

owed its existence everywhere to the Troubadours of Provence, or took, as it advanced, much of their character. In the latter part of the thirteenth century its spirit is already perceptible in the Castilian; and, from that time, we have occasionally caught glimpses of it, down to the point at which we are now arrived, — the first years of the reign of John the Second, — when we find it beginning to be colored by an infusion of the Italian, and spreading out into such importance as to require a separate examination.

And the first person in the group to whom our notice is attracted, as its proper central figure, is King John himself. Of him his chronicler said, with much truth, though not quite without flattery, that “he drew all men to him, was very free and gracious, very devout and very bold, and gave himself much to the reading of philosophy and poetry. He was skilled in matters of the Church, tolerably learned in Latin, and a great respecter of such men as had knowledge.

\* 322 He had many \* natural gifts. He was a lover of music; he played, sung, and made verses; and he danced well.”<sup>18</sup> One who knew him better describes him more skilfully. “He was,” says Fernan Perez de Guzman, “a man who talked with judgment and discretion. He knew other men, and understood who conversed well, wisely, and graciously; and he loved to listen to men of sense, and noted what they said. He spoke and understood Latin. He read well, and liked books and histories, and loved to hear witty rhymes, and knew when they were not well made.

meanings in the Lexicons of Wachter, Ménage, Adelung, etc.; but it is enough for our purpose to know that the word itself is peculiarly appropriate to the fanciful and more or less conceited school of poetry that everywhere ap-

peared under the influences of chivalry. It is the word that gave birth to the French *mignon*, the English *minion*, etc.

<sup>18</sup> Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo, Año 1454, c. 2.

He took great solace in gay and shrewd conversation, and could bear his part in it. He loved the chase, and hunting of fierce animals, and was well skilled in all the arts of it. Music, too, he understood, and sung and played; was good in jousting, and bore himself well in tilting with reeds.”<sup>19</sup>

How much poetry he wrote we do not know. His physician says, “The king recreates himself with writing verses”;<sup>20</sup> and others repeat the fact. But the best proof of his skill that has come down to our times is to be found in the following lines, in the Provençal manner, on the falsehood of his lady.<sup>21</sup>

\* O Love, I never, never thought  
Thy power had been so great,  
That thou couldst change my fate,  
By changes in another wrought,  
Till now, alas! I know it.

\* 323

<sup>19</sup> Generaciones y Semblanzas, Cap. 33. Diego de Valera, who, like Guzman, just cited, had much personal intercourse with the king, gives a similar account of him, in a style no less natural and striking. “He was,” says that chronicler, “devout and humane; liberal and gentle; tolerably well taught in the Latin tongue; bold, gracious, and of winning ways. He was tall of stature, and his bearing was regal, with much natural ease. Moreover, he was a good musician; sang, played, and danced, and wrote good verses [*trobava muy bien*]. Hunting pleased him much; he read gladly books of philosophy and poetry, and was learned in matters belonging to the Church.” Crónica de Hyspaña, Salamanca, 1495, folio, f. 89.

John, too, seems to have had a taste for painting. At least, he had Dello, a Florentine artist, at his court, and patronized and knighted him. See Stirling's Annals of the Artists of Spain (London, 3, 8vo, 1848, Vol. I. p. 97); — a book remarkable for its careful learning, good sense, and good taste on the subject to which it is mainly devoted, and for its curious notices on the kindred subjects that naturally

present themselves in such a work. I had not received it when the first edition of this History was published; but I shall often have occasion to refer to it in the present one.

<sup>20</sup> Fernan Gomez de Cibdareal, Centon, Epistolario, Ep. 20.

<sup>21</sup> They are commonly printed with the Works of Juan de Mena, as in the edition of Seville, 1534, folio, f. 104, but are often found elsewhere.

Amor, yo nunca pensé  
Que tan poderoso eras,  
Que podrias tener maneras  
Para trastornar la fe,  
Fasta agora que lo sé.

Pensaba que conocido  
Te debiera yo tener,  
Mas no pudiera creer  
Que fueras tan mal sabido.

Ni jamas no lo pensé,  
Aunque poderoso eras,  
Que podrias tener maneras  
Para trastornar la fe,  
Fasta agora que lo sé.

Three other trifles claimed as the King's may be found in the Appendix to Pidal's Essay prefixed to Baena's Cancionero, 1851, pp. LXXXI, LXXXII.



I thought I knew thee well,  
For I had known thee long ;  
But though I felt thee strong,  
I felt not all thy spell.

Nor ever, ever had I thought  
Thy power had been so great,  
That thou couldst change my fate,  
By changes in another wrought,  
Till now, alas ! I know it.

Among those who most interested themselves in the progress of poetry in Spain, and labored most directly to introduce it at the court of Castile, was Don Enrique de Aragon, or Don Enrique de Villena, often, but inappropriately, called the Marquis of Villena. He was born in 1384, and was descended in the paternal line from the royal house of Aragon, and in the maternal from that of Castile.<sup>22</sup> "In early youth," says an acute contemporary observer, "he was inclined to the sciences and the arts, rather than to knightly exercises, or even to affairs, whether of the state or the Church; for, without any master, and none constraining him to learn, but rather hindered by his grandfather, \* 324 who would have had him for \* a knight, he did, in childhood, when others are wont to be carried to their schools by force, turn himself to learning against the good-will of all; and so high and so subtle a wit had he, that he learned any science or art to

<sup>22</sup> His family originally possessed the only marquisate in the kingdom (Salazar de Mendoza, *Origen de las Dignidades Seglares de Castilla y Leon*, Toledo, 1618, folio, Lib. III. c. xii.), and he is called "Marquis of Villena" on the title-page of his "Arte Cisoria," published in 1766 by the Library of the Escorial; a designation often given to him since. But, in strictness of law, he was not a Marquis; for his grandfather, Don Alonso de Aragon, who died in 1412, sold the Marquisate to Henry III. of Castile; so that, be-

fore Don Enrique came to his inheritance, the title was already vested in the crown. (Gudiel, *Familia de los Girones*, 1577, f. 86. b. Salazar de Mendoza, *Monarquía de España*, 1770, Lib. III. Tit. vii. cap. 3, 4.) His proper appellation, therefore, is Don Enrique de Aragon, or Don Enrique de Villena. Quevedo tried to correct the mistake, which was common in his time, and has been ever since; for in his *Visita de los Chistes* he introduces Don Enrique, saying pointedly, "mi nombre no fue del título aunque tuve muchos."

which he addicted himself, in such wise, that it seemed as if it were done by force of nature."<sup>23</sup>

But his rank and position brought him into the affairs of the world and the troubles of the times, however little he might be fitted to play a part in them. He was made Master of the great military and monastic Order of Calatrava, but, owing to irregularities in his election, was ultimately ejected from his place, and left in a worse condition than if he had never received it.<sup>24</sup> In the mean time, he resided chiefly at the court of Castile; but from 1412 to 1414 he was at that of his kinsman, Ferdinand the Just, of Aragon, in honor of whose coronation at Saragossa he composed an allegorical drama, which is unhappily lost. Afterwards, he accompanied that monarch to Barcelona, where, as we have seen, he did much to restore and sustain the poetical school called the Consistory of the *Gaya Ciencia*. When, however, he lost his place as Master of the Order of Calatrava, he sunk into obscurity. The Regency of Castile, willing to make him some amends for his losses, gave him the poor lordship of Iniesta in the bishopric of Cuenca; and there he spent the last twenty years of his life in comparative poverty, earnestly devoted to such studies as were known and fashionable in his time. He died while on a visit at Madrid, in 1434, the last of his great family.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Fernan Perez de Guzman, *Gen. y Semblanzas*, Cap. 28.

<sup>24</sup> *Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo*, Año 1407, Cap. 4, and 1434, Cap. 8, where his character is pithily given in the following words: "Este caballero fue muy grande letrado é supo muy poco en lo que le cumplia." In the "Comedias Escogidas" (Madrid, 4to, Tom. IX., 1657) is a poor play entitled "El Rey Enrique el Enfermo, de seis

Ingenios," in which that unhappy king appears to even less advantage than he does in his *Chronicle* or in the *History of Mariana*.

<sup>25</sup> Zurita, *Anales de Aragon*, Lib. XIV. c. 22. The best notice of Don Enrique de Villena is in Juan Antonio Pellicer, "Biblioteca de Traductores Españoles" (Madrid, 1778, 8vo, Tom. II. pp. 58-76), to which, however, the accounts in Antonio (Bib. Vetus, ed.



\* 325 \* Among his favorite studies, besides poetry, history, and elegant literature, were philosophy and the mathematics, astrology, and alchemy. But, in an age of great ignorance and superstition, such pursuits were not indulged in without rebuke. Don Enrique, therefore, like others, was accounted a necromancer; and so deeply did this belief strike its roots, that a popular tradition of his guilt has survived in Spain quite down to our own age.<sup>26</sup> The effects, at the time, were yet more unhappy and absurd. A large and rare collection of books that he left behind him excited alarm, immediately after his death. "Two cart-loads of them," says one who claims to have been his contemporary and friend, "were carried to the king, and because it was said they related to magic and unlawful arts, the king sent them to Friar Lope de Barrientos;<sup>27</sup> and Friar Lope, who cares more to be about the Prince than to examine matters of necromancy, burnt above a hundred volumes, of which he

Bayer, Lib. X. c. 3) and Mariana (Hist., Lib. XX. c. 6) should be added. The character of a bold, unscrupulous, ambitious man, given to Don Enrique by Larra, in his novel entitled "El Doncel de Don Enrique el Doliente," published at Madrid, about 1835, has no proper foundation in history.

<sup>26</sup> Pellicer speaks of the traditions of Don Enrique's necromancy (loc. cit. p. 65). How absurd some of them were may be seen in a note of Pellicer to his edition of Don Quixote (Parte I. c. 49), and in the Dissertation of Feyjóo, "Teatro Crítico" (Madrid, 1751, 8vo, Tom. VI. Disc. ii. sect. 9). Mariana evidently regarded Don Enrique as a dealer in the black art (Hist., Lib. XIX. c. 8), or, at least, chose to have it thought he did; and the vulgar belief to that effect continues still, for I have the "Historia ec. del celebre Hechicero Don Enrique de Villena" (4to, Madrid, 1848, pp. 24). — Roxas used it in his "Lo que queria ver el Marques de Villena." Comedias, 1680, Tom. II.

<sup>27</sup> Lope de Barrientos was confessor to John II., and perhaps his knowledge of these very books led him to compose a treatise against Divination, which has never been printed (Antonio, Bib. Vetus, Lib. X. c. 11), but of which I have ample extracts, through the kindness of D. Pascual de Gayangos, and in which the author says that among the books burned was the one called "Raziel," from the name of one of the angels who guarded the entrance to Paradise, and taught the art of divination to a son of Adam, from whose traditions the book in question was compiled. It may be worth while to add that this Barrientos was a Dominican, one of the order of monks to whom, thirty years afterwards, Spain was chiefly indebted for the Inquisition, which soon bettered his example by burning, not only books, but men. He died in 1469, aged eighty-seven, having filled, at different times, some of the principal offices in the kingdom.

saw no more than the King of Morocco did, and knew no more than the Dean of Ciudad Rodrigo; for many men nowadays make themselves the name of learned by calling others ignorant; but it is worse yet when men make themselves holy by calling others necromancers."<sup>28</sup> Juan de Mena, to whom the letter containing this statement was addressed, offered \* a not ungraceful tribute to the memory of \* 326 Don Enrique in three of his three hundred *coplas*;<sup>29</sup> and the Marquis of Santillana, distinguished for his love of letters, wrote a separate poem on the occasion of his noble friend's death, placing him, after the fashion of his age and country, above all Greek, above all Roman fame.<sup>30</sup>

But though the unhappy Don Enrique de Villena may have been in advance of his age, so far as his studies and knowledge were concerned, still the few of his works now known to us by no means justify the great reputation his contemporaries gave him. His "Arte Cisoria," or Art of Carving, is proof of this. It was written in 1423, at the request of his friend, the chief carver of John the Second, and begins, in the most formal and pedantic manner, with the creation of the world and the invention of all the arts, among which the art of carving is made early to assume a high place. Then follows an account of what is necessary to make a good carver; after which we have, in detail, the whole mystery of the art, as it ought to be practised at the royal table. It is obvious, from sundry passages of the work, that Don Enrique himself was by no means without a love for the good cheer he so carefully explains, — a circumstance, per-

<sup>28</sup> Cibdareal, Centon Epistolario, Epist. lxxvi.

<sup>29</sup> Coplas 126-128.

<sup>30</sup> It is found in the "Cancionero General," 1573 (ff. 34-37), and is a vision in imitation of Dante's.



haps, to which he owed the gout that we are told severely tormented his latter years. But in its style and composition this specimen of the didactic prose of the age has little value, and can be really curious only to those who are interested in the history of manners.<sup>31</sup>

Somewhat similar remarks might be made about his treatise on the "Arte de Trobar," or the "Gaya Ciencia"; a sort of Art of Poetry, addressed to the Marquis of Santillana, in order to carry into \* 327 his native \* Castile some of the poetical skill possessed by the Troubadours of the South. But we have only an imperfect abstract of it, accompanied, indeed, with portions of the original work, which are important as being the oldest on its subject in the language.<sup>32</sup> More interesting, however, than either would be his translations of the Rhetorica of Cicero, the Divina Commedia of Dante, and the Æneid of Virgil. But of the first we have lost all trace. Of the second we know only that it was in prose, and addressed to his friend and kinsman, the Marquis of Santillana. And of the Æneid there remain but nine books, with a commentary to three of them, from which a few extracts are all that has been published.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> The "Arte Cisoria ó Tratado del Arte de cortar del Cuchillo" was first printed under the auspices of the Library of the Escorial (Madrid, 1766, 4to), from a manuscript in that precious collection marked with the fire of 1671. It is not likely soon to come to a second edition. If I were to compare it with any contemporary work, it would be with the old English "Treatyse on Fyshyng with an Angle," sometimes attributed to Dame Juliana Berners, but it lacks the few literary merits found in that little work.

<sup>32</sup> All we have of this "Arte de Trobar" is in Mayans y Siscar, "Orígenes de la Lengua Española" (Madrid,

1737, 12mo, Tom. II. pp. 321-342). It seems to have been written in 1433.

<sup>33</sup> The best account of them is in Pellicer, Bib. de Traductores, loc. cit. I am sorry to add, that the specimen given of the translation from Virgil, though short, affords some reason to doubt whether Don Enrique was a good Latin scholar. It is in prose, and the Preface sets forth that it was written at the earnest request of John, King of Navarre, whose curiosity about Virgil had been excited by the reverential notices of him in Dante's "Divina Commedia." See, also, Memorias de la Academia de Historia, Tom. VI. p. 455, note. In the King's Library at

Don Enrique's reputation, therefore, must rest chiefly on his "Trabajos de Hercules," or The Labors of Hercules, written to please one of his Catalonian friends, Pero Pardo, who asked to have an explanation of the virtues and achievements of Hercules; always a great national hero in Spain. The work seems to have been much admired and read in manuscript, and, after printing was introduced into Spain, it went through two editions before the year 1500; but all knowledge of it was so completely lost soon afterwards, that the most intelligent authors of Spanish literary history down to our own times have generally spoken of it as a poem. It is, however, in fact, a short prose treatise, filling, in the first edition, — that of 1483, — thirty large leaves. It is divided into twelve chapters, each devoted to one of the twelve great labors of Hercules, and each subdivided into four parts: the first part containing the common mythological \* story of the labor \* 328 under consideration; the second, an explanation of this story as if it were an allegory; the third, the historical facts upon which it is conjectured to have been founded; and the fourth, a moral application of the whole to some one of twelve conditions, into which the author very arbitrarily divides the human race, beginning with princes and ending with women.

Thus, in the fourth chapter, after telling the commonly received tale, or, as he calls it, "the naked story," of the Garden of the Hesperides, he gives us an allegory of it, showing that Libya, where the fair garden is placed, is human nature, dry and sandy; that Atlas, its lord, is the wise man, who knows how to

Paris is a prose translation of the last nine books of Virgil's Æneid, made, in 1430, by a Juan de Villena, who qualifies himself as a "servant of Inigo Lopez de Mendoza." (Ochoa, Catálogo de

Manuscritos, Paris, 1844, 4to, p. 375.) But this is a mistake. They are, in fact, the last nine books of Don Enrique's translation.



cultivate his poor desert; that the garden is the garden of knowledge, divided according to the sciences; that the tree in the midst is philosophy; that the dragon watching the tree is the difficulty of study; and that the three Hesperides are Intelligence, Memory, and Eloquence. All this and more he explains under the third head, by giving the facts which he would have us suppose constituted the foundation of the first two; telling us that King Atlas was a wise king of the olden time, who first arranged and divided all the sciences; and that Hercules went to him and acquired them, after which he returned and imparted his acquisitions to King Eurystheus. And, finally, in the fourth part of the chapter, he applies it all to the Christian priesthood, and the duty of this priesthood to become learned and explain the Scriptures to the ignorant laity; as if there were any possible analogy between them and Hercules and his fables.<sup>34</sup>

\* 329 \* The book, however, is worth the trouble of reading. It is, no doubt, full of the faults peculiar to its age, and abounds in awkward citations from Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, and other Latin authors, then so rarely found and so little known in Spain, that extracts from them added materially to the interest

<sup>34</sup> The "Trabajos de Hercules" is one of the rarest books in the world, though there are editions of it of 1483 and 1499, and perhaps one of 1502. The copy which I use is of the first edition, and belongs to Don Pascual de Gayangos. It was printed at Camora, by Centenera, having been completed, as the colophon tells us, on the 15th of January, 1483. It fills thirty leaves in folio, double columns, and is illustrated by eleven curious woodcuts, well done for the period and country. The mistakes made about it are remarkable, and render the details I have given of some consequence. Antonio (Bib. Ve-

tus, ed. Bayer, Tom. II. p. 222), Velasquez (Orígenes de la Poesía Castellana, 4to, Málaga, 1754, p. 49), L. F. Moratin (Obras, ed. de la Academia, Madrid, 1830, 8vo, Tom. I. Parte I. p. 114), and even Torres Amat, in his "Memorias" (Barcelona, 1836, 8vo, p. 669), all speak of it as a poem. Of the edition printed at Burgos, in 1499, and mentioned in Mendez, Typog. Esp. (p. 289), I have never seen a copy, and, except the above-mentioned copy of the first edition and an imperfect one in the Royal Library at Paris, I know of none of any edition; — so rare is it become.

and value of the treatise.<sup>35</sup> But the allegory is sometimes amusing; the language is almost always good, and occasionally striking by fine archaisms; and the whole has a dignity about it which is not without its appropriate power and grace.<sup>36</sup>

From Don Enrique de Villena himself, it is natural for us to turn to one of his followers, known only as "Macias el Enamorado," or Macias the Lover; a name which constantly recurs in Spanish literature with a peculiar meaning, given to it by the tragical history of the poet who bore it. He was a Galician gentleman, who served Don Enrique as one of his esquires, and became enamored of a maiden attached to the same princely household with himself. But the lady, though he won her love, was married, under the authority that controlled both of them, to a knight of Porcuna. Still Macias in no degree restrained his passion, but continued to express it to her in his verses, as he had done before. The husband was naturally offended, and complained to Don Enrique, who, after in vain rebuking his follower, used his full power, as Grand Master of the Order of Calatrava, and cast Macias into prison.

<sup>35</sup> See Heeren, Geschichte der Class. Litteratur im Mittelalter, Göttingen, 8vo, Tom. II., 1801, pp. 126-131. From the Advertencia to Don Enrique's translation of Virgil, it would seem that even Virgil was hardly known in Spain in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

<sup>36</sup> Another work of Don Enrique de Villena is mentioned in Sempere y Guarinos, "Historia del Luxo de España" (Madrid, 1788, 8vo, Tom. I. pp. 176-179), called "El Triunfo de las Donas," and is said to have been found by him in a manuscript of the fifteenth century, "with other works of the same wise author." The extract given by Sempere is on the fops of the time, and is written with spirit. Gayangos says that one of them was the "Cadera del honor," which is attribu-

ted by N. Antonio (Bib. Vet. Lib. X. cap. vi.) to Rodriguez del Padron, and that there are two others, — one on "Vestiduras y Paredes," and the other entitled "Consolatoria."

The Spanish antipope, Benedict XIII. (Pedro de Luna), who is sometimes claimed to have died in odor of sanctity in 1423 (see Mariana, Lib. XX. cap. 14, and Lib. XXI. cap. 2, where it is discredited), wrote a work in Latin, which was translated — but not, I suppose, by himself — into Spanish, with the title of "Consolaciones de la Vida Humana." This very early version has some value for its style, and may be found published for the first time by Don P. de Gayangos, in the fifty-first volume of Rivadeneyra's Biblioteca, 1860.



But there he only devoted himself more passionately to the thoughts of his lady, and, by his persevering love, still more provoked her husband, who, secretly following him to his prison at Arjonilla, and \* 330 watching him \* one day as he chanced to be singing of his love and his sufferings, was so stung by jealousy, that he cast a dart through the gratings of the window, and killed the unfortunate poet with the name of his lady still trembling on his lips.

The sensation produced by the death of Macias was such as belongs only to an imaginative age, and to the sympathy felt for one who perished because he was both a Troubadour and a lover. All men who desired to be thought cultivated mourned his fate. His few poems — partly in his native Galician, and partly in the unsettled Castilian of his time — became generally known, and were generally admired. His master, Don Enrique de Villena, Rodriguez del Padron, who was his countryman, Juan de Mena, the great court poet, and the still greater Marquis of Santillana, all bore testimony, at the time or immediately afterwards, to the general sorrow. Others followed their example; and the custom of referring constantly to him and to his melancholy fate was continued in ballads and popular songs, until, in the poetry of Lope de Vega, Calderon, and Quevedo, the name of Macias passed into a proverb, and became synonymous with that of the highest and tenderest love.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> The best account of Macias and of his verses is in Bellermann's "Alte Liederbücher der Portugiesen" (Berlin, 1840, 4to, pp. 24-26); to which may well be added, Argote de Molina, "Nobleza del Andaluzia" (Sevilla, 1588, folio, Lib. II. c. 148, f. 272), Castro, "Biblioteca Española" (Tom. I. p. 312), and Cortina's notes to Bouterwek (p. 195). But the proofs of his early

and wide-spread fame are to be sought in Sanchez, "Poesias Anteriores" (Tom. I. p. 138); in the "Cancionero General," 1535 (ff. 67, 91); in Juan de Mena, Copla 105, with the notes on it in the edition of Mena's Works, 1566; in "Celestina," Act II.; in several plays of Calderon, such as "Para vencer Amor querer vencerlo," and "Qual es mayor Perfeccion"; in Gón-

gora's ballads; and in many passages of Lope de Vega and Cervantes. There are notices of Macias also in Ochoa, "Manuscritos Españoles," Paris, 1844, 4to, p. 505. In Vol. XLVIII. of "Comedias Escogidas" (1704, 4to) is an anonymous play on his adventures and death, entitled "El Español mas Amante," in which the unhappy Macias is killed at the moment Don Enrique de Villena arrives to release him from prison; — and in our own times, Larra has made him the hero of his

"Doncel de don Enrique el Doliente," already referred to, and of a tragedy that bears his name, "Macias," neither of them true to the facts of history.

Since the preceding was first published, a little has been added to our knowledge of Macias, in the commentary to Baena's Cancionero (1851, p. 678), but it is not important. Five of his poems occur in that collection, beginning with No. 306; the first in Galician.