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* CHAPTER IV.

DIEGO HURTADO DE MENDOZA. — HIS FAMILY. — HIS LAZARILLO DE TÓRMES, AND ITS IMITATIONS. — HIS PUBLIC EMPLOYMENTS AND PRIVATE STUDIES. — HIS RETIREMENT FROM AFFAIRS. — HIS POEMS AND MISCELLANIES. — HIS HISTORY OF THE REBELLION OF THE MOORS. — HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER.

AMONG those who did most to decide the question in favor of the introduction and establishment of the Italian measures in Spanish literature was one whose rank and social position gave him great authority, and whose genius, cultivation, and adventures point alike to his connection with the period we have just gone over, and with that on which we are now entering. This person was Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, a scholar and a soldier, a poet and a diplomatist, a statesman and an historian, — a man who rose to great consideration in whatever he undertook, and one who was not of a temper to be satisfied with moderate success, wherever he might choose to make an effort.¹

He was born in Granada, in 1503, and his ancestry was perhaps the most illustrious in Spain, if we except the descendants of those who had sat on the thrones of its different kingdoms. Lope de Vega, who turns aside in one of his plays to boast that it was so, adds that, in his time, the Mendozas counted three-and-twenty generations of the highest nobility and public

¹ Lives of Mendoza are to be found in Antonio, "Bibliotheca Nova," and in the edition of the "Guerra de Granada," Valencia, 1776, 4to; — the last of which was written by Ignacio Lopez

de Ayala, the learned Professor of poetry at Madrid. Cerdá, in Vossii Rhetorices, Matriti, 1781, 8vo, App., p. 189, note.

service.² But it is more important for our present purpose * to notice that the three im- * 470 mediate ancestors of the distinguished statesman now before us might well have served as examples to form his young character; for he was the third in direct descent from the Marquis of Santillana, the poet and wit of the court of John the Second; his grandfather was the able ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella, in their troublesome affairs with the See of Rome; and his father, after commanding with distinguished honor in the last great overthrow of the Moors, was made governor of the unquiet city of Granada not long after its surrender.

Diego, however, had five brothers older than himself; and, therefore, notwithstanding the power of his family, he was originally destined for the Church, in order to give him more easily the position and income that should sustain his great name with becoming dignity. But his character could not be bent in that direction. He acquired, indeed, much knowledge suited to further his ecclesiastical advancement, both at home, where he learned to speak the Arabic with fluency, and at Salamanca, where he studied Latin, Greek, philosophy, and canon and civil law, with

² Toma
Veinte y tres generaciones
La prosapia de Mendoza.
No hay linage en toda España,
De quien conoza
Tan notable antigüedad.
De padre á hijos se nombran,
Sin interrumpir la línea,
Tan excelentes personas,
Y de tanta calidad.
Que fuera nombrarlas todas
Contar estrellas al cielo,
Y á la mar arenas y ondas:
Desde el señor de Vizcaya,
Llamado Zuria, consta
Que tiene origen su sangre.

For three-and-twenty generations past
Hath the Mendozas' name been nobly great.
In all the realm of Spain no other race
Can claim such notable antiquity;
For, reckoning down from sire to son, they
boast,

Without a break in that long, glorious line,
So many men of might, men known to fame,
And of such noble and grave attributes,
That the attempt to count them all were vain
As would be his who sought to count the stars,
Or the wide sea's unnumbered waves and sands.
Their noble blood goes back to Zuria,
The lord of all Biscay.

Arauco Domado, Acto III., Comedias, Tom. XX., 4to, 1629, f. 95.

Gaspar de Avila, in the first act of his "Governador Prudente" (Comedias Escogidas, Madrid, 4to, Tomo XXI., 1664), gives even a more minute genealogy of the Mendozas than that of Lope de Vega; so famous were they in verse as well as in history.

success. But it is evident that he indulged a decided preference for what was more intimately connected with political affairs and elegant literature; and if, as is commonly supposed, he wrote while at the University, or soon afterwards, his "Lazarillo de Tórmes," it is equally plain that he preferred such a literature as had no relation to theology or the Church.

The Lazarillo is a work of genius, unlike *471 anything that *had preceded it. It is the autobiography of a boy — "little Lazarus" — born in a mill on the banks of the Tórmes, near Salamanca, and sent out by his base and brutal mother as the leader of a blind beggar; the lowest place in the social condition, perhaps, that could then be found in Spain. But such as it is, Lazarillo makes the best or the worst of it. With an inexhaustible fund of good-humor and great quickness of parts, he learns, at once, the cunning and profligacy that qualify him to rise to still greater frauds and a yet wider range of adventures and crimes in the service successively of a priest, a gentleman starving on his own pride, a friar, a seller of indulgences, a chaplain, and an alguazil, until, at last, from the most disgraceful motives, he settles down as a married man; and then the story terminates without reaching any proper conclusion, and without intimating that any is to follow.

Its object is — under the character of a servant with an acuteness that is never at fault, and so small a stock of honesty and truth, that neither of them stands in the way of his success — to give a pungent satire on all classes of society, whose condition Lazarillo well comprehends, because he sees them in undress and behind the scenes. It is written in a very bold, rich, and idiomatic Castilian style, that reminds us of the

"Celestina"; and some of its sketches are among the most fresh and spirited that can be found in the whole class of prose works of fiction; so spirited, indeed, and so free, that two of them — those of the friar and the seller of dispensations — were soon put under the ban of the Church, and cut out of the editions that were permitted to be printed under its authority. The whole work is short; but its easy, gay temper, its happy adaptation to Spanish life and manners, and the contrast of the light, good-humored, flexible audacity of Lazarillo himself — a perfectly original conception — with the solemn and unyielding dignity of the old Castilian character, gave it from the first a great popularity. From 1553, when the earliest edition appeared of which we have any knowledge, it was often reprinted, both at home and abroad, and has been more or less a favorite in all languages *down to our own time; becoming the founda- *472 tion for a class of fictions essentially national, which, under the name of the *gusto picaresco*, or the style of the rogues, is as well known as any other department of Spanish literature, and one which the "Gil Blas" of Le Sage has made famous throughout the world.³

³ The first edition of Lazarillo known to bibliographers is the one printed anonymously at Antwerp in 1553; but it was reprinted the next year at Burgos. The number of editions of it during the sixteenth century, in the Low Countries, in Italy, and in Spain, is great; but those printed in Spain, beginning with the one of Lopez de Velasco, Madrid, 1573, 18mo, are expurgated of the passages most offensive to the clergy by an order of the Inquisition; an order renewed in the Index Expurgatorius, 1667. Indeed, I do not know how the chapter on the seller of indulgences could have been written by any but a Protestant, after the Refor-

mation was so far advanced as it then was. Mendoza does not seem ever to have acknowledged himself to be the author of Lazarillo de Tórmes. In fact, Father Sigüenza, in his ample and interesting History of the order of St. Jerome, would have us think it was written by Juan de Ortéga, one of the favorites of Charles V., in his Cloister Life at Yuste. What is remarkable, Sigüenza, though a churchman, does justice to the merits of Lazarillo. His words, speaking of Ortéga, are as follows: "Dizen que, siendo estudiante en Salamanca, mancebo, como tenia un ingenio tan galan y fresco, hizo aquel librito que anda por ahi, llamado Laza-

Like other books enjoying a wide reputation, the Lazarillo provoked many imitations. A continuation of it, under the title of "The Second Part of Lazarillo de Tórmes," soon appeared, longer than the original, and beginning where the fiction of Mendoza leaves off. But it is without merit, except for an occasional quaintness or witticism. It represents Lazarillo as going upon the expedition undertaken by Charles the Fifth against Algiers, in 1541, and as being in one of the vessels that foundered in a storm, which did much towards disconcerting the whole enterprise.

From this point, however, Lazarillo's story becomes * 473 comes a tissue of absurdities. * He sinks to the bottom of the ocean, and creeps into a cave, where he is metamorphosed into a tunny-fish; and the greater part of the work consists of an account of his glory and happiness in the kingdom of the tunnies. At last, he is caught in a seine, and, in the agony of his fear of death, returns, by an effort of his own will, to the human form; after which he finds his way back to Salamanca, and is living there when he prepares this strange account of his adventures.⁴

rillo de Tórmes, mostrando en un sugeto tan humilde la propiedad de la lengua Castellana y el decoro de las personas, que introduce con tan singular artificio y donayre, que merece ser leydo de los que tienen buen gusto. El indicio desto fue, averle hallado el borrador en la celda de su propia mano escrito." Libro I. cap. 34. But it seems impossible that it should have been written by an ecclesiastic; not, indeed, on account of its immoral tone, but on account of its attacks on the church. Of a translation of Lazarillo into English, reported by Lowndes (art. *Lazarillo*) as the work of David Rowland, 1586, and probably the same praised in the Retrospective Review, Vol. II. p. 133, above twenty editions are known. Of a translation by James Blakeston,

which seems to me better, I have a copy, dated London, 1670, 18mo.

Boileau, it is said (Boileau, Amsterdam, 1742, 12mo, p. 41), had once a project of writing a Romance on the life of Diogenes, the Cynic, "de la plus parfaite *gueserie*," as he called it; and he fancied that he should have made it "beaucoup plus plaisante et *plus originale* que celle de Lazarille de Tórmes et de Guzman d'Alfarache." It may be doubted whether his success would have equalled his anticipations.

⁴ This continuation was printed at Antwerp in 1555, as "La Segunda Parte de Lazarillo de Tórmes," but probably appeared earlier in Spain. A translation of this anonymous second part by Blakeston follows his translation of the first part mentioned in the last

A further imitation, but not a proper continuation, under the name of "The Lazarillo of Manzanares," in which the state of society at Madrid is satirized, was attempted by Juan Cortés de Tolosa, and was first printed in 1620. But it produced no effect at the time, and has been long forgotten. Nor was a much better fate reserved for yet another Second Part of the genuine Lazarillo, which was written by Juan de Luna, a teacher of Spanish at Paris, and appeared there the same year the Lazarillo de Manzanares appeared at Madrid. It is, however, more in the spirit of the original work. It exhibits Lazarillo again as a servant to different kinds of masters, and as gentleman usher of a poor, proud lady of rank; after which he retires from the world, and, becoming a religious recluse, writes this account of himself, which, though not equal to the free and vigorous sketches of the work it professes to complete, is by no means without value, especially for its style.⁵

The author of the Lazarillo de Tórmes, who, we are told, took the "Amadis" and the "Celestina" for his * travelling companions and by-reading,⁶ * 474 was, as we have intimated, not a person to devote himself to the Church; and we soon hear of him

note, but he has erroneously attributed the original to Juan de Luna, whose second part is to be noticed immediately. The anonymous original can be found, with Mendoza's Lazarillo and the Lazarillo of Luna, in the third volume of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1846, with a good prefatory notice on all three.

⁵ Antonio, Bib. Nov., Tom. I. pp. 680 and 728. Juan de Luna is called "H. de Luna" on the title-page of his Lazarillo; why, I do not know. A collection of seven dialogues, noted by Gayangos for the purity of their Castilian, appeared in London 1591, Paris 1619, and Brussels 1612, 1675; bear-

ing in the Paris edition the name of Juan de Luna, who only added to them five more dialogues, making them twelve in the whole; and in Brussels bearing the name of Cesar Oudin, both of the last being teachers of Spanish. Whether Oudin wrote the first seven is not known. See the Spanish translation of this History, Tom. III. p. 559.

⁶ Francisco de Portugal, in his "Arte de Galanteria" (Lisboa, 1670, 4to, p. 49), says, that, when Mendoza went ambassador to Rome, he took no books with him for travelling companions but "Amadis de Gaula" and the "Celestina."

-serving as a soldier in the great Spanish armies in Italy; a circumstance to which, in his old age, he alludes with evident pride and pleasure. At those seasons, however, when the troops were unoccupied, we know that he gladly listened to the lectures of the famous professors of Bologna, Padua, and Rome, and added largely to his already large stores of elegant knowledge.

A character so strongly marked would naturally attract the notice of a monarch vigilant and clear-sighted, like Charles the Fifth; and as early as 1538 Mendoza was made his ambassador to the republic of Venice, then one of the leading powers of Europe. But there, too, though much busied with grave negotiations, he loved to be familiar with men of letters. The Aldi were then at the height of their reputation, and he assisted and patronized them. Paulus Mauritius dedicated to him an edition of the philosophical works of Cicero, acknowledging his skill as a critic and praising his Latinity, though, at the same time, he says that Mendoza rather exhorted the young to study philosophy and science in their native languages; — a proof of liberality rare in an age when the admiration for the ancients led a great number of classical scholars to treat whatever was modern and vernacular with contempt. At one period, he gave himself up to the pursuit of Greek and Latin literature with a zeal such as Petrarch had shown long before him. He sent to Thessaly and the famous convent of Mount Athos, to collect Greek manuscripts. Josephus was first printed complete from his library, and so were some of the Fathers of the Church. And when, on one occasion, he had done so great a favor to the Sultan Soliman that he was invited to demand any return from that

monarch's gratitude, the only reward he would consent to receive for himself was a present * of * 475 some Greek manuscripts, which, as he said, amply repaid all his services.⁷

But, in the midst of studies so well suited to his taste and character, the Emperor called him away to more important duties. He was made military governor of Siena, and required to hold both the Pope and the Florentines in check; a duty which he fulfilled, though not without peril to his life. Somewhat later he was sent to the great Council of Trent, known as a political no less than an ecclesiastical congress, in order to sustain the Imperial interests there; and succeeded, by the exercise of a degree of firmness, address, and eloquence, which would alone have made him one of the most considerable persons in the Spanish monarchy. While at the Council, however, in consequence of the urgency of affairs, he was despatched, as a special Imperial plenipotentiary, to Rome, in 1547, for the bold purpose of confronting and overawing the Pope in his own capital. And in this, too, he succeeded; rebuking Julius the Third in open council, and so establishing his own consideration, as well as that of his country, that for six years afterwards he is to be looked upon as the head of the Imperial party throughout Italy, and almost as a viceroy governing that country, or a large part of it, for the

⁷ Mendoza, long after his death, was accused of having purloined from the public Library in Venice manuscripts, which he subsequently gave to the Escorial (Morhofii Polyhistor Literarius, Lib. I. cap. iv. § 22, ed. Fabricii, Lubeca, 1732, 4to, Tom. I. p. 32). But Father Andres (Cartas Familiares, Madrid, 1790, Tom. III. pp. 54, sqq.) has successfully defended him from this dishonoring imputation. The truth is, that Mendoza caused copies to be made

for himself of many copies of old MSS. given by Cardinal Bessarion to the public Library of Venice; and as these second copies, executed with Chinese fidelity, transcribed the certificate of the first, stating that they were made by order of Cardinal Bessarion, it seemed as if his (the Cardinal's) manuscripts had been carried to the Escorial. But, on inquiry, by Father Andres, they were all found in their proper places at Venice.

Emperor, by his talents and firmness. But at last he grew weary of this great labor and burden; and the Emperor himself having changed his system and determined to conciliate Europe before he should abdicate, Mendoza returned to Spain in 1554.⁸

* 476 * The next year Philip the Second ascended the throne. His policy, however, little resembled that of his father, and Mendoza was not one of those who were well suited to the changed state of things. In consequence of this, he seldom came to court, and was not at all favored by the severe master who now ruled him, as he ruled all the other great men of his kingdom, with a hard and anxious tyranny.⁹ One instance of his displeasure against Mendoza, and of the harsh treatment that followed it, is sufficiently remarkable. The ambassador, who, though sixty-four years of age when the event occurred, had lost little of the fire of his youth, fell into a passionate dispute with a courtier in the palace itself. The latter drew a dagger, and Mendoza wrested it from him and threw it out of the balcony where they were standing; — some accounts adding, that he afterwards threw out the courtier himself.¹⁰ Such a quarrel would certainly be accounted an affront to the royal dignity anywhere; but in the eyes of the formal and

⁸ Mendoza's success as an ambassador passed into a proverb. Nearly a century afterwards, Salas Barbadillo, in one of his tales, says of a *chevalier d'industrie*, "According to his own account, he was an ambassador to Rome, and as much of one as that wise and great knight, Diego de Mendoza, was in his time." Cavallero Puntual, Segunda Parte, Madrid, 1619, 12mo, f. 5.

⁹ Mendoza seems to have been treated harshly by Philip II. about some money matters relating to his accounts for work done on the castle of Siena, when he was governor there. (Navarrete,

Vida de Cervantes, Madrid, 1819, 8vo, p. 441.)

¹⁰ A letter from Mendoza himself, dated 20 September, 1579, giving good reasons and precedents why he should not be treated with rigor, leaves little doubt that the front of his offending was the struggle in the palace for the dagger. He speaks of himself in a true Castilian tone. "Un hombre," he says, "de tan conocidos abuelos como yo y con nota de que se hable ya en las esquinas." It is in the Spanish translation of this History (Tom. II. pp. 501-504).

strict Philip the Second it was all but a mortal offence. He chose to have Mendoza regarded as a madman, and as such exiled him from his court; an injustice against which the old man struggled in vain for some time, and then yielded himself up to it with loyal dignity.

His amusement during some portion of his exile was — singular as it may seem in one so old — to write poetry.¹¹ But the occupation had long been familiar to him. In the first edition of the works of Boscan we have an epistle from Mendoza to that poet, evidently written when he was young; besides which, several of his shorter pieces contain internal proof that they were composed in Italy. But, notwithstanding he had *been so long in Venice and * 477 Rome, and notwithstanding Boscan must have been among his earliest friends, he does not belong entirely to the Italian school of poetry; for, though he has often imitated and fully sanctioned the Italian measures, he also often gave himself up to the old *redondillas* and *quintillas*, and to the national tone of feeling and reflection appropriate to these ancient forms of Castilian verse.¹²

The truth is, Mendoza had studied the ancients with a zeal and success that had so far imbued his mind with their character and temper as in some measure to keep out all undue modern influences. The first part of the

¹¹ One of his poems is "A Letter in *Redondillas*, being under Arrest." (Obras, 1610, f. 72.)

¹² Until the poetry of Mendoza was inserted in Vol. XXXII. of the Biblioteca de Rivadeneyra, 1854, there was but one edition of it. This edition was published by Juan Diaz Hidalgo at Madrid, with a sonnet of Cervantes prefixed to it, in 1610, 4to; and is a rare and important book, but is full of typographical errors. In the address "Al Lector," we are told that his lighter works are not published, as unbecom-

ing his dignity; and if a sonnet, printed for the first time by Sedano (Parnaso Español, Tom. VIII. p. 120), is to be regarded as a specimen of those that were suppressed, we have no reason to complain.

There is in the Royal Library at Paris, MS. No. 8293, a collection of the poetry of Mendoza, which has been supposed to contain notes in his own handwriting, and which is more ample than the published volume. (Ochoa, Catálogo, Paris, 1844, 4to, p. 532.)

Epistle to Boscan, already alluded to, though written in flowing *terza rima*, sounds almost like a translation of the Epistle of Horace to Numicius, and yet it is not even a servile imitation; while the latter part is absolutely Spanish, and gives such a description of domestic life as never entered the imagination of antiquity.¹³ The Hymn in favor of Cardinal Espinosa, one of the most finished of his poems, is said to have been written after five days' constant reading of Pindar, but is nevertheless full of the old Castilian spirit;¹⁴ and his second *cancion*, though quite in the Italian measure, shows the turns of Horace more than of Petrarch.¹⁵ Still, it is not to be concealed that Mendoza gave the decisive influence of his example to the new forms introduced by Boscan and Garcilasso; — a fact plain from the manner in which that example is appealed to by many of the poets of his time, and especially by Gregorio Silvestre, and Christóval de Mesa.¹⁶ In both styles, however, he succeeded. There is, perhaps, more richness of thought in the specimens he has given us in the Italian measures than in the others; yet it can hardly be doubted that his heart was in what he wrote upon the old popular foundations. Some of his *letrillas*, as they would now be called, though they bore different names in his time, are quite charming;¹⁷ and in many parts of the second division

¹³ This epistle was printed, during Mendoza's lifetime, in the first edition of Boscan's Works (ed. 1543, f. 129); and is to be found in the Poetical Works of Mendoza himself (f. 9), in Sedano, Faber, etc. The earliest printed work of Mendoza that I have seen is a *cancion* in the Cancionero General of 1535, f. 99, b.

¹⁴ The Hymn to Cardinal Espinosa is in the Poetical Works of Mendoza, f. 143. See also Sedano, Tom. IV (Índice, p. ii), for its history.

¹⁵ Obras, f. 99.

¹⁶ See the sonnet to Mendoza, in Silvestre's Poesias (1599, f. 333), in which he says, —

De vuestro ingenio y invencion
Piensa hacer industria por do pueda
Subir la toscá rima a perfeccion;

and the epistle of Mesa to the Count de Castro, in Mesa, Rimas, Madrid, 1611, 12mo, f. 158, —

Acompaña a Boscan y Garcilasso
El inclito Don Diego de Mendoza, etc.

¹⁷ The one called a *Villancio* (Obras, f. 117) is a specimen of the best of the

of his poems, which is larger than that devoted to the Italian measures, there is a light and idle humor, well fitted to his subjects, and such as might have been anticipated from the author of the "Lazarillo" rather than from the Imperial representative at the Council of Trent and the Papal court. Indeed, some of his verses were so free that it was thought inexpedient to print them.

The same spirit is apparent in two prose letters, or rather essays thrown into the shape of letters, that have been attributed to him. The first professes to come from a person seeking employment at court, and gives an account of the whole class of *Catariberas*, or low courtiers, who, in soiled clothes, and with base, fawning manners, daily besieged the doors and walks of the President of the Council of Castile, in order to solicit some one of the multitudinous humble offices in his gift. The other is addressed to Pedro de Salazar, ridiculing a book he had published on the wars of the Emperor in Germany, in which, as Mendoza declares, the author took more credit to himself personally than he deserved. Both — whether his or not — are written with idiomatic humor, and a native buoyancy and gayety of spirit, which seem to have lain at the bottom of his character, and to have broken forth, from time to time, during his whole life, notwithstanding the severe employments which for so many years filled and burdened his thoughts.¹⁸

gay *letrillas*. Lope de Vega calls his *redondillas* admirable.

¹⁸ These two letters are printed in that rude and ill-digested collection called the "Semanario Erudito," Madrid, 1789, 4to; the first in Tom. XVIII., and the second in Tom. XXIV. Pellicer, however, says that the latter is taken from a very imperfect copy (ed. Don Quixote, Parte I. c. 1, note); and, from some extracts of Clemencin (ed. Don Quixote, Tom. I.

p. 5), I infer that the other must be so likewise. But the letter to Salazar is reprinted with care in the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Tomo XXXVI. 1855. The *Catariberas*, so vehemently attacked in the first of them, seem to have sunk still lower afterwards, and become a sort of jackals to the lawyers. See the "Soldado Pindaro" of Gonçalo de Cespedes y Meneses (Lisboa, 1626, 4to, f. 37, b), where they are treated with the cruellest satire. But