

IMITATIONS OF THE ITALIAN MANNER. — ACUÑA. — CETINA. — OPPOSITION TO IT. — CASTILLEJO. — ANTONIO DE VILLEGAS. — SILVESTRE. — DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING IT. — ARGOTE DE MOLINA. — MONTALVO. — LOPE DE VEGA. — ITS FINAL SUCCESS.

THE example set by Boscan and Garcilasso was so well suited to the spirit and demands of the age, that it became as much a fashion at the court of Charles the Fifth to write in the Italian manner as it did to travel in Italy, or make a military campaign there. Among those who earliest adopted the forms of Italian verse was Fernando de Acuña, a gentleman belonging to a noble Portuguese family, but born in Madrid, and writing only in Spanish. He served in Flanders, in Italy, and in Africa; and, after the conquest of Tunis, in 1535, a mutiny having occurred in its garrison, he was sent there by the Emperor, with unlimited authority to punish or to pardon those implicated in it; a difficult mission, whose duties he fulfilled with great discretion, and with an honorable generosity.

In other respects, too, Acuña was treated with peculiar confidence. Charles the Fifth — as we learn from the familiar correspondence of Van Male, a poor scholar and gentleman who slept often in his bed-chamber and nursed him in his infirmities — amused the fretfulness of a premature old age, under which his proud spirit constantly chafed, by making a translation into Spanish prose of a French poem then much in vogue and favor, — the “Chevalier Délibéré.” Its author, Olivier de la Marche, was long attached to the

service of Mary of Burgundy, the Emperor’s grandmother, and had set forth, in the Chevalier Délibéré, an allegorical show of the events in the life of her father, so flattering as to \* render his picture an \* 459 object of general admiration at the time when Charles was educated at her brilliant court.<sup>1</sup> But the great Emperor, though his prose version of the pleasant reading of his youth is said to have been prepared with more skill and success than might have been anticipated from his imperfect training for such a task, felt that he was unable to give it the easy dress he desired it should wear in Castilian verse. This labor, therefore, in the plenitude of his authority, he assigned to Acuña; confiding to him the manuscript he had prepared in great secrecy, and requiring him to cast it into a more appropriate and agreeable form.

Acuña was well fitted for the delicate duty assigned to him. As a courtier, skilled in the humors of the palace, he omitted several passages that would be little interesting to his master, and inserted others that would be more so, — particularly several relating to Ferdinand and Isabella, and to Philip, Charles’s father. As a poet, he turned the Emperor’s prose into the old double *quintillas* with a purity and richness of idiom rare in any period of Spanish literature, and some portion of the merit of which has, perhaps justly, been attributed by Van Male to the Imperial version out of which it was constructed. The poem thus prepared — making three hundred and seventy-nine stanzas of ten short lines each — was then secretly given by Charles, as if it were a present worthy of a munificent sovereign, to Van Male, the poor servant, who records the facts relating to it; and then, forbidding any notice of himself in the

<sup>1</sup> Goujet, Bibliothèque Française, Paris, 1745, 12mo, Tom. IX. pp. 372–380.

Preface, the Emperor ordered an edition of it so large that the unhappy scholar trembled at the pecuniary risks he was to run on account of the bounty he had received. The "Cavallero Determinado," as it was called in the version of Acuña, was, however, more successful than Van Male supposed it would be; and, partly from the interest the master of so many kingdoms must have felt concerning a work in which his secret share was considerable; partly from the ingenuity of the allegory, which is due in general to La Marche; and partly \* 460 from \* the fluency and grace of the versification, which must be wholly Acuña's, it became very popular; seven editions of it being called for in the course of half a century.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The first edition of the "Cavallero Determinado" was published in 1552, and was dedicated, as of right, to the Emperor. Latin verses by Van Male are prefixed to it. It is something like the well-known German poem "Theuerdank," which was devoted to the adventures of Maximilian I. up to the time when he married Mary of Burgundy; and, like that, owes some of its reputation to the bold engravings with which its successive editions were ornamented. One of the best of the Cavallero Determinado is the Plantiniana, Anvers, 1591, 8vo. The account of the part — earlier unsuspected — borne by the Emperor in the composition of the Cavallero Determinado is found on pp. 15 and 16 of the "Lettres sur la Vie Intérieure de l'Empereur Charles Quint, par Guillaume Van Male, Gentilhomme de sa Chambre, publiées pour la première fois par le Baron de Reiffenberg, Bruxelles, Société des Bibliophiles Belges, à Bruxelles, 1843," 4to; a very curious collection of thirty-one Latin letters, that often contain strange details of the infirmities of the Emperor from 1550 to 1555. Their author, Van Male, or Malinaeus, as he was called in Latin, and Malinez in Spanish, was one of the needy Flemings who sought favor at the court of Charles V. Being ill treated by the Duke of Alva, who was

his first patron; by Avila y Zuñiga, whose Commentaries he translated into Latin, in order to purchase his regard; and by the Emperor, to whom he rendered many kind and faithful services, he was, like many others who had come to Spain with similar hopes, glad to return to Flanders as poor as he came. He died in 1561. He was an accomplished and simple-hearted scholar, and deserved a better fate than to be rewarded for his devotion to the Imperial humors by a present of Acuña's manuscript, which Avila had the malice to assure the Emperor would be well worth five hundred gold crowns to the suffering man of letters; — a remark to which the Emperor replied by saying, "William will come rightfully by the money; he has sweat hard at the work." — "Bono jure fructus ille ad Gulielmum redeat; ut qui plurimum in illo opere sudarit." Of the Emperor's personal share in the version of the Chevalier Délibéré, Van Male gives the following account (January 13, 1551): "Cæsar maturat editionem libri, cui titulus erat Gallicus, — Le Chevalier Délibéré. Hunc per otium a seipso traductum tradidit Ferdinando Acunæ, Saxonis custodi, ut ab eo aptaretur ad numeros rithmi Hispanici; quæ res cecidit felicissimè. Cæsari, sine dubio, debetur primaria translationis industria, cum non solum linguam, sed

But notwithstanding the success of the Cavallero Determinado, Acuña wrote hardly anything else in the old national style and manner. His shorter poems, filling a small volume, are, with one or two inconsiderable exceptions, in the Italian measures, and sometimes are direct imitations of Boscan and Garcilasso. They are almost all written in good taste, and with a classical finish, especially "The Contest of Ajax with \* Ulysses," where, in tolerable blank verse, \* 461 Acuña has imitated the severe simplicity of Homer. He was known, too, in Italy, and his translation of a part of Boiardo's "Orlando Innamorato" was praised there; but his miscellanies and his sonnets found more favor at home. He died at Granada, it is said, in 1580, while prosecuting a claim he had inherited to a Spanish title; but his poems were not printed till 1591, when, like those of Boscan, with which they may be fairly ranked, they were published by the pious care of his widow.<sup>3</sup>

Less fortunate in this respect than Acuña was Gutierre de Cetina, another Spaniard of the same period and school, since no attempt has ever been made to collect his poems. The few that remain to us, however, — his madrigals, sonnets, and other short pieces, — have much merit. Sometimes they take an Anacreontic tone; but the better specimens are

*et carmen et vocum significantiam mirè expressit,*" etc. Epist. vi.

A version of the Chevalier Délibéré was also made by Gerónimo de Urrea, and was printed in 1555. I have never seen it.

The taste of Charles V., it should in justice be added, was, like that of his immediate successors, decidedly for painting rather than poetry; and his patronage of Titian was honorable to him, if that of Van Male was not. It is one of the few touching circumstances connected with his history, that

he carried into his doubtful retreat at Yuste two pictures of the great master to whom he had so often done homage, and that he ordered one of them, the "Gloria," to follow his body, wherever it should be buried; a direction which was obeyed, when his remains were carried to the Escorial, in 1574. See the interesting account of Yuste in Ford's Handbook, 1845, p. 551.

<sup>3</sup> The second edition of Acuña's Poésias is that of Madrid, 1804, 12mo. His life is in Baena, "Hijos de Madrid," Tom. II. p. 387; Tom. IV. p. 403.

rather marked by sweetness, like the following madrigal:—

Eyes, that have still serenely shone,  
And still for gentleness been praised,  
Why thus in anger are ye raised,  
When turned on me, and me alone?  
The more ye tenderly and gently beam,  
The more to all ye winning seem;—  
But yet, — O, yet, — dear eyes, serene and sweet,  
Turn on me still, whate'er the glance I meet!

Like many others of his countrymen, Cetina was a soldier, and fought bravely in Italy, in Flanders, and at Tunis. Afterwards he visited Mexico, where he had a brother in an important public office; but he died, at last, in Seville, his native city, about the year 1560. He was an imitator of Garcilasso, even more than of the Italians who were Garcilasso's models.<sup>5</sup>

\* 462 \* But an Italian school was not introduced

<sup>4</sup> Ojos claros serenos,  
Si de dulce mirar sois alabados,  
Porqué, si me mirais, mirais ayrados?  
Si quanto mas piadosos,  
Mas bellos pareceis á quien os mira,  
Porqué a mí solo me mirais con ira?  
Ojos claros serenos,  
Ya que así me mirais, miradme al menos.  
Sedano, Parnaso Español, Tom. VII. p. 75.

There is an old ballad something like this in Segura, f. 216.

<sup>5</sup> A few of Cetina's poems are inserted by Herrera in his notes to Garcilasso, 1580, pp. 77, 92, 190, 204, 216, etc.; and a few more by Sedano in the "Parnaso Español," Tom. VII. pp. 75, 370; Tom. VIII. pp. 96, 216; Tom. IX. p. 134. An imperfect collection of them, with a few longer pieces, and especially a good epistle to Diego de Mendoza, may be found in Rivadeneyra, Tom. XXXII., 1854. But we want more. We want the whole. The little we know of him is in Sismondi, Lit. Esp., Sevilla, 1841, Tom. I. p. 381. Probably he died young. (Conde Lucanor, 1575, ff. 93, 94.) The poems of Cetina were, in 1776, extant in a MS. in the library of the Duke of Arcos, at Madrid. (Obras Sueltas de Lope de Vega, Madrid, 1776, 4to, Tom. I., Prólogo, p. ii, note.) It is much to be desired that

they should be sought out and published.

Another author of the period, who wrote in the Italian manner with less success, indeed, than Cetina, Mendoza, etc., but with more of the spirit of a partisan, was Diego Ramirez Pagan, a native of Murcia, who published at Valencia, in 1562, a volume entitled "Floresta de varia Poesia," of which a notice may be found in the Spanish translation of this History, Tom. II. pp. 492-499.

In a sonnet by Castillejo, found in his attack on the Italian school (Obras, 1593, f. 114, a), he speaks of Luis de Haro as one of the four persons who had most contributed to the success of that school in Spain. A few of his poems are to be found in the unique copy of the Cancionero of 1554, already noticed (see *ante*, Period I., Chap. XXIII. note 8), and I think Castillejo intended to refer to the same Cancionero when he speaks of these four persons, all of whom figure in it. But I know no poems of Luis de Haro anywhere else, and those recorded here do not justify Castillejo in giving him a place with Boscan, Garcilasso, and Mendoza.

into Spanish literature without a contest. We cannot, perhaps, tell who first broke ground against it, as an unprofitable and unjustifiable innovation; but Christóval de Castillejo, a gentleman of Ciudad Rodrigo, was the most efficient of its early opponents. He was attached, from the age of fifteen, to the person of Ferdinand, the younger brother of Charles the Fifth, and subsequently Emperor of Germany; passing the latter part of his life in Austria, as secretary to that prince, and dying at Vienna in 1556, about sixty-six years old. But wherever he lived Castillejo wrote verses, and showed no favor to the new school. He attacked it in many ways, but chiefly by imitating the old masters in their *villancicos*, *canciones glosas*, and the other forms and measures they adopted, though with a purer and better taste than they had generally shown.

Some of his poetry was written as early as 1540 and 1541; and, except the religious portion, which fills the latter part of the third and last of the three books into which his works are divided, it has generally a fresh and youthful air. Facility and gayety are, perhaps, its most prominent, though certainly not its highest characteristics. Some of his love-verses are remarkable for their tenderness and grace, especially those \* addressed to "Anna," who was of the Schaumburg family; but he shows the force and bent of his talent rather when he deals with practical life, as he does in his bitter discussion concerning the court; in a dialogue between his pen and himself; in a poem on Woman; and in a letter to a friend, asking counsel about a love affair; all of which are full of living sketches of the national manners and feelings. Next to these, perhaps, some of his more fanciful pieces,

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such as his "Transformation of a Drunkard into a Mosquito," are the most characteristic of his light-hearted nature.

But on every occasion where he finds an opening, or can make one, he attacks the imitators of the Italians, whom he contemptuously calls "Petrarquistas." Once, he devotes to them a regular satire, which he addresses "to those who give up the Castilian measures and follow the Italian," calling out Boscan and Garcilasso by name, and summoning Juan de Mena, Sanchez de Badajoz, Naharro, and others of the elder poets, to make merry with him, at the expense of the innovators. Almost everywhere he shows a lively temperament, and sometimes indulges himself in a freer tone than was thought befitting at the time when he lived; in consequence of which, his poetry, though much circulated in manuscript, was forbidden by the Inquisition; so that all we now possess of it is an expurgated selection, which, by a sort of special favor, was exempted from censure, and permitted to be printed in 1573.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Almost all the little that is known of Castillejo is to be found in his Poems, the publication of which was first permitted to Juan Lopez de Velasco. Antonio says that Castillejo died about 1596, in which case he must have been very old; especially if, as Moratin thinks, he was born in 1494! (L. F. Moratin, Obras, Tom. I. Parte I. pp. 154-156.) His works were well published at Antwerp, by Bellerio, in 1598, 18mo, and in Madrid, by Sanchez, in 1600, 18mo, and they form the twelfth and thirteenth volumes of the Collection of Fernandez (Madrid, 1792, 12mo), besides which I have seen editions cited of 1582, 1615, etc. His dramas are lost; even the "Costanza," which Moratin saw in the Escorial, could not be found there in 1844, when I caused a search to be made for it.

Since this note first appeared in 1849,

Mr. F. Wolf, of Vienna, has done me the favor to send me a notice he has published of a grave in the Neukloster Kirche in the Wiener Neustadt, with this inscription: "Obiit 12. Junii, anno 1550, Viennæ, clarissimus à Conciliis et Secretis intimis Serenissimi Ferdinandi Romanorum et Germaniæ Regis, Christophorus Castillegius, natione Hispanus, vir sanè sua ætate numeris omnibus solutus." There seems, therefore, to be no doubt that Castillejo never returned to Spain, as has been always supposed, after he went to Vienna. But there is a difficulty in the way concerning the date of his death there; for it seems certain that Castillejo was alive October 22, 1553. By a slight error, however, in cutting the gravestone, which Mr. Wolf has ingeniously pointed out, this difficulty is removed, and we may be almost quite

\* Another of those who maintained the doctrine and wrote in the measures of the old school was Antonio de Villegas, whose poems, though written before 1551, were not printed till 1565. The Prólogo, addressed to the book, with instructions how it should bear itself in the world, reminds us sometimes of "The Soul's Errand," but is more easy and less poetical. The best poems of the volume are, indeed, of this sort, light and gay; rather running into pretty quaintnesses than giving token of deep feeling. The longer among them, like those on Pyramus and Thisbe, and on the quarrel between Ulysses and Ajax, are the least interesting. But the shorter pieces are, many of them, very agreeable. One to the Duke of Sesa, the descendant of Gonzalvo of Córdoba, and addressed to him as he was going to Italy, where Cervantes served under his leading, is fortunate, from its allusion to his great ancestor. It begins thus:—

Go forth to Italy, great chief!  
It is thy fated land,  
Sown thick with deeds of brave emprise  
By that ancestral hand  
Which cast its seeds so widely there,  
That, as thou marchest on,  
The very soil will start afresh,  
Teeming with glories won;  
While round thy form, like myriad suns,  
Shall shine a halo's flame,  
Enkindled from the dazzling light  
Of thy great father's fame.

More characteristic than this, however, because less heroic and grave, are eighteen *décimas*, or ten-line

sure that Castillejo died at Vienna 12 June, 1556. See the "Martz Heft" of the Sitzings of the Imperial Academy, 1849, where the whole discussion is of consequence to the knowledge of the poet's life. Castillejo's poem in praise of Vienna, addressed to a friend who asked him, "Why he liked it so well?"

is in the Obras de Castillejo, 1598, f. 159, and belongs to the case. Some of his poems that were expurgated by Velasco in 1573 have since been published entire; but undoubtedly many are wholly lost, though some may, perhaps, still exist in MS. and be recovered.

poems, called "Comparaciones," because each  
\* 465 ends with a comparison; \* the whole being pre-  
ceded by a longer composition in the same style,  
addressing them all to his lady-love. The following may  
serve as a specimen of their peculiar tone and measure:

Lady! so used my soul is grown  
To serve thee always in pure truth,  
That, drawn to thee, and thee alone,  
My joys come thronging; and my youth  
No grief can jar, save when thou grievest its tone.  
But though my faithful soul be thus in part  
Untuned, when dissonance it feels in thee,  
Still, still to thine turns back my trembling heart,  
As jars the well-tuned string in sympathy  
With that which trembles at the tuner's art.<sup>7</sup>

Gregorio Silvestre, a Portuguese, who came in his  
childhood to Spain, and died there in 1570, was  
another of those who wrote according to the earlier  
modes of composition. He was a friend of Torres de  
Naharro, of Garci Sanchez de Badajoz, and of Heredia;  
and, for some time, imitated Castillejo in speaking  
lightly of Boscan and Garcilasso. But, as the Italian  
manner prevailed more and more, he yielded somewhat  
to the fashion; and, in his latter years, wrote sonnets,  
and *ottava* and *terza rima*, adding to their forms a care-

<sup>7</sup> Comparacion.

Señora, estan ya tan diestras  
En serviros mis porfias,  
Que acuden como a sus muestras  
Sola a vos mis alegrias,  
Y mis sañas a las vuestras.  
Y aunque en parte se destempla  
Mi estado de vuestro estado,  
Mi ser al vuestro contempla,  
Como instrumento templado  
Al otro con quien se templa.  
f 37.

These poems are in a small volume  
of miscellanies, published at Medina del  
Campo, called "Inventario de Obras,  
por Antonio de Villegas, Vezino de la  
Villa de Medina del Campo," 1565, 4to.  
The copy I use is of another, and, I  
believe, the only other edition, Medina  
del Campo, 1577, 12mo. Like other  
poets who deal in prettinesses, Villegas  
repeats himself occasionally, because

he so much admires his own conceits.  
Thus, the idea in the little *décima*  
translated in the text is also in a pas-  
toral—half poetry, half prose—in the  
same volume. "Assi como dos in-  
strumentos bien templados tocando las  
cuerdas del uno se tocan y suenan las  
del otro ellas mismas; assi yo en vien-  
do este triste, me assoné con el," etc.  
(f. 14, b). It should be noticed that  
the license to print the *Inventario*,  
dated 1551, shows it to have been writ-  
ten as early as that period. The *dé-  
cimas*, to which Antonio de Villegas  
was so much inclined, were a favorite  
form of verse in the best period of  
Spanish poetry. Rengifo, *Arte Poetica*,  
ed. 1727, p. 37. Lope wrote many.  
Many are scattered in Calderon's *Co-  
medias*.

ful finish not then enough valued in Spain.<sup>8</sup> All his  
poetry, notwithstanding the accident of his foreign  
birth, is written in pure and idiomatic Castil-  
ian; but the best of it is \*in the older style, \* 466  
—"the old rhymes," as he called them,—in  
which, apparently, he felt more freedom than he did  
in the manner he subsequently adopted. His Glosses  
seem to have been most regarded by himself and his  
friends; and, if the nature of the composition itself  
had been more elevated, they might still deserve the  
praise they at first received, for he shows great facil-  
ity and ingenuity in their construction.<sup>9</sup>

His longer narrative poems—those on Daphne and  
Apollo, and on Pyramus and Thisbe, as well as one he  
called "The Residence of Love"—are not without  
merit, though they are among the less fortunate of his  
efforts. But his *canciones* are to be ranked with the  
very best in the language; full of the old true-hearted  
simplicity of feeling, and yet not without an artifice in  
their turns of expression, which, far from interfering  
with their point and effect, adds to both. Thus, one  
of them begins:—

Your locks are all of gold, my lady,  
And of gold each priceless hair;  
But the heart is all of steel, my lady,  
That sees them without despair.

While, a little further on, he gives to the same idea a  
quaint turn, or answer, such as he delighted to make:

Not of gold would be your hair, dear lady,  
No, not of gold so fair;  
But the fine, rich gold itself, dear lady,  
That gold would be your hair.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> He is much praised for this in a  
poetical epistle of Luis Barahona de  
Soto, printed with Silvestre's works,  
Granada, 1599, 12mo, f. 330.

<sup>9</sup> The best are his glosses on the Pater-  
noster, f. 284, and the Ave Maria, f. 289.

<sup>10</sup> Señora, vuestros cabellos  
De oro son,  
Y de azero el coracon,  
Que no se muere por ellos.  
Obras, Granada, 1599, 12mo, f. 69

Each is followed by a sort of gloss, or variation of the original air, which again is not without its appropriate merit.

Silvestre was much connected with the poets of his time; not only those of the old school, but those of the Italian, like Diego de Mendoza, Hernando de Acuña,\* George of Montemayor, and Luis Barahona de Soto. Their poems, in fact, are sometimes found mingled with his own, and their spirit, we see, had a controlling influence over his. But whether, in return, he produced much effect on them, or on his times, may be doubted. He seems to have passed his life quietly in Granada, of whose noble cathedral he was the principal musician, and where he was much valued, as a member of society, for his wit and kindly nature. But when he died, at the age of fifty, his poetry was known only in manuscript; and after it was collected and published by his friend, Pedro de Caceres, twelve years later, it produced little sensation. He belonged, in truth, to both schools, and was therefore thoroughly admired by neither.<sup>11</sup>

The discussion between the two, however, soon became a formal one. Argote de Molina naturally brought it into his Discourse on Spanish poetry in 1575,<sup>12</sup> and Montalvo introduced it into his Pastoral,

No quieren ser de oro, no,  
Señora, vuestros cabellos,  
Quel oro quiere ser dellos.

Obras, Granada, 1599, 12mo, f. 71.

<sup>11</sup> There were five editions of the poetry of Silvestre;—four at Granada, 1582, 1588, 1592, and 1599; and one at Lisbon, 1592, with a very good life of him by his editor, to which occasional additions are made, though, on the whole, it is merely abridged, by Barbosa, Tom. II. p. 419. Luis Barahona de Soto, the friend of Silvestre, speaks of him pleasantly in several of his poetical epistles, and Lope de Vega

praises him in the second Silva of his "Laurel de Apolo." His poems are divided into four books, and fill three hundred and eighty-seven leaves in the edition of 1599, 18mo. He wrote, also, religious dramas for his cathedral, which are lost. One single word is ordered by the Index of 1667 (p. 465) to be expurgated from his works!

<sup>12</sup> The Discourse follows the first edition of the "Conde Lucanor," 1575, and is strongly in favor of the old Spanish verse. Argote de Molina wrote poetry himself; but such as he has given us in his "Nobleza" is of little value.

where it little belongs, but where, under assumed names, Cervantes, Ercilla, Castillejo, Silvestre, and Montalvo<sup>13</sup> himself, give their opinions in favor of the old school. This was in 1582. In 1599 Lope de Vega defended the same side in the Preface to his "San Isidro."<sup>14</sup> But the question was then substantially decided. Five or six long epics, including the "Araucana," had already been written in the Italian *ottava rima*; as many pastorals, in imitation of Sannazaro's; and thousands of verses in the shape of sonnets, *canzoni*, and the other forms of Italian poetry, a large portion of which had found much favor. \* Even \* 468 Lope de Vega, therefore, who is quite decided in his opinion, and wrote his poem of "San Isidro" in the old popular *redondillas*, fell in with the prevailing fashion, so that, perhaps, in the end, nobody did more than himself to confirm the Italian measures and manner. From this time, therefore, the success of the new school may be considered certain and settled; nor has it ever since been displaced or superseded as an important division of Spanish literature.

<sup>13</sup> Pastor de Filida, Parts IV. and VI.

<sup>14</sup> Obras Sueltas, Madrid, 1777, Tom. XI. pp. xxviii—xxx.