

lightness and spirit; sometimes parodying Ariosto and the epic poets, and sometimes the old ballads, with the gayest success. From its first appearance, therefore, it has been a favorite in Spain; and it is now, probably, more read than any other of its author's miscellaneous works. An edition printed in 1794 assumes, rather than attempts to prove, that Tomé de Burguillos was a real personage. But few persons have ever been of this opinion; for though, when it first appeared, Lope prefixed to it one of those accounts concerning * 184 its pretended author that deceive * nobody, yet he had, as early as the first festival in honor of San Isidro, almost directly declared Master Burguillos to be merely a disguise for himself and a means of adding interest to the occasion,—a fact, indeed, plainly intimated by Quevedo in the Approbation prefixed to the volume, and by Coronel in the verses which immediately follow.¹³

In 1621, just in the interval between the two festivals, Lope published a volume containing the "Filomena," a poem, in the first canto of which he gives the mythological story of Tereus and the Nightingale, and in the second, a vindication of himself, under the allegory of the Nightingale's Defence against the Envious Thrush. To this he added, in the same volume, "La Tapada," a description, in octave verse, of a country-seat of the Duke of Braganza in Portugal; the

¹³ The edition which claims a separate and real existence for Burguillos is that found in the seventeenth volume of the "Poesías Castellanas," collected by Fernandez and others. But, besides the passages from Lope himself cited in a preceding note, Quevedo says, in an *Aprobacion* to the very volume in question, that "the style is such as has been seen only in the writings of Lope de Vega"; and Coronel, in some *décimas* prefixed to it, adds,

"These verses are dashes from the pen of the Spanish Phoenix"; hints which it would have been dishonorable for Lope himself to publish, unless the poems were really his own. The poetry of Burguillos is in Tom. XIX. of the *Obras Sueltas*, just as Lope originally published it in 1634. There is a spirited German translation of the *Gatomachia* in Bertuch's *Magazin der Span. und Port. Literatur*, Dessau, 1781, 8vo, Tom. I.

"Andromeda," a mythological story like the *Filomena*; "The Fortunes of Diana," the first prose tale he ever printed; several poetical epistles and smaller poems; and a correspondence on the subject of the *New Poetry*, as it was called, in which he boldly attacked the school of Góngora, then at the height of its favor.¹⁴ The whole volume added nothing to its author's permanent reputation; but parts of it, and especially passages in the epistles and in the *Filomena*, are interesting from the circumstance that they contain allusions to his own personal history.

* Another volume, not unlike the last, followed in 1624. It contains three poems in the octave stanza: "Circe," an unfortunate amplification of the well-known story found in the *Odyssey*; "The Morning of Saint John," on the popular celebration of that graceful festival in the time of Lope; and a fable on the Origin of the White Rose. To these he added several epistles in prose and verse, and three more prose tales, which, with the one already mentioned, constitute all the short prose fictions he ever published in a separate form.¹⁵

The best part of this volume is, no doubt, the three stories. Probably Lope was induced to write them by the success of those of Cervantes, which had now been published eleven years, and were already known throughout Europe. But Lope's talent seems not to

¹⁴ The poems are in Tom. II. of the *Obras Sueltas*. The discussion about the new poetry is in Tom. IV. pp. 459–482; to which should be added some trifles in the same vein, scattered through his Works, and especially a sonnet beginning, "Boscan, tarde llegamos";—which, as it was printed by him with the "Laurel de Apolo," (1630, f. 123,) shows, that, though he himself sometimes wrote in the affected

style then in fashion, to please the popular taste, he continued to disapprove it to the last. The *Novela* is in *Obras*, Tom. VIII. There is, also, a sonnet in the *Dorotea* in ridicule of *Cultismo*, beginning, "Pululando de culto, Claudio amigo," which should be noticed.

¹⁵ The three poems are in Tom. III.; the epistles in Tom. I. pp. 279, etc.; and the three tales in Tom. VIII.

have been more adapted to this form of composition than that of the author of *Don Quixote* was to the drama. Of this he seems to have been partially aware himself; for he says of the first tale, that it was written to please a lady in a department of letters where he never thought to have adventured, and the other three are addressed to the same person, and appear to have been written with the same feelings.¹⁶ None of them excited much attention at the time when they appeared. But, twenty years afterwards, they were reprinted with four others, torn, apparently, from some connected series of similar stories, and certainly not the work of Lope. The last of the eight is the best of the collection, though it ends awkwardly, with an intimation that another is to follow; and all are thrust together into the complete edition of Lope's miscellaneous works, though there is no pretence for claiming any of them to be his, except the first four.¹⁷

* 186 In the year preceding the appearance of the tales we find him in a new character. A miserable man, a Franciscan monk, from Catalonia, was suspected of heresy; and the suspicion fell on him the more heavily because his mother was of the Jewish faith. Having been, in consequence of this, expelled successively from two religious houses of which he had been a member, he seems to have become disturbed in his mind, and at last grew so frantic, that, while mass was celebrating in open church, he seized the

¹⁶ *Obras Sueltas*, Tom. VIII. p. 2; also Tom. III. Preface. It is to the credit of Cerdá y Rico, that, when he published these tales of Lope de Vega, he said that the best in the language are those of Cervantes, and that Lope succeeds in proportion as he approaches them. Tom. VIII. Prólogo, p. vi.

¹⁷ There are editions of the eight at

Saragossa, (1648,) Barcelona, (1650,) etc. There is some confusion about a part of the poems published originally with these tales, and which appear among the works of Fr. Lopez de Zarate, Alcalá, 1651, 4to. (See Lope, *Obras*, Tom. III. p. iii.) But such things are not very rare in Spanish literature, and will occur again in relation to Zarate.

consecrated host from the hands of the officiating priest and violently destroyed it. He was at once arrested and given up to the Inquisition. The Inquisition, finding him obstinate, declared him to be a Lutheran and a Calvinist, and, adding to this the crime of his Hebrew descent, delivered him over to the secular arm for punishment. He was, almost as a matter of course, ordered to be burned alive; and in January, 1623, the sentence was literally executed outside the gate of Alcalá at Madrid. The excitement was great, as it always was on such occasions. An immense concourse of people was gathered to witness the edifying spectacle; the court was present; the theatres and public shows were suspended for a fortnight; and we are told that Lope de Vega, who, in some parts of his "*Dragon-tea*," shows a spirit not unworthy of such an office, was one of those who presided at the loathsome sacrifice and directed its ceremonies.¹⁸

His fanaticism, however, in no degree diminished his zeal for poetry. In 1625, he published his "*Divine Triumphs*," a poem in five cantos, in the measure and the manner of Petrarch, beginning with the triumphs of "the Divine Pan," and ending with those of Religion and the Cross.¹⁹ It was a failure, and the more obviously so, because its very title placed it in direct contrast with the "*Trionfi*" of the great Italian master. It was accompanied, in the same volume, by a small collection * of sacred poetry, which was increased * 187 in later editions until it became a large one. Some of it is truly tender and solemn, as, for instance,

¹⁸ The account is found in a MS. history of Madrid, by Leon Pinelo, in the King's Library; and so much as relates to this subject I possess, as well as a notice of Lope himself, given in the same MS. under the date of his

death. It is cited, and an abstract of it given, in Casiano Pellicer, "*Origen de las Comedias*," (Madrid, 1804, 12mo,) Tom. I. pp. 104, 105.

¹⁹ *Obras Sueltas*, Tom. XIII.

the *cancion* on the death of his son,²⁰ and the sonnet on his own death, beginning, "I must lie down and slumber in the dust"; while other parts, like the *villancicos* to the Holy Sacrament, are written with unseemly levity, and are even sometimes coarse and sensual.²¹ All, however, are specimens of what respectable and cultivated Spaniards in that age called religion.

A similar remark may be made in relation to the "Corona Trágica," The Tragic Crown, which he published in 1627, on the history and fate of the unhappy Mary of Scotland, who had perished just forty years before.²² It is intended to be a religious epic, and fills five books of octave stanzas. But it is, in fact, merely a specimen of intolerant controversy. Mary is represented as a pure and glorious martyr to the Catholic faith, while Elizabeth is alternately called a Jezebel and an Athaliah, whom it was a doubtful merit in Philip the Second to have spared, when, as king-consort of England, he had her life in his power.²³ In other respects it is a dull poem; beginning with an account of Mary's previous history, as related by herself to her women in prison, and ending with her death. But it savors throughout of its author's sympathy with the religious spirit of his age and country; — a spirit, it should be remembered, which made the Inquisition what it was.

The Corona Trágica was, however, perhaps on this very account, thought worthy of being dedicated to Pope Urban the Eighth, who had himself written an

²⁰ A la Muerte de Carlos Felix, Obras, Tom. XIII. p. 365.

²¹ See particularly the two beginning on pp. 413 and 423.

²² It is in Obras Sueltas, Tom. IV.

²³ The atrocious passage is on p. 5. In an epistle, which he addressed to

Ovando, the Maltese envoy, and published at the end of the "Laurel de Apolo," (Madrid, 1630, 4to, f. 118,) he gives an account of this poem, and says he wrote it in the country, where "the soul in solitude labors more gently and easily"!

epitaph on the unfortunate Mary of Scotland, which Lope, in courtly phrase, declared was "beatifying her in prophecy." The flattery was well received. Urban sent the poet in return a complimentary letter; gave him a degree of Doctor in * Divinity, and * 188 the Cross of the Order of Saint John; and appointed him to the honorary places of Fiscal in the Apostolic Chamber, and Notary of the Roman Archives. The measure of his ecclesiastical honors was now full.

In 1630, he published "The Laurel of Apollo," a poem somewhat like "The Journey to Parnassus" of Cervantes, but longer, more elaborate, and still more unsatisfactory. It describes a festival, supposed to have been held by the God of Poetry, on Mount Helicon, in April, 1628, and records the honors then bestowed on above three hundred Spanish poets; — a number so great, that the whole account becomes monotonous and almost valueless, partly from the impossibility of drawing with distinctness or truth so many characters of little prominence, and partly from its too free praise of nearly all of them. It is divided into ten *silvas*, and contains about seven thousand irregular verses.²⁴ At the end, besides a few minor and miscellaneous poems, Lope added an eclogue, in seven scenes, which had been previously represented before the king and court with a costly magnificence in the theatre and a splendor in its decorations that show, at least, how great was the favor he enjoyed, when he was indulged, for so slight an offering, with such royal luxuries.²⁵

²⁴ In Volume XXXVIII. (1856) of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, is a list of all the authors mentioned by Lope in his "Laurel de Apolo," with bibliographical notices of their works that are frequently of value. The vol-

ume itself, which consists of a selection from the Obras Sueltas of Lope, published by Cerdá y Rico in twenty-one volumes, is well compiled by Don Cayetano Rosell.

²⁵ It is not easy to tell why these

The last considerable work he published was his "Dorotea," a long prose romance in dialogue.²⁶ It was written in his youth, and, as has been already suggested, probably contains more or less of his own youthful adventures and feelings. But whether this be so or not, it was a favorite with him. He calls it "the most beloved of his works," and says he has revised it with care and made many additions * 189 to it in his old age.²⁷ * It was first printed in 1632. A moderate amount of verse is scattered through it, and there is a freshness and a reality in many passages that remind us constantly of its author's life before he served as a soldier in the Armada. The hero, Fernando, is a poet, like Lope, who, after having been more than once in love and married, refuses Dorotea, the object of his first attachment, and becomes religious. There is, however, little plan, consistency, or final purpose in most of the manifold scenes that go to make up its five long acts; and it is now read only for its rich and easy prose style, for the glimpses it seems to give of the author's own life, and for a few of its short poems, some of which were probably written for occasions not unlike those to which they are here applied.

The last work he printed was an eclogue in honor of a Portuguese lady; and the last things he wrote — only the day before he was seized with his mortal illness — were a short poem on the Golden Age, remark-

later productions of Lope are put in the first volume of his Miscellaneous Works, (1776-1779,) but so it is. That collection was made by Cerdá y Rico; a man of learning, though not of good taste or sound judgment.

²⁶ It fills the whole of the seventh volume of his Obras Sueltas. At the end is a collection of the proverbs used

in the work; not above a hundred and fifty, but very good, and chiefly taken from the part of *Gerarda*, who is an imitation of *Celestina*.

²⁷ "Dorotea, the posthumous child of my Muse, the most beloved of my long-protracted life, still asks the public light," etc. *Egloga á Claudio*; Obras, Tom. IX. p. 367.

able for its vigor and harmony, and a sonnet on the death of a friend.²⁸ All of them are found in a collection, consisting chiefly of a few dramas, published by his son-in-law, Luis de Usategui, two years after Lope's death.

But, as his life drew to a close, his religious feelings, mingled with a melancholy fanaticism, predominated more and more. Much of his poetry composed at this time expressed them; and at last they rose to such a height, that he was almost constantly in a state of excited melancholy, or, as it was then beginning to be called, of hypochondria.²⁹ Early in the month of August, he felt himself extremely weak, and suffered more than ever from that sense of discouragement which was breaking * down his resources * 190 and strength. His thoughts, however, were so exclusively occupied with his spiritual condition, that, even when thus reduced, he continued to fast, and on one occasion went through with a private discipline so cruel, that the walls of the apartment where it occurred were afterwards found sprinkled with his blood. From this he never recovered. He was taken ill the same night; and after fulfilling the offices prescribed by his Church with the most submissive devotion, —

²⁸ These three poems — curious as his last works — are in Tom. X. p. 193, and Tom. IX. pp. 2 and 10. Of the very rare first edition of this, the last publication of Lope made by himself, I have a copy. It is entitled "Filis Egloga a la Decima Musa, Doña Bernarda Ferreira de la Cerda, Señora Portuguesa, Frei Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, del abito de San Juan, Año 1635." It is poorly printed in duodecimo and makes eleven leaves, besides the title. The lady to whom it is addressed is the well-known poetess noticed *post*, Chap. XXVIII.

²⁹ "A continued melancholy passion, which of late has been called hypochon-

dria," etc., is the description Montalvan gives of his disease. The account of his last days follows it. Obras, Tom. XX. pp. 37, etc.; and Baena, Hijos de Madrid, Tom. III. pp. 360-363. The same account of hypochondria is given in the last Jornada of Calderon's "Medico de su Honra." Jacinta there asks, "Que es hipocondria?" to which Coquin replies: —

Es una enfermedad que no la habia,
Habrá dos años, ni en el mundo era.

Hartzenbusch places this play in 1635, the year of Lope's death, and does it on apparently good grounds. The two accounts about hypochondria, therefore, correspond exactly.

mourning that he had ever been engaged in any occupations but such as were exclusively religious,—he died on the 27th of August, 1635, nearly seventy-three years old.

The sensation produced by his death was such as is rarely witnessed, even in the case of those upon whom depends the welfare of nations. The Duke of Sessa, who was his especial patron, and to whom he left his manuscripts, provided for the funeral in a manner becoming his own wealth and rank.³⁰ It lasted nine days. The crowds that thronged to it were immense.³¹ Three bishops officiated, and the first nobles of the land attended as mourners. Eulogies and poems followed on all sides, and in numbers all but incredible. Those written in Spain make one considerable volume, and end with a drama in which his apotheosis was brought upon the public stage. Those written in Italy are hardly less numerous, and fill another.³² But more touching than any of them was the prayer of that much-loved daughter who had been shut up from the world fourteen years, that the long funeral procession might pass by her convent, and permit her once
* 191 * more to look on the face she so tenderly venerated; and more solemn than any was the mourning of the multitude, from whose dense mass

³⁰ See Lope's remarkable Dedication of his "Comedias," Tom. IX., 1618, to the Duke de Sessa. The Marquis of Pidal, a magnificent patron of Spanish literature, and one of the most accomplished scholars in the early literature of his country, is said to possess a considerable number of Lope's letters to the Duke of Sessa, whom he addresses under the name of Lucindo. I hope they may be printed.

³¹ In the Preface to the "Fama immortal del Fenix de Europa," ec., by Juan de la Peña, (Madrid, 1635, 12mo, ff. 16.) one of the multitudinous publications

that appeared immediately after his death, we are told that "el concurso de gente que acudió a su casa a verle y al entierro fue el mayor que se ha visto."

³² See Obras Sueltas, Tom. XIX.—XXI., in which they are republished,—Spanish, Latin, French, Italian, and Portuguese. The Spanish, which were brought together by Montalvan, and are preceded by his "Fama Póstuma de Lope de Vega," may be regarded as a sort of *justa política* in honor of the great poet, in which above a hundred and fifty of his contemporaries bore their part.

audible sobs burst forth, as his remains slowly descended from their sight into the house appointed for all living.³³

³³ Obras Sueltas, Tom. XX. p. 42. For an excellent and interesting discussion of Lope's miscellaneous works, and one to which I have been indebted in writing this chapter, see London Quarterly Review, No. 35, 1818. It is by Mr. Southey.

Lope's will, I think, has never been published, though I have seen an abstract of it. Having, however, obtained, through the kindness of the last Lord Holland, a copy of it, which Navarrete sent to his father, the author of Lope's Life, saying that he had found it in "El Archivo de Escrituras de Madrid," when he was searching for the will of Cervantes, I give it here entire, as a curious and important document.

TESTAMENTO DE LOPE DE VEGA.

"En el nombre de Dios nuestro Señor, amen. Sepan los que vieren esta escritura de testamento y última voluntad, como yo Frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio, Presbítero de la sagrada religion de San Juan, estando enfermo en la cama de enfermedad que Dios nuestro Señor fué servido de me dar, y en mi memoria, juicio y entendimiento natural, creyendo y confesando, como verdaderamente creo y confieso, el misterio de la Sma. Trinidad, Padre, Hijo y Espíritu Santo, que son tres personas y un solo Dios verdadero, y lo demás que cree y enseña la Santa Madre Iglesia Católica Romana, y en esta fe me huelgo haber vivido y protesto vivir y morir: y con esta invocacion divina otorgó mi testamento, desapropiamiento y declaracion en la forma siguiente.

"Lo primero, encomiendo mi alma á Dios nuestro Señor que la hizo y crió á su imagen y semejanza y la redimió por su preciosa sangre, al qual suplico la perdone y lleve á su santa gloria, para lo qual pongo por mi intercesora á la Sacratísima Virgen Maria, concebida sin pecado original, y á todos los Santos y Santas de la corte del cielo; y defunto mi cuerpo sea restituído á la tierra de que fué formado.

"Difunto mi cuerpo, sea vestido con las insignias de la dicha religion de San Juan, y sea depositado en la iglesia y lugar que ordenara el exím. sr. Duque

de Sessa mi señor; y pague los derechos.

"El dia de mi entierro, si fuere hora y si no otro siguiente, se diga por mi alma misa cantada de cuerpo presente en la forma que se acostumbra con los demás religiosos; y en quanto al acompañamiento de mi entierro, honras, novenario y demás exéguias y misas de alma y rezadas que por mi alma se han de decir, lo dexo al parecer de mis albaceas, ó de la persona que legitimamente le tocara esta disposicion.

"Declaro que, antes de ser sacerdote y religioso, fui casado segun orden de la Santa Madre Iglesia con D^a. Juana de Guardio, hija de Antonio de Guardio y D^a. Maria de Collantes, su muger, difuntos, vecinos que fueron desta villa, y la dha. mi muger traxó por dote suyo á mi poder veinte y dos mil trescientos y ochenta y dos rs. de plata doble, é yo la hice de arras quinientos ducados, de que otorgué escritura ante Juan de Piña, y dellos soy deudor á D^a. Feliciana Félix del Carpio, mi hija única y de la dicha de mi muger, á quien mando se paguen y restituyan de lo mejor de mi hacienda con las ganancias que le tocaren.

"Declaro que la dicha D^a. Feliciana, mi hija, esta casada con Luis de Usátegui, vecino de esta villa, y al tiempo que se trató el dicho casamiento le ofreci cinco mil ducados de dote, comprendiéndose en ellos lo que á la dicha mi hija le tocase de sus abuelos maternos, y dellos otorgó scriptura ante el dho. Juan de Piña, á que me remito, y respecto de haber estado yo alcanzado no he pagado ni satisfecho por cuenta de la dicha dote mrs. ni otra cosa alguna, aunque he cobrado de la herencia del otro mi suegro algunas cantidades, como parecerá de las cartas de pago que ho dado: mando se les paguen los dho. cinco mil ducados.

"A las mandas forzosas si algun derecho tienen, les mando quatro rs.

"A los lugares santos de Jerusalem mando veinte rs.

"Para casamiento de doncellas güerfnas un real = y para ayuda de la beatificación de la Beata Maria de la Cabeza otro real.

"Y para cumplir y pagar este mi testamento y declaracion, nombro por mis albaceas á el dho. eximo. sr. *192 Duque de Sessa, *Dn. Luis Fernandez de Cordoba, y Luis de Usategui, mi yerno, y á qualquiera de los dos in sólido, á los quales con esta facultad doy poder para que luego que yo fallezca vendan de mis bienes los necesarios, y cumplan este testamento, y les dure el tiempo necesario aunque sea pasado el año del albaceazgo.

"Declaro que el Rey nuestro señor (Dios le gñe.) usando de su benignidad y largueza, ha muchos años que en remuneracion de el mucho afecto y voluntad con que le he servido, me ofreció dar un oficio para la persona que casase con la dha. mi hija, conforme á la calidad de la dha. persona, y porque con esta esperanza tuvo efecto el dho. matrimonio, y el dho. Luis de Usategui, mi yerno, es hombre principal y noble, y está muy alcanzado, suplico á S. M. con toda humildad y al eximo. sr. Conde Duque en atencion de lo referido honre al dho. mi yerno, haciéndole merced, como lo fio de su grandeza.

"Cóbrese todo lo que pareciere me deben, y páguese lo que legitimamente pareciere que yo debo.

"Y cumplido, en el remanente de todos mis bienes, derechos y acciones, nombro por mi heredera universal á la dha. D^a. Feliciana Felix del Carpio, mi hija única; y en quanto á los que pueden

tocar á la dha. sagrada religion de San Juan tambien cumpliendo con los estatutos della nombro á la dha. sagrada religion para que cada uno lleve lo que le perteneciére.

"Revoco y doy por ningunos y de ningun efecto todos y qualesquier testamentos, cobdicios, desapropiamientos, mandas, legados y poderes para testar que ántes de este haya fecho y otorgado por escrito, de palabra, ó en otra qualquier manera que no valgaran, ne hagan fe, en juicio ni fuera dél, salvo este que es mi testamento, declaracion y desapropiamiento, en qual quiere y manda se guarde y cumpla por tal, ó como mejor haya lugar de derecho. Y lo otorgo así ante el presente escribano del número y testigos de yuso escritos en la villa de Madrid á veinte y seis dias del mes de Agosto año de mil y seis cientos y treinta y cinco; é yo el dho. escribano doy fe conozco al dho. señor otorgante, el qual pareció estaba en su juicio y entendimiento natural, y lo firmó: testigos el Dr. Felipe de Vergara medico, y Juan de Prado, platero de oro, y el licenciado, Josef Ortiz de Villena, presbitero, y D. Juan de Solis y Diego de Logroño, residentes en esta corte, y tambien lo firmáron tres de los testigos = F. Lope Felix de Vega Carpio = El Dr. Felipe de Vergara Testigo. = D. Juan de Solis = El licdo. Josef Ortiz de Villena = Ante mi: Francisco de Moráles.

* CHAPTER XV.

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LOPE DE VEGA, CONTINUED. — CHARACTER OF HIS MISCELLANEOUS WORKS. — HIS DRAMAS. — HIS LIFE AT VALENCIA. — HIS MORAL PLAYS. — HIS SUCCESS AT MADRID. — VAST NUMBER OF HIS DRAMAS. — THEIR FOUNDATION AND THEIR VARIOUS FORMS. — HIS COMEDIAS DE CAPA Y ESPADA, AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS.

THE works of Lope de Vega that we have considered, while tracing his long and brilliant career, are far from being sufficient to explain the degree of popular admiration that, almost from the first, followed him. They show, indeed, much original talent, a still greater power of invention, and a wonderful facility of versification. But they are rarely imbued with the deep and earnest spirit of a genuine poetry; they generally have an air of looseness and want of finish; and most of them are without that national physiognomy and character, in which, after all, resides so much of the effective power of genius over any people.

The truth is, that Lope, in what have been called his miscellaneous works, was seldom in the path that leads to final success. He was turned aside by a spirit which, if not that of the whole people, was the spirit of the court and the higher classes of Castilian society. Boscan and Garcilasso, who preceded him by only half a century, had made themselves famous by giving currency to the lighter forms of Italian verse, especially those of the sonnet and the *canzone*; and Lope, who found these fortunate poets the idols of the period, when his own character was forming, thought that to