

HISTORY OF SPANISH LITERATURE.

SECOND PERIOD.

(CONTINUED.)

CHAPTER V.

DIDACTIC POETRY. — LUIS DE ESCOBAR. — CORELAS. — TORRE. — DIDACTIC PROSE. — VILLALOBOS. — OLIVA. — SEDEÑO. — SALAZAR. — LUIS MEXIA. — PEDRO MEXIA. — NAVARRA. — URREA. — PALACIOS RUBIOS. — VANEGAS. — JUAN DE AVILA. — ANTONIO DE GUEVARA. — DIÁLOGO DE LAS LENGUAS. — PROGRESS OF THE CASTILIAN FROM THE TIME OF JOHN THE SECOND TO THAT OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES THE FIFTH.

WHILE an Italian spirit, or at least an observance of Italian forms, was beginning so decidedly to prevail in Spanish lyric and pastoral poetry, what was didactic, whether in prose or verse, took directions somewhat different.

In didactic poetry, among other forms, the old one of question and answer, known from the age of Juan de Mena, and found in the Cancioneros as late as Badajoz, continued to enjoy much favor. Originally, such questions seem to have been riddles and witticisms; but in the sixteenth century they gradually assumed a graver character, and at last claimed to be directly and absolutely didactic, constituting a form in which two remarkable books of light and easy verse were produced. The first of these books is called "The Four Hundred Answers to as many Questions of the Illustrious Don Fadrique Enriquez, the Admiral of Castile,

and other Persons."¹ It was printed three * 4 times in 1545, the year * in which it first appeared, and had undoubtedly a great success in the class of society to which it was addressed, and whose manners and opinions it strikingly illustrates. It contains at least twenty thousand verses, and was followed, in 1552, by another similar volume, chiefly in prose, and promising a third, which, however, was never published. Except five hundred proverbs, as they are inappropriately called, at the end of the first volume, and fifty glosses at the end of the second, the whole consists of such ingenious questions as a distinguished old nobleman in the reign of Charles the Fifth and his friends might imagine it would amuse or instruct them to have solved. They are on subjects as various as possible, — religion, morals, history, medicine, magic, — in short, whatever could occur to idle and curious minds; but they were all sent to an acute, good-humored Minorite friar, Luis de Escobar, who, being bed-ridden with the gout and other grievous maladies, had nothing better to do than to answer them.

His answers form the body of the work. Some of them are wise and some foolish, some are learned and some absurd; but they all bear the impression of their age. Once we have a long letter of advice about a godly life, sent to the Admiral, which, no doubt, was well suited to his case; and repeatedly we get complaints from the old monk himself of his sufferings, and accounts of what he was doing; so that from different parts of the two volumes it would be possible to

¹ My copy is entitled, Vol. I., Las Quatrocientas Respuestas a otras tantas Preguntas que el ilustrissimo (sic) Señor Don Fadrique Enriquez, Almirante de Castilla y otras diversas personas embiaron a preguntar al autor, ec., 1545; printed in folio at Zaragoza, ff. 122, blk. let. two and three columns. Vol. II., La Segunda Parte de las Quatrocientas Respuestas, ec. En Valladolid, 1552. Folio, ff. 245, blk. let. two columns. More than half in prose.

collect a tolerably distinct picture of the amusements of society, if not its occupations, about the court, at the period when they were written. The poetry is in many respects not unlike that of Tusser, who was contemporary with Escobar, but it is better and more spirited.²

* The second book of questions and answers to * 5 which we have referred is graver than the first. It was printed the next year after the great success of Escobar's work, and is called "Three Hundred Questions concerning Natural Subjects, with their Answers," by Alonso Lopez de Corelas, a physician, who had more learning, perhaps, than the monk he imitated, but is less amusing, and writes in verses neither so well constructed nor so agreeable.³

Others followed, like Gonzalez de la Torre, who in 1590 dedicated to the heir-apparent of the Spanish

² Escobar was of the family of that name at Sahagun, but lived in the convent of St. Francis at Rioseco, a possession of the great Admiral. This he tells us in the Preface to the Second Part. Elsewhere he complains that many of the questions sent to him were in such bad verse that it cost him a great deal of labor to put them into a proper shape; and it must be admitted that both questions and answers generally read as if they came from one hand. Sometimes a long moral dissertation occurs, especially in the prose of the second volume, but the answers are rarely tedious from their length. Those in the first volume are the best, and Nos. 280, 281, 282, are curious, from the accounts they contain of the poet himself, who must have died after 1552. In the Preface to the first volume, he says the Admiral died in 1538. If the whole work had been completed, according to its author's purpose, it would have contained just a thousand questions and answers. For a specimen we may take No. 10 (Quatrocientas Preguntas, Çaragoça, 1545, folio) as one of the more ridiculous, where the Admiral asks how many keys Christ gave to St. Peter; and No. 190 as one of the better sort, where the Admiral asks

whether it be necessary to kneel before the priest at confession, if the penitent finds it very painful; to which the old monk answers gently and well, —

He that, through suffering sent from God above,
Confessing, kneels not, still commits no sin;
But let him cherish modest, humble love,
And that shall purify his heart within.

The fifth part of the first volume consists of riddles in the old style; and, as Escobar adds, they are sometimes truly very old riddles; so old, that they must have been generally known.

The Admiral to whom these "Respu-estas" were addressed was the stout old nobleman who, during one of the absences of Charles V., was left Regent of Spain, and who ventured to give his master counsels of the most plain-spoken wisdom (Salazar, Dignidades, 1618, Lib. III. c. 15; Ferrer del Rio, Decadencia de España, 1850, pp. 16, 17).

³ The Volume of Corelas "Trezientas Preguntas" (Valladolid, 1546, 4to) is accompanied by a learned prose commentary in a respectable didactic style. There seems to have been an earlier edition the same year, containing only two hundred and fifty questions and answers. (See Salva's Catalogues, 1826 and 1829, Nos. 1236, 3304.)

throne a volume of such dull religious riddles as were admired a century before.⁴ But nobody, who wrote in this peculiar didactic style of verse, equalled Escobar, and it soon passed out of general notice and regard.⁵

In prose, about the same time, a fashion appeared of imitating the Roman didactic prose-writers, just as those writers had been imitated by Castiglione, Bembo, * 6 Giovanni * della Casa, and others in Italy. The impulse seems plainly to have been communicated to Spain by the moderns, and not by the ancients. It was because the Italians led the way that the Romans were imitated, and not because the example of Cicero and Seneca had, of itself, been able to form a prose school, of any kind, beyond the Pyrenees.⁶ The fashion was not one of so much importance and influence as that introduced into the poetry of the nation; but it is worthy of notice, both on account of its results during the reign of Charles the Fifth, and on account of an effect more or less distinct which it had on the prose style of the nation afterwards.

The eldest among the prominent writers produced by this state of things was Francisco de Villalobos, of whom we know little except that he belonged to a family which, for several successive generations, had been devoted to the medical art; that he was himself the physician, first of Ferdinand the Catholic,⁷ and then of

⁴ Docientas Preguntas, etc., por Juan Gonzalez de la Torre, Madrid, 1590, 4to.

⁵ I should rather have said, perhaps, that the Preguntas were soon restricted to the fashionable societies and academies of the time, as we see them wittily exhibited in the first *jornada* of Calderon's "Secreto á Voces."

⁶ The general tendency and tone of the didactic prose-writers in the reign of Charles V. prove this fact; but the Discourse of Morales, the historian, prefixed to the works of his uncle, Fer-

nan Perez de Oliva, shows the way in which the change was brought about. Some Spaniards, it is plain from this curious document, were become ashamed to write any longer in Latin, as if their own language were unfit for practical use in matters of grave importance, when they had, in the Italian, examples of entire success before them. (Obras de Oliva, Madrid, 1787, 12mo, Tom. I. pp. xvi - xlvii.)

⁷ There is a letter of Villalobos, dated at Calatayud, October 6, 1515, in which he says he was detained in that city by

Charles the Fifth; that he published, as early as 1498, a poem on his own science, in five hundred stanzas, founded on the rules of Avicenna;⁸ and that he continued to be known as an author, chiefly on subjects connected with his profession, till 1543, before which time he had become weary of the court, and sought a voluntary retirement, in which he died, above seventy years old.⁹ His translation of the "Amphitryon" of Plautus belongs rather to the theatre, but, like that of Oliva, soon to be mentioned, * produced no * 7 effect there, and, like his scientific treatises, demands no especial notice. The rest of his works, including all that belong to the department of elegant literature, are to be found in a volume of moderate size, which he dedicated to the Infante Don Luis of Portugal.

The chief of them is called "Problems," and is divided into two tractates: the first, which is very short, being on the Sun, the Planets, the Four Elements, and the Terrestrial Paradise; and the last, which is longer, on Man and Morals, beginning with an essay on Satan, and ending with one on Flattery and Flatterers, which is especially addressed to the heir-apparent of the crown of Spain, afterwards Philip the Second. Each of these subdivisions, in each tractate, has eight lines of the old Spanish verse prefixed to it, as its Problem, or text, and the prose discussion which follows, like a gloss, constitutes the substance of the work. The whole is of a very miscellaneous character; most of it grave, like the es-

the king's severe illness. (Obras, Caragoga, 1544, folio, f. 71, b.) This was the illness of which Ferdinand died in less than four months afterward.

⁸ Mendez, Typographia, p. 249. Antonio, Bib. Vetus, ed. Bayer, Tom. II. p. 344, note.

⁹ He seems, from the letter just no-

ticed, to have been displeased with his position as early as 1515; but he must have continued at court above twenty years longer, when he left it poor and disheartened. (Obras, f. 45.) From a passage two leaves further on, I think he left it after the death of the Empress, in 1539.

says on Knights and Prelates, but some of it amusing, like an essay on the Marriage of Old Men.¹⁰ The best portions are those that have a satirical vein in them; such as the ridicule of litigious old men, and of old men that wear paint.¹¹

A Dialogue on Intermittent Fevers, a Dialogue on the Natural Heat of the Body, and a Dialogue between the Doctor and the Duke, his patient, are all quite in the manner of the contemporary didactic discussions of the Italians, except that the last contains passages of a broad and free humor, approaching more nearly to the tone of comedy, or rather of farce.¹² A treatise that follows, on the Three Great Annoyances of much talking, much disputing, and much laughing,¹³ and a * 8 * grave discourse on Love, with which the volume ends, are all that remain worth notice. They have the same general characteristics with the rest of his miscellanies; the style of some portions of them being distinguished by more purity and more pretensions to dignity than have been found in the earlier didactic prose-writers, and especially by greater clearness and exactness of expression. Occasionally, too, we meet with an idiomatic familiarity, frankness, and spirit, that are very attractive, and that partly compensate us for

¹⁰ If Poggio's trifle, "An Seni sit Uxor duenda," had been published when Villalobos wrote, I should not doubt he had seen it. As it is, the coincidence may not be accidental, for Poggio died in 1449, though his Dialogue was not, I believe, printed till the present century.

¹¹ The Problemas constitute the first part of the Obras de Villalobos, 1544, and fill thirty-four leaves. A few poems by Villalobos may be found in the Cancionero of 1554 (noticed *ante*, Vol. I. p. 393, n.); but they are of much less worth than his prose, and the best of his works are reprinted in the Bibliote-

ca de Autores Españoles, Tom. XXXVI. 1855.

¹² Obras, f. 35.

¹³ I have translated the title of this Treatise "The Three Great Annoyances." In the original it is "The Three Great —," leaving the title, says Villalobos in his Prologo, unfinished, so that everybody may fill it up as he likes. Among the MSS. of the Academy of History at Madrid is an amusing "Coloquio" by Villalobos on a medical question, and some of his pleasant letters. See Spanish translation of this History, Tom. II. p. 506.

the absurdities of the old and forgotten doctrines in natural history and medicine, which Villalobos inculcated because they were the received doctrines of his time.

The next writer of the same class, and, on the whole, one much more worthy of consideration, is Fernan Perez de Oliva, a Cordovese, who was born about 1492, and died, still young, in 1530. His father was a lover of letters; and the son, as he himself informs us, was educated with care from his earliest youth. At twelve years of age, he was already a student in the University of Salamanca; after which he went, first, to Alcalá, when it was in the beginning of its glory; then to Paris, whose University had long attracted students from every part of Europe; and finally to Rome, where, under the protection of an uncle at the court of Leo the Tenth, all the advantages to be found in the most cultivated capital of Christendom were accessible to him.

On his uncle's death, it was proposed to him to take several offices left vacant by that event; but loving letters more than courtly honors, he went back to Paris, where he taught and lectured in its University for three years. Another Pope, Adrian the Sixth, was now on the throne, and, hearing of Oliva's success, endeavored anew to draw him to Rome; but the love of his country and of literature continued to be stronger than the love of ecclesiastical preferment. He returned, therefore, to Salamanca; * became one of the * 9 original members of the rich "College of the Archbishop," founded in 1528; and was successively chosen Professor of Ethics in the University, and its Rector. But he had hardly risen to his highest distinctions, when he died suddenly, and at a moment when so

many hopes rested on him that his death was felt as a misfortune to the cause of letters throughout Spain.¹⁴

Oliva's studies at Rome had taught him how successfully the Latin writers had been imitated by the Italians, and he became anxious that they should be no less successfully imitated by the Spaniards. He felt it as a wrong done to his native language, that almost all serious prose discussions in Spain were still carried on in Latin, rather than in Spanish.¹⁵ Taking a hint, then, from Castiglione's "Cortigiano," and opposing the current of opinion among the learned men with whom he lived and acted, he began a didactic dialogue on the Dignity of Man, formally defending it as a work in the Spanish language written by a Spaniard. Besides this, he wrote several strictly didactic discourses: one on the Faculties of the Mind and their Proper Use; another urging Córdoba, his native city, to improve the navigation of the Guadalquivir, and so obtain a portion of the rich commerce of the Indies, which was then monopolized by Seville; and another, that was delivered at Salamanca, when he was a candidate for the chair of moral

¹⁴ The most ample life of Oliva is in Rezabal y Ugarte, "Biblioteca de los Escritores, que han sido individuos de los seis Colegios Mayores" (Madrid, 1805, 4to, pp. 239, etc.). But all that we know about him, of any real interest, is to be found in the exposition he made of his claims and merits when he contended publicly for the chair of Moral Philosophy at Salamanca. (Obras, 1787, Tom. II. pp. 26-51.) In the course of it, he says his travels all over Spain and out of it, in pursuit of knowledge, had amounted to more than three thousand leagues.

¹⁵ Obras, Tom. I. p. xxiii. Luis de Leon was of the same mind at the same period, but his opinion was not printed until later. See *post*, Chap. IX. note 12. But Latin continued to be exclusively the language of the Spanish Universities for above two centuries longer.

In an anonymous controversial pamphlet published at Madrid in 1789, and entitled "Carta de Paracuellos," we are told (p. 29), "Los años pasados el Consejo de Castilla mandó a las Universidades del Reyno que, en las funciones literarias, solo se hablase en Latin. Bien mandado, ec." And yet, the injudiciousness of the practice had been ably set forth by the well-known scholar, Pedro Simon de Abril, in an address to Philip II., as early as 1589, and the reasons against it stated with force and precision. See his "Apuntamientos de como se deven reformar las doctrinas y la manera de enseñallas." Editions of this sensible tract were also printed in 1769 and 1817;—the last, with notes and a preliminary discourse by José Clemente Caricero, seems to have had some effect on opinion.

philosophy; * in all which his nephew, Morales, * 10 the historian, assures us it was his uncle's strong desire to furnish practical examples of the power and resources of the Spanish language.¹⁶

The purpose of giving greater dignity to his native tongue, by employing it, instead of the Latin, on all the chief subjects of human inquiry, was certainly a fortunate one in Oliva, and soon found imitators. Juan de Sedeño published, in 1536, two prose dialogues on Love and one on Happiness; the former in a more graceful tone of gallantry, and the latter in a more philosophical spirit and with more terseness of manner than belonged to the age.¹⁷ Francisco Ceryantes de Salazar, a man of learning, completed the dialogue of Oliva on the Dignity of Man, which had been left unfinished, and, dedicating it to Fernando Cortés, published it in 1546,¹⁸ together with a long prose fable by Luis Mexia, on Idleness and Labor, written in a pure and somewhat elevated style, but too much indebted to the "Vision" of the Bachiller de la Torre.¹⁹ Fadrique Ceriol in 1559 printed, at Antwerp, an ethical and

¹⁶ The works of Oliva have been published at least twice; the first time by his nephew, Ambrosio de Morales, 4to, Córdoba, in 1585, and again at Madrid, 1787, 2 vols, 12mo. In the Index Expurgatorius, (1667, p. 424.) they are forbidden to be read, "till they are corrected,"—a phrase which seems to have left each copy of them to the discretion of the spiritual director of its owner. In the edition of 1787, a sheet was cancelled, in order to get rid of a note of Morales. See Index of 1790.

In the same volume with the minor works of Oliva, Morales published fifteen moral discourses of his own, and one by Pedro Valles of Córdoba, none of which have much literary value, though several, like one on the Advantage of Teaching with Gentleness, and one on the Difference between Genius and Wisdom, are marked with excellent sense. That of Valles is on the Fear of Death.

¹⁷ Siguense dos Coloquios de Amores y otro de Bienaventurança, etc., por Juan de Sedeño, vezino de Arevalo, 1536, sm. 4to, no printer or place, pp. 16. This is the same Juan de Sedeño who translated the "Celestina" into verse in 1540, and who wrote the "Suma de Varones Ilustres" (Arevalo, 1551, and Toledo, 1590, folio);—a poor biographical dictionary, containing lives of about two hundred distinguished personages, alphabetically arranged, and beginning with Adam. Sedeño was a soldier, and served in Italy.

¹⁸ The whole Dialogue—both the part written by Oliva and that written by Francisco Cervantes—was published at Madrid (1772, 4to) in a new edition by Cerdá y Rico, with his usual abundant, but awkward, prefaces and annotations.

¹⁹ It is republished in the volume mentioned in the last note; but we know nothing of its author.

political work entitled "Counsel and Councillors for a Prince," which was too tolerant to be successful * 11 * in Spain, but was honored and translated abroad.²⁰ Pedro de Navarra published, in 1567, forty Moral Dialogues, partly the result of conversations held in an *Academia* of distinguished persons, who met, from time to time, at the house of Fernando Cortés.²¹ Pedro Mexia, the chronicler, wrote a *Silva*, or Miscellany, divided, in later editions, into six books, and sub-

²⁰ El Consejo y Consejeros del Príncipe, ec., Anvers, 1559. Only the first part was published. This can be found in the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Tom. XXXVI. 1855.

²¹ Diálogos muy Subtiles y Notables, etc., por D. Pedro de Navarra, Obispo de Comenge, Caragoça, 1567, 12mo, 118 leaves. The first five Dialogues are on the Character becoming a Royal Chronicler; the next four on the Differences between a Rustic and a Noble Life; and the remaining thirty-one on Preparation for Death;—all written in a pure, simple Castilian style, but with little either new or striking in the thoughts. Their author says, it was a rule of the *Academia* that the person who arrived last at each meeting should furnish a subject for discussion, and direct another member to reduce to writing the remarks that might be made on it,—Cardinal Poggio, Juan d' Estuñiga, knight-commander of Castile, and other persons of note, being of the society. Navarra adds, that he had written two hundred dialogues, in which there were "few matters that had not been touched upon in that excellent Academy," and notes especially that the subject of "Preparation for Death" had been discussed after the decease of Cobos, a confidential minister of Charles V., and that he himself had acted as secretary on the occasion. Traces of anything contemporary are, however, rare in the forty dialogues he printed;—the most important that I have noticed relating to Charles V. and his retirement at Yuste, which the good Bishop seems to have believed was a sincere abandonment of all worldly thoughts and passions. I find nothing to illustrate the character of Cortés,

except the fact that such meetings were held at his house. Cervantes, in his *Don Quixote*, (Parte II. c. 18,) calls him—perhaps on this account, perhaps for the sake of a play upon words—"cortésissimo Cortés." Certainly I know nothing in the character or life of this ferocious *conquistador* which should entitle him to such commendation, except the countenance he gave to this *Academia*.

The fashion of writing didactic *dialogues* in prose was common at this period in Spain, and indeed until after 1600, as Gayangos has well noted in his translation of this History, (Tom. II. pp. 508–510,) citing in proof of it the names of a considerable number of authors, most of whom are now forgotten, but the best of whom, that I have not elsewhere noticed, are Diego de Salazar, 1536; Francisco de Miranda y Villafañe, 1582; Bernardino de Escalante, 1583; Francisco de Valdés, 1586; Juan de Guzman, 1589; Diego Nuñez de Alva, 1589; and Sancho de Lodoño, 1593. Of these, I should distinguish Nuñez de Alva, whose dialogues, in the copy I use, are entitled "Diálogos de Diego Nuñez de Alva de la Vida del Soldado en que se cuentan la conjuración y pacificación de Alamaña con todas las batallas, recuentros y escaramuças que en ello acontecieron en los años de 1546, y 7, ec. (En Salamanca, Andrea de Portinaris, Dialogo primero, 1552, Dialogo segundo, 1553." But the complete edition is Cuenca, 1589.) It is written in a pure and spirited style, and is not without value for its record of historical facts; but it is chiefly interesting for what it tells us of a soldier's life in the time of Charles V.,—so different from what it is in our days.

divided into a multitude of separate essays, historical and moral; declaring it to be the first work of the kind in Spanish, which, he says, he considers quite as suitable for such discussions as the Italian.²²

* To this, which may be regarded as an imitation * 12 * of Macrobius or of Athenæus, and which was printed in 1543, were added, in 1548, six didactic dialogues,—curious, but of little value,—in the first of which the advantages and disadvantages of having regular physicians are agreeably set forth, with a lightness and exactness of style hardly to have been expected.²³ And finally, to complete the short list, Urrea, a favored soldier of the Emperor, and at one time viceroy of Apulia,—the same person who made the poor translation of Ariosto mentioned in *Don Quixote*,—published, in 1566, a Dialogue on True Military Honor, which is written in a pleasant and easy style, and contains, mingled with the notions of one who says he trained himself for glory by reading romances of chivalry, not a few amusing anecdotes of duels and military adventures.²⁴

²² *Silva de Varia Leccion*, por Pedro Mexia. The first edition (Sevilla, 1543, fol.) is in only three parts. Another, which I also possess, is of Madrid, 1669, and in six books, filling about 700 closely printed quarto pages; but the fifth and sixth books were first added, I think, in the edition of 1554, two years after his death, and do not seem to be his. It was long very popular, and there are many editions of it, besides translations into Italian, German, French, Flemish, and English. One English version is by Thomas Forstescue, and appeared in 1571. (Warton's Eng. Poetry, London, 1824, 8vo, Tom. IV. p. 312.) Another, which is anonymous, is called "The Treasure of Ancient and Modern Times, etc., translated out of that worthy Spanish Gentleman, Pedro Mexia, and Mr. Francisco Sansovino, the Italian," etc. (Lon-

don, 1613, fol.). It is a curious mixture of similar discussions by different authors, Spanish, Italian, and French. Mexia's part begins at Book I. c. 8.

²³ The earliest edition of the Dialogues, I think, is that of Seville, 1548, which I use as well as one of 1562, both 12mo, lit. got. The second dialogue, which is on "Inviting to Feasts," is amusing; but the last, which is on subjects of physical science, such as the causes of thunder, earthquakes, and comets, is nowadays only curious or ridiculous. At the end of the Dialogues, and sometimes at the end of old editions of the *Silva*, is found a free translation of the Exhortation to Virtue by Isocrates, made from the Latin of Agricola, because Mexia did not understand Greek. It is of no value.

²⁴ *Diálogo de la Verdadera Honra Militar*, por Gerónimo Ximenez de Ur-

Both of the works of Pedro Mexia, but especially his Silva, enjoyed no little popularity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and, in point of style, they are certainly not without merit. None, however, of the productions of any one of the authors last mentioned had so much force and character as the first part of the Dialogue on the Dignity of Man. And yet Oliva was certainly not a person of a *13 commanding genius. *His imagination never warms into poetry; his invention is never sufficient to give new and strong views to his subject; and his system of imitating both the Latin and the Italian masters rather tends to debilitate than to impart vigor to his thoughts. But there is a general reasonableness and wisdom in what he says that win and often satisfy us; and these, with his style, which, though sometimes declamatory, is yet, on the whole, pure and well settled, and his happy idea of defending and employing the Castilian, then coming into all its rights as a living language, have had the effect of giving him a more lasting reputation than that of any other Spanish prose-writer of his time.²⁵

rea. There are editions of 1566, 1575, 1661, etc. (Latassa, Bib. Arag. Nueva, Tom. I. p. 264.) Mine is a small quarto volume, Zaragoza, 1642. One of the most amusing passages in the Dialogue of Urrea is the one in Part First, containing a detailed statement of everything relating to the duel proposed by Francis I. to Charles V. There are verses by him in the Cancionero of 1554, (noticed *ante*, Vol. I. p. 393, n.) and in the Library of the University of Zaragoza there are, in MS., the second and third volumes of a Romance of Chivalry by him, entitled "Don Clarisel de las Flores." See Spanish translation of this History, Tom. II. p. 511.

²⁵ As late as 1592, when the "Conversion de la Magdalena," by Pedro Malon de Chaide, was published, the

opposition to the use of the Castilian in grave subjects was continued. He says people talked to him as if it were "a sacrilege" to discuss such matters except in Latin (f. 15). But he replies, like a true Spaniard, that the Castilian is better for such purposes than Latin or Greek, and that he trusts before long to see it as widely spread as the arms and glories of his country (f. 17). On the other hand, in 1543, a treatise on Holy Affections,—"Ley de Amor Sancto," written by Francisco de Ossuna, with great purity of style, and sometimes with fervent eloquence, was published without apology for its Castilian, and dedicated to Francisco de Cobos, a confidential secretary of Charles V., adverted to in note 21. I think Ossuna was dead when this treatise appeared.

The same general tendency to a more formal and elegant style of discussion is found in a few other ethical and religious authors of the reign of Charles the Fifth that are still remembered; such as Palacios Rubios, who wrote an essay on Military Courage, for the benefit of his son;²⁶ Vanegas, who, under the title of "The Agony of Passing through Death," gives us what may rather be considered an ascetic treatise on holy living;²⁷ and Juan de Avila, sometimes called the Apostle * of Andalusia, *14 whose letters are fervent exhortations to virtue and religion, composed with care and often with eloquence, if not with entire purity of style.²⁸

The author in this class, however, who, during his lifetime, had the most influence, was Antonio de Guevara, one of the official chroniclers of Charles the Fifth. He was a Biscayan by birth, and passed some of his earlier years at the court of Queen Isabella.

²⁶ A full account of Juan Lopez de Vivero Palacios Rubios, who was a man of consequence in his time, and engaged in the famous compilation of the Spanish laws called "Leyes de Toro," is contained in Rezabal y Ugarte (Biblioteca, pp. 266-271). His works in Latin are numerous; but in Spanish he published only "Del Esfuerzo Belico Heroyco," which appeared first at Salamanca in 1524, folio, but of which there is a beautiful Madrid edition, 1793, folio, with notes by Francisco Morales.

²⁷ Antonio, Bib. Nov., Tom. I. p. 8. He flourished about 1531-1545. His "Agonia del Tránsito de la Muerte," a glossary to which, by its author, is dated 1543, was first printed from his corrected manuscript many years later. My copy, which seems to be of the first edition, is dated Alcalá, 1574, and is in 12mo. The treatise called "Diferencias de Libros que ay en el Universo," by the same author, who, however, here writes his name Venegas, was finished in 1539, and printed at Toledo in 1540, 4to. It is written in

a good style, though not without conceits of thought and conceited phrases. But it is not, as its title might seem to imply, a criticism on books and authors, but the opinion of Vanegas himself, how we should study the great books of God, nature, man, and Christianity. It is, in fact, intended to discourage the reading of most of the books then much in fashion, and deemed by him bad.

²⁸ He died in 1569. In 1534 he was in the prisons of the Inquisition, and in 1559 one of his books was put into the Index Expurgatorius. Nevertheless, he was regarded as a sort of Saint. (Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition, Tom. II, pp. 7 and 423.) His "Cartas Espirituales" were not printed, I believe, till the year of his death. (Antonio, Bib. Nova, Tom. I. pp. 639-642.) His treatises on Self-knowledge, on Prayer, and on other religious subjects, are equally well written, and in the same style of eloquence. A long life, or rather eulogy, of him is prefixed to the first volume of his works, (Madrid, 1595, 4to,) by Juan Diaz.

In 1528 he became a Franciscan monk; but, enjoying the favor of the Emperor, he seems to have been transformed into a thorough courtier, accompanying his master during his journeys and residences in Italy and other parts of Europe, and rising successively, by the royal patronage, to be court preacher, Imperial historiographer, Bishop of Guadix, and Bishop of Mondoñedo. He died in 1545.²⁹

His works were not very numerous, but they were fitted to the atmosphere in which they were produced, and enjoyed at once a great popularity. His "Dial for Princes, or Marcus Aurelius," first published in 1529, and the fruit, as he tells us, of eleven years' labor,³⁰ was not only often reprinted in Spanish, but was translated into Latin, Italian, French, and English; in each of which last two languages it appeared many times before the end of the century.³¹ It is a kind

of romance, founded on the life and character * 15 of Marcus Aurelius, and resembles, * in some points, the "Cyropædia" of Xenophon; its purpose being to place before the Emperor Charles the Fifth the model of a prince more perfect for wisdom and virtue than any other of antiquity. But the Bishop of Mondoñedo adventured beyond his prerogative. He pretended that his Marcus Aurelius was genuine history, and appealed to a manuscript in Florence, which did not exist, as if he had done little more than make a translation of it. In consequence

²⁹ A life of Guevara is prefixed to the edition of his *Epistolas*, Madrid, 1673, 4to; but there is a good account of him by himself in the *Prólogo* to his "Menosprecio de Corte."

³⁰ See the argument to his "Década de los Césares."

³¹ Watt, in his "Bibliotheca Britannica," and Brunet, in his "Manuel du Libraire," give quite ample lists of the

different editions and translations of the works of Guevara, showing their great popularity all over Europe. In French the number of translations in the sixteenth century was extraordinary. See *La Croix du Maine et du Verdier*, *Bibliothèques*, (Paris, 1772, 4to, Tom. III. p. 123,) and the articles there referred to.

of this, Pedro de Rúa, a professor of elegant literature in the college at Soria, addressed a letter to him, in 1540, exposing the fraud. Two other letters followed, written with more freedom and purity of style than anything in the works of the Bishop himself, and leaving him no real ground on which to stand.³² He, however, defended himself as well as he was able; at first cautiously, but afterwards, when he was more closely assailed, by assuming the wholly untenable position that all ancient profane history was no more true than his romance of Marcus Aurelius, and that he had as good a right to invent for his own high purposes as Herodotus or Livy. From this time he was severely attacked; more so, perhaps, than he would have been if the gross frauds of Annius of Viterbo had not then been recent. But, however this may be, it was done with a bitterness that forms a strong contrast to the applause bestowed in France, near the end of the eighteenth century, upon a somewhat similar work on the same subject by Thomas.³³

³² There are editions of the *Cartas del Bachiller Rúa*, Burgos, 1549, 4to, and Madrid, 1736, 4to, and a life of him in Bayle, *Dict. Historique*, Amsterdam, 1740, folio, Tom. IV. p. 95. The letters of Rúa, or Rhua, as his name is often written, are respectable in style, though their critical spirit is that of the age and country in which they were written. The short reply of Guevara following the second of Rúa's letters is not creditable to him.

There are several amusing hits at Guevara in the chronicle of Francesillo de Zuñiga, the witty fool of Charles V. Ex. gr. in Chap. LXXXIV. he says that there was a great stir at court about the wonders of a deep cave near Burgos, in which a hidden miraculous voice would give answers to questions put to it. Many persons visited it. Among the rest Guevara went with a party, and when his turn came to put

questions, the satirical chronicler says that he inquired: "Querria saber, Señora Voz, si tengo de ser mejorado en algun obispado, e que fuese presto . . . e si han de creer todo lo que yo escribo?" But, setting the jests of Francesillo aside, Guevara was, no doubt, as Ferrer del Rio says of him, "hombre de escasissima conciencia." In his youth he seems to have been a rake. (*Decadencia de España*, 1850, pp. 139, sqq.) How shamelessly intolerant and cruel he afterwards became, we have already seen, *ante*, Period I., Chap. XXIV. note 8.

³³ Antonio, in his article on Guevara, (*Bib. Nova*, Tom. I. p. 125,) is very severe; but his tone is gentle compared with that of Bayle, (*Dict. Hist.*, Tom. II. p. 631,) who always delights to show up any defects he can find in the characters of priests and monks. There are editions of the *Relox de Principes* of 1529, 1532, 1537, etc.