describe the Spanish at Bruges. English State Papers show instances of safe conducts granted for Spanish merchants from Bruges to transact business in England. The actual attractions of Bruges are described by Vives himself in terms which show that he preserved the traits of his Valencian youth (2). Erasmus described Bruges as «prolific in minds, worthy of Attica (3)». Certainly no city in Northern Europe combined this attraction, together with Spanish colouring, so entirely as Bruges. The fact that this city was a great centre of Spaniards engaged in commerce is not without interest in connexion with Vives. For in 1525, in English State archives, there are references to Johannes Ludovicus Vives, «the King's servant transacting business», and it is difficult to suppose that this is anyone other than the Spanish Luis Vives (4).

But Vives' primary interest was in «good letters». At Bruges he met the Spaniards Juan Martínez Población, the physician, a native of Valencia already mentioned. Of him Vives says (5): «I will avouch his theory in physic so exact, that either the ancient physicians never described a certain disease, or if they did, their books are lost and perished.»

And, again, of Población as a mathematician, Vives says, after mentioning Proclus, «but my countryman John Población is better suited in his exercises for scholars» (6).

More important than the names of any individual Spanish scholars of the Bruges and Louvain period, as showing that Vives held his Spanish origin and Spanish traditions very near in his affections, (and consequently very direct in their influence on

(1) *Luis Vives*, pp. 59-65 et seqq. He points out, *inter alia*, that 15 kilometres from Bruges was the port of Blankenberghe from which in favourable circumstances, Santander on the coast of Spain might be reached in nine days.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 596.

(3) Foster Watson: *Vives: on Education*, p. lxxxii.

(4) *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII* No. 1293, 28 April 1525. Licence to import 300 tuns of Gascon wine and Toulouse woad into any part of the King's dominion excepting Calais, paying customs; and protection for the ships importing, and their captains, artillery etc. for three years. No 1298 Lewis de Vives, Licence to export 100 quarters of corn.

(5) *Commentaries on St. Augustine's Civitas Dei* (Healey's translation) 2nd. ed. 1620, p. 845.

(6) Foster Watson: *Vives: on Education*, p. 206.

him), is the fact that he was received, on reaching Bruges, into the household of the Spanish Valdaura family, in which he taught the children, amongst whom was Margaret, whom he afterwards married. Bernard Valdaura, the head of the family, was a relative of Vives on the mother's side. He married Clara Cervent, who was herself sprung from a Valencian family. Bernard Valdaura was attacked by a loathsome disease, and his young wife's devoted nursing of her husband for ten years won Vives' deepest admiration, which he expressed in the *de Officio Mariti* (1529) where his mother-in-law, along with Queen Catharine of Aragon, and his own mother Blanca March each occupy a place in a new and revised Book of Saints.

One further Spanish connexion of Bruges remains to be mentioned. Frequently, Spanish students of the University of Paris, either in the course of their studentship, or like Vives, on leaving the University, paid a short visit to Bruges. One most interesting instance was that of Ignatius Loyola, who came to Bruges between 1528 and 1534, to collect alms from his compatriots, the Spanish merchants. It is recorded by Jesuit biographers that Vives hospitably entertained Loyola, and it is not improbable that the two discussed educational questions, since the visit was in the Bruges period of Vives' life, when he must have had the *de Tradendis Disciplinis* in his mind if, indeed, he had not already written it. Thus two of the greatest Spaniards of the period found their meeting place in Bruges far from their native Spain (1).

VIII

VIVES AND ERASMUS

There is no doubt that Erasmus was the greatest humanist influence that came into the life of Vives. For this reason, it has been suggested that Vives, like Erasmus, had no nationality excepting that of the Republic of Letters. Rarely has a more enthusiastic loyalty been shown by a younger to an older scholar than that of Vives to Erasmus. In his letters he calls him by the most honoured names, and declares that he counts the good opinion of Erasmus as worth that of all the rest of scholars. Still, in this Louvain period, Vives had another very close and intimate Spanish interest, viz. the charge of the nephew of the Lord of Chièvres, duque de Soria, minister of Charles V— a youth of 18 years of age in 1517, yet already Cardinal, and Archbishop designate of Toledo, the premier cathedral of Spain. It was Vives' duty to teach this youth, William de Croy, philosophy, rhetoric and classical orators, or as Erasmus put it, to save him *a cruditatis*

(1) Foster Watson: *Vives: on Education*, p. lxxxv.

periculo, (1) The *paedonomus* or tutor, as distinct from praeceptor of de Croy, seems to have been Carlos Carondelet ó Arondelet, señor de Potèles (2). Erasmus states in a letter written after the distressingly early death of de Croy, that Vives was nominated in 1522 as preceptor to the son of the duke of Alva, but the message sent through a Dominican monk was never delivered to Vives. Amongst the other pupils of Vives, at Louvain, besides de Croy were Honorato Juan, Pedro Maluenda (introduced as an interlocutor in one of the *Dialogues*) (3) Diego Gracian de Alderete and Antonio de Berges. The persistence of Vives' national interest may, perhaps, be estimated by asking, for comparison, how often did Erasmus engage himself with the teaching of Dutch friends or students, in his wanderings? We see, therefore, that even at the time of Erasmus's intimacy with Vives, the latter remained in close touch with Spaniards.

Nothing could illustrate this better than the account of Vives, when he had undertaken the too heavy task, at the urgent request of Erasmus, of editing and supplying Commentaries for St. Augustine's *Civitas Dei*, and had fallen ill, he insisted on being removed from Louvain to Bruges, so that in his illness he might be treated «amongst my Spanish countrymen according to their custom and fashion» (4). He there received the most generous hospitality from Pedro de Aguirra a rich Spanish merchant of the nation of Biscay, who took care of him like a father, and, after his recovery, he is said to have provided a house completely furnished for Vives' own use (5).

The known details of Vives' life in Bruges and Louvain are not numerous, but one of the few facts attested by documents is his presence at a marriage in 1521 at Bruges — that of Jean de Matanca, with Barbe Pardo, a daughter of Silvestre Pardo and Jossine López, both Spaniards (6).

It is probable that Vives' hatred of war was highly intensified, if not first roused into activity, by Erasmus. Vives says: «Truly fighting belongs neither to good men nor to thieves, nor to any that are men at all, but is a right bestial fury and therefore it was named *Bellum* from *bellua* a beast.» This is in the fiery spirit of Erasmus. But even on this question, on which we may fairly suppose that the best humanists had much common ground, Vives discloses his Spanish tendencies of feeling. For he made an exception in the case of war against Saracens and Turks, which might readily become, in his view, a Christian duty, a new Crusade no where more enthusiastically desired than in Spain,

(1) Bonilla: *Luis Vives*, p. 600.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 600.

(3) *Exercitationes*. Dialogue XI. *Vestitus et Deambulatio Matutina*.

(4) See Preface to *Commentaries on St. Augustine's Civitas Dei*.

(5) See *Luis Vives* by Emile Vanden Bussche, in *La Flandre*, 1876, p. 306. This was in April 1521; of course before Vives' marriage which took place 26 May 1524.

(6) Emile Vanden Bussche, p. 310 and note.

which had already led the way in 1492, by the Conquest of Granada from the Moors.

Yet, on the whole, the outstanding influence of Erasmus on Vives, we have seen, was accompanied contemporaneously, by the continuance of Spanish interests. But as in his Paris environment, Vives brought the native energy of his character to struggle against what hindered his intellectual development, so too, eventually, the influence of Erasmus had to give way before the demands of Vives' inner consciousness of the work which he had himself personally to accomplish in life. It was when Erasmus had received from Vives the MSS of the *Commentaries on St. Augustine's Civitas Dei* that the decisive discordant note was struck in the literary and intellectual relations of the two. Erasmus severely criticised Vives' work and afterwards gravely disapproved of the style of another work (the *de Institutione Feminae Christianae*). Erasmus besought Vives to be more careful for his literary glory. It was at this stage that Vives made his memorable declaration — so foreign to the stylistic aims of the Renaissance — but so closely in touch with modern democratic thought and impulse. He said to Erasmus: «I ask you, my teacher», after this, not to attempt to urge me on to personal reputation or glory. For I solemnly state that these aims move me less than you would believe. I set my store by the public good. Most keenly would I advance that good in any way possible..... Those are the fortunate people, in my opinion, who are serviceable in that matter» (1). In the *de Tradendis Disciplinis* 1531 he says: «This then is the first of all studies; this is the goal. Having acquired our knowledge, we must turn it to usefulness, to the *common good*» (2). And, again, «we scholars must transfer our solicitude from princes to the people» (3).

Vives thus won for himself, an independent position from his fellow humanists. Whilst desirous of promoting higher scholarship, he wished to apply the whole resources of learning and culture to the social service of his fellow men. The love of his native city, of his country, of his second Valencia, had been developed by that keen sense-observation of his youth, which led to his fascination in the busy haunts of men and women, in Valencia, in the Lonja, the Mercado (4) the Valencia streets, — a type of human interest very different from that of Erasmus. When we speak of Erasmus as *Roterodamus*, the significance of the place-name is of the slightest, but Vives *Valentinus*, is full of content, for it includes what is meant by *el gran Valenciano*. This is only understood, when we realise that the leading *motif* of Vives' later work, was not scholarship solely, but scholarship enlisted in the cause of the *Public Good*.

(1) *Opera*, (1782-90). Vol. VII, p. 191 Letter to Erasmus dated from Bruges, Calends of October, 1528.

(2) Foster Watson: *Vives: on Education*, p. 278.

(3) *Ibid*, p. 283.

(4) Surely the Market-place at Valencia is one of the most remarkable centres of colour in the world, in its varied people (Catalonians, Castilians, Moors, gypsies) in costumes, and in the vegetables, fish, birds and other articles for sale.

IX

VIVES IN ENGLAND

Only two sources of influence of the first importance — besides the Spanish influence — on Vives, have been suggested, viz. that of Paris and his direct intercourse with Erasmus. I have shown how Vives' real strength was only manifested when he came to resist both of these influences, as fully as he had acquiesced in, and absorbed them, in the earlier stages. The question has to be raised: How and where did he derive the preparatory training first to receive, and then afterwards, to resist those influences? The answer here suggested is, that it was probably, from the Spanish element, derived from his deeply and widely exercised «silent observation» (to use his own phrase) of Valencian physical and human nature, and the gradual development of unrestrainable self-active, spontaneous confidence in the true and the good.

It is for these larger issues, that we have wished, in this article, to find the preparatory training.

If our analysis be correct, the Spanish and especially the Valencian elements were important in the development of Vives. It is possible now to add, still more confirmatory and supplementary details.

During the years 1523-1528, in which Vives visited England from Bruges for a part of the year, he spent portions of each of his visits in the English Court. Thus, the Spanish princess Catharine of Aragon had gathered round herself a Spanish group. From the time of her coming to England in 1501, there had been introduced a strong Spanish element into the English Court, In a letter written in Spanish in 1505, Catharine then Princess of Wales, wrote on behalf of the donna Maria de Salazar, a Spanish lady in attendance on the late Queen Consort of Henry VII, and, at the time of the letter, attached to Catharine herself. She sent her servant John de Ascuycia on a similar mission to her father, Ferdinand of Spain. In another letter, Catharine states that six Spanish ladies who came to England with her, had entered the Queen-Consort's service, and Catharine herself was without money to give them any recompense, and appeals to her father for dowries for them, In another letter, she complains of the coldness and inattention to his duties of the Spanish ambassador, Puebla. Again, Catharine wants money, which Puebla withholds, to send her maid Donna Elvira de Manuel to Flanders to an oculist who cured the Infanta Donna Isabel of an eye-complaint. In 1506 Philip and Joanna, King and Queen of Castille, brother-in-law and sister of Catharine, after nearly suffering shipwreck visited the English Court, on which occasion Catha-

rine and a Spanish lady with her in Spanish array, danced together. At this time, although Catharine had been four years in England, she states that she does not understand English. Evidently her chief converse was with her suite of Spanish attendants, and her intercourse with the King Henry VII was probably in Latin (1).

In further letters Catharine refers to members of her suite such as Don Pedro d'Ayala. She asks for a Spanish friar as a confessor. Her messenger is named, Calderón. In 1509 she complains of a new Spanish ambassador, the Commandant De la Membrilla. She mentions Janina de Cuer and Alonso de Esquivel as in her service. As an illustration of her close touch with Spanish interests, may be cited a letter 6 January 1518 from the city of St. Domingo of the Spanish isle «in the Indies of the ocean», written by Passamonte the Spanish ambassador there (2). It will be recognised that Princess Catharine, who became Queen when her husband Henry VIII ascended the throne in 1509, always writing in Spanish to her father and for many years ignorant of English, gave a Spanish colouring to the Court. Her kindly consideration for Vives even before he came to England, in 1523, is surely an illustration of her attachment to Spaniards and her pleasure in Spanish associations.

It was to a Court, therefore, where Spaniards were in high favour, that Vives came in those portions of his English visits (between 1523-and 1528,) which he spent in London. The Spanish retinue of the Princess Catharine had become the household of Catharine, as Queen (3). Her officers, though foreigners, received high promotion, for instance, Jorge de Ateca, her confessor, was made bishop of Llandaff in Wales (4). Spanish residents in London received unusual marks of royal favour, and it is related that one declared of Henry VIII, that he was generous to all, «particularly to Spaniards» (5).

Large numbers of Englishmen visited Spain amongst whom were Lord Berners and the scholar Cuthbert Tunstall, afterwards Bishop of London. The former interested himself in the books of Antonio de Guevara, and was one of the very first to introduce any Spanish book into England, by translating in 1534, a portion of Guevara's *Libro Aureo* (1529). One of Queen Catharine's maids was the Donna Catalina de Guevara and it has been supposed that she was a relative of that well known writer (6). The visit of Tunstall to Spain is of interest from the fact that he became one of Vives' best friends in England. Sir Francis Bryan was an important courtier, whose sister married

(1) For these and further details see M. A. E. Wood: *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, Vol. I, p. 120 et seqq.

(2) *Ibid* I, p. 145. • He sends the queen a dress and a chain such as are in use amongst the Caciques, and would have sent her some parrots, but, on account of the season he fears they would not live through the voyage. •

(3) See J. G. Underhill: *Spanish Literature in the time of the Tudors*, chapter III, London, 1899.

(4) *Ibid*, p. 57.

(5) In the *Cronica del Rey Enrico Octavo* edited by Hume, p. 127 quoted by Underhill, p. 59.

(6) *Ibid*, pp. 76-7.

Sir Harry Guildford. Guildford, with another Englishman, had been knighted by Ferdinand the Great in 1512, at Burgos (1). He was the friend of Sir Thomas Wyatt, who was at one time English Ambassador in Spain, and afterwards wrote poetry, which bore traces of Spanish influences. There were intermarriages between the members of the English and Spanish Courts — one of the best known being that of Lord Willoughby d'Eresby and the Spanish Maria de Sarmiento, the intimate attendant on Queen Catharine. It will thus be seen that in the English Royal Court was a band of English Courtiers interested in Spain, as well as Spaniards themselves. Accordingly, Vives in coming from the Low Countries to London, was by no means dissociated from his national interests. Further, we know that he had, at one time, a fellow-lodger in his London lodgings, Alvaro de Castro, who suggested to him that, having written on the training of women in the *de Institutione Feminae Christianae*, he ought to write a corresponding book on the duties of husbands. With this object, Vives drew up a plan for such a book, *in Spanish*, to suit the linguistic limitations of his friend, which he afterwards amplified into the Latin work: *de officio Mariti* 1529 (2).

Though there is no evidence of Spanish scholars in residence in Oxford between 1523 and 1528, there were students at Oxford, contemporaries of Vives, such as Richard Morison and Thomas Paynell, who were interested in Spain. Shortly before Vives came to Oxford, Richard Hyrde (3) had been a student, but Vives probably met him at the house of Sir Thomas More at Chelsea. If we speak of Berners, Bryan and the other courtiers with Spanish leanings as the Guevara group, these Oxford academic students, interested in Spanish literary culture may be termed specially the Vives group. Hyrde translated Vives' *de Institutione Feminae Christianae* (1523) into English in 1540. Morison translated Vives' *Introductio ad Sapientiam* (1529) in 1540. Paynell rendered into English, Vives' *de Officio Mariti* (1528) in 1553. Although all these books of Vives were translated from the Latin, there is some reason to suppose the translators had inclinations towards Spanish thought and life. Paynel, for instance, later, translated a French version of the *Amadis de Gaule*. There was something of a Spanish interest, which ripened and became a preparatory basis for the residence of Spaniards at Oxford, such as Rodrigo Guerrero, Antonio de Corro, Cipriano de Valera, Johannes Thorius, etc., later in the 16th century (4). Of course

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 72.

(2) See Preface to the *de Officio Mariti. Opera* (1782-90). IV, p. 302 non solum eisdem uteremur aedibus, et quasi contubernio verum etiam cubiculo communi, qui mihi amore, ac benevolentia mutua, fratris cuiusdam vicem referebat.

(3) For what is known of these men, see under each of these names, in the *English Dictionary of National Biography*, J. G. Uderhill writes of these men as a University group in his *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*, p. 88 et seqq.

(4) See Foster Watson: *Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England*. Chapter on *The Teaching of Spanish in England*, p. 473 et seqq.

in the reign of Mary I, daughter of Catharine of Aragon, «the most famous grandees of Castile and Aragon» (1) frequented the English Court, whilst chairs in the University of Oxford were allotted to Pedro de Soto and Juan de Villa Garcia, and ecclesiastics like Barthólomé de Miranda and Alfonso de Castro were appointed to posts in London (2). In short, it may be said of Vives' residence in England, that not only did he find himself strengthened and confirmed in Spanish currents already established by Queen Catharine, but he was also the pioneer, on the academic side in Oxford, of interest in Spanish literature and thought.

Finally, in the two years, which Vives spent in Breda in Brabant (1537-1539), he was literary director to the wife of Henry, Count of Nassau, viz. Mencia de Méndoza a Spanish lady whom he had known as a child at Valencia.

We may, then, say that for the whole of Vives' later life, away from Valencia, at Bruges, in England, in Breda, he was never outside of an effective Spanish environment, and that he voluntarily sought relations, which at all times and in all places, consciously strengthened and developed his Spanish associations.

X

VIVES AND SPAIN

There are other aspects in which Vives conspicuously showed a Spanish type of thought and feeling. One of these was the view he held of the position of women in society, and of their rightful training. I have elsewhere pointed out (3) that «in no country had the conception of the silent, obedient, pious woman, whether in the convent or out of it, held its own so rigorously as in Spain». Therefore, in his treatment of the education of women, Vives retained as many of the time-hallowed customs as possible, of detaching the girl from society and gaiety, though he was a pioneer in advocating her admission to learned studies. Though he would not allow girls to play with boys, or see much of men, following the Mediaeval Spanish view, yet he was progressive in allowing the maiden to pray in the vernacular, instead of in the Latin. He regards with horror the idea of the girl reading old romances of chivalry, because «he has abandoned the knights of the Middle Ages to serve under the heroes of the Golden Ages of Antiquity».

(1) Underhill, p. 105.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 107.

(3) Foster Watson: *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*, p. 22 et seqq.

Don Quixote was inclined to spare *Amadis* alone, but Vives, with still more intense puritanism, would only permit the reading of the story of the patient Griselda. The girl's life was to be secluded from the world, and even if she did not enter the convent, she must be under the charge of the duenna, if she went outside the house. The Spanish old world view showed itself frequently when, as a humanist, Vives planned his scheme of girls' education. The *de Institutione Feminae Christianae*, in itself, is sufficient to indicate that Vives did not cease to be a Spaniard when he left Valencia.

One other aspect, in which Vives preserved his Spanish cast of thought, to the latest period of his life, was in his religion. His *de Veritate Fidei Christianae* is Catholic, and is Spanish, too. The very title and object, namely to establish Christian truth as against Jews, Saracens, and Mahometans, is in keeping specially with the Spanish origin. Then, in the *de Disciplinis*, he declares that there should be vernacular schools in Arabic, the language of Saracens and Moors, so that the children might be brought to be Christians (1). But he is equally Spanish in the depth of pietistic impulse, which he wishes to have communicated to children. He had, moreover, a religious mysticism in which he was a worthy forerunner of the spirit of Sta. Teresa. In his unfaltering adhesion to the Holy See of Rome, may be traced the Spanish loyalty. «I submit myself to the judgment of the Church even if it appears to me to be in opposition to the strongest grounds of reason. For I may be in error, but the Church never can be mistaken on matters of belief» (2).

It would be easy to collect multitudinous details of Spanish references in Vives' works—such as could not be paralleled in any other humanist. He delights in referring to his friends. «James Perez, my countryman» (3), Pedro Garsia, his friend at Paris (4), the Cardinal of Liège, Everard Marck (5) to Henry March, «mine uncle» (6). «My pupil, Juan Vergara (7). He refers in one of his letters, to his sister and wishes to have her come to live with him at Bruges (8). He speaks with enthusiasm and awe of the great Spanish navigators, but with the optimism of a prophet he remarks: «Peter Martyr has compiled a monument of books in his records of the navigators of the ocean, and the Discovery of the New World, which took place in his time. But since then, yet vaster events have followed. These cannot but seem fabulous to posterity» (9).

(1) *de Tradendis Disciplinis*, III, Ch. I. *Opera*, vol. VI, p. 300.

(2) *de Veritate Fidei Christianae*. *Opera* (1782-90). Vol. viii, p. 22.

(3) Healey's translation of Vives' *St. Augustine Civitas Dei*, p. 604.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 790-1.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 33.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 731.

(7) *de Tradendis Disciplinis*, Book IV, chap. 5. *Opera* VI, p. 373. For an account of Juan Vergara, see von Hefele. *Life of Cardinal Jiménez*, p. 196.

(8) *Opera*, I, p. 5.

(9) *de Tradendis Disciplinis*. *Opera* VI. p. 399.

We have noted the loyalty of Vives to the Catholic Church, but his Catholicity went further than the Church would tolerate, and, though to some it may not seem easy to reconcile the apparent contradiction, whilst he was devoted to the Papal See, he gave spontaneous expression to his free thoughts in 'natural' religion. The *Commentaries* to the text of St. Augustine's *Civitas Dei* was put by the Church on the *Index Expurgatorius*. But the expansion of men's minds and hearts was inevitable when the Discovery of the New World was realised, and could not be restrained.

Thus, Vives attacks the problem of the man « who lives in the faithless Isles of the Ocean, never having heard of Christ », and declares that such a man « may attain the glory of a Christian by keeping the two abstracts of all the Law and the Prophets, viz. perfect love of God and of his neighbour. So great a blessing it is to be good, although you have not one to teach you goodness ». The Spanish discovery of America created an expansiveness of heart and mind in Vives that transfigured any narrow view of salvation, and his humanistic largeheartedness for the newly found men in the Western islands, was perhaps not altogether disconnected, psychologically, with his ready sympathies for the many human types in the Valencian market-place.

Vives refers several times to the Spanish discoveries in the West Indies, and in Eastern India. No one can doubt the intensity of Vives' sense of nationality who reads the glowing dedication (1) of the *de Tradendis Disciplinis* to John III, King of Portugal. « Thy progenitors dared to set out from Portugal to explore new seas, new lands, new and unknown climes. First they overthrew the Arabs and took possession of the Atlantic Sea. They were carried away beyond the path of the sun (i. e. the equator) and having traversed the Southern Sea, South of Ethiopia, they penetrated the territory opposite to us; hence to the Red Sea, and even up to the entrance of the Persian Gulf, where they erected fortifications. Then they travelled north of the mouth of the Indus, and established their authority over the fierce and blessed shores of all India. They have shown us the path of the heaven and of the sea, parts before not even known by name. They have also discovered peoples and nations who perform marvellous religious rites and are in a state of barbarism, though possessing wealth, on which our people so keenly cast their affections. *The whole globe is opened up to the human race.* »

In the *Exercitationes* (2), in the description of a well furnished modern house, Vitruvius the architect calls attention to the pictures in the hall. « That one », says he

(1) On a number of occasions Vives dedicated his books to Spaniards. One dedication deserves attention viz. that of the *de Officio Mariti* to John Borgia duke of Gandia, a town in Vives' own province of Valencia. Charles V thought very highly of Borgia and made him Viceroy of Catalonia. Vives in his dedicatory address acknowledges Borgia's great kindness to Honorato Juan, « *civis noster* », and also to Juan Andrés Straneus, another Valencian who has told him by letter of Borgia's goodwill.

(2) Dialogue XII, *Domus*.

«is a representation of the foundations of the heavens. That shows the place of the earth and the sea. There you have the world, newly discovered by Spanish navigations» (1).

Vives mentions sailors' stories of their journeys. «There is a people called *Anthrophagi*, or cannibals that live upon man's flesh» (2).

This vast new knowledge of the world, Vives thus turns to account for educational purposes. In studying geography, which had hitherto been confined to ancient geography, Vives is the pioneer in regarding knowledge of present-day geography as desirable. «Let the pupil study the maps of Ptolemy, if he can get a corrected edition. Let him add the discoveries of our (i. e. Spanish) countrymen on the borders of the East and the West (3).» He draws attention to the marvellous books on navigation and discovery, produced by the Spaniards. Vives was the first to suggest that these books and this subject should be included in the educational perspective of the student's historical course. It is not surprising, therefore, that Vives is the first to suggest Navigation as a subject for the curriculum, in the study of the Mathematical Sciences (4).

Nor was Vives without the modern interest in the sources of his own Spanish national history. The following passage (5) is, I think, little known. «In Spain, before silver and gold were found, there was no war, there were many philosophers, and the people lived wonderfully religiously. Every society had a yearly magistrate, chosen out of the most learned and judicious rank of men. Equity was then the executor of justice, without the clamour of law; (yet the Turdetani, now called the Andalusians, had certain wonderful old written laws). Few or no controversies were ever moved; and those that were moved, either concerned virtuous emulation, natural causes, the gods, or good manners, — which the learned discussed, and called the women to be adjutors. Afterwards certain mountains, full of metal in the interior, broke out and burned, and the melted gold and silver left admiration for them, in men's minds. Showing the gold and silver to the Phoenicians, who were then the general merchants of the world, they bartered their metals away, as if they were things of no value. The Phoenicians spying this game, acquainted divers of the Asians and Greeks therewith, and so came often thither with a multitude of men, sometimes with greater navies, and other times with only two or three merchant ships.

(1) Foster Watson: *Tudor Schoolboy Life*, p. 95.

(2) Healey's translation of Vives' *Comentaries on St. Augustine's City of God*, p. 842. This reminds one of Shakespeare's *Othello*, I, iii, 143-4. «And of the Cannibals that each other eat, The Anthropophagi».

(3) *de Tradendis Disciplinis* book IV, Chap. I. *Opera* VI, p. 349.

(4) *de Tradendis Disciplinis* book IV, Chap. 5. *Opera* VI, p. 372, and again p. 374.

(5) Healey's English translation (1620) of Vives' *Commentaries of St. Augustine's Civitas Dei*, p. 297.

Now, many either liking the air and the soil, or else loving gold better than their gods, set up their residences in Spain. Then colonies were sent into Spain out of all Asia and the isles adjacent and these spread their villanies amongst the ignorant people. Then began the Spaniards to admire their own wealth, to fight, to prey upon one another, first privately, and soon after in whole armies, led by alien leaders, the Phoenicians first, the authors of their present and future misfortunes. Good manners departed, equity ceased. Laws arose with the digging of metals and other traffic. So, farewell, philosophy! All arts came to almost utter ruin. For they were not written, but only passed by tradition from mouth to ear. What remained of them was renewed in the time of the Roman peace. For first the Goths and afterwards the Saracens rooted them utterly from amongst the vulgar. There is an old memorial extant of the ancient times written in Greek and Latin. I hope by it to illustrate the original of *my native country*» (1).

Vives, too, it should be noticed, *explicitly pleads for a love of one's native land, the fatherland*. In discussing the question of public as compared with private education, Vives remarks: «We must consult the interests of the home, *the fatherland*, and beyond it» (2). And again, Vives says: «At the present time, when the thought of the common good affects few, almost none; this office (of the tutor) is despised by all men indeed, it ought by no means to be avoided, but for *love of one's country* ought to be eagerly desired and embraced. But to-day in many of the nations, love of the Fatherland is not even understood, to such a degree does each live and care for himself alone» (3).

The frequent references to the Moors, the Saracens, Arabs, Turks, Mohametans must be traced to Vives' special interest from his Valencian origin. He is acquainted with the Arabian physicians Avicenna, Rasis, Averoes, Mesues (4). He enquires into the question whether the writings of Arabic authors, along with Jews and heathens, should be studied (5). He exclaims: «Would that the Arabs and we (viz. Spaniards) had a common language, I believe that many of them would throw in their lot [in religion] with us» (6). «I would wish», he continues, that schools of languages not only of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, but also of Arabic should be established», for

(1) Vives was an advocate (probably the first) of the study of modern as well as ancient history. He suggests the study of the modern historians who wrote in the vernacular, such as the Spanish Valera. (I have not yet learned who this author was!) *Opera* VI, p. 400.

(2) *de Tradendis Disciplinis*, book ii, chap. 2. *Opera* VI, p. 279.

(3) *Ibid.*, VI, p. 280.

(4) *de Tradendis Disciplinis*, book IV, chap. 7. *Opera* VI, p. 381.

(5) *Ibid.*, I, VI, p. 48.

(6) *Ibid.*, VI, p. 92.

those whose vernacular is Arabic. In a passage on language-teaching he gives an instance in voice-production from Arabic (1).

In the *Exercitationes*, Vives refers to the Arabian flute-player who was induced to sing for an *obolus*, but was only brought to silence by receiving three (2).

In the *Exercitationes*, also, in describing different modes of writing, he illustrates from the example of the Moors, who write «with reeds from right to left» (3). But, however willing he is to illustrate from the example of the Arabs, he clearly considers their writings a very dangerous study. In speaking of Nature-study, he says the «unlearned, silly, godless talk of the Arabs should not be studied» (4). And again, he says: «Certain false impostures do not deserve the names of arts or knowledge, e. g. the tricks of demons or diviners, e. g. pyromancy, necromancy, chiromancy, astrology. They are different amongst the Egyptians and the Chaldaeans; and are not the same among the Greeks and *Arabs* (5).»

Illustrations from Spanish usage and customs are frequent in Vives. Thus in the *Exercitationes* we have references to Spanish wine (6), Spanish water (7), Spanish cheese (8), Spanish caps (9), Spanish shoes (10); Spanish barbers (11); a mosquito net (12); Spanish cards (13); Spanish inns (14); somewhat impetuous Spaniards (15); the Spanish term for dauphin (16); the Spanish term for places in general (17), Spanish Triumph (in cards) (18). He mentions the olives of Bethica, but says those from the Balearic Islands are better (19). He speaks of the black wine of Saguntum (20), and the red *sandarach* from the Spanish city of Malaga (21).

In the *de Institutione Feminae Christianae*, Vives desires that a maiden should neither give presents to, nor accept them from, a man. He emphasizes his point, by a

(1) *Ibid.*, VI, p. 313.

(2) In the Dialogue: *Triclinium. Tudor School-boy Life*, p. 127.

(3) Foster Watson: *Tudor School-boy Life*, p. 70.

(4) *de Tradendis Disciplinis*, book IV, chap. I, *Opera* VI, p. 348.

(5) *Ibid.*, VI, p. 251.

(6) Foster Watson: *Tudor School-boy Life*, p. 130, and p. 145.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 141.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 146.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 87.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 85.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 212.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 115.

(13) *Ibid.*, p. 189.

(14) *Ibid.*, p. 126.

(15) *Ibid.*, p. 104.

(16) *Ibid.*, p. 165.

(17) *Ibid.*, p. 92.

(18) *Ibid.*, p. 189.

(19) *Ibid.*, p. 144.

(20) *Ibid.*, p. 138. He refers to Saguntum as Murviedro in the *Oratio Virgins Mariae*, as the town from which Parthenius Tovar came to Valencia. *Opera* VII, p. 127.

(21) Foster Watson: *Tudor School-boy Life*, p. 127.

Spanish proverb « A woman that giveth a gift, giveth herself; a woman that taketh a gift, selleth herself. Therefore an honest woman shall neither give nor take » (1). In the *de Tradendis Disciplinis* treating of the educative value of 'play' for children, Vives remarks: « Spaniards wisely say in a proverb that 'the dignity of office and play are the touchstones of minds' (2).

When we regard the accumulative force of these illustrations of Spanish influences on Vives, and the references to Spanish details in Vives' writings, it seems altogether inadequate to describe Vives as «Spanish only by the accident of his birth». Rather does he seem to be particularly Spanish in his origin, surroundings, and interests, and one of the very greatest Spaniards of his time. Professor Bonilla makes an interesting remark in reference to the dedication of one of Vives' greatest works, the *de Anima et Vita* to D. Francisco, Duque de Béjar y Conde de Benalcázar. He says (3): «Nótese una singular coincidencia: Vives dedica su obra al Duque de Béjar en 1538; sesenta y siete años más tarde, en 1605, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra dirige à otro Duque de Béjar *El Ingenioso Hidalgo*... Así fueron honrados los Duques de Béjar por el primer filósofo y el primer novelista de nuestra patria.»

Spanish were both Vives and Cervantes, and yet — notwithstanding the Spanish sources of their inspiration, and the Spanish background of their thought, — like the greatest men of all countries, they belong also to the world at large. As Vives, in the very age of Spanish self-consciousness in territorial expansion, said of John III's vast possessions. «*The whole globe is opened up to the human race.*» It is still more true that intellectual and moral greatness is not confined in its value, only to the nation to which the individual belonged. In Vives' case, we know there was no narrowness of provinciality, of nation, or of creed. As he said to Erasmus «I set my great store by the *public good*». Spaniard as he distinctly was, he wished to be cosmopolitan in educational and social service.

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NOTE. — One of the most interesting of the connexions of Spain with Luis Vives, is the invitation sent by the University of Alcalá, on the death of Antonius Nebrissensis (4), to invite Vives to succeed to the chair, which had been filled by that scholar.

(1) Foster Watson: *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*, p. 98.

(2) *Opera* VI, p. 292, 'dignitatem et lusum coticulas esse animorum'.

(3) *Luis Vives*, p. 247.

(4) in July 1522.

Vives was so strongly recommended to the University that the Senate decided to offer him the position, without any competition. He seems to have started for Spain in May 1523, but whether the journey was connected with the proposal or not, is not clear. On the way, he stopped to visit England, and took up his residence there for some months. Nothing more is heard of the Alcalá professorship. Bonilla has published the letter of Juan Vergara giving particulars of the post, and that of the authorities of the University of Alcalá, actually offering the post, in most generous and appreciative language. It is by no means easy to understand why Vives did not accept the post at Alcalá. Professor Bonilla suggests that he possibly hoped to get better remuneration in England, in the service of King Henry VIII and of Queen Catharine. The yearly «wages» paid to Vives it is stated in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber at Lady Day in the year 1529, were at the rate of £ 20 a year, but it is not mentioned whether this amount included the pension of Queen Catharine. Probably, it was the King's payment alone. Juan Vergara states that the salary offered to Vives by the University of Alcalá was 200 golden florins, and a house.

It is noteworthy that Vives married Margaret Valdaura in the following year, 1524. Is it not possible that Vives' reason for refusing the apparently attractive post, in succession to Antony of Lébrija, was connected with Margaret? We know the devotion of Clara Valdaura, Margaret's mother, to her incurably afflicted husband. We know Margaret's affection and loyalty in the distressed household; for Margaret, when married to Vives, never accompanied him in the prolonged visits to England. May it not be that Margaret was unwilling to desert her family, in its time of trouble, by marrying Vives, and going with him to Alcalá, but was induced to marry him, on the condition that she might continue to be of service at home to her family, in his regular absences in England, at the Court and in Oxford? If the two, Luis Vives and Margaret Valdaura, had only had themselves to consider, the attraction of Alcalá, with its secure income and the house, in their own country, and in continuation of the scholarly tradition of Antonio, must have been almost irresistible. Without further details any explanation is conjectural. Yet, bearing in mind, Vives' affection for Spain, it is pleasant to note that, in return, this incident furnishes an illustration of warm recognition of their fellow-countryman, first by Juan Vergara, Vives' old pupil, and secondly by the Authorities of the University of Alcalá (1).

F. W.

(1) The letters referred to, were published by Señor Bonilla y San Martín, in the *Revue hispanique*. Tom. 8 (1901), pp 247-260, in the article: *Clarorum Hispaniensium Epistolæ ineditæ*.