

HISTORY OF SPANISH LITERATURE.

SECOND PERIOD.

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*CHAPTER I.

PERIODS OF LITERARY SUCCESS AND NATIONAL GLORY — CHARLES THE FIFTH.
— HOPES OF UNIVERSAL EMPIRE. — LUTHER. — CONTEST OF THE ROMISH
CHURCH WITH PROTESTANTISM. — PROTESTANT BOOKS. — THE INQUISITION.
— INDEX EXPURGATORIUS. — SUPPRESSION OF PROTESTANTISM IN SPAIN. —
PERSECUTION. — RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS EFFECTS.

In every country that has yet obtained a rank among those nations whose intellectual cultivation is the highest, the period in which it has produced the permanent body of its literature has been that of its glory as a state. The reason is obvious. There is then a spirit and activity abroad among the elements that constitute the national character, which naturally express themselves in such poetry and eloquence as, being the result of the excited condition of the people and bearing its impress, become for all future exertions a model and standard that can be approached only when the popular character is again stirred by a similar enthusiasm. Thus, the age of Pericles naturally followed the great Persian war; the age of Augustus was that of a universal tranquillity produced by universal conquest; the age of Molière and La Fontaine was that in which Louis the Fourteenth was carrying the outposts of his consolidated monarchy far into

efforts

Germany; and the ages of Elizabeth and Anne were the ages of the Armada and of Marlborough.

* 418 * Just so it was in Spain. The central point in Spanish history is the capture of Granada. During nearly eight centuries before that decisive event, the Christians of the Peninsula were occupied with conflicts at home, that gradually developed their energies, amidst the sternest trials and struggles, till the whole land was filled to overflowing with a power which had hardly yet been felt in the rest of Europe. But no sooner was the last Moorish fortress yielded up, than this accumulated flood broke loose from the mountains behind which it had so long been hidden, and threatened, at once, to overspread the best portions of the civilized world. In less than thirty years, Charles the Fifth, who had inherited, not only Spain, but Naples, Sicily, and the Low Countries, and into whose treasury the untold wealth of the Indies was already beginning to pour, was elected Emperor of Germany, and undertook a career of foreign conquest such as had not been imagined since the days of Charlemagne. Success and glory seemed to wait for him as he advanced. In Europe, he extended his empire, till it checked the hated power of Islamism in Turkey; in Africa, he garrisoned Tunis and overawed the whole coast of Barbary; in America, Cortés and Pizarro were his bloody lieutenants, and achieved for him conquests more vast than were conceived in the dreams of Alexander; while, beyond the wastes of the Pacific, he stretched his discoveries to the Philippines, and so completed the circuit of the globe.

This was the brilliant aspect which the fortunes of his country offered to an intelligent and imaginative Spaniard in the first half of the sixteenth cen-

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ture.¹ For, as we well * know, such men then * 419 looked forward with confidence to the time when Spain would be the head of an empire more extensive than the Roman, and seem sometimes to have trusted that they themselves should live to witness and share its glory. But their forecast was imperfect. A moral power was at work, destined to divide Europe anew, and place the domestic policy and the external relations of its principal countries upon unwonted foundations. The monk Luther was already become a counterpoise to the military master of so many kingdoms; and from 1552, when Moritz of Saxony deserted the Imperial standard, and the convention of Passau asserted for the Protestants the free exercise of their religion, the clear-sighted conqueror may himself have understood that his ambitious hopes of a universal empire, whose seat should be in the South of Europe, and whose foundations should be laid in the religion of the Church of Rome, were at an end.

was not perfect

¹ Traces of this feeling are found abundantly in Spanish literature, for above a century; but nowhere, perhaps, with more simplicity and good faith than in a sonnet of Hernando de Acuña, — a soldier and a poet greatly favored by Charles V., — in which he announces to the world, for its “great consolation,” as he says, “promised by Heaven,” —

Un Monarca, un Imperio, y una Espada.
(Poesias, Madrid, 1804, 12mo, p. 214.)

Christóval de Mesa, however, may be considered more simple-hearted yet; for, fifty years afterwards, he announces this catholic and universal empire as absolutely completed by Philip III. Restauracion de España, Madrid, 1607, 12mo, Canto I. st. 7.

The most remarkable development of this idea is, however, to be found in Thomas Campanella, “De Monarchia Hispanica,” with the Appendix on the

question whether a Universal Monarchy be desirable (Amsterdam, Elzevir, 1640). The author was a Calabrian monk, born in 1568, and educated under the Spanish viceroyalty of Naples in the time of Philip II., with whose spirit he became sincerely imbued. His life was filled with wild adventures and extraordinary studies. Twenty-seven years of it he was, at different times, in prison, and there, in fact, he wrote this strange and eloquent book, embodying and illustrating the boldest dreams of Spanish ambition. “Decennali miseria,” he says, “detentus et ægrotus, nec relationibus instrui nec libris aut scientiis ullis adjuvari potui, quin et ipsa ss. Biblia mihi adempta fuerunt,” p. 454. His last years were patronized by Cardinal Richelieu, and he died in France in 1639. His Monarchia Hispanica has been often reprinted; — the last time, I think, at Berlin, 1840.

But the question, where the line should be drawn between the great contending parties, was long the subject of fierce wars. The struggle began with the enunciation of Luther's ninety-five propositions, and his burning the Pope's bulls at Wittenberg. It was ended, as far as it is yet ended, by the peace of Westphalia. During the hundred and thirty years that elapsed between these two points, Spain was indeed far removed from the fields where the most cruel battles of the religious wars were fought; but how deep was the interest the Spanish people took in the contest is plain from the bitterness of their struggle against the Protestant princes of Germany; from the vast efforts they made to crush the Protestant rebellion in the Netherlands; from the expedition of the * 420 Armada against * Protestant England; and from the interference of Philip the Second in the affairs of Henry the Third and Henry the Fourth, when, during the League, Protestantism seemed to be gaining ground in France; — in short, it may be seen from the presence of Spain and her armies in every part of Europe where it was possible to reach and assail the great movement of the Reformation.

Those, however, who were so eager to check the power of Protestantism when it was afar off, would not be idle when the danger drew near to their own homes.² The first alarm seems to have come from Rome. . In March, 1521, Papal briefs were sent to Spain, warning the Spanish government to prevent the further introduction of books written by Luther

² The facts in the subsequent account of the progress and suppression of the Protestant Reformation in Spain are taken, in general, from the "Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne,"

par J. A. Llorente (Paris, 1817-1818, 4 tom. 8vo), and the "History of the Reformation in Spain," by Thos. McCrie, Edinburgh, 1829, 8vo.

and his followers, which, it was believed, had then been secretly penetrating into the country for about a year. These briefs, it should be observed, were addressed to the civil administration, which still, in form at least, kept an entire control over such subjects. But it was more natural, and more according to the ideas then prevalent in other countries as well as in Spain, to look to the ecclesiastical power for remedies in a matter connected with religion; and the great body of the Spanish people seems willingly to have done so. In less than a month, therefore, from the date of the briefs in question, and perhaps even before they were received in Spain, the Grand Inquisitor addressed an order to the tribunals under his jurisdiction, requiring them to search for and seize all books supposed to contain the doctrines of the new heresy. It was a bold measure, but it was a successful one.³ The government * gladly countenanced * 421 it; for, in whatever form Protestantism appeared, it came with more or less of the spirit of resistance to all the favorite projects of the Emperor; and the people countenanced it because, except a few scattered individuals, all true Spaniards regarded Lu-

³ The Grand Inquisitors had always shown an instinctive desire to obtain jurisdiction over books, whether printed or manuscript. Torquemada, the fiercest, if not quite the first of them, burned at Seville, in 1490, a quantity of Hebrew Bibles and other manuscripts, on the ground that they were the work of Jews; and at Salamanca, subsequently, he destroyed, in the same way, six thousand volumes more, on the ground that they were books of magic and sorcery. But in all this he proceeded, not by virtue of his Inquisitorial office, but, as Barrientos had done forty years before (see *ante*, p. 325), by direct royal authority. Until 1521, therefore, the press remained in the hands of the *Oidores*, or judges of the

higher courts, and other persons civil and ecclesiastical, who, from the first appearance of printing in the country, and certainly for above twenty years after that period, had granted, by special power from the sovereigns, whatever licenses were deemed necessary for the printing and circulation of books. Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, Tom. I. pp. 281, 456. Mendez, *Typographia*, pp. 51, 331, 375. It may be worth noting here that Alfonso X. in his *Partidas* (Part II. Titulo xxxi. ley 11) provided that the booksellers — *estacionarios* — in any University should sell no books which the rector had not first examined and licensed as "buenos et legibles et verdaderos." This was two centuries before the invention of printing.

ther and his followers with hardly more favor than they did Mohammed or the Jews.

Meantime, the Supreme Council, as the highest body in the Inquisition was called, proceeded in their work with a firm and equal step. By successive decrees, between 1521 and 1535, it was ordained that all persons who kept in their possession books infected with the doctrines of Luther, and even all who failed to denounce such persons, should be excommunicated, and subjected to degrading punishments. This gave the Inquisition a right to inquire into the contents and character of whatever books were already printed. Next, they arrogated to themselves the power to determine what books might be sent to the press; claiming it gradually and with little noise, but effectually,⁴ and if, at first, without any direct grant of authority from the Pope, or from the King of Spain, still necessarily with the implied assent of both, * 422 and generally with * means furnished by one or the other. At last a sure expedient was found, which left no doubt of the process to be used, and very little as to the results that would follow.

In 1539 Charles the Fifth obtained a Papal bull authorizing him to procure from the University of

⁴ I notice in a few works printed before 1550 that the Inquisition, without formal authority, began quietly to take cognizance and control of books that were about to be published. Thus, in a curious treatise on Exchange, "Tratado de Cambios," by Cristóval de Villalon, printed at Valladolid in 1541, 4to, the title-page declares that it had been "visto por los Señores Inquisidores"; and in Pero Mexia's "Silva de Varia Leccion" (Sevilla, 1543, folio), though the title gives the imperial license for printing, the colophon adds that of the Apostolical Inquisitor. There was no reason for either, except the anxiety of the author to be safe

from an authority which rested on no law, but which was already recognized as formidable. Similar remarks may be made about the "Theórica de Virtudes" of Castilla, which was formally licensed, in 1536, by Alonso Manrique, the Inquisitor-General, though it was dedicated to the Emperor, and bears the Imperial authority to print. On the other hand, the "Ley de Amor Sancto," by Fr. de Ossuna, 1543, is simply said to have been "examined" by order of the *Provisor* or Co-adjutor of the Bishop of Seville, not licensed, nor in any way subjected to the authority of the Inquisition; so that it was rather recommended than anything else.

Louvain, in Flanders, where the Lutheran controversy would naturally be better understood than in Spain, a list of books dangerous to be introduced into his dominions. It was printed in 1546, and was the first "Index Expurgatorius" published under Spanish authority, and the second in the world. Subsequently it was submitted by the Emperor to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, under whose authority additions were made to it; after which it was promulgated anew in 1550, thus consummating the Inquisitorial jurisdiction over this great lever of modern progress and civilization, — a jurisdiction, it should be noted, which was confirmed and enforced by the most tremendous of all human penalties, when, in 1558, Philip the Second ordained the punishments of confiscation and death against any person who should sell, buy, or keep in his possession, any book prohibited by the Index Expurgatorius of the Inquisition.⁵

⁵ Peignot, *Essai sur la Liberté d'Écrire*, Paris, 1832, 8vo, pp. 55, 61. Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans*, Amsterdam, 1725, 12mo, Tom. II. Partie I. p. 43. Father Paul Sarpi's remarkable account of the origin of the Inquisition, and of the Index Expurgatorius of Venice, which was the first ever printed, *Opere*, Helmstadt, 1763, 4to, Tom. IV. pp. 1-67. Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, Tom. I. pp. 459-464, 470. Vogt, *Catalogus Librorum Rariorum*, Hamburgi, 1753, 8vo, pp. 367-369. Gayangos regards the Index printed at Valladolid in 1559 as "the first formal expurgatory Index" published in Spain, the earlier indices having been intended chiefly for the Low Countries. So much for Europe. Abroad it was worse. From 1550 a certificate was obliged to accompany every book, setting forth that it was not a prohibited book, without which certificate no book was permitted to be sold or read in the colonies. (Llorente, Tom. I. p. 467.) But thus far the Inquisition, in relation to the Index Expurgatorius, consulted the civil author-

ities, or was specially authorized by them to act. In 1640 this ceremony was no longer observed, and the Index was printed by the Inquisition alone, without any commission from the civil government. From the time when the danger of the heresy of Luther became considerable, no books arriving from Germany and France were permitted to be circulated in Spain, except by special license. Bisbe y Vidal, *Tratado de Comedias*, Barcelona, 1618, 12mo, f. 55.

From the official records of the Inquisition in the trial of Luis de Leon, 1572-1576, it appears that the Spanish booksellers did not venture to open the bales of books they were frequently receiving from France and elsewhere — "de Francia y de otras partes" — without an especial permission to do so from the Holy Office. (*Coleccion de Documentos ineditos para la Historia de España*, por Salvá y Baranda, Tom. X. 1847, p. 390, 8vo.) These suspected books were, no doubt, some of them Spanish; for a few tracts and treatises by Spanish Protestants, such as Perez

* 423 * The contest with Protestantism in Spain under such auspices was short. It began in earnest and in blood about 1559, and was substantially ended in 1570. At one period the new doctrine had made some progress in the monasteries and among the clergy; and though it never became formidable from the numbers it enlisted, yet many of those who joined its standard were distinguished by their learning, their rank, or their general intelligence. But the higher and more shining the mark, the more it attracted notice, and the more surely it was reached. The Inquisition had already existed seventy years, and was at the height of its power and favor. Cardinal Ximenes, one of the boldest and most far-sighted statesmen, and one of the sternest bigots the world ever saw, had for a long period united in his own person the office of Civil Administrator of Spain with that of Grand Inquisitor, and had used the extraordinary powers such a position gave him to confirm the In-

de Pineda, Enzinas, &c., were printed in Venice, Antwerp, and Paris, before 1600. But their number was very small. A list of them, and of nearly all the works of Spanish Protestants, published to spread the faith of their authors, can be found in the curious and interesting notice by B. B. Wiffen, prefixed to his reprint of the "Epistola Consolatoria por Juan Perez," 1848. But, from a very different source, we happen to know how these heretical books were ferreted out; for we are told that Carranza—the same person who afterwards became Archbishop of Toledo, and who was the most distinguished of the victims of the Inquisition (see *post* in this chapter)—was sent by Philip II. to the Low Countries in 1557, to inquire concerning heretical books in the Spanish language printed out of Spain; and, at his suggestion, all books arriving in Spain were examined before they were permitted to come into circulation. (Porreño, *Dichos y Hechos de Phelepe II.*, ed. 1748,

p. 82.) Only two years later Carranza himself was given up to the Inquisition as a heretic by Philip.

But Philip did not stop here. In conjunction with the Duke of Alva, he prepared an Index Expurgatorius, which, with a preface by Arias Montano, was printed in 1571 at the royal expense, but was given *only* to the Censors of Books, who were forbidden to permit it to be seen by anybody else. "Ii ipsi," says the order of Philip, "privatim, nullisque consciis, apud se Indicem Expurgatorium habebunt, quem eundem neque aliis communicabunt, neque ejus exemplum ulli dabunt," etc. This keeping secret the very Index itself is a refinement of tyranny, since it did not permit the person who had a forbidden book to know that it was thus forbidden till he was punished for possessing it. Another edition of this extraordinary Index was printed in 1599, filling three hundred and sixty-three pages.

quisition at home, and to spread it over the newly discovered continent of America.⁶ His successor was * Cardinal Adrien, the favored preceptor of * 424 Charles the Fifth, who filled above a year the places of Grand Inquisitor and of Pope; so that, for a season, the highest ecclesiastical authority was made to minister to the power of the Inquisition in Spain, as the highest political authority had done before.⁷ And now, after an interval of twenty years, had come Philip the Second, wary, inflexible, unscrupulous, at

⁶ Cardinal Ximenes was really equal to the position these extraordinary offices gave him, and exercised his great authority with sagacity and zeal, and with a confidence in the resources of his own genius that seemed to double his power. It should, however, never be forgotten that, *but for him*, the Inquisition, instead of being enlarged, as it was, twenty years after its establishment, would have been constrained within comparatively narrow limits, and probably soon overthrown. For, in 1512, when the embarrassments of the public treasury inclined Ferdinand to accept from the persecuted new converts a large sum of money, which he needed to carry on his war against Navarre,—a gift which they offered on the single and most righteous condition, that witnesses cited before the Inquisition should be examined *publicly*,—Cardinal Ximenes not only used his influence with the king to prevent him from accepting the offer, but furnished him with resources that made its acceptance unnecessary. And again, in 1517, when Charles V., young, and not without generous impulses, received, on the same just condition, from the same oppressed Christians, a still larger offer of money to defray his expenses in taking possession of his kingdom, and when he had obtained assurances of the reasonableness of granting their request from the principal universities and men of learning in Spain and in Flanders, Cardinal Ximenes interposed anew his great influence, and—not without some suppression of the truth—prevented a second time the acceptance of the offer. He, too, it was who arranged the jurisdiction of

the tribunals of the Inquisition in the different provinces, settling them on deeper and more solid foundations; and, finally, it was this master spirit of his time who first carried the Inquisition beyond the limits of Spain, establishing it in Oran, which was his personal conquest, and in the Canaries and Cuba, where he made provident arrangements, by virtue of which it was subsequently extended through all Spanish America. And yet, before he wielded the power of the Inquisition, he opposed its establishment. Llorente, *Hist.*, Chap. X., Art. 5 and 7.

Still Ximenes has always been venerated in Spain. Philip IV. endeavored to procure his beatification; and Pedro de Quintanilla, who was employed by Philip to solicit this glory at Rome, published, among other works that he prepared for the purpose, one entitled "Oranum Ximenii virtute Catholicum" (Romæ, 1658, 4to), in which he undertakes to show that, from the time of the great Cardinal's death, in 1517, to 1657, he had, from his abodes in heaven, many times intervened miraculously in the affairs of Africa to secure and extend there the conquests he had himself begun earlier, but to favor which, at the final struggle in 1509, it was pretended that the miracle of Joshua stopping the sun had been repeated in order to favor his success. (Quintanilla, p. 213.) But see a very able and much more wise discussion of the character of Cardinal Ximenes in Havemann, *Darstellungen*, Göttingen, 1850, pp. 138–160, and another in the first appendix to Ferrer del Rio's "Decadencia de España," 1850.

⁷ Llorente, *Tom. I.* p. 419.