

The other contemporary poem on Don John of Austria was still more solemnly devoted to his memory. It was written by Juan Gutierrez Rufo, a person much trusted in the government of Córdoba, and expressly sent by that city to Don John, whose service he seems never afterwards to have left. He was, as he tells us, especially charged by the prince to write his history, and received from him the materials for his task. The result, after ten years of labor, was a long chronicling poem called the "Austriada," printed in 1584. It begins, in the first four cantos, with the rebellion of the Moors in the Alpujarras; and then, after giving us the birth and education of Don John, as the general sent to subdue them, goes on with \* 497 his subsequent life and adventures, \* and ends, in the twenty-fourth canto, with the battle of Lepanto and the promise of a continuation.

When it was thus far finished, which was not till after the death of the prince to whose glory it is dedicated, it was solemnly presented, both by the city of Córdoba and by the Cortes of the kingdom, in separate letters, to Philip the Second, asking for it his especial favor, as for a work "that it seemed to them must last for many ages." The king received it graciously, and gave the author five hundred ducats, regarding it, perhaps, with secret satisfaction, as a funeral monument to one whose life had been so brilliant that his death was not unwelcome. With such patronage, it soon passed through three editions; but it had no real merit, ex-

de Padilla, who published his version in 1597. His "Naufragio e Lastimoso Suceso da Perdição de Manuel de Souza de Sepúlveda," etc., (Lisboa, 1594, 4to, ff. 206,) in seventeen cantos, was translated into Spanish by Francisco de Contreras, with the title of "Nave Trágica de la India de Portugal," 1624. This

Manuel de Souza, who had held a distinguished office in Portuguese India, and who had perished miserably by shipwreck near the Cape of Good Hope, in 1553, as he was returning home, was a connection of Cortereal by marriage. Denis, Chroniques, etc., Tom. II. p. 79.

cept in the skilful construction of its octave stanzas, and in some of its historical details, and was, therefore, soon forgotten.<sup>14</sup>

In the neighborhood of the city of Leon there are — or in the sixteenth century there were — three imperfect Roman inscriptions cut into the living rock; two of them referring to Curienus, a Spaniard, who had successfully resisted the Imperial armies in the reign of Domitian, and the third to Polma, a lady, whose marriage to her lover, Canioseco, is thus singularly recorded. On these inscriptions, Vezilla Castellanos, a native of the territory where the persons they commemorate are supposed to have lived, has constructed a romantic poem, in twenty-nine cantos, called "Leon in Spain," which he published in 1586.

Its main subject, however, in the last fifteen cantos, is the tribute of a hundred damsels, which the usurper Mauregato covenanted by treaty to pay annually to the \* Moors, and which, by the as- \* 498 sistance of the apostle Saint James, King Ramiro successfully refused to pay any longer. Castellanos, therefore, passes lightly over the long period intervening between the time of Domitian and that of the war of Pelayo, giving only a few sketches from its Christian history, and then, in the twenty-ninth canto, brings to a conclusion so much of his poem as relates to the Moorish tribute, without, however, reaching the

<sup>14</sup> "La Austriada de Juan Rufo, Jurado de la Ciudad de Córdoba," Madrid, 1584, 12mo, ff. 447. There are editions of 1585, 1586, and 1587, and it is extravagantly praised by Cervantes, in a prefatory sonnet, and in the scrutiny of Don Quixote's library. Rufo, when, on some occasion, he was to be presented to Philip II., said he had prepared himself fully for the reception, but lost all presence of mind, from the severity of that monarch's appear-

ance. (Baltasar Porreño, Dichos y Hechos de Philippe II., Bruselas, 1666, 12mo, p. 39.) The best of Rufo's works is his Letter to his young Son, at the end of his "Apotegmas," already noticed; — the same son, Luis, who afterwards became a distinguished painter at Rome. The "Austriada" is reprinted, with a good prefatory notice of the author, by Don Cayetano Rosell, in Vol. XXIX. of the Biblioteca de Rivadeneyra, 1854.

ultimate limit he had originally proposed to himself. But it is long enough. Some parts of the Roman fiction are pleasing, but the rest of the poem shows that Castellanos is only what he calls himself in the Preface, — “a modest poetical historian, or historical poet; an imitator and apprentice of those who have employed poetry to record such memorable things as kindle the minds of men and raise them to a Christian and devout reverence for the saints, to an honorable exercise of arms, to the defence of God’s holy law, and to the loyal service of the king.”<sup>15</sup> If his poem have any subject, it is the history of the city of Leon.

In the course of the next four years after the appearance of this rhymed chronicle of Leon, we find no less than three other long poems connected with the national history: one by Miguel Giner, on the siege of Antwerp by Alexander Farnese, who succeeded the unfortunate Don John of Austria as generalissimo of Philip the Second in the war of the Netherlands; — another, in twenty-one cantos, by Edward or Duarte Diaz, a Portuguese, on the taking of Granada by the Catholic sovereigns; — and the third by Lorenzo de Zamora, on the history of Saguntum and of its siege by Hannibal, in which, preserving the outline of that early story so far as it was well settled, he has wildly mixed up love-scenes, tournaments, and adventures,

\* 499 suited only to the age of \* chivalry. Taken together, they show how strong was the passion

<sup>15</sup> “Primera y Segunda Parte del Leon de España, por Pedro de la Vezilla Castellanos,” Salamanca, 1586, 12mo, ff. 369. The story of the gross tribute of the damsels has probably some foundation in fact; one proof of which is, that the old General Chronicle (Parte III. c. 8) seems a little unwilling to tell a tale so discreditable to Spain.

Mariana admits it, and Lobera, in his “Historia de las Grandezas, ec., de Leon,” (Valladolid, 1596, 4to, Parte II. c. 24,) gives it in full, as unquestionable. Leon is still often called Leon de *Espana*, as it is in the poem of Castellanos, to distinguish it from Lyons in France, Leon de *Francia*.

for narrative verse in Spain, where, in so short a time, it produced three such poems.<sup>16</sup>

To a similar result we should arrive from the single example of Christóval de Mesa, who, between 1594 and 1612, published three more national heroic poems; — the first on the tradition, that the body of Saint James, after his martyrdom at Jerusalem, was miraculously carried to Spain and deposited at Compostella, where that saint has ever since been worshipped as the especial patron of the whole kingdom; — the second on Pelayo and the recovery of Spain from the Moors down to the battle of Covadonga; — and the third on the battle of Tolosa, which broke the power of Mohammedanism and made sure the emancipation of the whole Peninsula. All three, as well as Mesa’s elaborate translations of the *Æneid* and *Georgics*, which followed them, are written in *ottava rima*, and all three are dedicated to Philip the Third.

Of their author we know little, and that little is told chiefly by himself in his pleasant poetical epistles, and especially in two addressed to the Count of Lemos and one to the Count de Castro. From these we learn, that, in his youth, he was addicted to the study of Fernando de Herrera and Luis de Soto, as well as to the teachings of Sanchez, the first Spanish scholar of

<sup>16</sup> “Sitio y Toma de Amberes, por Miguel Giner,” Zaragoza, 1587, 8vo. — “La Conquista que hicieron los Reyes Católicos en Granada, por Edoardo Diaz,” 1590, 8vo, ff. 286, — a chronicle rather than a poem, in twenty-one books, beginning with the king of Granada’s breach of faith by taking Zahara, and ending with the adventure and challenge of Garcilasso de la Vega and the fall of Granada (Barbosa, Tom. I. p. 730); — besides which, Diaz, who was long a soldier in the Spanish service, and wrote good Castilian, published, in 1592, a volume of verse in Spanish and Portuguese. — “De la His-

toria de Sagunto, Numancia, y Cartago, compuesta por Lorenzo de Zamora, Natural de Ocaña,” Alcalá, 1589, 4to, — nineteen cantos of *ottava rima*, and about five hundred pages, ending abruptly and promising more. It was written, the author says, when he was eighteen years old; but though he lived to be an old man, and died in 1614, having printed several religious books, he never went further with this poem. (Antonio, Bib. Nov., Tom. II. p. 11.) But he published a volume of miscellaneous poetry at Madrid, in 1592, 4to, entitled “*Varias Obras*,” some of which are in Portuguese and some in Italian.

his time; but that, later, he lived five years in Italy, much connected with Tasso, and from this time belonged entirely to the Italian school of Spanish poetry, to which, as his works show, \* he had always been inclined. But, with all his efforts, — and they were not few, — he found little favor or patronage. The Count de Lemos refused to carry him to Naples as a part of his poetical court, and the king took no notice of his long poems, which, indeed, were no more worthy of favor than the rest of their class that were then jostling and crowding one another in their efforts to obtain the royal protection.<sup>17</sup>

Juan de la Cueva followed in the footsteps of Mesa. His "Bética," printed in 1603, is an heroic poem, in twenty-four cantos, on the conquest of Seville by Saint Ferdinand. Its subject is good, and its hero, who is the king himself, is no less so. But the poem is a failure; heavy and uninteresting in its plan, and cold in its execution; — for Cueva, who took his materials chiefly from the General Chronicle of Saint Ferdinand's

<sup>17</sup> "Las Navas de Tolosa," twenty cantos, Madrid, 1594, 12mo; — "La Restauracion de España," ten cantos, Madrid, 1607, 12mo; — "El Patron de España," six books, Madrid, 1611, 12mo, with Rimas added. My copy of the last volume is one of the many proofs that new title-pages with later dates were attached to Spanish books that had been some time before the public. Mr. Southey, to whom this copy once belonged, expresses his surprise, in a MS. note on the fly-leaf, that the last half of the volume should be dated in 1611, while the first half is dated in 1612. But the reason is, that the title-page to the "Rimas" comes at p. 94, in the middle of a sheet, and could not conveniently be cancelled and changed, as was the title-page to the "Patron de España," with which the volume opens. Mesa's translations are later; — the *Æneid*, Madrid, 1615, 12mo; and the *Eclogues* of Virgil, to which he added a few more Rimas and

the poor tragedy of "Pompeio," Madrid, 1618, 12mo. The *ottava rima* seems to me very cumbersome in both these translations, and unsuited to their nature, though we are reconciled to it, and to the *terza rima*, in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, by Viana, a Portuguese, printed at Valladolid, in 1589, 4to; one of the happiest translations made in the pure age of Castilian literature. The *Iliad*, which Mesa is also supposed to have translated, was never printed. In one of his epistles, (Rimas, 1611, f. 201,) he says he was bred to the law; and in another, (f. 205,) that he loved to live in Castile, though he was of Estremadura. In many places he alludes to his poverty and to the neglect he suffered; and in a sonnet in his last publication, (1618, f. 113,) he shows a poor, craven spirit in flattering the Count de Lemos, with whom he was offended for not taking him to Naples. After this we hear nothing of him.

son, was not able to mould them, as he strove to do, into the form of the "Jerusalem Delivered." The task was, in fact, quite beyond his power. The most agreeable portion of his work is that which involves the character of Tarfira, a personage imitated from Tasso's Clorinda; but, after all, the romantic episode of which she is the heroine has great defects, and is too much interwoven with the principal thread of the story. The general plan \* of the poem, however, is less encumbered in its movement and more epic in its structure than is common in those of its class in Spanish literature; and the versification, though careless, is fluent, and generally harmonious.<sup>18</sup>

A physician and scholar of Valladolid, Alfonso Lopez, — commonly called El Pinciano, from the Roman name of his native city, — wrote in his youth a poem on the subject of Pelayo, but did not publish it till 1605, when he was already an old man. It supposes Pelayo to have been misled by a dream from Lucifer to undertake a journey to Jerusalem, and, when at the Holy Sepulchre, to have been undeceived by another dream, and sent back for the emancipation of his country. This last is the obvious and real subject of the poem, which has episodes and machinery enough to explain all the history of Spain down to the time of Philip the Third, to whom the "Pelayo" is dedicated. It is long, like the rest of its class, and, though ushered into notice with an air of much scholarship and pretension, it is written with little skill in the versification,

<sup>18</sup> "Conquista de la Bética, Poema Heróico de Juan de la Cueva," 1603, reprinted in the fourteenth and fifteenth volumes of the collection of Fernandez, (Madrid, 1795, with a Preface, which is, I think, by Quintana, and is very good. A notice of Cueva occurs in the Spanish translation of Sismondi, Tom.

I. p. 285; and a number of his unpublished works are said to be in the possession of the Counts of Aguila in Seville. *Semanario Pintoresco*, 1846, p. 250. Gayangos cites a volume of Cueva's poetry, entitled "Obras," published at Seville in 1582.

and is one of the most wearisome poems in the language.<sup>19</sup>

In 1612 two more similar epics were published. The first is "La Numantina," which is on the siege of Numantia and the history of Soria, a town standing in the neighborhood of Numantia, and claiming to be its successor. The author, Francisco Mosquera de Barnuevo, who belonged to an ancient and distinguished family there, not only wrote this poem of \* 502 \* fifteen cantos in honor of the territory where he was born, but accompanied it with a prose history, as a sort of running commentary, in which whatever relates to Soria, and especially the Barnuevos, is not forgotten. It is throughout a very solemn piece of pedantry, and its metaphysical agencies, such as Europe talking to Nemesis, and Antiquity teaching the author, seem to be a good deal in the tone of the old Mysteries, and are certainly anything but poetical. The other epic referred to is by Vasconcellos, a Portuguese, who had an important command and fought bravely against Spain when his country was emancipating itself from the Spanish yoke, but still wrote with purity, in the Castilian, seventeen cantos, nominally on the expulsion of the Moriscos, but really on the history of the whole Peninsula, from the time of the first entrance of the Moors down to the final exile of the last of their hated descendants by Philip the Third. But neither of these poems is now remembered, and neither deserves to be.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> "El Pelayo del Pinciano," Madrid, 1605, 12mo, twenty cantos, filling above six hundred pages, with a poor attempt at the end, after the manner of Tasso, to give an allegorical interpretation to the whole. I notice in N. Antonio, "La Iberiada, de los Hechos de Scipion Africano, por Gaspar Savariego de Santa Anna," Valladolid, 1603, 8vo. I

have never seen it. "La Patrona de Madrid Restituida," by Salas Barbadillo, an heroic poem in honor of Our Lady of Atocha, printed in 1608, and reprinted, Madrid, 1750, 12mo, which I possess, is worthless, and does not need to be noticed.

<sup>20</sup> "La Numantina del Licenciado Don Francisco Mosquera de Barnuevo,

\* From this point of time, such narrative \* 503 poems, more or less approaching an epic form, and devoted to the glory of Spain, become rare;— a circumstance to be, in part, attributed to the success of Lope de Vega, which gave to the national drama a prominence so brilliant. Still, in the course of the next thirty years, two or three attempts were made that should be noticed.

The first of them is by a Portuguese lady, Bernarda Ferreira, and is called "Spain Emancipated"; a tedious poem, in two parts, the earlier of which appeared in 1618, and the latter in 1673, long after its author's death. It is, in fact, a rhymed chronicle, — to the first part of which the dates are regularly attached, — and was intended, no doubt, to cover the whole seven centuries of Spanish history from the outbreak of Pelayo

etc., dirigida á la nobilissima Ciudad de Soria y á sus doce Linages y Casas á ellas agregadas," Sevilla, 1612, 4to. He says "it was a book of his youth, printed when his hairs were gray"; but it shows none of the judgment of mature years.

"La Liga deshecha por la Expulsion de los Moriscos de los Reynos de España," Madrid, 1612, 12mo. It was printed, therefore, long before Vasconcellos fought against Spain, and contains fulsome compliments to Philip III., which must afterwards have given their author no pleasure. (Barbosa, Tom. II. p. 701.) The poem consists of about twelve hundred octave stanzas.

"La España Defendida," by Christ. Suarez de Figueroa, Madrid, 1612, 12mo, and Naples, 1644, belongs to the same date, making, in fact, three heroic poems in one year. This last is on the story of Bernardo del Carpio, and ends with the death of Orlando, — the whole divided into fourteen books, and making about fourteen hundred octave stanzas.

Gayangos notes here five or six heroic or narrative poems, that belong to the same period, and, though of little value, and only a part of the crowd that might be enumerated and that are found

in Rosell's list, should yet, perhaps, have some notice.

The oldest is of 1568, by Balthasar de Vargas, and is entitled "Breve Relacion, ec., de la Jornada del Duque de Alva desde España hasta Flandes," — a mere compliment, and a very poor one, to the Duke on his expedition to Flanders, which did so much to ruin Spain.

The next, "La Ifanta [sic] Coronada," by João Soarez de Alarcam, (Alarcón,) 1606, is on the story of the unhappy Inez de Castro.

The third is "La Murgetana," by Gaspar Garcia Oriolano, 1608, on the conquest of Murcia by Jaime I. of Aragon.

The fourth is on a sea-fight of the Marquis de Sta. Cruz, published in 1624, by Diego Duque de Estrada.

The fifth is on another sea-fight, but won by Don Fadrique de Toledo, and was published in 1624 by Gabriel de Ayrolo Calan.

And the last is by Simeon Zapata, on the expulsion of the Moriscos, which it defends in the spirit of that ruthless act of tyranny. It was printed in 1635, and translated at once into Italian.

All are worthless, or nearly so.

to the fall of Granada, but it is finished no further than the reign of Alfonso the Wise, where it stops abruptly.

The second attempt is one of the most absurd known in literary history. It was made by Vera y Figueroa, Count de la Roca, long the Minister of Spain at Venice, and the author of a pleasant prose treatise on the Rights and Duties of an Ambassador. He began by translating Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered," but, just as his version was ready to be published, he changed his purpose, and accommodated the whole work — history, poetical ornaments, and all — to the delivery of Seville from the Moors by Saint Ferdinand. The transformation is as complete as any in Ovid, but certainly not as graceful; — a fact singularly apparent in the second book, where Tasso's beautiful and touching story of Sophronia and Olindo is travestied by the corresponding one of Leocadia and Galindo. As if to make the whole more grotesque and give it the air of a grave caricature, the Spanish poem is composed throughout in the old Castilian *redondillas*, and carried through exactly twenty books, all running parallel to the twenty of the "Jerusalem Delivered."

The last of the three attempts just referred to, and the last one of the period that needs to be noticed, is the "Naples Recovered" of Prince Esquilache, \* 504 which, \* though written earlier, dates, by its publication, from 1651. It is on the conquest of Naples in the middle of the fifteenth century by Alfonso the Fifth of Aragon, who seems to have been selected as its hero, in part at least, because the Prince of Esquilache could boast his descent from that truly great monarch.

The poem, however, is little worthy of its subject. The author avowedly took great pains that it should

have no more books than the *Æneid*; that it should violate no historical proprieties; and that, in its episodes, machinery, and style, as well as in its general fable and structure, it should be rigorously conformed to the safest epic models. He even, as he declares, had procured for it the crowning grace of a royal approbation before he ventured to give it to the world. Still it is a failure. It seems to foreshadow some of the severe and impoverishing doctrines of the next century of Spanish literature, and is written with a squeamish nicety in the versification that still further impairs its spirit; so that the last of the class to which it belongs, if it be not one of the most extravagant, is one of the most dull and uninteresting.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> "Hespaña Libertada, Parte Primera, por Doña Bernarda Ferreira de Lacerda, dirigida al Rey Católico de las Hespañas, Don Felipe Tercero deste Nombre, nuestro Señor," (Lisboa, 1618, 4to.) was evidently intended as a compliment to the Spanish usurpers, and in this point of view is as little creditable to its author as it is in its poetical aspect. Parte Segunda was published by her daughter, Lisboa, 1673, 4to. Bernarda de Lacerda was a lady variously accomplished. Lope de Vega, who dedicated to her his eclogue entitled "Filis," the last work he ever published, (Obras Sueltas, Tom. X. p. 193,) compliments her on her writing Latin with purity. She published a volume of poetry, entitled "Soledades de Busaco," in Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian, in 1634, a good German translation of a part of which may be found in Blumenkranz religiöser Poesien aus Sprachen des Südens von C. B. Schlüter, Paderborn, 1855. She died in 1644.

"El Fernando, ó Sevilla Restaurada, Poema Heróico, escrito con los Versos de la Gerusalemme Liberata, ec., por Don Juan Ant. de Vera y Figueroa, Conde de la Roca," ec., Milan, 1632, 4to, pp. 654. He died in 1658. Antonio, *ad verb.* See further about him in Vol. III., Appendix C.

"Nápoles Recuperada por el Rey

Don Alonso, Poema Heróico de D. Francisco de Borja, Príncipe de Esquilache," ec. Zaragoza, 1651, Amberes, 1658, 4to. A notice of his honorable and adventurous life will be given, when we speak of Spanish lyrical poetry, where he was more successful than he was in epic.

In the same year, 1651, another poem, on the subsequent conquest of Naples by Gonsalvo de Cordova, appeared at Granada (4to, ff. 138, making about six hundred octave stanzas). It is a sort of life of the Great Captain; but though it contains an intimation of his death, it really ends with his departure from Naples for the last time. It is quite dull, and is entitled "Napolisea, Poema Heróico, ec., por Don Francisco de Trillo y Figueroa." He wrote lyrical poetry, a volume of which, under the title of "Poesias Varias," was printed at Granada in 1652; — some parts of it national and simple in its style, some affected and *culto*, like Góngora, whom he imitated.

There were two or three other poems called heroic that appeared after these; but they do not need to be recalled. One of the most absurd of them is the "Orfeo Militar," in two parts, by Joan de la Victoria Ovando; the first being on the siege of Vienna by the Turks, and the second on that of Buda, both printed in 1688, 4to, at Malaga, where

\* 505 \* It is worth while, as we finish our notice of this remarkable series of Spanish narrative and heroic poems, to recollect how long the passion for them continued in Spain, and how distinctly they retained to the last those ambitious feelings of national greatness which originally gave them birth. For a century, during the reigns of Philip the Second, Philip the Third, and Philip the Fourth, they were continually issuing from the press, and were continually received with the same kind, if not the same degree, of favor that had accompanied the old romances of chivalry, which they had helped to supersede. Nor was this unnatural, though it was extravagant. These old epic attempts were, in general, founded on some of the deepest and noblest traits in the Castilian character; and if that character had gone on rising in dignity and developing itself under the three Philips, as it had under Ferdinand and Isabella, there can be little doubt that the poetry built upon it would have taken rank by the side of that produced under similar impulses in Italy and England. But, unhappily, this was not the case. These Spanish narrative poems, devoted to the glory of their country, were produced when the national character was on the decline; and as they sprang more directly from the essential elements of that character, and depended more on its spirit, than did the similar poetry of any other people in modern times, so they now more visibly declined with it.

It is in vain, therefore, that the semblance of the feelings which originally gave them birth is

their author enjoyed a military office; but neither, I think, was much read beyond the limits of the city that produced them. His "Ocios de Castalia," a volume chiefly of lyrical verse and chiefly in the Italian manner, which

was printed at Malaga in 1663, is not better. He says in it, that he wrote his first poems in 1642, and that he served at Naples and at Vienna; and I find that he was alive in 1688, beyond which I have no notice of him.

continued to the \*last; for the substance is \* 506 wanting. We mark, it is true, in nearly every one of them, a proud patriotism, which is just as presumptuous and exclusive under the weakest of the Philips as it was when Charles the Fifth wore half the crowns of Europe; but we feel that it is degenerating into a dreary, ungracious prejudice in favor of their own country, which prevented its poets from looking abroad into the world beyond the Pyrenees, where they could only see their cherished hopes of universal empire disappointed, and other nations rising to the state and power their own was so fast losing. We mark, too, throughout these epic attempts, the indications to which we have been accustomed of what was most peculiar in Spanish loyalty, — bold, turbulent, and encroaching against all other authority exactly in proportion as it was faithful and submissive to the highest; but we find it is now become a loyalty which, largely as it may share the spirit of military glory, has lost much of the sensitiveness of its ancient honor. And finally, though we mark in nearly every one of them that deep feeling of reverence for religion which had come down from the ages of contest with the infidel power of the Moors, yet we find it now constantly mingling the arrogant fierceness of worldly passion with the holiest of its offerings, and submitting, in the spirit of blind faith and devotion, to a bigotry whose decrees were written in blood. These multitudinous Spanish heroic poems, therefore, that were produced out of the elements of the national character when that character was falling into decay, naturally bear the marks of their origin. Instead of reaching, by the fervid enthusiasm of a true patriotism, of a proud loyalty, and of an enlightened religion, the elevation

to which they aspire, they sink away, with few exceptions, into tedious, rhyming chronicles, in which the national glory fails to excite the interest that would belong to an earnest narrative of real events, without gaining in its stead anything from the inspirations of poetical genius.

END OF VOL. II.

