

**Rhetoric, Poetry and Politics in Lope's
*Al nacimiento del príncipe: 'canto, arte, erudición y ingenio'***

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Three years after the original publication of Lope's *Rimas* (1602), which contained two early manifestations of Lope's thoughts on poetry and rhetoric (dedicatory epistles to Juan de Arguijo *Para escribir Virgilio de las abejas* and *Cuestión del honor debido a la poesía*), Lope took part in a poetic festival organized by the imperial city of Toledo in celebration of the birth of prince Philip, future king Philip IV of Spain. The 1605 account of the proceedings (*Relación de las fiestas que la imperial ciudad de Toledo hizo al nacimiento del Principe N. S. Felipe IIII deste nombre*) describes the moment. Trumpets and drums announced the commencement of festivities followed by the distinctive appearance of Lope de Vega on stage. After acknowledging judges and

dignitaries the popular dramatist and master of ceremonies assuming a new role as poet-actor seated himself behind a desk, shuffled his papers and slowly began reading aloud his inaugural panegyric to an attentive audience of nobles, clergy, peers and, one assumes, curious onlookers:

Diose principio à la fiesta, y tocandose los instrumentos subió a la silla Lope de Vega Carpio: el qual haziendo reuerencia à los juezes, caualleros, y personas doctas: y siendo honrado dellos, con grande cortesia, puso sobre el bufete algunos papeles, y sentandose en la silla començó assí:
"El Origen diuino de las letras" (f. 15r-v)¹

The popularity of dramatized, competitive readings of poetry in Hapsburg Spain, acclaimed by participants as well as onlookers, aside from reflecting poetic tastes,

¹ In the title of my essay the phrase 'arte, erudición y ingenio' [sic] to which I have added 'canto' was used by Lope to praise the work of his contemporary Francisco de las Cuevas (*Epistolario* IV, n. 479). The prose introduction to Lope's reading of his panegyric comes from the 1605 account of the proceedings. For the text of the poem I have used Carreño's version of *Al nacimiento del Príncipe* in *Poesías*, Vol. VI of the Biblioteca Castro, 184-95. Another text of the poem can be found in Sancha, Vol. IX *La Vega del Parnaso*, 105-17. (This text however omits two verses –vv.180-81 of the Carreño text). The original publication of the poem appeared in the *Relación de las fiestas* folios 15v-24r.

styles and rhetorical prescriptions of the period also conveniently served the ends and needs of state politics, religious ritual, commemorative celebration and personal ambition.² The opportunity for the affirmation of genius or the occasion for satirical commentary appealed to poets as well as their detractors.³ For Lope, appearance before the crowd in the imperial city of Toledo –the symbolic seat of religion vested in its imposing cathedral and the birthplace of poet-soldier Garcilaso de la Vega– served political as well as poetical purposes. Politically it provided him with the opportunity for exposure before the royal and religious power brokers of the Sandoval family –the Duke of Lerma, Francisco Sandoval, powerful *valido* of King Philip III, and his uncle the cardinal-archbishop of the cathedral of Toledo, Bernardo de Mendoza Sandoval, who later would publicly manifest his benevolence for a rival of Lope de Vega, the severe, gifted poet from Córdoba, Luis de Góngora y Argote. Weeks later, the Duque de Lerma would stage the baptism of the infant prince in the recently established court at Valladolid where he had refurbished his luxurious palace (Williams, 1-14).

² Willard F. King early on pointed out the close relationship between poetic competitions (*certámenes poéticos, justas poéticas*) and the poetic academies of Hapsburg Spain: “Una manifestación...del espíritu de la época es la inmensa popularidad de la academia literaria y el certamen poético, íntimamente relacionado con ella; casi todos los escritores de la época pertenecieron a una academia o participaron en varios certámenes poéticos, y la mayoría de ellos hicieron ambas cosas” (8). See Anne Cruz for a stimulating discussion of the academia as it relates to broader issues of statism, the administration of power and cultural control. She addresses “the academies’ historical and sociopolitical determinants in order to situate them within a more broadly construed cultural field, whose boundaries separating the public and private spheres of action were continuously transgressed as much by the significant public roles held by their members as by the political opportunities the reunions afforded them” (72-73). Sánchez makes a distinction between the public nature of the *justas poéticas* and the private gatherings of the *academias* (23-25). Entrambasaguas perceived that in the *justas poéticas* Lope found “un ambiente y un medio insospechados para exponer, a través de tales certámenes, sus teorías y sus tendencias literarias y luchar *pro domo sua* sirviéndose de todas las posibilidades que presentaban y utilizándolas con felices resultados en sus múltiples aspectos” (1967b, 16). See also Mercedes Blanco’s study of the *justas poéticas* as historical and social manifestations of a poetry designed for public consumption: “cabe hablar de poesía oral para referirse a obras concebidas ante todo para la audición y no para la lectura silenciosa. A pesar de todo su lastre literario, y su erudición libresca, no deja de ser cierto que la poesía de las justas nacía destinada a una exhibición pública y a un consumo colectivo [...]” (46).

³ No written commentary on the reaction of the audience to this poetic festival has come down to us, as far as I am aware, but we do have a contemporary description of another poetry reading in which Lope participated, the *Relación de las fiestas que en la beatificación de nuestra madre Santa Teresa se celebraron* (1614). It is easy to understand Lope’s reticence to name winners and losers in his report of this *Justa poetica* given the description of the competitive egos and carping observers satirically presented by Antonio Lopez de Vega: “Yo de aquí he estado todo el día notando la inquietud y alborozo de las acciones de los circunstantes, y no me veo harto de reír porque se amontonan de suerte los motivos [...] Leen unos en voz alta, muy a lo representante, lo que contiene el cartel. Apuntan, muy afanosos y golosos, los asuntos que más les parecen de su genio. Este aprueba o reprueba, con satisfacción magistral, algunos de los que van leyendo. Aquél interpreta, muy a lo presumido de agudo, el alma de cada punto. Allí se porfía con gestos y gritos sobre cuál de ellos es más ocasionado a un gran papel” (Entrambasaguas 1967^a, 534-35).

In the realm of letters and poetry the event of Toledo publicly confirmed Lope's reputation beyond that of mere balladeer and scrivener of popular commercial plays. Given this context I argue that Lope's performance, conceived and delivered within a period of experimentation with the forms of non-dramatic poetry, exemplified the poetic negotiation of popular and erudite motives competing for resolution. On a broader conceptual level, however, Lope's panegyric substantiates the role of poetry and letters in the appropriation of a public aesthetic ideology that aspires to sharing power with statist politics for control and dominance of social, religious and cultural perceptions.⁴

From this critical perspective I view Lope assuming the constructs of a critical idiom which over the decades (beginning in the 1590's to the end of the 1630's) was reflected throughout his discussion of poetry and writing. Constants in this personal dialectic were concepts of rhetoric and poetics centered around humanist conceptions of Platonist, Horatian and Aristotelian dichotomies –res / verba, ars / natura, dulce / utile and the generative pragmatics of imitation and invention that were overlaid with the scholasticism and moralism of a post-Tridentine hegemony– “versos buenos, castos y medidos” (Carreño 1998, 595) and the later conviction that “ser filósofo y ser poeta son convertibles” and that poetry is “parte de la filosofía racional” (Soto de Rojas 13).⁵

Lope's conception of his non-dramatic poetry was expressed through a critical idiom that drew upon the functions and practice of rhetoric –the demonstrative (epideictic) and deliberative divisions of rhetoric; specifically in the case of his

⁴ The audience of Lope's panegyric is clearly defined: royalty, political power in Lerma, ecclesiastical influence in the cardinal-archbishop Bernardo de Sandoval, clergy, caballeros, contestants of the poetic competition, 'letrados' and perhaps common attendees from the public. Placed at the center of this sphere as poet-actor, recognized dramatist, and the putative 'poet-vates' of divine and profane letters, Lope's personal as well as political designs were on view. Lope's stature as dramatist having been well established, it remained for him to claim a higher status if not as poet laureate, at least as arbiter of the prestigious public role that poetry negotiated in Hapsburg Spain, a role that would be categorically challenged by his rival Góngora whose *Polifemo* and *Soledades* (1613) along with public exposure offered by the panegyrics of 1615 (“para el certamen poético de las fiestas que el Cardenal Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas hizo en la traslación de nuestra Señora del Sagrario a la capilla que le fabricó” [Millé, n. 407]) and 1617 (“Panegírico al Duque de Lerma” [Millé n. 420]) would diminish Lope's profile. José Manuel Martos Carrasco maintains that the “Panegírico al Duque de Lerma” ranks with Góngora's *Polifemo* and *Soledades*. Alluding to its popularity among Góngora's contemporaries he writes: “hay que saber que el *Panegírico* fue recibido en el siglo XVII como uno de los grandes poemas de Góngora, según prueban algunas glosas de sabios lectores gongorinos” (16).

⁵ Lope's statements are made in his prologue to Soto de Rojas' collection of poems. I have attempted to address the early stages of Lope's critical theory initially focusing on the two 'discursos' (dedicatory epistles to Juan de Arguijo) of the *Rimas*, 1602. The first study (2009a) relying upon Lope's defensive essay “Para escribir Virgilio de las abejas” discusses the scope of rhetoric and the issues of invention and imitation as they developed throughout Lope's writing of non-dramatic poetry; the second (2009b) based on Lope's essay “Cuestión del honor debido a la poesía,” studies the contradictions of Lope's writing and defense of poetry. In a previous number of this review I addressed the role of rhetoric in Lope's writing and the articulation of poetic voice (2010).

panegyric drawing upon the conventions of epideictic discourse that traditionally described the ends of both rhetorical and poetic expression as *laudare vel vituperare*.⁶ The constructs and practices engendered in Lope's early grammatical and rhetorical schooling –humanist practices of reading, textual analysis and imitation, parsing, explication of the text (*ennarratio*) and memory and writing exercises (*exercitatio*), were encouraged by his Jesuit and later educators (Hornedo 1935) and circumscribed his understanding of the genres and poetic forms he attempted to emulate and / or re-invent.⁷ In this respect consider the *comedia*, the verse letter ('aristotelizar epistolando' *Filomena*, Epístola nona), the silva, experimentation with form and rhyme in the sonnet ('abrir con llave de plata y cerrar con llave de oro' [Brown, 1978]), extension of poetic function and diction in the prose poetry of the *Arcadia* and *Dorotea*, the intermixing of narrative forms, poetic verse, 'discursos' and textual commentary in the *Filomena* and *Circe*, (discursive 'epistolos' –*Papel de la nueva poesía*– narrative experiments –*novelas a Marcia Leonarda*– and humanist commentary –the exegesis of the sonnet *La calidad elemental...*). All these efforts, I maintain, revealed both a traditional as well as innovative confrontation with rhetorical norm and poetic convention.

⁶ Lope along with his contemporaries having been schooled in a tradition that utilized rhetoric in the expression of poetry naturally bristled that his critic Diego de Colmenares would deny such a fundamental relationship. In a response to Lope's *Papel de la nueva poesía* Colmenares wrote "me admiro de que Vuestra Merced fundase su doctrina en principios de tan diversa profesión como es la retórica de la poética" (Tubau 188). Lope responded in turn in *La Circe*: "Pero quien siente que no tiene [la poesía] fundamento en la Retórica, ¿qué respuesta merece? [...] es puerilidad [...] excluir la Retórica de la Poética [...] ¿qué diferencia hay del retórico al poeta?" (Tubau 201). This common understanding given necessary qualification is reflected by Pedro Soto de Rojas (to whose collection of poems Lope had provided a prologue): "y si alguno dixere que no es todo vno, Predicador, y Poeta, concedo: pero el fin principal, y honroso, casi es vno, y mal se conseguirá si los medios son incapaces; no eficases" (26). Cicero's statement in the *De Oratore* set the norm: "Est enim finitimus oratori poeta, numeris astrictior paulo, verborum autem licentia liberior, multis vero ornandi generibus socius, ac paene par" (I, xvi, 70). (For the poet is very close to the orator, more confined by meter, but freer with vocabulary, in many kinds of ornamentation his partner and almost on the same level. [Translations from the Latin throughout are my own unless indicated by quotation marks and attribution.]

⁷ Quintilian counseled the practice of reading, writing and speaking ("scribendo plus an legendo an dicendo" X, i,i) as indispensable for the acquisition of eloquence. Mañas Viniestra points out that the Renaissance practices (modeled by Erasmus, Vives, Ramus and Sánchez de las Brozas) adopted a bipartite version of Quintilian's directives: "A través de la exégesis o comentarios de textos, los humanistas del Renacimiento adquieren una preceptiva teórica y unos conocimientos prácticos que aplican posteriormente al estadio definitivo, la elaboración de textos propios. La *exercitatio*, en efecto, consiste en comentar y componer textos a partir de los *praecepta* estudiados en las *artes* correspondientes. Este sistema bipartito, de tanto éxito en el Renacimiento, sustituye al sistema tripartito descrito por Quintiliano en el siglo I." (337). See note 20 below for a different conception of the role of the tripartite system *ars, natura, exercitatio*. and my discussion of Cipriano Suárez' views in the section Rhetoric, Invention, Erudition. Lope's comments in the *Dorotea* reflect as well as personalize the tradition: "¿Cómo compones? Leyendo/ Y lo que leo imitando, / Y lo que imito escribiendo,/ Y lo que escribo borrando;/De lo borrado escogiendo" (IV, iii, 348).

In the context of these experiments Lope's panegyric, can be conceived as an attempt to stage a higher form of erudite public poetry distinct from the earlier appealing lyrical music of his ballads and the popularity of the *comedia* but still asserting an affinity for the musical appeal and effects of poetry. As such his performance, given the occasion of a poetic competition which showcased the very nature of poetry as praise and performance, gave Lope the opportunity to present his own persona on stage as a sophisticated and erudite poet worthy of the praise attributed to laudable moderns (Garcilaso, Herrera, Ariosto and Tasso) and venerable ancients (Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid). But more importantly Lope's panegyric identified the tradition of song and poetry with the erudition of poetic verse at the service of rhetorical praise in contrast to an emerging vogue of obscurity and innovative transpositions of metaphorical language and syntax –“las locaciones inauditas, y las Metaforas de Metaforas” Lope's favored description of the new poetry of Góngora and his followers voiced in “El Teatro a los letores” a prologue to *Parte XV* of his comedias (Hartzenbusch xxiv). At the same time, however, the significance of Lope's panegyric extends beyond the ‘literary’ and aesthetic issues of rhetoric and poetic expression, which I will seek to explicate as my exposition proceeds.

The rhetoric of panegyric

The classical panegyric of Roman and Greek pedigree exemplified by Pliny and Isocrates and codified in the rhetorical works of Menander and the *progymnasmata* of Aphthonius, Hermogenes and Theon, along with later medieval exemplars praising saints and the virgen Mary, bequeathed a rich and established tradition to Renaissance poets who commonly understood the panegyric as a genre of rhetorical praise for public figures of stature or a means of poetically ennobling cities, rivers and nations as well as addressing contemporary issues –poetry, arms and letters, the ‘golden age.’⁸ The Renaissance scholar J. C. Scaliger provided what could be considered the standard account of the “Panegyricon” in his *Poetices libri septem* (Liber III chapters cix-cxxi) where he discussed the nature, subject matter and forms of discourse associated with epideictic praise. A discussion of the panegyric from the Spanish

⁸ Pliny the Younger originally delivered his *Panegyricus* of Trajan in the senate which he later expanded in a written version. The *Panegyricus* and *Panathenaicus* of Isocrates are generally held as models of epideictic praise. The rhetorical works of Menander and Hermogenes outlined rules for the panegyric while the *progymnasmata* provided directives and examples for developing subject matter, among them the construction of encomia. A useful orientation to epideictic encomium is provided by Burgess who studies its history and origins (1987, 107-08; 118ff). See also Lausberg's discussion of genus demonstrativum and eulogy (1966, I: 239-48). An insightful discussion of the political and poetic role of panegyric in imperial Rome is presented by Newlands in a study of Statius' *Silvae* (19-22). Newlands makes the point that the panegyric, according to Quintilian, was not limited to the epideictic division of rhetoric “on the grounds that the same features used to persuade are often used to praise” (20), an affirmation relevant to our subsequent discussion of Lope's use of the *sedes argumentorum* as expository structure.

perspective occurs in José Pellicer de Salas y Tovar's commentary to Góngora's *Panegírico al Duque de Lerma* in the *Lecciones Solemnas*: "Constauan estas oraciones Panegyricas, de lo mas florido de las Artes liberales, y de los Sofismas mas lucidos de las ciencias, de la verdadera ciencia, y doctrina moral, consultando la Dialectica, la Musica, y la Poetica" (1630, 614-15). An explanation whose concluding triad of dialectic, music and poetics appropriately frames the rhetorical and poetic constructs upon which Lope fashioned his public declamation –"consultando la Dialectica, la Musica, y la Poetica."⁹ But it was the composition textbook of Aphthonius through its Latin translations that played the significant role in schooling 16th- and 17th-century writers and their poems of praise. Rudolph Agricola's translation, reprinted in 1556 at Salamanca with the *scholia* of Sánchez el Brocense (notes, explications, classical references), was the most commonly used Progymnasmata in Spain.¹⁰ I am inclined to think that Lope used the *Afthonio* with the scholia of Sanchez Brocense, as his passing citation to these authors in tandem suggests: "Los tropos y figuras se hicieron para hermosura de la oración. Estas mismas *Afthonio*, *Sánchez Brocense* y los demás las hallan viciosas..." (*Papel de la nueva poesía* 314; italics added).

Aphthonius as well as other Renaissance versions of the progymnasmata outlined traditional topics for composition: *fabula*, *historia*, *chria*, *sententia*, *destructio*, *confirmatio*, *locus communis*, *laus*, *vituperatio*, *comparatio*, *ethopoei*, *descriptio* (*Ekphrasis*), *thesis*, *legislatio*. These fourteen thematic exercises were followed by examples which were set as models for imitation and practice.¹¹ In the presentation of encomium (*laus*) the progymnasmata offer the following guidelines: after a brief definition, suggestions for development were outlined –the subject matter of praise (persons, objects, places or seasons, etc.), the treatment and organization of the selected subject, and for a person such topics as heritage, nation, ancestors and parents as well as a listing of other personal details for development:

Laus est oratio, bona alicuius enumerans. Laudando vero sunt personae, res, tempora, loci, ratione carentia animalia, et plantae. Personae, vt Thyucydides, aut Demosthenes; res, ut iustitia aut temperantia; tempora, vt

⁹ See as well Salcedo Coronel's introductory description of the panegyric in his commentary to Góngora's praise of the Duque de Lerma (Segunda parte del tomo II, 276ff).

¹⁰ López Grigera's study of rhetoric in Spain (1995, 55-57; 69-83) enumerates translations of Theon and Aphthonius from the Greek and discusses other *exercitamenta* used in Spain. In an earlier study "Notas sobre *progymnasmata* en la España del siglo XVI" she maintains that "[...] los Progymnasmata de Aphthonio, ya en la traducción de Rodolfo Agrícola, ya en la del español Francisco Escobar, fueron sin duda los más usados en esa centuria [1500], cuya vigencia y producción se acrecienta en la década de los cincuenta" (1993, 587).

¹¹ Later editions of Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* greatly expanded the number of model compositions for imitation. Reinhard Lorich provided 'scholijs luculentis, nouisq; complurib. Exemplis illustrata' in the 1542 edition of Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* published at Marburg by Christian Egenolff. The 1632 edition which I have consulted contains Lorich's scholia and models for imitation with side notes illustrating the principles of composition and inner workings of these exercises.

ver, aestas; loci, vt portus, horti; bruta animalia, vt equus, bos; plantae, vt vites, olea. Laudamus vero et communiter, et singulatim. Communiter, vt omnes simul Athenienses; priuatim, vt Atheniensem vnum aliquem. Haec verò diuisio est laudis. Dispones autem ipsam hoc pacto: primum pooemium pro qualitate rei pones, Inde subjcies genus, quoad diuditur in gentem, patrium, maiores, et patres. (Aphthonius 1556, f. 13r)

Praise is expression enumerating the good things of an individual. One should praise persons, things, occasions, places, dumb animals, plants. A person, for example like Thucydides or Demosthenes; a thing such as justice or temperance; seasons like spring or summer; places, like harbors or gardens; brute animals, like a horse or ox; plants, like vines or olives. For we can praise in common or individually. In common like all Athenians together; individually like a particular Athenian. This is the division of the encomium. You should organize it this way: first in the introduction you should develop the quality of your subject, then lay out the person's origin, divided into nation, ancestors and parents.

Although Lope unravels a narrative path that includes some of the standard ways of developing a subject suggested by the progymnasmata, he nevertheless enlarges the scope (given the poetic competition he is introducing) to address the nature of poetry as well as the recognition of the infant prince. He draws upon the theme of arms and letters prefacing it with a discussion of the divine origin, import and nobility of letters –initially the alphabet and by extension the letters of prose and poetry. Related classical themes of Roman prestige and the praise of poets are associated with Hapsburg grandeur and interwoven with the laudatory directives for objects and persons: the history and prestige of the imperial city of Toledo, an ekphrasis of Spain's wealth and imperial stature, the fame of profane and sacred poets, recognition of the Archbishop Cardinal Bernardo Sandoval, and his uncle the Duke of Lerma, the justified praise of the royal family and the infant prince and the soon-to-be-awarded winners of the poetic contest –reiterated by way of summary at the end of his address to the audience awaiting the reading of poetry and the winners of the poetic competition:

Luego debida cosa son los premios,
y así Toledo los ofrece ahora
a los que en nuestra lengua castellana
celebraren la bella Margarita
recién parida del hermoso Infante,
esperanza de España, honor del mundo,
nieta del gran Felipe, rey católico,
y biznieta de Carlos, siempre agosto,

a quien llamó la Italia César Máximo,
 del primero Felipe rebiznieta,
 gran sucesor de Maximiliano,
 augusto Emperador, hijo divino
 de Federico, gloria de Alemania; (366-78)

Invention and the ‘sedes argumentorum’

At first reading we might be tempted to see Lope’s fluid exposition as eschewing adherence to the organizational conventions of an oration (proemium, propositio, narratio, confirmatio, peroratio), offering a rambling disquisition on the nature and grandeur of letters and poetry, exemplifying what some might call a ‘mannerist’ ornamentation or sinuous development of praise. The thematic content of Lope’s panegyric guided by the circumstances of the poetic competition and his role as master of ceremonies would thus lead one to delineate the following organization of subject matter:

- I. *The divine origin, history and significance of the alphabet and letters* (vv.1-92)
- II. *The dispute over the nobility of Arms vs. Letters. Recognition of poetry as song.* (vv.93-124)
- III. *Poets should be honored because they have the power to praise or blame. A digression providing the example of vituperative poetry (Lope’s aversion to vituperative detractors) followed by examples of ancients and moderns, profane and sacred poets.* (vv.125-93)
- IV. *Virgil and sybils, Isaiah and sacred verse announce the birth of a child; who doubts that it is just to celebrate the birth of princes.* (vv.194-211)
- V. *Praise of the imperial city of Toledo that in imitation of imperial Rome and Divinity wishes to celebrate its prince.* (vv.212-52)
- VI. *Toledo organizes festivals and celebrates with the praise of verse, thankful to the Queen for the birth of Prince Phillip.* (vv. 253-76)
- VII. *If it could, Toledo would offer gold, the riches of the world and all glory that are due Spain, the royal family and the Duke of Lerma, placing them at the feet of the Prince.* (vv. 277-319)
- VIII. *Since Toledo cannot offer all this wealth, it offers verse and prizes to poets as the Romans did.* (vv.320-65)

IX. *Concluding praise of royalty, church and the infant prince. Petition for the praise of poets winners of the poetic competition.* (vv.366-413)

A more careful reading, however, uncovers elements of exposition encouraged by rhetoric and the traditional exercises of the progymnasmata. I maintain there is a different principle of organization at work here embedded within and directing the thematic development of Lope's inaugural panegyric, namely the strategies embodied in the topics of invention. These directives served as guidelines for exposition. As practical strategies for organizing and amplifying praise, persuasion and narration they were explicated in the first of the classical, triadic division of rhetoric: *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio*. There one could find topics for encomium –the praise of person, parents, heritage and country; *exempla*, *chria*, the rhetorical 'places' of argumentation for praise or blame: confirmation/refutation, comparison / contrast, similitude / dissimilitude and antecedents / consequents. Unveiling these rhetorical strategies reveals a different skeletal structure –one which provides discernible 'order' to the expository amplification of themes and content.

In his dedicatory epistle to Juan de Arguijo Lope expressed his opinion that amplification was "la más gallarda figura en la Retórica" addressing as well the use of 'topoi' –understood first as a commonplace theme and subsequently as the 'loci' of invention: "Usar lugares comunes, como engaños de Ulises, salamandra, Circe y otros, ¿por qué ha de ser prohibido, pues ya son como adagios y términos comunes, y el canto llano sobre que se fundan varios concetos?" (Carreño 1998, 578). The places of invention –'similitudo' and 'comparatio'– are subsequently introduced by allusion: "Esto de las arenas y estrellas está recibido" (579) –followed by six examples from Marullo, Catullus, Silio Italico, and Ovid all taken from the section "Descriptio magni, et frequentis numeri, per similitudines, et comparationes" in Ravisius Textor's *Officina* (1560, 449).

Rhetoric vied with Dialectic over the nature and use of the 'loci' of argumentation. Renaissance rhetoricians, forming their own synthesis of the traditional issues and conflicts of the debate, drew upon Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and Cicero's *Topica* and *De inventione* as well as Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*, regarding the 'sedes argumentorum' as tools for the development and amplification of subject matter, to which were applied principles of judgment (*dispositio*) and means of stylistic embellishment (ornamentation/*elocutio*). Sánchez el Brocense considered the 'loci' as part of the natural thinking process of writer and speaker and although he excluded *inventio* and *dispositio* from rhetoric influenced by Ramus and Agricola (Asensio, Schwartz, Chaparro Gómez 2003), he recognized that Cicero applied them to both rhetoric and dialectic. Rhetoric, however, had ends beyond those of dialectic, namely to gain assent by appealing to the emotions.¹² Cipriano Suárez following Cicero and

¹² El Brocense attempted to reconcile the issue by asserting the unique applicability of dialectic to all disciplines. He wrote: "Sed inuentio et dispositio, cum sint, ut ostendimus, dialecticae partes, rhetoricae

Aristotle in his *De arte rhetorica libri tres* (a work which Lope knew well)¹³ insists that rhetorical invention has its own ‘loci’ of argumentation recognizing rhetoric’s need for gaining belief by emotional effect.¹⁴

It is my contention that Lope had absorbed these relevant issues of rhetoric and poetics, dialectic and invention and that they functioned as natural foundation and reflexive substrata for his writing of poetry, drama and prose. His praise of a fellow writer reveals as much: “Sobre el fundamento de sus estudios de vuestra merced vino bien la elocuencia con que escribe y el juicio con que dispone el argumento de que trata.” Elaborating the theoretical basis of “la elocuencia con que escribe” and “juicio con que dispone el argumento” (‘ornamentatio’ and ‘dispositio’) he continued: “Cicerón, en los Tópicos, hizo dos partes la Dialéctica: inventar y juzgar; pero en el orden de la naturaleza primero está la invención; y fue opinión suya que sin la filosofía

partes non erunt. At docent Cicero aliam esse rhetoris, aliam logici inuentionem ac dispositionem, quia logicus solummodo fidem faciat, orator fidem et motum. Cui respondeo unam solamque esse artem inueniendi et disponendi ad omnes diciplinas accommodatam” (*Obras* 184). (But invention and disposition, since they are, as we have shown, part of dialectic, cannot be part of rhetoric. Yet Cicero teaches that invention and disposition is different for logician and rhetorician; for the logician only seeks to create belief but the rhetorician to create belief and to motivate. To which I respond that invention and disposition are one and the same designed for all disciplines).

We should not minimize the influence of Agricola on el Brocense (and by extension in a diluted form on Lope as well) given that el Brocense provided the scholia for Agricola’s translation of Aphthonius’ *Progymnasmata*. Agricola is widely considered to have influenced Ramus as Ong and others have demonstrated (92-130). Mack has indicated Agricola’s significant contributions to Renaissance conceptions of rhetoric and dialectic as well as the topics of invention (2006, 1993, 1988). Schwartz points out the role of Ramus on el Brocense’s and Jiménez Patón’s use of the ‘loci’ of dialectic offering examples from poets (classical and Spanish) including Lope.

¹³ “Y, hablando de la *Onomatopoeia*, Cipriano en su *Retórica* dice” *Papel nuevo* (Tubau 177); “con los demás ejemplos de Cipriano” *La Circe* (Tubau 201); “Esta figura retórica es nueva; no la supo Cipriano ni la imaginó Aristoteles” *Epistolario* (IV: n 474); “en la invención, disposición, y ornato, / colores, y retórico aparato/ la presumieras Cicerón segundo./ Demostenes, o Fabio Quintiliano, / o por la misma religión Cipriano” *Isagoge* (vv. 98-102, 421). Jean Dietz Moss summarizes the import of Cipriano’s *De arte rhetorica* used as a textbook for the *Ratio Studiorum*. See also the bibliographical note of Menéndez y Pelayo on the multiple editions and import of Cipriano’s *Retórica* (I, CCCLXIII, 759-60).

¹⁴ Suárez argued as follows: “Quoniam igitur primum oratoris munus est inuenire, dabit operam ut inueniat, quemadmodum fidem faciat eis, quibus volet persuadere, et quemadmodum motum eorum animis afferat. Fidem facit orator argumentis, mouet incitando, aut ad voluptatem, aut ad molestiam, aut ad metum, aut ad cupiditatem, tot enim sunt motus genera, partes plures generum singulorum.” (Cap. 11, 15-16) “Est autem argumentatio argumenti explicatio, qua dialectici pressius et religiosius, oratores ornatius et liberius vtuntur. Locus autem est sedes argumenti. Aristoteles enim proposuit quosdam locos, ex quibus omnis argumentatio ad omnem disputationem inueniretur” (Cap. 12, 17-18).

(Since the first duty of the orator is to invent, he will naturally be concerned with finding how he can create belief in those whom he wishes to persuade, and how to effect a change of heart. The orator creates belief by arguments, inciting change by either pleasure or pain, fear or desire; for there are as many kinds of motivation as there are different parts of a single class. [Chap. 11]; For argumentation is the explanation of an argument; dialecticians seek to explain in more detail and more assiduously, orators more freely and more stylistically. The places are the seats of arguments. Aristotle proposed certain places where every argument could be found for any kind of dispute. [Chap. 12]).

es imposible conseguir la elocuencia, ni hay retórico sin filosofía, como todas las segundas reciben luz de la primera causa.¹⁵ Éstas son los dos géneros de oración que dice Quintiliano: el perpetuo, que pertenece al retórico, y el conciso, al dialéctico” (*Epistolario*, IV n. 429). On another occasion speaking through the character Celio in *La Dorotea* he identified the process of imitation with invention: “Porque como la inuención es la parte principal del poeta, si no el todo, y inuención y imitación sean la misma cosa...” (Morby 1968, 320). The concepts and practices of the progymnasmata, developing a subject by the different ‘loci argumentorum’ and the humanist procedures for reading and textual analysis (to be discussed subsequently), all contribute to a mindset that would identify invention with the process of imitation.

Given the rhetorical design of Lope’s declaimed panegyric, he naturally assumed discursive conventions that would appeal to the sophisticated expectations of his learned audience likewise schooled in the idiom of rhetoric. Lope’s conversational queries and appeals to his audience map out a laudatory schema with its underlying motives of persuasion. After an extensive proemium, Lope moves to his transition: “Mas no es tiempo de hacer largos discursos/ y mas en *cosa tan notoria a todos*” (vv. 93-94), an attempt to engage his listeners by establishing the foundation of his discourse –praise supported by allusion to mutually cherished concepts and authority– an assumed strategy of *confirmatio*. He takes up the ensuing subject of arms and letters with a simple assertion, “Sea verdad que las famosas armas/ han tenido con ellas [letras] muchas veces / grandes encuentros sobre qual merece/ el primero lugar...” which taken as such reminds us of the underlying rhetorical concerns of persuasive debate that seeks assent from an audience. Likewise, a later affirmation “que éste es el justo oficio del poeta / y digno de las plumas de la fama” (vv. 154-55), draws upon the same intent of confirmation and audience agreement. Throughout his discourse Lope utilizes phrases that draw from the underlying places of argumentation (supposition, confirmation, proof, exempla, comparison, antecedents) seeking assent and rhetorical connection with his audience:

No hay duda de que debe el mundo mucho
a los ingenios de ese don divino (vv. 162-63; italics added throughout)

Lo que merecen versos *bien se prueba* (v. 175)

¹⁵ Joannes Visorius one of the commentators in a well-known and often used sixteenth-century edition of Cicero’s *Topica* singled out Cicero’s belief that without philosophy eloquence was not possible attributing the source to the *De oratore* and the *Peroratione Partitionum Oratoriarum*: “Cicero in libris de Oratore ad Quintum fratrem, & in peroratione Partitionum Oratoriarum scribit, eloquentiam sine Philosophia, teneri non posse: proinde oportere omnem Oratorem esse philosophum. Nam sive laudet vel vituperet, scientiam moralem tenere debet” (*Topica Marci Tul. Ciceronis ad C. Trebativm*, Lugduni: apud Seb. Gryphivm, 1545. f.20) (Cicero in the *De Oratore* and the *Peroratione Partitionum Oratoriarum* wrote that there could be no eloquence without philosophy, consequently every orator needs to be a philosopher. For whether he praises or condemns he needs to have knowledge of morality.) See Marassi for a discussion of the history and issue of rhetoric and its relation to philosophy.

Pero ¿qué me detengo *en cosas claras?*
pues *todos saben ya que* [...] (vv. 184-85)

¿*Quién duda que* las cosas más sublimes
conservan en el mundo los poetas (vv. 190-91)

Sólo resta saber si al nacimiento
de algún príncipe heroico antiguamente
escribieron poetas [...] (vv. 194-96)

¿*quién duda que* naciendo humanos príncipes
será justo alabarlos con los versos?
La iglesia celebrando el claro día
en que nació su Esposo *todos saben*
que canta versos y que en dulces himnos
celebra el nacimiento de su Príncipe. (vv. 206-11)

no hay duda que a las plantas lo pusiera
del tierno niño, y su cabeza misma (vv. 299-300)

Que si pudiera tu leal Toledo,
no dudas que pusiera no a las plantas
de tu divino padre, armado en blanco,
pero a los pies de tu dorada cuna (vv. 311-14)

que dar premios y honor a los poetas
cosa es notoria, que es costumbre antigua. (vv. 338-39)

Luego debida cosa son los premios,
y así Toledo los ofrece ahora (vv. 366-67)

[...] *es justo*
que las divinas letras tengan lauros,
y ellas celebren sus heroicos príncipes (vv. 385-87)

These rhetorical syntagma progressively utilized from beginning to conclusion –*no hay duda que, bien se prueba, todos saben que, cosas claras, cosa notoria es, debida cosa, es justo que*– provide an outline of the statement and purpose of the panegyric. They unveil its underlying rhetorical structure offering an effective precis of Lope's mental process grounded in the conventions of laudatory discourse, functioning as they do to allay doubt, confirm assent and support agreement that poetry can

adequately praise the infant prince, honor his regal heritage and glorify the Spanish empire.

Lope relies upon another traditional rhetorical strategy casually interwoven into his proposition of praise: the use of *Chria*, which the progymnasmata had counseled and modeled for writers as the use of maxims or citations which were developed for their relevance and significance. Referring to a statement from Socrates, Lope lays out the fundamental rhetorical nature of poetry –*laus vel vituperio*: “Y no sin causa aconsejaba Sócrates / a los de Grecia honrasen los poetas, / porque en su mano *el sabio les decía* / que estaba el vituperio y la alabanza” (vv. 125-28; italics added). Lope proceeds to develop Socrates statement by exemplifying the distinction between *laus* and *vituperio*, first by a laconic digression designed to gain the attention and amuse his audience and second by the comparison of classical poets. In both instances he relies upon the ‘loci’ of argumentation conventionally presented for expanding the *Chria* –comparison / contrast, similitude / dissimilitude.¹⁶ In the digression Lope juxtaposes the actions of painter and poet: “Un pintor retrató mal un poeta / para vengarse de un pequeño agravio / y el poeta le hizo tales versos / que voluntariamente se dio muerte” (vv. 129-30). The moral drawn is that the crowd prefers satire over praise (‘tijeras’ made the equal of ‘pluma’) and this same crowd easily understands what is bad rather than the few who understand what is good: “[...] la plebe, / que llama sutilezas a las burlas, / y al ingenio que escribe con tijeras / igualan al que escribe con la pluma, / que lo malo es de todos entendido, / y siempre lo que es bueno entienden pocos” (vv. 140-45). In the second case, “Pero volviendo a lo que dijo Sócrates” (v. 146), Lope uses Nero and Augustus as contrary exemplars, recounting a fabled anecdote. Cruel Nero was made famous by his execution of Lucan and Seneca; Augustus (*ex contrario*) honored Virgil and gained fame by positive means: “nunca fuera Nerón tan fiero principe, / si hubiera sido a los poetas blando, / pero dio muerte al cordobés Lucano / y al grande amigo de san Pablo, Séneca. / Ni Octaviano César fuera Augusto / ni descendiera del troyano Eneas / si no hubiera a Virgilio honrado tanto”(vv.147-53). In subsequent verses he continues the strategy of ‘dissimilitude’ juxtaposing the poetic motivations of Martial to those of Virgil and Homer. Martial used ‘agudeza’ and ‘vituperio’ while ‘alabanza’ was adopted by Homer and Virgil:

¹⁶ Aphthonius points out that the *chria* can be elaborated by the principles of argumentation: encomium, paraphrase, cause, contrary, similitude, example, the testimony of ancients, and a brief epilogue: “Dispones autem ipsum his capitibus usum: Laudabis primum personam, deinde explicabis usum; postea confirmabis: primum causa aliqua, hinc ex contrario, deinceps similitudine, exemplo, testimonio veterum, postremo epilogo brevi concludes” (1556, 4). (You can develop this citation by the following headings: You will praise the person, then explain the use of the citation, afterwards confirm, first with some cause, then from a contrary, then with a similitude, example, or well-know testimony, finally you will conclude with a brief epilogue.) Aphthonius also provides a model composition explicating a statement by Isocrates using the recommended ‘loci’. Hock and O’Neil who have studied the evolution of the *Chria* and the use of principles of development in commentaries on the Progymnasmata, point out the influence of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, specifically with regard to ‘*expolitio*’ (4.43.56 ff) where the development of an idea is advised using a series of arguments (2002, 79-93; 1986, 3-60).

“que puesto que Marcial tiene agudeza, / no le dan el lugar que a Homero y Publio, / *porque quien vitupera*, allí descubre/ sus imaginaciones y bajezas / *como el que alaba*, ensalza y engrandece / muestra su grande y excelente espíritu” (vv. 156-61; italics added). He dramatizes the elaboration of the Chria seeking confirmation from his audience (“No hay duda que”) by showcasing the numbers of philosophers, poets, saints and biblical figures who have made others famous by praising / defending / honoring them rather than, by implication, vituperating their writing: Plato, Cicero, Homer, Alexander, Petrarch, Dante, Catullus, Propertius, Ovid. Proof of the merit of poetry – ‘confirmatio’ – is offered by the verse of Saints, of David, Job and Solomon.

*No hay duda de que debe el mundo mucho
a los ingenios deste don divino
tan celebrado de Platón y Tulio,
defendiendo el honor de Archia Poeta.
¡qué dicha tuvo Achilles, en que Homero
escribiese sus hechos! Alexandro
lo dice bien llorando en su sepulcro.
¡Qué nombre dió tan célebre el Petrarca,
a Laura, pues primero que él se acabe,
se dejará la maquina del mundo!
Ni el que dió a su Beatriz el docto Dante,
y en los antiguos a su Lesbia Catulo,
Propercio a Cintia, y a Corina Ovidio.
Lo que merecen versos bien se prueba,
con que en sus obras santas muchos santos
las acotan y traen por momentos,
sin el lugar que tienen en la Iglesia
en tanto himnos y divinos psalmos,
que David, los profetas y Job fueron
poetas y escribieron versos trágicos
y Salomón en sus *Cantares* dulces
celebra los amores de la Esposa.* (vv. 162-81; italics added)

Lope who famously eschewed rigid adherence to precepts or slavish imitation of models, lyrically develops and fluidly combines rhetorical strategies of composition throughout his panegyric perhaps best exemplified by the largest segment of his praise designed to rivet attention and elicit admiration (vv. 212-319). He draws upon the laudatory nature of epideictic rhetoric by constructing an encomium of the imperial city of Toledo and an ekphrasis of the glory of Spain.

Lope begins by invoking “Toledo la Imperial” as the noble head and heart of Spain recounting its history through the referent repetition of “aquella que”:

Al fin, Toledo insigne, ínclita, fuerte,
 Toledo la imperial, la ciudad noble,
 la cabeza de España, aquella antigua
 famosa corte de los reyes godos,
 que como el corazón es en el cuerpo
 el centro y el principio de la vida,
 así es Toledo corazón de España;
 aquélla que ilustraron tantos reyes
 [...]
 aquélla que jamás se vió vencida
 [...]
 aquélla que juntó tantos concilios
 aquélla que dio leyes
 [...]
 aquélla que en lealtad venció a Numancia
 [...]
 aquélla donde nacen los ingenios
 [...]
 aquélla que gobierna senadores (vv. 221-48)

Following descriptive verses of Toledo's festive celebrations ("hacer fiestas, jugar cañas, / correr toros, hacer paseos y máscaras, / poner luces, enviar al cielo fuegos" [259-61]) Lope introduces an ekphrasis of the abundant wealth of Spain's far-reaching exotic empire listing all the glory that Toledo would wish to place at the feet of the infant prince –an 'imposibilia' topos (if Toledo could, it would) heightened by a descriptive, luxuriant flourish. The practice of ekphrasis, Ruth Webb reminds us, was not simply relegated to descriptive cameos of paintings or visual objects traditionally exemplified by Homer's depiction of the shield of Achilles or Virgil's shield of Aeneas, but relying upon ancient usage in the progymnasmata and in Quintilian, it referred more broadly to "a speech that brings the subject matter vividly before the eyes" and that "what is imitated in ekphrasis and enargeia is not reality, but the perception of reality. The word does not seek to represent, but to have an effect in the audience's mind that mimics the act of seeing" (2009, 1; 38).¹⁷ Lope's catalog thus "mimics the act of seeing" vividly inviting his audience to experience colors of gold, silver, rubies, diamonds, pearls, the divine odors of aromatic plants, amber from the southern seas, the purple of conches, bananas, the multi-colored sails of the Spanish fleet, the treasure of Minos, all designed to recreate the visual splendor of Spain's empire structured within a conditional clause of impossibility "si tuviera...lo pusiera":

¹⁷ The progymnasmata offers a definition of Ekphrasis (descriptio) and models for imitation (21v-23v). Quintilian discusses enargeia in Book VIII of the *Institutio Oratoria* (8.iii.67-69). See also my observations in Brown 2009a, 32-33.

Que si tuviera el oro que se saca
 debajo de la línea que divide
 los días y las noches igualmente,
 o la plata del Trópico de Cancro
 que viene por la sierra de Capira
 a las aguas que azotan nuestras naves,
 las tersas perlas de Cubagua fértil,
 con los rubíes de Ceilán famosos
 y diamantes de Ormuz y de Melinde,
 los olores divinos que Pancaya
 espira de sus plantas aromáticas,
 el ámbar que en el Mar del Sur se cría
 y a las orillas fluctuando llega,
 ora naturaleza le congele,
 ora de las ballenas se destile;
 la púrpura que Tiro vio en sus conchas
 antes que padeciese tantas guerras;
 las telas tersas de colores varias
 que con los prados en abril compiten;
 el plátano, que dio Bitinio a Jerges,
 el tesoro de Minias, o la ciencia
 con que oro fino fabricaba Arnaldo
 no hay duda que a las plantas lo pusiera
 del tierno niño [...] (vv.277-300)

Lope's practice of invention in constructing coherent, convincing and pleasing texts, as I have argued before, drew its sustenance at one level from popular and liturgical song but also at a more learned level from emulating traditional Spanish verse as well as Italianate models, classical authors and the traditions of religious contemplation and prayer (Brown 2010). Lope's wide reading exposed him to the humanist trend of Agricola's and Ramus' approach to rhetoric and dialectic. His comments about Cicero's view of invention and judgment in the *Topica* (touchstone concepts for Agricola and Ramus) and the identification of invention and imitation as well as the consideration of poetry as part of rational science related to philosophy ("ser filósofo y ser poeta son convertibles") reflect an assimilation and adaptation of a rhetoric and poetics that itself was undergoing transformation and reformulation. His at times equivocal espousal of the functions of rhetoric and dialectic demonstrate a reflexive and evolving interchange of practice and theory expressed in personal reactions to critics and theoretical posturing against the attacks of strict aristotelianism, narrow classicism or counter-reformation zeal, or in the passing comments of characters in feigned 'academies' of letters and poetry, most notably in the *Arcadia* and the *Dorotea* (Brown 2009b, 356-57; 2010).

Rhetoric, Invention and Erudition

Characteristic of Lope's writing (poetry as well as prose) are the numerous citations to authority –humanist scholars, historians, classical writers, poets and philosophers, as well as respected authorities of his day– a proclivity which Cervantes ridiculed in his prologue to the *Quixote*.¹⁸ Xavier Tubau (10-19) perceptively commented that the possible origin of such incessant name-dropping stems from classroom exercises rooted in the humanist tradition of textual analysis and the copying of passages into commonplace books for later imitation or citation. Tubau makes an important observation –the relation of sophisticated humanist textual analysis (e.g. Politian, Barbaro, Scaliger) and the use of citations from polyantea as compared to the medieval 'manipulations' of citations and 'sententia': "Las manipulaciones de las citas clásicas que se operaban en la elaboración de florilegios en el siglo XIII eran difíciles de concebir en una poliantea del siglo XVI, pero el tratamiento que dispensaban a la sentencia quienes redactaban un texto en el siglo XIII y quienes lo hacían en el siglo XVI no se había transformado en la misma medida que lo había hecho en los círculos más cultos del humanismo" (12). An implied conclusion to this observation could lead one to conjecture that the elite group of humanists only used citations after reading original texts in depth. But this would be an obvious distortion. It would likewise be a distortion if we maintained that Lope's erudition and citations came only from reading the compendia and polyanteas. It is helpful here to introduce a further distinction related to Tubau's observations, namely, that alongside a medieval mindset that elaborated compendia there existed a 'scholastic' orientation to texts along with a developing 'humanist' reading of texts both of which made their way into the Renaissance. Carol Quinlen argues convincingly that:

Moreover, by the late thirteenth century scholastic writers working in university milieus were exhibiting a critical and sophisticated approach toward reading and textual analysis. Medieval commentators had after all inherited from late antiquity a certain critical approach, epitomized in the genre of the academic prologue [the *accessus*], toward the texts they read. ...In the thirteenth century, the reintroduction of Aristotelian principles of

¹⁸ Lope's display of erudition generated both praise and scorn from his contemporaries. Modern scholarship has taken different approaches: the catalogue of his sources and his knowledge of classical sources (Jameson 1936, 1937), his use of compendia –Stephanus (Osuna 1968), Titelmans (Morby, Vosters 1962a, 1962b), Ravisius Textor (Egido 1988, Trueblood 1958)– the study of Lope's annotations and citations in the context of imitation of 'los excelentes antiguos' (Sendín Vinagre 2000), Lope's use of rhetoric and citation in prologues (Fernández López), the vestiges of the classical tradition in Lope (Dixon 2005) and the issue of his knowledge (Dixon 2007). Dixon provides an excellent assessment of Lope's breadth of erudition and reading with references to sources and compendia as well as extensive bibliography. A general consideration of the issue of erudition in the poetry of 16th- and 17th- century Spain can be found in Rico Verdú.

logic in universities encouraged an even more detailed analytical framework for introducing texts that was based on the distinctions among causes. These and other methods of approaching texts survived well into the Renaissance. (68-69)

We need only recall how Pedro Soto de Rojas chose to organize his *Discurso sobre la poética* (1612) around the Scholastic-Aristotelian construct of the four causes to illustrate the persistence of such an ‘analytical framework.’ The four causes functioned as orientation for the *accessus*: material, formal, efficient, final. The central issue, however –reading authors in depth or browsing citations in compendia– remains at the core of medieval as well as Renaissance constructs of intellectual and moral value. Petrarch citing Seneca chastised those who read to collect sayings: “It is base for a man to collect little gobbets of knowledge and to support himself with famous voices and to rely [for his thoughts] upon his memory” (Quinlen, 76, n.35). Lope was perhaps more guilty than those of his contemporaries for citing ‘gobbets of knowledge’ but that does not in my mind detract from the fact that he was a wide-ranging reader of texts and sources not atomized by the summarizing tendencies of compilers.

Reading methods of humanist pedigree bequeathed by Agricola, Erasmus, Politian and taken up by Ramus (Mack 1985, 1992; Grafton 1977, 1981, 1983; Rico) and reoriented by Jesuit educators (Scaglione 16-17) was an integral part of invention as encouraged by rhetoricians. Reading classical texts exercised not only careful lexical analysis and syntactical parsing but also a more advanced skill of analyzing the logical structure of a text according to the ‘loci’ of invention.¹⁹ Lope was cognizant of the import of Ramus having cited his colleague Omer Talon in his response to Colmenares in *La Circe* (Tubau 201), and he was also undoubtedly aware of the humanist debate and methods for reading and analyzing texts.²⁰

¹⁹ Agricola throughout the *De inventione dialectica* made numerous comments on classical texts and wrote scholia on Cicero’s *Oratio pro lege Manilia* as explanations and examples of structuring functions of the ‘loci’ of invention. His principal interest was the exposition of the ‘loci’ upon which writers constructed their narratives –a kind of “dialectical reading” which trained “the reader to uncover the argumentative structures which underlie texts” (Mack 2006, 34). Kees Meerhoff (2001) has pointed out the role and influence of Agricola, Ramus and Melancthon in establishing the practice of discerning the logical structure of the text. Writing of Ramus’ pedagogical innovations: “What [Ramus] wishes to stress is the application of logical procedure in the great texts of Western culture. This was to be, as we know, the “raison d’être” of the concept of *dialectica naturalis*. [...] the analysis of the logical structure of the text provides the “natural” justification of logica as *ars*. [...] in uniting logic and textual analysis as he did, Ramus was following the major trend in humanist teaching” (Meerhoff 1991, 360-61).

²⁰ See Ong’s explanation of the relationship between Ramus and Talon (Ong 1958b, 46-63; 82-177; 178-93). Especially relevant is Ong’s elucidation of Ramus’ concept of dialectic as nature / imitation and the import of *natura*, *ars*, *exercitatio* (Ong 1958a, Chapter VIII, i.). According to Ramus “[...] dialectic has three ‘parts.’ It has a birth or an origin (*natura*), a teaching or art (*doctrina* or *ars*), and an exercise (*exercitatio*). Ramus thus sets up the ‘power’ of dialectic in terms of the three things which, at least since Plato’s *Phaedrus*, the pseudo-Cicero’s *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and Quintilian’s Training in

The classical training of *ennarratio* and *exercitatio* as practiced in 16th- and 17th-century school rooms called for sophisticated methods of reading alluded to above. Sánchez el Brocense's treatise *De autoribus interpretandis sive de exercitatione* based on a reading of Horace epitomized the process. El Brocense counsels an analytical reading that he maintains is founded on Aristotle ("haec ratio ab Aristotele dicitur Analysis"). The primary question in reading a text is to determine what it is and what it is about, then to consider the arguments and the places by which it is confirmed; afterwards consider its rules of judgment, and method of argument. Finally, one should look at the method and doctrine used by the author and whether he prudently unveiled the text: "...primum questionem invenire, hoc est, quid sit id de quo agatur. Deinde argumenta quibus id confirmatur, aspicere: & ad locos, vnde sumpta sunt referre. Postremo dispositionis leges animadvertere, in illaque & argumentationes, & methodum considerare. Videreque methodone doctrinae, an prudentiae vsus fuerit auctor, cuius opus retexitur" (1582, f.4; italics added). These are concepts that confirm the role of the 'sedes argumentorum' in analysis and in composition –concepts (*dispositiones leges, argumentationes & methodum*) that are appropriated from Ramus.²¹ In the final analysis such procedures ultimately encouraged an approach to reading that was subservient to writing, one that surely espoused insight and fostered eloquence through the touchstones of a classical tradition. The erudition required of writers was acquired through the reading of literary texts and familiarity with philosophical concepts and substructures of moral, religious and cultural belief whether found in manuals, encyclopedia or original texts, duly committed to memory or copied in a commonplace book. Lope was not immune to this process.

The 'regulae professoris rhetoricae' in the Jesuit *ratio studiorum* of 1599 recommended that the teacher of rhetoric be concerned with three elements –precepts, style and erudition: "tribus maxime rebus, praeceptis dicendi, stylo et eruditione." Erudition was gained by attention to history, mores, authoritative writers and all fields of learning: "Eruditio denique ex historia et moribus gentium, ex auctoritate scriptorum et ex omni doctrina..." (Pavur 155).²² The Jesuit educators who taught

Oratory (*Institutio oratoria*), had been considered requisite for producing a good speaker or writer, namely, natural ability, knowledge of theory, and practice" (Ong 1958a, 176). As I will develop subsequently, the work of the Jesuit rhetorician Cipriano Suárez also laid out the import of the *ars, natura, exercitatio* triad. See also Merino Jerez's discussion of the pedagogical significance of *ars, natura, exercitatio* (17-85). In relation to these concepts recall Lope's comment through Celio in *La Dorotea* that invention is imitation through the process of reading, writing and erasing.

²¹ López Cañete Quilis indicates that El Brocense's attribution of 'analysis' to Aristotle is misdirected pointing out Asensio's "nítidas concomitancias con la doctrina dialéctica de Pierre de la Ramée, de quien el Brocense fue destacado seguidor... [se refiere al par *methodus doctrinae/methodus prudentiae*] llevan el sello ramista" and that according to Merino Jerez "los ramistas acostumbraban a invocar al Estagirita como autoridad para el uso del término *analysis* al dictar los preceptos sobre el analisis en el marco de la dicotomía *analysis/genesis*, central en su sistema de *exercitatio*; el Brocense, por su parte, estaría haciendo lo mismo al dictar sus propios preceptos acerca de la misma materia" (379-80).

²² The pedagogical endeavors of the Jesuits were emblematic of Renaissance and later 16th-century rhetorical practice. "Loyola and his followers inherited and, in their way, preserved the educational

young Lope prized Cicero as the ‘bonus auctor’ along with other classic texts for models of composition; it was Cicero who encouraged in the *Topica* not only the intrinsic means of argumentation (similarity / dissimilarity, antecedents / consequents, contraries, etc.) but also the use of arguments derived from extrinsic sources or external considerations –e.g., appeals to authority.²³

In the *De arte rhetorica libri tres* Cipriano Suárez viewed eloquence as founded upon the essential triad *natura, ars, exercitatio* (Chapters 8, 9 and 10) and advised students to develop a love of disciplined *exercitatio* because without it there could be no distinguished eloquence: “Quocirca interest permagni studium et ardorem quendam amoris assumere, sine quo cum nihil quicquam egregium, tum certe eloquentiam nemo umquam assequetur” (Cap. 10). An admonition when drawn to its conclusion

ideas of the Renaissance as transmitted through the humanists’ philological method and general philosophy of learning” (Scaglione 51). The evolution of the *ratio studiorum* contained core elements and principles taken from what Codina Mir called the ‘parisian methodology’ in vogue at the College of Montaigu when Ignatius and his followers were resident students. “On pourrait par conséquent distinguer dans la méthode parisienne... deux phases ou développements différents, que nous retrouverons pendant la Renaissance au niveau des lettres humaines: l’expositio et les quaestiones. Dans l’expositio (ou lectio) le maître passe en revue successivement les différentes parties du livre qu’il commente, divisant, subdivisant, analysant chaque phrase et chaque idée, discutant les raisons pour lesquelles chaque partie s’enchaîne avec la précédente et la suivante, interprétant et « glosant » la pensée de l’auteur. Dans les quaestiones, le texte de l’auteur fournit la matière pour construire un certain nombre de propositions qui peuvent être discutées soit dans un sens soit dans un autre [...] Parallèlement à l’expositio et aux quaestiones, nous trouvons l’explication des règles grammaticales ou d’un auteur (praelectio), et l’exercice de ce qui a été expliqué, sous d’innombrables formes (disputationes ou quaestiones, reparationes, repetitiones, variationes, exclamations, themata ou compositiones, etc.)” (110-11). See Scaglione’s discussion of the historical context of the implementation of the ‘modus parisiensis’ by the Jesuits and his critique of Codina Mir’s thesis (72-74). The final version of the *ratio studiorum* (1599) promulgated under the direction of Claudio Acquaviva was influenced by previous versions of Jerónimo Nadal *De studiis societatis Jesu* (1551-52), a continuation by Annibal du Coudret *De ratione studiorum* (1551) and the *De ratione et ordine studiorum collegii romani* (1560-75) of Diego de Ledesma. For discussions of the origin, history, influence and pedagogical practices of the *ratio studiorum*. see the studies of Farrell, Bertrán-Quera, Codina-Mir, Scaglione and Lukacs.

²³ Cicero’s categorization of intrinsic and extrinsic arguments was a fundamental principal of invention alluded to and annotated by commentators of the *Topica*, e.g., Boethius, Johannes Visorius, Bartholomaeus Latmos and Philipp Melancthon. (See the edition of Cicero’s *Topica* published by Seb. Gryphivm, Lugduni, 1545, which assembles all these commentaries.) The relevant text of Cicero reads: “Itaque licet definire locum esse argumenti sedem. Argumentum autem rationem quae rei dubiae faciat fidem. Sed ex his locis in quibus argumenta inclusa sunt alii in eo ipso de quo agitur haerent, *alii asumuntur extrinsecus*” (*Topica* 8; italics added.) “Therefore we may define a Place as the location of an argument, and an argument as a reasoning that lends belief to a doubtful issue. But of those places in which the arguments are contained, some are attached to the subject under discussion itself, *others are drawn from without*” (Reinhardt 119; see also Woods’ discussion of this passage, 67). Given this context it is significant that El Brocense also provided an edition of Cicero’s *Topica* (*Topica Ciceronis exemplis e definitionibus illustrata*, 1582). I have not been able to consult this edition, but my suspicion is that he may have relied upon the previous commentaries of Boethius, Visorius, Latmos and possibly Melancthon?

ultimately related to Lope's assertion taken from Cicero as previously noted that "sin la filosofía es imposible conseguir la elocuencia, ni hay retórico sin filosofía" (*Epistolario* IV n. 479). The practices of *exercitatio* encouraged the reading and knowledge of the philosophers as well as the poets whether directly through individual texts or indirectly through compendia, polyanthea or the formation of personal 'cartapacios'.²⁴ In Spain it was aligned with the logic of scholasticism as well as the rhetoric and dialectics of invention. The citation of authority was thus inherently part of deliberative and demonstrative discourse which Lope in his attempt to display erudition zealously assumed and abundantly practiced. The fact that he gloried in excessive citations with occasional nods to his sources (e.g., Textor, Gregoire, Crinito, et al.) should not lead us to think that he culled the greater part of his references from compendia and polyanthea –Dixon (2005; 2008) has demonstrated the breadth of Lope's sources. Nor should Lope's prolific output lead us to assume categorically that he always rapaciously borrowed tidbits of knowledge to hastily embellish and complete his literary propositions.²⁵ Amezua soberly characterized Lope's writing as "rara vez gusta de ahondar filosófica o históricamente en el tema que enuncia, contentándose las más veces con someras consideraciones o breves comentarios, poeta al fin que vuela y que raramente se posa en análisis ni psicologías que no sean femeninas o eróticas..." (*Epistolario* II n. 196). Curtius observed that "Lope sets down his thought in careless succession. He always does so when he theorizes" (550). But the fact that Lope is not enamored of systematic analysis nor much less of developed speculative argument does not mean that he was not an inclusive and inquisitive reader. The size of his personal library, 1,500 titles (Dixon 2008, 17), his role and responsibilities as censor of books implies as much, as does his broad-ranging mixture of authorities cited throughout his work and in his panegyric as well.

An analysis of the introductory verses of Lope's panegyric (vv. 1-92) will illustrate my point. The proemium is a calculated display of erudition that supports Lope's laudatory proposition, but more significantly, it provides the occasion for Lope to act out on stage the role of poetry in Spain's political and socio-religious hegemony of counter-reformation values. The numerous authorities he cites as 'proof' are meant not merely to convince but also to confirm the cultural convictions of erudition and tradition that are exemplified in letters and poetry.

The principal source from which Lope draws his proemium is Polydore Vergil's narrative in Book I, Chapter VI of *De inventoribus rerum*. Lope begins his declamation of praise summarizing accepted knowledge interwoven from different, well-known 15th- and 16th-century sources:

²⁴ See the work of Moss (1996; 2003) and Cave for an understanding of the role played by commonplace books in the intellectual history of the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Europe.

²⁵ Regarding a related issue of Lope's 'prolific' output and criticism as 'poeta de repente' see Sánchez Jiménez's perceptive discussion "Contrapartidas del genio: locura, contradicciones, repentismo" in his study *Lope pintado por sí mismo* (123-32). See also Carreño (2002, 32-42).

El origen divino de las letras
 en la reformación del primer mundo
 a los hijos de Seth hoy se atribuye,
 que en las columnas de ladrillo y piedra
 nos dejaron de Adán la ciencia infusa;
 la una de las dos fue hallada en Siria,

que viene bien con lo que Plinio dice
 en el séptimo libro de su *Historia*,
 aunque las siete liberales artes
 en catorce columnas dicen otros,
 que puso Zoroastres Rey de Batro. (vv. 1-11)

While allusions to the children of Seth leaving the infused knowledge of Adam carved on two columns –one found in Syria– and the citation to Pliny are all present in Polydore Vergil’s account, Lope relied upon a different readily available source for the allusion to the fourteen columns of the seven liberal arts placed by Zoroaster –namely, the historical dictionary of Carolus Stephanus (*Dictionarium Historicum, Geographicum, Poeticum* 1596).²⁶

²⁶ Polydore Vergil’s account was a classic summary of opinions on the origin of letters and the alphabet. Knoespel offers a listing of Renaissance authors touching the theme: Crinito, Pliny, Poliziano, Beroaldo, Ficino, Reisch, Rhodiginio (Ricchieri), Alexander ab Alexandro, Polydore Vergil, Pedro Mexia, Luigi Contarini (379, n.1). The relevant section from Polydore Vergil used by Lope alludes to the children of Seth the son of Adam, Moses, Josephus and Pliny and reads as follows: “...liberos Seth, Adam filii in duabus columnis, uti cum de astrologia tractabitur subtilius dicemus, disciplinam rerum coelestium a se primo inventam conscripsisse. Quo apparet iam tum literas fuisse quas fieri potuit vi aquarum deletas. Mosen dein advenisse- quamvis ex his columnis alteram, id est lapideam, Iosephus usque ad aetatem suam in Syria durasse affirmet [...]” (82) “Plinius autem libro *Naturalis historiae* 7 circa finem ait se literas semper arbitratum esse Assyrias fuisse” (76).

“...the children of Seth, Adam’s son, wrote down on two pillars the knowledge of the heavens that they first discovered, as we shall explain more precisely when we deal with astrology. Thus it is obvious that even in those days there were letters that the force of the waters could have obliterated, and then Moses discovered them later –though Josephus confirms that one of these pillars, the one made of stone, still survived in Syria in his day... (83). Pliny, however, toward the end of book 7 of the *Natural History*, says that he had always thought that letters were Assyrian, while others claim that the Syrians discovered them” (77).

In his dedicatory epistle to Arguijo, *Para escribir Virgilio de las abejas*, enumerating inventors of the origin of prose writing Lope also summarized salient and similar facts from Polydore Vergil –Josephus, Moses, Cadmus, Livy, Polydore’s doubts– but adding his own reference to the historian Nauclerus whom he was also to cite in his panegyric : “Y los sacerdotes egipcios, que Josefo sienta por los primeros inventores del escribir en prosa, o sea Moisés o Cadmo, como duda Polidoro, ¿por qué han de ser dueños de la historia de Eusebio, Tito Libio, Nauclero y Paulo Jovio?” (Carreño 582-83).

The section from Stephanus’ entry on ‘Zoroastres’ reads as follows: “Zoroastres, primus Bactrianorum rex...Septem liberales artes in quatuordecim scripsit columnis, septem aeneis, & septem lateritiis, contra diluuium vtrumque” (452). (Zoroaster was the first king of the Bactrians... he engraved the seven liberal arts on fourteen columns, seven of bronze and seven of bricks, both of them built to

Lope's verses continue with references to Diodorus and Cicero which are likewise to be found in Polydore Vergil, but he adds a different reference. Here he relies upon the well-known and often cited mythography of Vincenzo Cartari (*Le Imagini de gli Dei de gli Antichi [1571]*). It is debatable whether the reference to Diodorus and Cicero attributing letters to Mercury comes from Polydore Vergil or Cartari (the former in my opinion), but he doubtlessly appropriated his phrase "así le consagraban las lenguas" from the index entry "Lingua consecrate a Mercurio" conveniently found in the "Tavola" of *Le Imagini*.

Diodoro y Cicerón las atribuyen
a Mercurio, y así le consagraban
las lenguas, como del Cartario escribe
en su libro de *Imágenes de los dioses* (vv. 12-15; italics added)²⁷

Lope continues by alluding to differing opinions dealt with by Polydore Vergil: was it Cadmus or the Phoenicians and not Mercury who brought letters as discussed in Herodotus and in Tacitus' life of Emperor Claudian, but he deviates with an insertion of the humanist Hermolao Barbaro.

Pero Herodoto y *Hermolao Bárbaro*,
a Cadmo y a los hombres de Fenicia.
Esto disputa en su primero libro
Polidoro Virgilio, y en la vida
de Claudio emperador Cornelio Tácito. (vv. 16-20; italics added)

Lope's addition of the Venetian humanist Hermolao Barbaro (1453-54?-1493) alongside Herodotus demonstrates an awareness of the subject matter beyond that of Polydore Vergil's source. He does so without the need to mention Barbaro's relevant work *Castigationes Pliniana* (1493), a series of corrections to the text of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*. Hermolao Barbaro's name and the *Castigationes*, well-known in

withstand the flood.) Osuna studied the role of the *Dictionarium* of Stephanus in Lope's listing of 'nombres propios' in the *Arcadia*. See the entry 'Batro' in the *Gran Enciclopedia Cervantina* for the significance and popularity of the allusion to 'Zoroaster rey de Batro' with relevant citations (II, 1197-99). Rose discusses the European and Renaissance understanding of and interest in Zoroaster presenting classical sources and texts (38-84).

²⁷ The references to Diodorus and Cicero in Polydore Vergil read as follows: "Mercurium itaque literas in Aegypto omnium primum reperisse testatur Diodorus libro primo. Cicero libro *De naturum deorum* tertio hunc quintum Mercurium fuisse tradit qui literas Aegyptiis dedit" (76). "Diodorus testifies in book I that Mercury first of all invented letters in Egypt. In book 3 *On the nature of the gods* Cicero reports that it was this fifth Mercury who gave letters to Egypt" (77). In Cartari, aside from the index entry, one finds only reference to Cicero and not Diodorus: "Cicerone scriue che Mercurio mostrò in Egitto le lettere, e le Leggi..." (315). Lope mixed up his sources attributing both references to Cartari.

humanist and Renaissance circles, would resonate with his learned audience and contribute to his status as ‘poeta eruditus.’²⁸

When Lope turns to the world wide significance of letters in the proemium, elaborating religious as well as secular significance, listing Aristotle, Plato, Homer, Virgil, the scions of secular knowledge alongside the revealed knowledge of the Church (appropriately including the Archbishop Cardinal Bernardo Sandoval), he not only intimates the political intent of his praise but also draws upon the broader constructs of the socio-religious power structure he seeks to eulogize and the moral as well as intellectual tradition he espouses and praises through the honor of letters:

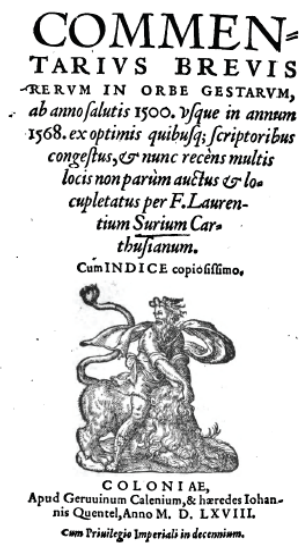
¿Quién dirá, pues su antigüedad divina?
 ¿quién su valor?, ¿quién su provecho grande?
 ¿qué lengua contará sus alabanzas
 y el grado a que por ellas han venido
 tantos famosos hombres en el mundo?
 ¿A quién no admira un célebre Aristóteles,
 un Platón, un Homero y un Virgilio?
 y en nuestro tiempo tantos hombres raros
 de esta ciudad y de su santa Iglesia:
 que basta su dignísimo Arzobispo,
 ejemplo de virtud, como de letras,
 Bernardo en nombre, en santidad Bernardo,
 Ildefonso divino praedicando,
 Paulino dando y enseñando Pablo. (vv. 32-45)

He continues by elaborating the religious as well as secular significance of letters alluding to the “sacro libro” of Moses along with the scholarly histories of Johannes Nauclerus (1425-1510), historian and humanist, author of the posthumously published *Memorabilium omnis aetatis et omnium gentium chronici commentarii* (1516) a well-known history of events from the birth of Jesus Christ to the year 1500 and Laurentius Surius (1522-78), church historian and hagiographer, author of *Commentarius brevis rerum in orbe gestarum* (1568) an update of Nauclerus’ *Memorabilium*.²⁹

²⁸ Lope knew the significance of Hermolao Barbaro’s role regarding the primary source of Pliny’s *Historia naturalis*, for Barbaro takes up Pliny’s reference to the alphabet and Cadmus in chapter xlv of the *Castigationes Plinianaes*, providing an earlier reading to a sentence in Pliny’s Bk. 7 chap. lvi, “Antiqua lectio, Cadmus Thebis, aut ut Theophrastus in Phoenice” (Cap. lvi, 194). Did Lope consult Barbaro directly? My guess is that he did or at least was aware of Barbaro’s purgations of the text of Pliny.

²⁹ In referring to the “escritos célebres de Nauclero y de Surio” Lope demonstrates an awareness and familiarity of the scholarly literature held in esteem by his contemporaries. Johannes Nauclerus (also known as Johann Vergenhans), Chancellor of the University of Tübingen, composed his history in Latin at the suggestion of Maximilian I, the Holy Roman Emperor, *Memorabilium omnis aetatis et omnium gentium*, shown above. Laurentius Surius, believed originally to have been a protestant convert to

Mas, ¿qué fuera del mundo sin las letras,
 pues el archivo son de la memoria? [...]
 pues comienza Moisés su sacro libro
 diciendo que crió Dios al principio
 el cielo y la tierra [...]
 Movió la inteligencia aquellos cielos
 que arrebatava veloz el primer móvil: [...]
 como se advierte en los escritos célebres
 de Nauclero y de Surio. (vv. 46-70)



Lope moves to the conclusion of the proemium by addressing an inherited cultural topic: the dispute of arms and letters. He frames the issue in terms of a path to virtue: was it the career of arms or the dedication to letters that conferred nobility and virtue. Resolution is proffered, again by allusion to authority, with the Italian treatise by Mucio Justinopolitano, who discussed in detail the honor due letters and arms in *Il gentiluomo* (1575). Lope declaimed as follows:

Sea verdad que las famosas armas
 han tenido con ellas [las letras] muchas veces

Catholicism through the influence of his Jesuit friend Peter Canisius, became a Carthusian scholar well known for a four volume history of the Councils and a six volume hagiographic work on the saints. Surius updated Nauclerus' *Memorabilium*, shown above, adding information from 1500 to 1568 ("ab anno salutis 1500, vsque in annum 1568").

grandes encuentros sobre el qual merece
 el primero lugar, pero en efecto,
 aunque ha sido cuestión controvertida,
 nunca la vimos bien determinada.
 Muchos en ellas ponen la nobleza
 más que en la sangre, bien lo trata el Mucio
 Justinopolitano, aunque resuelve
 ser la virtud nobleza verdadera:
 pero por competencia de las armas
 las letras en sus grados hacen nobles. (vv. 95-106)

Allusion to Justinopolitano reveals a Lope who does more than read encyclopedias and polyanteas. The text of *Il gentilhuomo* corroborates Lope's intention of supplying authoritative opinions for his argument while at the same time illustrating the cultural and hegemonic functions of arms and letters:

Eug: Tra la nobiltà delle arme, & delle lettere, quale debbia essere anteposta. Nob: [...] Elle sono amendue professioni nobilissime, & eccellentissime, & per le quali principalmente le città, gli stati, & i regni si difendono, si governano, si amplificano, & si conservano. Et si hanno bisogno l' una dell' altra, che nè l' una senza l' altra governar si può giustamente, nè l' altra senza l' una mantener securamente [...] (208)

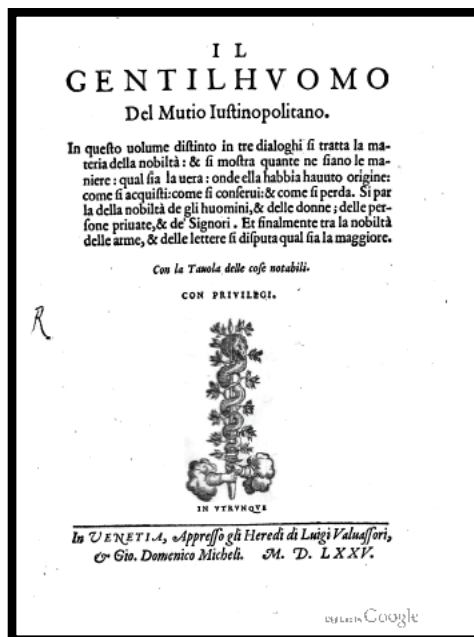
In the final analysis Lope believes both arms and letters should be rewarded with the same laurel –to be represented by a hieroglyph or emblem:

Yo pienso que premiadas igualmente
 con un mismo laurel de las dos puede
 hacerse un jeroglífico, pintando
 las águilas de César coronadas,
 o aquellos rostros del bifronte Jano,
 que aquel antiguo símbolo, que muestra
 un yelmo sobre un libro laureado,
 declara bien esta amistad conforme. (vv. 107-14)

What is significant about Lope's account of the origin of the alphabet, letters, poetry and the issue of arms and letters is the linking of secular and Christian narratives in an attempt to align poetry with the hegemony of statist politics. The citation of authorities thus must include the assumed primary source of all knowledge –Christian revelation through scripture.

No sin razón la Antigüedad quería

que fuese este principio de los dioses,
 que sin duda de Dios tienen principio,
 y así se llama Dios *Alpha y Omega*.
 Y en nombre Jehová divino suyo
 se encierran las vocales justamente
 no sin misterio grande, pues leemos
 en las divinas letras muchos nombres
 con los que encierran y en las suyas cifran,
 fuera de los *egipcios jeroglíficos*
 de que escribió Pierio tanta copia. (vv. 21-32)



The ‘divinas letras’ of Yaweh go beyond pagan knowledge embodied in the Egyptian hieroglyphs which Piero Valeriano presented and explicated in his large tome *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris aegyptiorum literis commentarii* (1556). Implied throughout Lope’s proemium of referent narrative is a subtext of readings that goes beyond the cited references from dictionaries and encyclopedia (Zoroaster, Pliny, Polydore Vergil, Cartari, Piero Valeriano). The subtext beyond these references and those of Nauclerus, Surius, Justinopolitano, Hermolao Barbaro reflects Lope’s broader horizon of resources and readings summoning a long tradition of texts –the secret knowledge assumed to reside in the hieroglyphs, Hermes Trismegistus, the Pimander as well as the Cabala, and other texts

that lie silently connected to residual humanist efforts to reconcile the *prisca theologia* with a Christianized, Aristotelian-Platonic interpretation that could be synthesized compatibly with the Tridentine interpretation of *et scriptura et traditio*. It was originally supported by Ficino’s fundamental platonizing which attempted to Christianize the ancient theology and place Zoroaster over Hermes as the founding father of the ancient theology.³⁰ That Lope was cognizant of the role of Zoroaster in

³⁰ See Michael J. B. Allen’s stimulating discussion of Ficino’s revival of Plato, the role of Zoroaster and the *prisca theologia*. “Ficino’s decision to assign the preeminence to Zoroaster over Hermes as the founding father of the ancient theology was based [...] on Plato’s own unimpeachable authority [...]” (40). “In sum, the Plato translations were part of a concerted effort by the still youthful Ficino to revive the ancient wisdom as he found it in the works of Orpheus, Hermes, Pythagoras, and Zoroaster, and to revive the ancient singing to the lyre. There was only an intimation at that earlier time of what was to become the enduring compulsion of his maturer years: the interpretation of Plato and Plotinus in the

Ficino's synthesis cannot be documented, but he was nevertheless well aware of the intellectual history of the conflict metaphorically characterized by Augustine in the *De doctrina christiana* as the taking of rhetorical spoils from the Egyptians (II.xl.60) and surviving through euhemerist iconographic efforts to place the pagan gods as representatives of human history opposed to divine history.³¹ In his role as censor Lope wrote an instructive approbation of Fray Baltasar de Victoria's mythography *Theatro de los Dioses* (1619) that iconically represents his range of reading and awareness of an intellectual inheritance contending with and ultimately submitting to post-Tridentine morality and thought.

Modeling the socio-political entelechy that controlled secular and religious thought assuring the reconciliation of both, Lope as censor conceptualized the traditional proposition of synthesizing pagan ideals and symbols with Catholic faith and morality, notably emphasizing the significance of mythographic imagery and symbols as resources for poetry, painting and astrology. He provides what could be called a précis of the import of the 'prisca' as well as the 'nova theologia' struggling for viability in reformation politics and the ethos of representational morality.

Por commission, y mandado de vuestra Alteza, vi el Theatro de los Dioses de la Gentilidad, Autor el Padre Fray Baltasar de Victoria, Predicador del Conuento de San Francisco de Salamanca, en cuya Historia Mithologica, no hallo cosa que repugne a nuestra santa Fe, ni a las buenas costumbres: antes bien vna leccion importantissima a la inteligencia de muchos libros, cuya moralidad emboluio la antigua Philosophia en tantas fabulas para exornacion, y hermosura de la Poesia, Pintura y Astrologia y en cuyo ornamento, los Theologos de la Gentilidad, desde Mercurio Trismegisto,

light of the complex scholasticism of Proclus and of other late Neoplatonists" (10). Moshe Idel's study of prisca theology, Ficino and Jewish influences also illuminates this tradition.

³¹ Ignatius uses the same analogy of the taking of Egyptian spoils in "Constitutions IV [359]E: 'Of all contents of literary texts by pagan authors one will make use of as of the spoils of Egypt'" (Scaglione 52). Jean Seznec traces the import of euhemerism from its origins through patristic and medieval variations continuing into the Renaissance. He translates a passage from Polydore Vergil's *De inventoribus* to illustrate the core element of euhemerism that persisted into the Renaissance: "In the preface, already present in the first (1499) edition, we find first a declaration of euhemeristic belief: 'And whatsoever things may have been attributed by us to Saturn, Jove, Neptune, Dionysus, Apollo, Aesculapius, Ceres, Vulcan, and to such others as have the name of gods, we have thus attributed to them as to mortal men, and not as to gods, even though we still call them by that name.'" (22). Seznec's final summary of the survival of euhemerism provides a metaphorical vantage point from which to consider Lope's cataloguing of ancients and the adulation of authority: "Thus, at the end of this evolution which has brought us down to the Renaissance, we find the euhemeristic spirit as much alive as ever, still taking the two main forms which we detected at the outset. At times we have to do with a tribute of gratitude and veneration offered to great men; at others with extravagant adulation of wordly power. In both cases, the recipients are raised to the rank of gods" (36). Although Seznec refers to the mythographies and paintings of the Renaissance to press his argument for aggrandizement of the 'euhemeristic spirit', the tradition of encomium can be viewed as partaking of similar motivation.

hasta el diuino Platon hallaron por symbolos, y Hieroglificos la explicacion de la naturaleza de las cosas, como consta del Pimandro, y del Thimeo que los Egipcios por cosas sagradas tanto escondieron del vulgo. (1619, published 1620 4r. Arouacion)³²



Victoria's work (and by extension others within the same tradition) is thus for Lope "vna leccion importantissima à la inteligencia de muchos libros" demonstrating how the ancients "hallaron por symbolos y geroglificos la explicacion de la naturaleza de las cosas." Victoria's *Theatro de los Dioses* represented for Lope the inherited intellectual tradition that Renaissance and early 17th-century writers drew upon for invention and imitation. Vitoria thus restates the Renaissance version of the euhemeristic argument along with its patristic authorities: "Sabida cosa es, que los Philosophos y Poëtas antiguas, fueron los Theologos de la antigua Gentilidad como la afirma Lactancio Firmiano, san Augustin, y san Ambrosio, y assi los mas de los poëtas procuraron apouecharse de los libros del

sapientissimo Moysen, y de los demas que tocauan à la sagrada Escripura sacandola de sus quicios, para adorno de sus fabulas" (Libro I, cap. 1). Lope, I would argue, accepts this tradition perhaps intuitively while ambivalently negotiating the dichotomies and ultimate contradictions that arise from a secular, euhemized paganism in conflict with a religious idealism that animated the intellectual, political and moral hegemony of counter-reformation Spain. Vestiges of this struggle can be seen in Lope's unsuccessful attempts to reconcile practice and theory –what Lope said and wrote as opposed to what Lope actually practiced and lived.

The designs of poetry and song joined with erudite verse

³² Florentino Zamora Lucas' study *Lope de Vega: Censor de Libros* has the subtitle *Colección de aprobaciones, censuras, elogios y prólogos del Fénix que se hallan en los preliminares de algunos libros de su tiempo, con notas biográficas de sus autores*, but the approbation of Vitoria's mythography by Lope does not appear in the collection.

Lope's panegyric declaimed in hendecasyllabic blank verse dramatized a working definition of poetry worthy of prestige and public praise. Given the venue of a poetic competition he elevated poetry as the ideal form among all the different genres of letters and literary expression justified by its socially effective and aesthetically active functions:

Entre todos los géneros de letras
parece que las cosas memorables
se remiten mejor a la poesía,
porque ella como es metro y consonancia,
número y armonía, mueve, alegre,
deleita, enseña, solemniza, extiende,
ilustra, canta, ensalza, sube, adorna
las cosas con diversas energías,
porque canto, es lo mismo que poesía
según Laercio, Estacio y Rodigino. (vv. 115-24)

For Lope poetry never lost its essential centrality of purpose as song –“porque canto es lo mismo que poesía.” Given his early and natural affinity for versification, the unique rhythms and harmony engendered by the flow of meter and rhyme generated and in turn inspired his enunciation of poetic voice –recognized and lauded by his admirers, denigrated and criticized by his enemies– “con razón vega, por lo siempre llana.” It is significant that in a formal panegyric laden with erudition he chose to distinguish the musical elements of poetry as unique and most appropriate for not only the rhetorical functions of praise, but for the many functions poetry performs: “mueve, alegre, deleyta, enseña, solemniza, extiende, ilustra, canta, ensalza, sube, adorna las cosas con diversas energías.”³³

³³ I have discussed in greater detail the musicality of verse and its import in the enunciation of Lope's poetic voice (Brown 2010, 344-54). In line with Lope's intentions to link poetry with song and erudition he alludes to “Laercio, Estacio y Rodigino” who support his statement that “canto, es lo mismo que poesía.” Lope most likely took his reference to Laercio (Diogenes Laertius) from his favorite and much used source Gregoire's *Syntaxeon*. The relevant section can be found in Liber XII, cap. ix, *De artificiali Musica, eius divisione*: “Hanc Plato, vt refert Diog. Laer. in 3. in eius vita, in tria genera secavit vt quaedam voce sola constet, vt cantus.” (Plato treats this, as Diogenes Laertius refers in book three of his *Vita philosophorum*, that Music is divided into three genera. The first consists of the voice alone as in song.) Lope's allusion to Estacio could refer to the Latin poet Statius, but I am more inclined to think that he may have had in mind the musical talent of 16th-century German composer Statius Olthof who provided notation for 40 harmonic pieces added to an annotated edition of the popular work by the Scotsman George Buchanan *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica* (1566). Buchanan dedicated his work to Mary Queen of Scots whom Lope had eulogized the year before his panegyric in an *epitafio fúnebre* of the *Rimas* 1604 edition. He later composed *La Corona Trágica* (1627) in her honor. Lope had referred to ‘Celio Rodigino’ previously in *El peregrino en su patria*, Bk IV appropriating comments on music from Gregoire. Lodovicus Caelius Rhodiginus (Ludovico

Lope's conception of poetry relied upon classical rhetoric and poetics combined with the popular, sonorous appeal of poetry and the required classical display of erudition. At different moments, however, Lope will provide seemingly contradictory definitions of poetry. Xavier Tubau (13, n. 6) notes what he sees as contradictory statements in the *Arcadia* (poetry as imitation), *Nacimiento del Principe* (poetry as versification and song), *Epístola Séptima* in the *Circe* (poetry as rational science and the logic of the syllogism), and the *Silva IX* in *Laurel de Apolo* (Logic as the 'firme fundamento' of poetry). It must be emphasized, however, that Tubau makes these observations with the clarification that he is addressing Lope's lack of a cohesive literary theory: "las ideas teóricas que encontramos en los textos de Lope, apoyadas o no en sentencias o paráfrasis de otros autores, no siempre resultan conciliables en el marco de una poética, como digo, cohesionada." (10). I would maintain, however, that the context of Lope's audience and the venue of his statements characterize and determine the points he wishes to make about the nature of poetry, and that they are not so much contradictions as different perspectives on poetry given the nature of the audience he addresses and the surrounding debates about poetry –manifestations of what I have called Lope's syncretistic view of poetic theory and erudition. Thus his later views taken from Savonarola about poetry as a rational science and about the use of syllogism are considered patently contradictory for Tubau: "En la 'Epístola séptima' de *La Circe*, por otro lado, Lope presenta la poesía como un arte que se define por el uso del silogismo llamado 'ejemplo.' [...] Este planteamiento, sin embargo, entra en franca contradicción con la noción de la poesía como suma de todas las ciencias que Lope propondrá en otros pasajes de su obra [the *Arcadia* and 'Elogio al licenciado Pedro Soto de Rojas']" (14). But given the vogue of *culto* poetry and imitators of Góngora when Lope made that statement, it is not surprising that he would seek to emphasize the conceptual, logical basis of poetry offering the statements of Savonarola and the categorization of poetry as part of rational science.

Despite conflicting sources of citation and apparent contradictions radicated in classical, scholastic and personal interpretations of precepts, Lope held to his natural convictions as contradictory and eclectic as they might seem ("saco a Terencio y Plauto de mi estudio / para que no me den voces" (*Arte Nuevo* vv.42-43). Keeness to the disposition of his audience and, in the case of his panegyric, sensitivity to the circumstances of a poetic festival encouraged the need for defining poetry by more than the traditional rhetorical goals of engaging entertainment and edification –hence the attempt to catalog poetry's aesthetic functions "mueve, alegra, deleyta, solemniza, [...] canta, ensalza, sube, adorna las cosas con diversas energías," showcased as incrementally more than the formal designs of *delectare et movere* and steadfastly championing his predilection for poetry as song.

Ricchieri, 1465-1525) composed the *Lectionum Antiquarum Libri XXX* (1560) an often consulted compendium of classical lore and anecdotes. Although the subject of music with its many anecdotes is dealt with in Liber IX, caps. i-ii, it is my belief that Lope did not consult this source directly but relied upon Gregoire's passing allusions to Rhodiginus.

Lope's performance of the task before him, while cognizant of the socio-political dimensions of laudatory panegyric and the exposure it provided his persona as poet and dramatist, was grounded, I believe, in a personalized espousal of the formal objectives of rhetoric. The discipline of rhetoric that had fashioned his prospects of discourse from childhood and had conceptualized the ends of public speech and writing as *laudare vel vituperare*, offered him a natural alternative to select the former end as his favored means of discourse, "más se aplica este corto ingenio mío a la alabanza que a la reprehensión" (*Papel de la nueva poesía* 874). Aside from the rhetorical functionality of Lope's digression in the panegyric as discussed earlier, the point to be emphasized here is Lope's underlying, brooding concern for the vituperation of his critics. The comparison of poetic motivation in Martial, Homer and Vergil allegorizes his own predicament using the resonance of veiled, classical allusion: "*porque quien vitupera, alli descubre / sus imaginaciones y bajezas/ como el que alaba, ensalza y engrandece / muestra su grande y excelente espíritu*" (vv. 158-61). Similar sentiments abound in Lope exemplified by comments in the prologue of *El peregrino en su patria*: "Todos reprehenden, mas no dan la causa... ¿Cómo hay tantos que se atrevan a juzgar lo que no entienden? [...] los que maldicen, escriban, que hablando mal no se alcanza fama, sino escribiendo bien" (55). Lope's personalized application of the ends of rhetoric implies a classicist conception of poetry that he could justify as consonant and reconcilable with populist notions of song. For Lope the poetry of song embraces the poetry of erudition with consequent implications drawn from the natural ease of both versifying and citing authority. It is significant in this respect that later in *La Circe* as a demonstration of his erudition in juxtaposition to the erudition and perceived false novelties of the gongoristas, Lope reaches back to the humanist icon Pico della Mirandola and the text of the *Heptaplus* in order to explicate his platonically inspired sonnet "La calidad elemental resiste" (*La Circe, Epístola nona, 1311-18*). Equally operative and applicable in Lope's view of poetry is the implication of an ideological aesthetic that assigns socio-political import to poetic discourse functioning within the statism of Spanish monarchy and under the moral strictures of Tridentine rectitude. Letters and poetry that claim a divine origin also aspire to the honor bestowed on it by royalty and religious tradition.

The systematic public structures of affirmation and recognition in Spain contributed to the evolution of an autonomous literate consciousness that in turn generated differentiated forms of expression in transition from earlier 16th-century Spanish poetry and letters –the genres of narrative prose, the acceptance and distinctions of *historia*, *crónica*, *fabula*, the experimentation and evolution of visually appealing staging and performance in theater, the movement toward an erudite obscurity in form and expression in lyric poetry, and the transition from romance epic to chivalresque and picaresque novel– in a word the innovations and forms of what literary critics have called Baroque expression.³⁴ Public poetry at the turn of 16th-

³⁴ The concept of the Baroque is ultimately a slippery epithet when applied to poetry, but I find the term useful when used as a period designation. Commentary and propositions are legion that need not be

century Spain participated in social, civic and political ritual aligned with religious moralism at the service of hegemonic absolutist values constructed through aesthetic as well as statist power. By extension, volumes of a lettered scholar, the published verse of an 'hidalgo' (*poesías varias, rimas*) and the exemplarity of the collection *Flores de poetas ilustres* by Pedro Espinosa, all participated in a gradual transition that moved away from the purity of expression of Garcilaso, Fray Luis de Leon and San Juan de la Cruz in exchange at least in some regions of Spain for neo-stoic moralism exemplified by Medrano and the ethics of the horatian epistle to innovations that prepared for the revolutionary poetic departures of the *Polifemo* and *Soledades* in 1613. But Lope's panegyric was delivered during a lull in that transition, a time some critics have referred to as a repetitive and relatively undistinguished display of poetic expression. For Ruiz Pérez, the contemporary poetry surrounding the *Viaje al Parnaso* is adeptly revealed through Cervantes' ironic, empty praise: "La distante y reticente ironía cervantina dio buena cuenta, mediante la tónica reiteración de alabanzas vacías, de la situación de adocenamiento y esclerótica reiteración en que había caído el parnaso español" (2006a, 18). The work of López Bueno and colleagues (119-94) has characterized this transition as dependent upon generational preferences, an increase in the dissemination, publication and readership of literary works, the movement of a critical perspective from the *Anotaciones* (1580) of Herrera to the *Libro de la erudición poetica* (1611) of Luis Carrillo y Sotomayor and a rejection of the constants of the previous century (Petrarchism, amorous and morisco *romances*, cancionero poetry). The poetry of circumstance and praise takes to the stage in the public competitions of *justas poéticas* and in the private reunions of the *academias*, a poetry still awaiting the revolutionary innovations of Góngora.³⁵

cited here. Regarding the shift in poetic propositions, consider Pedro Ruiz Pérez' re-evaluation of the poetry of Cervantes, which he characterized as a period of transition and crisis at the the turn of the century, "cuando la poesía busca su norte entre cánones e innovaciones, entre elevación heroica e intensidad lírica, entre expresión amorosa e ingenio expresivo" (2006a, 21). Also consider Ruiz Pérez' observations regarding the transformation of *historia* and *fabula* in verse and prose epic genres, particularly Cervantes' seminal reworking of content and genre in *Don Quixote* and the *Persiles* as well as the narratives of Vicente Espinel (*Marcos de Obregon*) and Mateo Aleman (*Guzman de Alfarache*) (2006b, 123-46).

³⁵ The critical issues of the interaction of genres and innovation, the abstractions of periodization and juxtaposition of poetic conceptions –the dialectics of classicist poetics, mannerism and baroque with a caveat to excessive constructions or false readings is outlined perceptively by Ruiz Perez: "Al margen de las grandes estrucutras periodológicas, cuya conceptualización resulta inevitablemente una forma de abstracción, es en el ámbito concreto de cada uno de los géneros en el que se percibe de manera directa el cambio histórico y la crisis consiguiente, con la dialéctica entre el mantenimiento de las reglas y la innovación en el planteamiento de lecturas tan opuestas como la del clasicismo y el anticlasicismo de etapas históricas como las del manierismo y el barroco. Los límites del género, determinantes de un *corpus* reducido y coherente y de una "periodización corta" de los procesos históricos, se aparecen entonces como elementos indispensables para el esclarecimiento de un problema que puede ser falso, en cuanto que generado por unas excesivas dosis de abstracción" (129). Hopefully I have avoided the pitfall of excessive abstraction or the creation of false problems in my analysis of the import of Lope's panegyric *Al nacimiento del principe*.

Conclusion

It would be tempting to categorize Lope's reflections on writing, rhetoric and poetic theory as marked by two distinct periods: before and after the new poetry of Góngora. But that would be a gross oversimplification. In point of fact, as I have argued elsewhere, Lope is essentially eclectic and innovative in his adherence to poetic norm and theory.³⁶ Although Lope's participation in the literary festival of Toledo was a new course of action drawing upon and refining his previous poetic expression, it remained fundamentally conservative and traditional in its proposition particularly regarding his attempt to identify the nature of poetry with the powers of divinity (devoid here of *furor poeticus*) and its representation through classical lineage and religion. At the beginning of his career, Lope's work had either appeared on stage or in broadsheets and anthologies (often popularly sung by followers who memorized Lope's latest *romances*). In the years prior to Lope's declamation of the panegyric his poetry had taken on a Italianate cast (with a brief excursion into the popular verse form of octavas in *El Isidro*) which he formally published in volumes available for purchase. The novelty of form, theme and treatment, however, still partook of and shared his conviction that poetry was song, graced with the unique appeal of melody and rhythm created by rhyme and verse which he continuously practiced in the writing of his *comedias* and showcased in the multiple verse forms of the *Arcadia* and implemented in his 'prosa poética' or 'prosa dialogado' of the *Dorotea*. The occasion of a poetic competition honoring the birth of Prince Philip presented Lope with a new opportunity to publicly air his views on poetry and enhance his posture before power and royalty.³⁷ He took to the stage to declaim in his own unique voice a straightforward dramatization of poetically appropriate praise in contrast to the different genres and poetic themes he had assayed previously. In 1598 as previously noted he had published the pastoral novel *Arcadia* interwoven with the songs of poetry in virtually every verse form. Also in 1598 Lope had published an historical epic *La Dragontea* that took on the enemy pirate Drake as anti-hero. In 1599 Lope cast the spiritual hero Isidro in a hagiographic epic. The same year saw the publication of a poetic report in octaves, the *Fiestas de Denia* (1599). In 1602 Lope moved to romance epic, *La hermosura de Angélica*, in imitation of a vogue made popular by Ariosto and Boiardo. At the end of this work he appended two-hundred sonnets (later to be

³⁶ I have characterized Lope's exposition of literary theory as follows: "Rather than principally Aristotelian-Horatian in his poetics, Lope shows himself to be eclectic and pragmatic given the multiple authorities he cites..." (Brown 2009a, 41). As previously alluded, Xavier Tubau cautions about creating a coherent literary theory from Lope's comments "un estudio de la teoría literaria de Lope planteado desde la lectura de cada una de sus afirmaciones teóricas estará destinado al fracaso si no tiene en cuenta el modo en el que se formulan las ideas literarias y, sobre todo, la tradición pedagógica que explica esta forma de proceder" (11).

³⁷ Elizabeth Wright has demonstrated Lope's ambitions for patronage and position at the court of Philip III in *Pilgrim to Patronage*.

enlarged and published in a separate edition titled simply *Rimas* [1604]). A year before the celebration of Prince Philip's birth, Lope published *El peregrino en su patria* (1604) a byzantine novel interspersed with poems and autos. Yet-to-be debuted were the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* that he would deliver before his peers of the *Academia de Madrid* (published in the 1609 edition of *Rimas*) and the serious epic poem of daunting classical tradition turned into a modern, post-reformation Christian epic that used Tasso as model *La Jerusalem Conquistada* (1609). All of this before the scenery for poetry was to be radically changed by the open polemic of charge and counter-charge centered on the 'poetical heresy' of Góngora's challenging obscurity (Kluge) and recondite difficulty of latinized lexicon and syntax.

Lope's panegyric in my mind is a transition piece of circumstantial poetry, conservative in outlook, rhetorically constructive and instructive in form, straightforward in its blank verse, politically and aesthetically motivated in its aspirations. Lope's predilection for the lyricism of song given the impending conflict between the new poetry and the status quo can be conceptualized, I suggest, in terms of a progression from the functions and appeal of oral poetry toward the concentrated strategies of poetry that is more comfortably read than recited –from orality to textuality, a movement from open poetry for the public to private poetry for the elite. The aural and oral pleasures of song gravitate to the silent, cerebral pleasures of the text, manifest in the gradual transition from poetry that is either sung or recited aloud to text that is silently voiced or read and analyzed in the comfort of introspective silence.³⁸ The issues involved in the proposed distinctions of orality and textuality, reciting, reading, listening and analyzing, are partially addressed by Margit Frenk in an important article regarding 'lectores y oidores' in early modern Spain. "¿Por qué ese persistente uso de *oír*, junto a *leer*, en textos del siglo XV, del XVI, del XVII? (Acaso la literatura escrita se oía? Los estudios de historia y crítica literaria generalmente nos hablan sólo de 'lectores', como hoy entendemos la palabra" (102). The fundamental orality of 16th-century poetry is thus characterized: "En los ambientes aristocráticos primero y luego en sectores cada vez más amplios de la población española, se recitaban y cantaban poesías de todo tipo: lírica de cancionero, villancicos y romances folklóricos y semipopulares, poesía italianizante. El canto de poemas en círculos cortesanos está ampliamente documentado por los cancioneros polifónicos, los libros de vihuela y obras como *El cortesano* de Luis Milán" (112). In this context, however, by way of contrast my conjecture relates to the question of how the 'poesía nueva' was received in the light of the dominant oral / aural prejudice for poetry and

³⁸ The case of the *Romancero* models the original stages of such a gradual transition. María Cruz García de Enterría writes: "Una y otra vez, a lo largo del siglo decimosexto, los textos insisten en el canto y en la lectura. Pocos años adentro del siglo XVII, será Miguel de Cervantes el que nos deje una serie de testimonios sobre la *recitación* de los romances utilizados ya más como relato que como cantos. Pero aunque abundan más en el *Quijote* los pasajes referidos a un mero *contar* o recitar, pueden aducirse citas de los dos tipos como demostración de la coexistencia de las dos clases de oralidad: oral-cantado, oral recitado" (102).

given the evolving treatment and reception of texts –was it read aloud or read silently? was it read privately to another or communally to a group of listeners? We do have an account by Pedro de Valencia that he heard sections of Góngora’s *Polifemo* read aloud by don Enrique Pimentel in the presence of Paravicino (see Valencia’s letter to Góngora in the *Epistolario* of Millé’s edition of the *Obras*, letter 126). To what extent did this practice extended beyond initial curiosity over the radical departure of Góngora’s poetry? We have an interesting comment by Francisco Cascales in the *Cartas filológicas*, epístola X, where he criticizes Góngora’s enigmatic language on the basis of its inability to be listened to and understood: “¡Gracioso trabajo sería la Ulisea o Eneida escrita en aquel enigmático lenguaje! Pues una comedia o tragedia de aquella manera, ¿qué estómago le hará al auditorio? Pareceráles que son sordos y necios, pues teniendo oídos no oyen, y teniendo alma no entienden.”

It is my contention that the new poetry marked a significant departure from the developing stages of orality / textuality, reading aloud and reading silently in transition with conceptions of what poetry was thought to be. Perhaps given my proposition we can gain a different insight into Lope’s preference for poetry as ‘canto’ and the related perception of the prized lyrical elements of expression in Garcilaso, Fray Luis, San Juan de la Cruz and Herrera. The question can be formulated as follows: To what extent did Lope’s preference for the ‘ancients’ over the ‘moderns’ flow from his natural predilection for the enchantment of song, meter and rhyme which he epitomized as established canons of expression in juxtaposition and in conflict with the changing norms of style and the radically jarring innovation of the poetry of Góngora and his imitators?³⁹

³⁹ I am grateful to Antonio Cortijo Ocaña for the occasion to undertake this study of Lope. Special thanks are due to Miguel Díaz-Llanos, Coqui Segura and Joanne Neff for their many kindnesses and hospitality in Madrid while consulting the Biblioteca Nacional.

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