496 THE INQUISITION FAVORED BY THE PEOPLE. [Period II.

the head of an empire on which, it was boasted, the sun never set, consecrating all his own great energies and all the resources of his vast dominions to the paramount object of extirpating every form of heresy from the countries under his control, and consolidating the whole into one grand religious empire.

Still, the Inquisition, regarded as the chief *425 outward * means of driving the Lutheran doctrines from Spain, might have failed to achieve its work if the people, as well as the govern-* 426 ment, had not been its earnest allies.8 * But,

in getting their great weapon of attack

— a vernacular Bible — into Spain; ittle, I mean, compared with their success in Italy. The history of their attempt, however, is both interesting and important. The Spanish Bible upon which they chiefly relied is the one of Maccabees. The third is in 508 1602, which was prepared by Cypriano de Valera; but which, in fact, is a second edition, much improved, of that of Cassiodoro de Reyna, 1569, which, in its turn, had freely used for the Old Testament the Jews' Bible in Spanish, printed at Ferrara, in 1553.

on a Spanish version of the Pentateuch, published at Constantinople in 1547, I have already given an account sufficient for our purpose, Period I. Chap. III.

Of that of Cassiodoro de Reyna we know less than would be interesting. Its author was a native of Seville, and educated at the university there; but, becoming a heretic, he escaped from Spain about 1557, and went first to London, then to Basle, — where, with the aid of the Senate, he published his Bible in 1569, — and, at last, to Frankfort, where he was living in 1573; the latest date we have concerning him. (Pellicer, Bib. de Trad., Tom. II. pp. 31-39.) His Bible, a work of faithful learning, is remarkable in several respects. It distributes the books as in the Vulgate, and omits part of the Apocrypha. It is paged in three different portions, as if they were all advancing through the press at one and when he became a Protestant he of

⁸ The Protestants had little success the same time. The first is in 1438 columns; ends with Solomon; and includes the two Apocryphal Books of Esdras, together with Tobit, Judith, and Ecclesiasticus. The second has 544 columns, and includes the rest of of Maccabees. The third is in 508 columns, and includes only the New Testament. The place of publication and the printer's name are not noted in it, and so it is often indicated as the "Bear's Bible," because on the titlepage a bear is represented plundering a beehive; but the facts that Reyna Of the Jews' Bible, founded in part on a Spanish version of the Pentateuch, sublished at Constantinople in 1547, I in a copy which he gave to the Library of that city in 1570, and which is still shown there. That he used the Ferrara Old Testament is fully admitted by him, and is particularly apparent in the Psalms, which, after the Jewish fashion, are divided into five books.

The whole work is in large 4to.
Of Valera's Bible we know somewhat more than we do of Reyna's; but not much. Valera himself, "llamado vulgarmente el Herege Español," says the Index of 1667, or, as Nicolas Antonio says of him, "infame nobis semper nomen," was probably more feared and detested for his heresy than any Span-iard of his time. He was born at Se-ville in 1532, and, as he tells us, knew Reyna personally, and was a fellowon all such subjects, the current in Spain had, from the first, taken only one direction. Spaniards had contended against misbelief with so implacable a hatred, for centuries, that the spirit of that old contest had become one of the elements of their national existence; and now, having expelled the Jews, and reduced the Moors to submission, they turned themselves, with the same fervent zeal, to purify their soil

course fled, as Reyna did. His earliest self, originally published in 1545, conresting-place seems to have been Geneva, where he translated Calvin's Institutes. Afterwards he visited England, and spent some time both at Oxford and Cambridge (Wood's Athenæ, ed. Bliss, Tom. II., Fasti, p. 169), and finally he went to Amsterdam, where we lose sight of him just at the moment when, as he tells us, he was preparing, at the age of seventy, to return to England. In revising and rewriting the translation of Reyna, he proceeded as did the translators of our English version in the time of James I. : I mean that he sought assistance in the labors of his predecessors; — namely, in the Jews' Bible of 1553; in the New Testament of Francisco de Enzinas, Antwerp, 1543, dedicated to Charles V., but immediately suppressed; and in that of 1556, by D. Juan Perez, printed at Venice without his name;—and as Valera, moreover, enjoyed the great Valera, moreover, enjoyed the great lights of the Complutensian and Ant-werp Polyglotts,—to both of which he refers with the honor they so richly deserve,—his Bible, prin ed at Am-sterdam in 1602, and containing the Apocrypha in its place, as well as the Old and New Testaments, was prepared on the true foundations for such a work. It is, however, a large folio of nearly nine hundred pages, and, therefore, is not at all suited to the leger-demain needful for the circulation of Protestantism in Spain at that dark period, so that it seems to have been no more known there than his New Testament, which was printed separately in England in 1596, but of which, as we know, not many copies ever penetrated into the Spanish pe-

There is an account by Enzinas him- Bib. Nova, Tom. I. pp. 234, 261, 756.

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cerning his imprisonment for translating the New Testament, an interesting abstract of which may be found in the notes (pp. 7-17) to his "Dos Infor-

maciones," s. l. 1857.

These few but important facts close up the history of Spanish Christian versions of the Bible for nearly two centuries; — namely, until the version of Father Scio (Valencia, 1790-1793, Folio, 10 vols.) and that of Felix Torres Amat, Madrid, 1822 - 1825; both, of course, according to the straitest dogmas of the Spanish Church, and neither of them intended for popular use. Indeed, by the old Index of 1667, "Regla quinta," all Spanish versions of the Bible, or of any part of it, are absolutely forbidden, and it is only by "Regla octava" of the Index of 1790 that even such versions as those of Father Scio and Torres Amat are permitted, on the ground that they are accompanied with such authorized notes, etc., as will prevent the suggestion of unsound opinions. Even these restrictions, however, have been in a great degree removed, as to versions made by orthodox authority, and conforming to the Vulgate. (S. T. Wallis, Glimpses of Spain in 1847, 12mo, New York, 1849, chap. 16, an acute and agreeable book.) Still, I suppose it would be difficult or impossible to circulate a *Protestant* version of the Bible in Spain. At least, Borrow found it to be so, when he made the attempt.

On the old Spanish versions of the Bible, Jewish and Christian, see Castro, Bib. Esp., Tom. I., 1781, pp. 400 - 536; and on the Protestant versions alone, see Pellicer, Bib. de Trad., Tom. II. pp. 31, 41, 120, and N. Antonio,

from what they trusted would prove the last trace of heretical pollution. To achieve this great object, Pope Paul the Fourth, in 1558, — the same year in which Philip the Second had decreed the most odious and awful penalties of the civil government in aid of the Inquisition, - granted a brief, by which all the preceding dispositions of the Church against heretics were confirmed, and the tribunals of the Inquisition were authorized and required to proceed against all persons supposed to be infected with the new belief, even though such persons might be bishops, archbishops, or cardinals, dukes, princes, kings, or emperors; - a power which, taken in all its relations, was more formidable to the progress of intellectual improvement than had ever before been granted to any body of men, civil or ecclesiastical.9

The portentous authority thus given was at once freely exercised. The first public auto de fe of Protestants was held at Valladolid in 1559, and others *427 followed, both there *and elsewhere.10 The royal family was occasionally present; several persons of rank suffered; and a general popular favor

 Llorente, Tom. II. pp. 183, 184.
 Ibid., Tom. II. Chap. XX., XXI., and XXIV. Historia del Colegio de se tuvo creido que si dos o tres años la mas aspera desventura, que jamas en ella se avia visto" (Tomo II. ff. 336aggeration due to his admiration for the Inquisition, of which he says elsewhere (f. 101 a.), "Si por el no fuera, ya estuviera toda España inficionada de la pestilencial doctrina y secta Lutherara."

One might, however, partly infer this state of things from the account which the Protestant Cipriano de Valera gives of the condition of his convent in Seville when he escaped from it in 1557. See pp. 247, etc., of his Dos Trabados, first printed in 1588, and reprinted s. l.

evidently followed the horrors that were perpetrated. The number of victims was not large when compared with earlier periods, seldom exceeding twenty burned at one time, and fifty or sixty subjected to cruel and degrading punishments; but many of those who suffered were, as the nature of the crimes alleged against them implied, among the leading and active minds of their age. Men of learning were particularly obnoxious to suspicion, since the cause of Protestantism appealed directly to learning for its support. Sanchez, the best classical scholar of his time in Spain, Luis de Leon, the best Hebrew critic and the most eloquent preacher, and Mariana, the chief Spanish historian, with other men of letters of inferior name and consideration, were summoned before the tribunals of the Inquisition, in order that they might at least avow their submission to its authority, even if they were not subjected to its censures.

Nor were persons of the holiest lives and the most ascetic tempers beyond the reach of its mistrust, if they but showed a tendency to inquiry. Thus, Juan de Avila, known under the title of the Apostle of Andalusia, and Luis de Granada, the devout mystic, with Teresa de Jesus and Juan de la Cruz, both of whom were afterwards canonized by the Church of Rome, all passed through its cells, or in some shape underwent its discipline. So did some of the ecclesiastics most distinguished by their rank and authority. Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, after being tormented eighteen years by its persecutions, died, at last, in craven submission to its power; and Cazalla, who had been a favorite chaplain of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, was strangled at the stake as an indulgence for an unmanly recantation, and then

San Bartolomé, ec., por Vergara y el mas se tardara en remediar este daño se Marques de Alventos. Fol., Tom. I., abrasara toda España y viniera mas a 1766, p. 259. An account of this auto de fé, May 21, 1559, by Gonzalo de Illescas, who witnessed it, rejoicing in his 338). But this was, I suppose, an exorthodoxy, is much more shocking than anything similar that I have read from unbelievers in the Church of Rome. It is in his Historia Pontifical y Catolica, Libro VI. cap. 30, § iv, this section being wholly given to the autos of Protestants. Women were among those burnt in May; "Uvo," he says, "entre los quemados algunas monjas, bien mozas y hermosas." At this period, according to Illescas, the Protestant cause was gaining in Spain. He says that many eminent persons in Val- 1851.

burnt. Even the faith of the principal personages of the kingdom was inquired into, and, at different *428 times, proceedings sufficient, at least, to * assert its authority, were instituted in relation to Don John of Austria, and the formidable Duke of Alva; 11 proceedings, however, which must be regarded rather as matters of show than of substance, since the whole institution was connected with the government from the first, and became more and more subservient to the policy of the successive masters of the state, as its tendencies were developed in successive reigns.

The great purpose, therefore, of the government and the Inquisition may be considered as having been fulfilled in the latter part of the reign of Philip the Second, - further, at least, than such a purpose was ever fulfilled in any other Christian country, and further than it is ever likely to be again fulfilled elsewhere. The Spanish nation was then become, in the sense they themselves gave to the term, the most thoroughly religious nation in Europe; a fact signally illustrated in their own eyes a few years afterward, when it was deemed desirable to expel the remains of the Moorish race from the Peninsula, and six hundred thousand peaceable and industrious subjects were,

carried it, and when the Inquisitor had read it, he replied with holy zeal, 'Sir, tell the king to take back the office he has given me (que tomé su oficio); but if he pleases to do this thing, let him first destroy the Inquisition.' The Gentleman reported this answer carefully, and his Majesty, having heard it with attention, said, the content of the second of th "Truly Quiroga teaches us to be Christians,"—a reply," adds the courtly theologian, "not merely generous, not merely royal, but one that I would call divine." Jesu Christo Desagraviado, from religious bigotry, cruelly driven out of their native country, amidst the devout exultation of the whole kingdom, - Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and others of the principal men of genius then alive, joining in the general jubilee.12 From this time, the voice of religious dissent can hardly be said to have been heard in the land; and the Inquisition, therefore, down to its overthrow in 1808, became more and more a political engine, much occupied about cases connected with the policy of the state, though under * the * 429 pretence that they were cases of heresy or unbelief. The great body of the Spanish people rejoiced alike in their loyalty and their orthodoxy; and the few who differed in faith from the mass of their fellowsubjects were either held in silence by their fears, or else sunk away from the surface of society the moment their disaffection was suspected.13

Don Quixote, Parte II. c. 54, and Lope de Vega, Corona Tragica, Lib. II. Obras Sueltas, 1776, Tom. IV. p. 30. Velasquez painted a grand picture on this atrocious crime of state, of which are account may be found in Sticking. an account may be found in Stirling's

Artists of Spain, 1848, Vol. II. p. 599. Sir Edmund Head, in the first chap-Painting, London, 12mo, 1848, after speaking of "the one Spanish Institution, the Inquisition," has these striking words : "I say the one Spanish Institution, because it was the single common bond and link which united into one monarchy all the scattered kingdoms and lordships making up what we call Spain." The whole of this chapter, which is on "the influence of Religion on Spanish Painting," is rich with the reflections of a wise and philosophical spirit, familiar with the Span-

sition was well understood from an

nistri. Adopra quest' offizio per tener in freno i sudditi e castigargli con la segretezza e severità con che si procede in esso, dove non puo farlo con l'autoter of his Handbook of the History of rità ordinaria secolare, se ben suprema, del consiglio reale, si danno mano insieme e s' aiutano in servizio del Re per rispetto del Stato. Albèri, Relazioni Venete Seriè I. Vol. V., 1861, p.

13 Between the suppression of the Reformation by Philip II., about 1570, and the suppression of the Inquisition in 1808, I recollect but four Spaniards of note who were converted to the Protestant faith, and who printed anything in support of their opinions. The first of those was, as is commonly said, Tomé Carrascon, an Augustinian monk, who The political character of the Inqui-ition was well understood from an Canon of Hereford Cathedral by James early period by persons familiar with the condition of Spain and with the workings of its government. Agostino

1. He wrote in Spanish a treatise of 300 pp. 8vo, against Monachism, against performing the services of the church

¹¹ Llorente, Tom. II. Chap. XIX., XXV., and other places. We have the sufficient authority of Paravicino, that carried it, and when the Inquisitor the Inquisition once refused obedience to a request of Philip II., and refused it, too, in a disrespectful manner. "A distinguished lady of the court," says the euphuistical preacher, "was dangerously (desafuciadamente!) ill, and her physicians deemed indispensable the skill of an eminent herbalist, a Va-lencian Morisco, then in the prisons of the Inquisition at Toledo. Our lord Don Philip the Second wrote a letter (papel) to Cardinal Quiroga, the Inquisitor-General, desiring that the prisoner might be intrusted to him, and 1633, ff. 9, 10.

The results of such extraordinary traits in the national character could not fail to be impressed upon the literature of any country, and particularly upon a literature which, like that of Spain, had always been strongly marked by the popular temperament and peculiarities. But the period was not one in which such traits could be produced with poetical effect. The ancient loyalty, which had once been so generous an element in the Spanish character and cultivation, was now infected with the ambition of universal empire, and was lavished upon princes and nobles who. like the three Philips and their ministers, were * 430 * unworthy of its homage; so that, in the Spanish historians and epic poets of this period, 7/

in Latin, etc., and printed it somewhere The third was Felix Antonio de Alvain Flanders, without date of place or year, but probably soon after 1628 (Ocios de Españoles Emigrados, Londres, Tom. I. 1824, pp. 156-161). It appeared again, I believe, in 1633, and a small edition of it was printed some years since in England without date, in a Second appendix to which, published soon afterwards, it is set forth that Thomas Carasion is not the true name of the author, but Fernando de Texeda, who published two or three other Protestant treatises in Latin and English, and in 1623 translated the English Liturgy into Spanish, apropos of the proposed match of Prince Charles with the Spanish Infanta. For this, which he did at the suggestion of Bishop Williams, he was made Vicar of Blackmere and Prebend of Hereford. He was also connected with the University of Oxford, and, in consequence of this, a slight notice of him may be found in Bliss's edition of Wood's Athènæ, Vol. II. p. 413. The second is Sebastian de la Enzina, who published at Amsterdam, in 1708, a revised edition of the New Testament of Cypriano de Valera (1596, see ante, note 8). He was minister to a congregation of Spanish merchants in that city, and belonged to the Anglican church (Castro, Biblioteca, Tom. I. pp. 499-501).

rado, who was also of the Anglican church, and was minister to a congregation of Spanish merchants in London. In 1709 he published, apparently for the use of his hearers, a translation of the English Liturgy, to which he added a Treatise on Ordination; both of which, together with some Dialogues in Spanish and English for acquiring both languages, which he published in 1719, are on the Index Expurgatorius of 1790, pp. 8, 162.

But, greater than all other Spanish Protestants, and every way more important, is Joseph Blanco White, who was born at Seville in 1775; took orders in the Catholic Church in 1800; and, escaping to England, in consequence of the political troubles of the time, in 1812, soon renounced the Catholic faith, and published, at different times, powerful works against it, as well as other works, to which I shall occasionally refer, because they so well illustrate the literature of his country. He died at Liverpool in 1841, and a Life of him, by J. H. Thom, in three vols. 8vo, was printed at London in 1845.

Three or four other Spaniards have since followed the example of Blanco White, but none of so much talent, or in any respect of so much consequence, as that very remarkable man.

and even in more popular writers, like Quevedo and Calderon, we find a vainglorious admiration of their country, and a poor flattery of royalty and rank, that remind us of the old Castilian pride and deference only by showing how both had lost their dignity. And so it is with the ancient religious feeling that was so nearly akin to this loyalty. The Christian spirit, which gave an air of duty to the wildest forms of adventure throughout the country, during its long contest with the power of misbelief, was now fallen away into a low and anxious bigotry, fierce and intolerant towards everything that differed from its own sharply defined faith, and yet so pervading and so popular, that the romances and tales of the time are full of it, and the national theatre, in more than one form, becomes its strange and grotesque monument.

Of course, the body of Spanish poetry and eloquent prose produced during this interval - the earlier part of which was the period of the greatest glory Spain ever enjoyed - was injuriously affected by so diseased a condition of the national character. That generous and manly spirit which is the breath of intellectual life to any people was restrained and stifled. Some departments of literature, such as forensic eloquence and eloquence of the pulpit, satirical poetry and elegant didactic prose, hardly appeared at all; others, like epic poetry, were strangely perverted and misdirected; while vet others, like the drama, the ballads, and the lighter forms of lyrical verse, seemed to grow exuberant and lawless from the very restraints imposed on the rest; restraints which, in fact, forced poetical genius into channels where it would otherwise have flowed much more scantily, and with no such luxuriant results.

The books that were published during the whole

period on which we are now entering, and indeed for a century later, bore everywhere marks of the subjection to which the press and those who wrote for it were alike reduced. From the abject title-pages and dedications of the authors themselves, through *431 * the crowd of certificates collected from their friends to establish the orthodoxy of works that were often as little connected with religion as fairy tales, down to the colophon, supplicating pardon for any unconscious neglect of the authority of the Church or

any too free use of classical mythology, we are continually oppressed with painful proofs, not only how completely the human mind was enslaved in Spain, but how grievously it had become cramped and crippled

by the chains it had so long worn.14

But we shall be greatly in error, if, as we notice these deep marks and strange peculiarities in Spanish literature, we suppose they were produced by the direct action either of the Inquisition or of the civil government of the country, compressing, as it were, with a physical power, the whole circle of society. This would have been impossible. No nation would have submitted to it; much less so high-spirited and chivalrous a nation as the Spanish in the reign of Charles the Fifth and in the greater part of that of Philip the Second. This dark work was done earlier. Its foundations were laid deep and sure in the old Castilian character. It was the result of the excess and misdirection of that very Christian zeal which fought so fervently and gloriously against the intrusion

14 The dedications of Spanish au- book is, the more anxious the author Metamorphoses, 1664, dedicated "a la purissima Reyna de los Angeles y Hombres, Maria Santissima," etc.

of Mohammedanism into Europe, and of that military loyalty which sustained the Spanish princes so faithfully through the whole of that terrible contest; both of them high and ennobling principles, which in Spain were more wrought into the popular character than they were in any other country.15

*Spanish submission to an unworthy despot- *432 ism, and Spanish bigotry, were, therefore, not the results of the Inquisition, and the modern appliances of a corrupting monarchy; but the Inquisition and the despotism were rather the results of a misdirection of the old religious faith and loyalty. The civilization that recognized such elements presented, no doubt, much that was brilliant, poetical, and ennobling; but it was not without its darker side; for it failed to excite and cherish many of the most elevating qualities of our common nature, - those qualities which are produced in domestic life, and result in the cultivation of the arts of peace.

As we proceed, therefore, we shall find, in the full development of the Spanish character and literature, seeming contradictions, which can be reconciled only by looking back to the foundations on which they both rest. We shall find the Inquisition at the height of its power, and a free and immoral drama at the height of its popularity, - Philip the Second and his two immediate successors governing the country with the severest and most jealous despotism, while Quevedo was

15 V. A. Huber, in a discourse deliv- Inquisition he says: "So viel ist gewiss. ered before the Evangelical Union, at Die Inquisition war eine, im besten Berlin, in 1847, maintains that the In- Sinne, volksthümliche; - eine Maasquisition was an inevitable institution, regel im Sinne achtkatholisch castigrowing out of the Spanish national lischer nationalität." This seems to me character, and that the position of Spain somewhat extravagant, but it is not as the head of the Roman Catholic world without foundation in truth. Über in the sixteenth century was the only Spanische Nationalität, U. s. w. Ber-

thors sometimes show this spirit in the seems to protect it in this way. Thus strongest manner. To consecrate their I have a poor prose translation of the books from censure, some of them are dedicated to the Saints, the Saviour, &c., in a manner at once absurd and revolting; and the more objectionable the

position she could then take. Of the lin, 1852, p. 13.

writing his witty and dangerous satires, and Cervantes his bold and wise Don Quixote. But the more carefully we consider such a state of things, the more we shall see that these are moral contradictions which draw after them grave moral mischiefs. The Spanish nation, and the men of genius who illustrated its best days, might be light-hearted because they did not perceive the limits within which they were confined, or did not, for a time, feel the restraints that were imposed upon them. What they gave up might be given up with cheerful hearts, and not with a sense of discouragement and degradation; it might be done in the spirit of loyalty and with the fervor of religious zeal; but it is not at all the less true that the hard limits were there, and that great sacrifices of the best elements of the national character must follow the constraint and subjection they implied.

Of this, time gave abundant proof. / Only a little more than a century elapsed before the govern-*433 ment that had *threatened the world with a universal empire was hardly able to repel invasion from abroad, or maintain the allegiance of its own subjects at home. Life - the vigorous, poetical life which had been kindled through the country in its ages of trial and adversity - was evidently passing out of the whole Spanish character. As a people, they sank away from being a first-rate power in Europe, till they became one of altogether inferior importance and consideration; and then, drawing back haughtily behind their mountains, rejected all equal intercourse with the rest of the world, in a spirit almost as exclusive and intolerant as that in which they had formerly refused intercourse with their Arab conquerors. The crude and gross wealth poured in

from their American possessions sustained, indeed, for yet another century, the forms of a miserable political existence in their government; but the earnest faith, the loyalty, the dignity of the Spanish people, were gone; and little remained in their place but a weak subserviency to the unworthy masters of the state, and a low, timid bigotry in whatever related to religion. The old enthusiasm, not always directed by wisdom from the first, and often misdirected afterwards, faded away; and the poetry of the country, which had always depended more on the state of the popular feeling than any other poetry of modern times, faded and failed with it.16

NATIONAL DECAY.

takes to prove that the religion which caused what he calls "the holy expulsion of the Moriscos," and crowded the convents; the pride and loyalty that filled the army, and prevented Spaniards from entering industrial or mercantile pursuits; the wealth of America, which caused so much ruinous emigration, &c., were, in fact, all of them, so many merits in the Spanish character, which were depopulating Spain for the glory of God in the time of Philip IV., when he wrote. This the pious monk, no doubt, believed to be both religion and patriotism.

16 There is a curious book, by a Mariana, at the end of a glowing monk, entitled "Las cinco Excelencias chapter on the Discovery of America del Español que despueblan España, por el M. Fr. Benito de Peñalosa y Mondragon " (Pamplona, 1629, 4to, ff. 178), in which the author undercentury after its occurrence: "The conquest of the Indies," he says, "has resulted both in good and in evil. Strength certainly has been lost by great emigrations widely scattered; the food, that our own soil once gave us freely, we must now look for in a large part from the winds and the waves: the king, meantime, needs more resources than he did, because he has more territory to protect; and the peo-ple grow dainty with luxury of the table and of dress." Few men thought so at that period, fewer still dared so to write or speak. See post, Vol. III., Chap. XXXIV. note 2.