A COMPANION TO LOPE DE VEGA

Edited by Alexander Samson
and Jonathan Thacker

A COMPANION TO LOPE DE VEGA

Edited by

Alexander Samson

and

Jonathan Thacker

TAMESIS

First published 2008 by Tamesis, Woodbridge

ISBN 978-1-85566-168-4

Tamesis is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620, USA
website: www.boydellandbrewer.com

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library

Printed from camera-ready copy supplied by Alexander Samson

This publication is printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Great Britain by
Antony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham, Wiltshire

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The following are all found in the plate section between pp. 286 and 287.

1 Portrait of Lope de Vega from the Taberna del León de Oro, Madrid, painting on tiles.
2 Statue of Lope de Vega by Manuel Fuxà, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
3 Mural monument to Lope de Vega, Ponciano Ponzano, 1862, Casa Museo de Lope de Vega, Madrid.
4 Plaster bust of Lope de Vega after the death mask modelled by Herrera Barnuevo, Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid.
5 Portrait of Lope de Vega, 1630, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid.
6 Vicente Carducho, *La muerte del venerable Odón de Novara* (1632), Museo del Prado, Madrid.
7 Detail from Carducho's *La muerte del venerable Odón de Novara*.
8 Portrait of Lope de Vega, Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.
9 Portrait of Lope de Vega, anonymous madrileño, seventeenth century, Casa Museo de Lope de Vega, Madrid.
10 Portrait of Lope de Vega, anonymous, seventeenth century.
11 Portrait of Lope de Vega, engraving by Isidoro Rosell (prior to 1860).
12 Portrait of Lope de Vega, engraving by Bartolomé Maura (1876).
13 Portrait of Lope de Vega, by Jean de Courbes, frontispiece of *Laurel de Apolo* (1630).
14 Portrait of Lope de Vega, after Jean de Courbes, published in seventeenth-century edition of *El peregrino en su patria*.
15 Portrait of Lope de Vega, anonymous madrileño, mid-seventeenth century, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid.
16 Portrait of Lope de Vega, engraving by Carmona, published in volume III of Sedano's *El Parnaso español* (1770), Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

David McGrath completed his Ph.D. in 2003 at Queen Mary College, London, where he submitted his thesis on *The Representation of the American Indian in the Comedia.* He is now at the University of Manchester, engaged in post-doctoral research into the letters of Luisa de Carvajal, the intrepid *jesuitina* who pursued her mission in post-Gunpowder Plot London. As a Visiting Research Fellow at King's College, London, he has also been developing dramaturgical projects, most recently adaptations of *Cardenio* (a Jacobean drama based on two episodes from *Don Quijote*) and excerpts from Lope de Vega's *Arauco domado.*

Arantza Mayo is University Lecturer at the University of Cambridge and Fellow and Director of Studies at Corpus Christi College. She is the author of *La lírica sacra de Lope de Vega y José de Valdivielso* (2007) and of a series of articles on early modern Spanish literature and twentieth-century Bolivian poetry.

Barbara Mujica is Professor of Spanish at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., President Emerita of The Association for Hispanic Classical Theater and editor-in-chief of *Comedia Performance,* a journal devoted to early modern Spanish theatre. Her latest books are *Sophia's Daughters: Women Writers of Early Modern Spain* (2004), *Teresa de Jesús: Espiritualidad y feminismo* (2006) and *Lettered Women: The Correspondence of Teresa de Avila* (forthcoming). She is currently working on a performance-based anthology of early modern Spanish theatre, to be published by Yale University Press. Barbara Mujica's novel, *Frida*, was an international bestseller and appeared in seventeen languages. Her most recent novel is *Sister Teresa.* Barbara Mujica is director of El Retablo, the Spanish-language theatre group of Georgetown University and a member of the board of directors of GALA Hispanic Theatre.

Ali Rizavi is a first-year doctoral student at the University of Oxford, working on the reception of Cervantes's *Don Quixote* in seventeenth-century France.

José María Ruano de la Haza is Professor of Spanish at the University of Ottawa. He is the author of some critical editions of Golden-Age plays and of many articles on diverse aspects of theatrical activity in seventeenth-century Spain. He is the author of, among other books, *La primera versión de La vida es sueño* (1992) and *La puesta en escena en los teatros comerciales* (2000). He has edited six collective volumes and has adapted *Celestina*, *Calderón enamorado* and *La mujer por fuerza* for the stage. He is presently completing an edition of the twelve plays in Calderón's *Parte V* for the Biblioteca Castro.

Alexander Samson is a lecturer in Spanish Golden-Age literature, culture and history at University College London. He is the editor of a volume on *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623* (2006), as well as having published articles on the marriage of Philip II and Mary Tudor, historiography and royal chroniclers in sixteenth-century Spain, Lope de Vega, firearms, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Cervantes, maps and Anglo-Spanish literary and cultural

relations. His first book *Mary Tudor and the Habsburg Marriage: England and Spain 1553–1557* is due in 2008.

Jonathan Thacker is Faculty Lecturer at the University of Oxford and Fellow and Tutor in Spanish at Merton College. He is the author of *A Companion to Spanish Golden Age Theatre* (2007) as well as a monograph and articles on early modern Spanish drama. In addition to teaching and writing about Spanish Golden-Age theatre, he has acted as adviser to the Royal Shakespeare Company, has translated works by Cervantes and Tirso de Molina into English and is Editor of the Aris and Phillips Hispanic Classics series.

Isabel Torres is a Senior Lecturer and Head of Spanish and Portuguese Studies at Queen's University Belfast. She is the author of *The Polyphemus Complex: Rereading the Baroque Mythological Fable* (*Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, Monograph Issue, 83.2 [2006]), and editor of *Rewriting Classical Mythology in the Hispanic Baroque* (2007). She has published several articles on early modern Spanish poetry and drama and is currently completing a book on Golden-Age love poetry for the Tamesis *Companion* series.

Xavier Tubau is Doctor in Hispanic Philology (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) and Associate Professor of Literature at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra of Barcelona. He is author of *Una polémica literaria: Lope de Vega y Diego de Colmenares* (2007), editor of dramatic texts by Lope de Vega and co-editor (with José María Micó) of a forthcoming Spanish poetry anthology. He is coordinator of the collection 'Clásicos y Modernos' (Crítica) as well as of publications of the Prolope project directed by Alberto Blecua.

Duncan Wheeler is currently preparing to submit his doctoral thesis at Oxford University, where he also teaches. The thesis is titled 'The *comedia* on page, stage and screen: the performance and reception of Golden-Age drama in Spain (1939–2008)'. He has written various articles on contemporary Spanish culture and politics, cinema and popular music that have been published in Spain, the UK and the US in journals such as the *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, *Cuestiones de género* and *Media History*. His translations of various Spanish texts from the early modern period will be published shortly.

FOREWORD

We would like to thank everyone who participated in and made the conference out of which this volume arose, *Metamorphosis and Transformation in the Life and Work of Lope de Vega* in the summer of 2006, such an enjoyable and successful experience. Any introduction to the life and work of a figure as mercurial and prolific across all major literary genres as Lope must confront the problem of combining coverage with depth. This volume reflects our own vision of the *Fénix* and its origins in a consideration of change. We hope, nevertheless, that it will be useful to undergraduate students and their teachers as a sourcebook as well as inspiring well-travelled *lopistas* to look again at particular themes and approaches or ponder other important questions.

Some of the contributions focus on providing a synthesis of what has been written on a particular text or area, introducing for an undergraduate audience the state of the field, whilst at the same time indicating where more detailed and in-depth considerations of these issues are to be found. Other contributors offer fresh insights or enriching perspectives on well-known material, whilst others again have taken this opportunity to bring centre stage less well-known and perhaps unjustly neglected aspects of his output. What is clear is that in the face of the myriad of possible texts and approaches to Lope, we hope this volume showcases at least some of the exciting new developments in Lope de Vega studies today and reflects the freshness and energy pervading the field.

We owe a huge debt of gratitude to Charles Davis for his extraordinarily careful readings and numerous suggestions for improvements, this volume's successes would not have been possible without him. Finally, it remains to thank Merton College, Oxford for providing a grant to help with the final stages of editing the volume and Ellie Ferguson, of Boydell and Brewer, for her assistance throughout.

Introduction: Lope's Life and Work

ALEXANDER SAMSON and JONATHAN THACKER

> Pocas obras hay en ninguna literatura más personales que la de este genial romántico. Al margen de cada uno de estos tremendos episodios de su vida crece frondosa la poesía, índice de sus emociones, y aquí más que nunca «fermosa cobertura» de las frivolidades de aquel para quien todos los sentimientos eran familiares, salvo el de la responsabilidad moral de sus propios actos. La vida de Lope pendía de su impulsivo y anárquico temperamento. Pero seamos indulgentes: tal vez nadie, en la historia de las literaturas, ha sabido dejar tras de cada acción liviana una tan brillante e inmaculada estela de belleza.[1]
>
> [There are few works in any literature more personal than those of this outstanding romantic. In the margins of each of those momentous episodes of his life poetry grows luxuriantly, an index of his emotions, and here more than ever it is 'the beautiful covering' of the frivolities of the man for whom all feelings were familiar, except that of moral responsibility for his own actions. The life of Lope hung from his impulsive and anarchic temperament. But, let us be indulgent: perhaps no-one, in the history of literature, has managed to leave behind each fickle action a wake of such shining and immaculate beauty.]

Lope Félix de Vega Carpio (1562–1635) was perhaps the most extraordinary writer to leave his mark on early modern Spain, the period that Spaniards have designated their artistic Golden Age. Beyond Spanish borders it tends to be Cervantes who possesses the highest cultural capital for his role in the creation of the novel; Velázquez is the painters' painter; Quevedo and Góngora are admired for their poetic brilliance; and only Calderón's theatre is typically assumed to come close to the power and philosophical reach of Shakespeare's. Within Spain Lope is better known, of course, but it is probably true to say that his popular renown stems in roughly equal measure from his exceptional productivity and his eventful life. The 'Lope myth' which has grown up around him presents the man as a flawed character possessed of a unique genius.

Artistically, Lope is best known as a playwright, indeed as the creator of a national drama usually called the *comedia nueva*. The generically mixed type of play that he was instrumental in developing in late sixteenth-century Spain — not dissimilar in many respects to plays performed in Shakespeare's England —

[1] Américo Castro & Hugo A. Rennert, *Vida de Lope de Vega (1562–1635)*, 2nd edn (Madrid: Anaya, 1968), p. 44.

inheritance of his daughter Feliciana.[11] The two wills that the playwright left behind, along with the descriptions in Montalbán of his house, library, religious artefacts and art objects, including tapestries, paintings and icons, provide us with a further insight into his material environment, status, habits and daily life. Despite the fact that an inventory of his library has never been found, his alleged ownership of 1,500 books — even if an exaggerated figure — suggests his avid and voracious appetite for knowledge and culture. As Victor Dixon clearly demonstrates in the first chapter of this *Companion*, dedicated to Lope's learning, his broad intellectual interest in everything from Greek to Christian hagiography and medicine to natural history, apparent in many aspects of his literary output, puts paid to the pervasive notion of a lack of heavyweight thought in his works.[12]

Lope's role as a leading light in the emergence of commercial theatre, and his gradual realisation of the possibilities that his literary fame afforded him for disseminating his work in print, meant that by the turn of the seventeenth century he was famous and wealthy, able to charge 500 *reales* (later 800) for a *comedia*. Miguel de Cervantes, with whom there was no love lost, dubbed him a 'monstruo de la naturaleza' [prodigy of nature] who 'alzóse con la monarquía cómica' [usurped the kingdom of drama] in his prologue to his *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses*.[13] The success and perceived capabilities of this effervescent genius were reflected in the succession of highly placed aristocratic patrons who coveted an association with him, from Pedro Dávila, 3rd Marqués de las Navas, Antonio Álvarez de Toledo y Beamonte, 5th Duque de Alba, and Francisco de Ribera Barroso, 2nd Marqués de Malpica, to the 4th Marqués de Sarria, Pedro Fernández de Castro Andrade y Portugal, later 7th Conde de Lemos, and the aforementioned Luis Fernández de Córdoba y Aragón, 6th Duque de Sessa. Whatever the demands made on him as a secretary and confidant, however, his literary output never appeared to flag.

The solid facts of Lope's biography are somewhat harder to come by than one might wish in spite of the documentation and the numerous volumes dedicated to uncovering the man and his personality. Frequent autobiographical allusions in his prose, poetry and drama have allowed myths and half-truths about Lope and his writings to flourish unchecked. As Victor Dixon explains, 'he depicted in his writing every aspect of his life; no author was ever, in the broadest sense, more autobiographical'.[14] And yet, as Xavier Tubau argues in his study of *La Dorotea*

[11] See the excellent introduction to Charles Davis, ed., *27 documentos de Lope de Vega en el Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 2004), p. 15.

[12] On the frequently clichéd attitude to Lope the thinker, see Enrique García Santo-Tomás, *La creación del Fénix: recepción crítica y formación canónica del teatro de Lope de Vega* (Madrid: Gredos, 2000), esp. pp. 7–12.

[13] Miguel de Cervantes, *Entremeses*, ed. Nicholas Spadaccini, 4th edn (Madrid: Cátedra, 1987), p. 93.

[14] Victor Dixon, 'Lope Félix de Vega Carpio', in *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, ed. David T. Gies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 251–64 (p. 252).

in this volume (chapter 18), Lope's re-writing of his life in his works is artistic: care must be taken to separate fact from art.[15]

Lope lived during the reigns of three monarchs: Philip II (1556–98), his son Philip III (1598–1621) and his grandson Philip IV (1621–65). He was the child of a couple from the north who moved to Madrid when that city was appointed Philip II's new capital (in 1561) and began to swell accordingly. His youth coincided, serendipitously, with the creation of the *corrales*, the urban playhouses built in yards, part of whose proceeds went to fund hospitals for the poor. The future playwright's father Félix de Vega was an embroiderer whose notable devotion and charity no doubt cast a permanent shadow over his son's religious life.[16] The surname 'Carpio', adopted by the dramatist from his mother Francisca Hernández Flores's side of the family, may suggest that despite largely humble origins he had some contact with more elevated social circles, including perhaps his uncle Miguel de Carpio, a Sevillian inquisitor with whom he had apparently lived as a child and whom he thanked in later life in a dedication to his play *La hermosa Esther*.[17] It also came to represent Lope's social aspirations, as he linked himself to the legendary soldier Bernardo del Carpio, whose coat of arms he adopted on the basis of the coincidence of surnames, an action (amongst others) that provoked the satirical mirth of one of his poetic foes, Luis de Góngora.

The incident about which we know most, thanks to the legal record, is one to which Lope returned obsessively in his work, culminating in the semi-autobiographical fictionalisation of *La Dorotea*. In the mid-1580s, Lope had been displaced as the lover of the beautiful, married actress Elena Osorio (often 'Filis' in his poetry) by, it has been suggested, one of the nephews of Charles V's chancellor, Antoine Perrenot Granvelle.[18] This rejection provoked him to pen a series of satirical poems attacking Elena's father, Jerónimo Velázquez, manager of an acting troupe that had enjoyed a monopoly on Lope's output while the relationship lasted, and other members of her family. These poems led to his arrest, successful prosecution for libel and exile from Madrid for ten years. The initial sentence had been doubled in response to his continuing the literary attacks on Velázquez even after he was incarcerated, although the latter personally petitioned (successfully) for its reduction seven years later in 1595. As he prepared to leave Madrid Lope was named in another lawsuit for the 'rapto' [abduction] of the twenty-one-year-old noblewoman doña Isabel de Urbina (poetically 'Belisa'), who became his first wife and with whom he had two daughters, Antonia and Teodora. Neither girl would survive infancy.

Before the mid-1580s, nothing is known about Lope's life other than through references in his work. He was educated by the Jesuits at what later became the

[15] See the exemplary approach to this subject in S. Griswold Morley, 'The Pseudonyms and Literary Disguises of Lope de Vega', *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, 33.5 (1951): 421–84, and further discussion of this issue below.

[16] See Davis, ed., *27 documentos*, p. 16.

[17] Castro & Rennert, *Vida de Lope de Vega*, p. 17. See the dedication to the play in Lope's *Parte XV* (Madrid, 1621).

[18] Castro & Rennert, *Vida de Lope de Vega*, pp. 52–55.

Colegio Imperial and was apparently a precocious student, learning Latin when about five years old and writing his first play when still a schoolboy. Later he is likely to have attended the University of Alcalá.[19] Military service in the Azores in 1583 and, shortly after his sentencing, an alleged involvement in the Armada Invencible [Spanish Armada] in which his brother, Francisco probably, was killed, a period of residence in the theatrically lively city of Valencia, then a return to Toledo, and three years in the ducal court at Alba de Tormes as gentleman of the chamber or secretary all preceded his return to Madrid as a widower following Isabel's death in childbirth in 1594. Sexual offences soon saw Lope in legal difficulties again, as he was accused in 1596 of an illicit, adulterous relationship with a widow, Antonia de Trillo de Armenta. There was considerable inconsistency in the way in which his carnal offences were treated. Perhaps the crucial difference in this case was the that they actually cohabited. In later years, a sixteen-year-long affair with the married Marta de Nevares, whom he had met in 1616, led to no apparent censure, despite the furious reaction of her husband, Roque Hernández de Ayala. 'Amarilis' or 'Marcia Leonarda', as she was dubbed in his work, was the dedicatee of the four interpolated *novelas* published in his poetic works *La Filomena con otras diversas rimas, prosas y versos* (1621) and *La Circe con otras rimas y prosas* (1624).[20] By 1628, after bearing Lope a daughter, Antonia Clara, Marta was blind and bouts of insanity plagued her until she died in 1632.

In the mid- to late-1590s, Lope had become involved with another actress, Micaela de Luján ('Lucinda' in his poetry), with whom he eventually had seven children, two of whom came to live with him some time after her disappearance from the documentary record in 1608. In 1598 he had taken a second wife, Juana de Guardo, the daughter of a wealthy meat merchant. By Juana he had a further four children, a favourite son Carlos Félix and three daughters, Jacinta, Juana and Feliciana. Only the last survived into adulthood, eventually outliving her father and marrying Luis de Usátegui, an official of the Secretary of the Council of the Indies.[21] Lope's other surviving daughters were Marcela de San Félix, as she became, who professed in the convent of the Trinitarias Descalzas in 1623, and Antonia Clara, who was dishonoured and abandoned by the noble Cristóbal Tenorio shortly before her father's death, adding to the personal tragedies of his final years. There were also important affairs with a further two actresses, Jerónima de Burgos (often 'Gerarda' in his verses), from 1607 until at least 1614, and Lucía Salcedo 'La Loca' [the mad] in 1615–16, before he met Marta de Nevares, and there existed at least another illegitimate son from his time in

[19] On Lope's possible presence at Alcalá, see Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez, *Lope de Vega* (Barcelona: Teide, 1990), pp. 7–8.

[20] See, in chapter 17, Ali Rizavi's discussion of these texts and their political context — the early part of Philip IV's reign and the government of his *valido* or favourite, the Conde-Duque de Olivares, Gaspar de Guzmán.

[21] See the fascinating details unearthed surrounding her inheritance and dowry from her mother's marriage to Lope in Davis, ed., *27 documentos*, pp. 43–4.

Valencia.[22] These details complete the picture of 'la agitada y poco edificante vida de Lope de Vega' [Lope de Vega's unsettled and unedifying life], as it has been described.[23]

It has been suggested that the Council of Castile's decision to limit the funeral celebrations planned by the city in Lope's honour after his death in 1635 was the result of the 'vida irregular que había llevado' [the irregular life that he had led], a life characterised as 'una sucesión de aventuras, una intensa crónica sentimental' [a succession of adventures, an intense emotional chronicle], that of an 'aventurero íntimo' [adventurer in intimacy] and 'notario lírico de sí mismo' [lyrical recorder of himself].[24] These epithets point us to the fundamental paradox and central problem of his biography: the very documentary riches available to us and the apparently abundant autobiographical material in his fictions render Lope more mysterious and intangible rather than less.

The confusion and conflation of Lope de Vega's life and art in his own work is systematic and deliberate, undermining the strong temptation to read his texts biographically or use his fiction to solve puzzles about his life. The most obsessively confessional and intensely personal writing is simultaneously the most anonymised, self-consciously distanced and rhetorical, a function of the projection of a specific writerly image. It is a subjectivity ultimately defined by absence; constituted as a series of masquerades, intersecting personae and acts of contingent self-creation, and it often, of course, has his own social advancement in mind.[25] While his alter egos from Pánfilo de Luján, Belardo, Jacinto, Zaide, Gazul and Antonio González to Tomé de Burguillos originate in an urge to display and tantalisingly uncover, the use of the personal was a well-worn poetic topos, and ultimately their effect is to obfuscate, as guises and disguises. Perhaps the culmination of this process comes in the last of these figures from the 1634 *Rimas humanas y divinas del licenciado Tomé de Burguillos*, in which: 'El acto de velarse y de desvelarse a través de múltiples máscaras deviene en el último ciclo (*de senectute*) en oraciones lúdicas y autoparódicas' and 'se exhibe y se remeda paródicamente toda una subjectividad y se establece la despersonalización de quien habla a modo de un ridículo ventrículo, ya a un paso de las claves más modernas de la lírica del siglo pasado' [The act of veiling and unveiling himself by use of multiple masks becomes in the last phase (of old age) a series of playful, self-parodying pronouncements [and] we can see the parodic exhibition and mimicry of a complete subjectivity and the depersonalisation of the poetic voice into the form of a ridiculous ventriloquist, already just a step away from the most

[22] Castro & Rennert, *Vida de Lope de Vega*, p. 220 and Donald McGrady, 'Notes on Jerónima de Burgos in the Life and Work of Lope de Vega', *Hispanic Review*, 40 (1972): 428–41.

[23] See José de Armas, *Cervantes y el duque de Sessa: nuevas observaciones sobre el Quijote de Avellaneda y su autor* (Habana: P. Fernández, 1909), p. 19.

[24] Pedraza Jiménez, *Lope de Vega*, pp. 3 and 23.

[25] On Lope's attempts to rise socially and the reasons for his failure, see Elizabeth R. Wright, *Pilgrimage to Patronage: Lope de Vega and the Court of Philip III (1598–1621)* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2001), for the reign of Philip III, and Juan Manuel Rozas, *Estudios sobre Lope de Vega*, ed. Jesús Cañas Murillo (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990), pp. 73–130, for the time of Philip IV.

modern characteristics of lyric poetry from the last century].[26] Recent work on this theme is substantially advanced by Isabel Torres's exploration in this volume (chapter 6) of the plurality and indeterminacy of the poetic voice that characterised Lope's lyric trajectory, its multiple-determinations in relation to imitation and tradition, private self and public image, a self-representation always threatened with erasure in the ambiguousness of an identity constructed in a borrowed and yet authorised language.[27] As Tyler Fisher demonstrates in a reading of the first sonnet of his *Rimas* (chapter 4), the depth of Lope's authorial self-consciousness and the complexity of his understanding of literary fame, the interplay between text, author and reader, allowed him to conceptualise how reception might change his 'progeny' so completely as to render them unrecognisable even to their own 'father'.

The most frequently consulted biography of Lope, by Hugo Rennert and Américo Castro, last reissued with additional notes by Fernando Lázaro Carreter in 1968 but originally published in 1919, is marked by this desire to go beyond the life through the work. In his 'Advertencia' to the first edition, Castro admitted that the book was 'en ocasiones algo más que una mera biografía' [at times more than mere biography], although unfortunately 'no llega a ser, ni remotamente, un estudio de la obra del autor' [it does not manage even remotely to constitute a study of the author's work].[28] While this biography calls on the reader's indulgence of its subject's weaknesses, it does not eschew moral judgement altogether, describing the Elena Osorio episode as 'censurable en sí mismo' [censurable in itself] and attributing motives for which there is no direct evidence, for example by suggesting Velázquez pardoned Lope in order to marry him off to his daughter and secure the services of the most prolific and popular playwright of his time.[29]

At least the combination of Rennert and Castro avoided the excesses to be found elsewhere.[30] One biographer, in a life aptly subtitled 'flaquezas y dolencias' [failings and afflictions], characterised Sessa as not simply a womanising aristocrat but 'un anormal histérico, apartado de la finalidad moral y normal de la vida', 'intersexual, con sexualidad indeferenciada' [an abnormal hysteric, averse to the normal and moral objects of life, intersexual, with an undifferentiated sexuality], which allowed him to enjoy 'contactos afectivos hetero y

[26] Antonio Carreño, '«De esta manera de escribir tan nueva»: Lope y Góngora', in *Lope en 1604*, ed. Xavier Tubau (Lleida: Editorial Milenio, 2005), pp. 43–59 (p. 57).

[27] The neglect of this area was first pointed out by Mark J. Mascia in 'To Live Vicariously Through Literature: Lope de Vega and his Alter-Ego in the Sonnets of the *Rimas humanas y divinas del licenciado Tomé de Burguillos*', *Romance Studies*, 19.1 (2001): 1–15, although a fine essay on the same theme appeared almost simultaneously: Enrique García Santo-Tomás, 'Lope, ventrílocuo de Lope: capital social, capital cultural y estrategia literaria en las *Rimas de Tomé de Burguillos* (1634)', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* (Glasgow), 77.4 (2000): 287–303.

[28] Castro & Rennert, *Vida de Lope de Vega*, pp. 7–8.

[29] Castro & Rennert, *Vida de Lope de Vega*, p. 44.

[30] The best of the subsequent biographies is probably Alonso Zamora Vicente's *Lope de Vega: su vida y su obra* (Madrid: Gredos, 1961). The biographical sections of Pedraza's general book on Lope provide an admirable summary of what is known of his life, *Lope de Vega*, esp. pp. 1–32.

alzarse con la monarquía absoluta del arte literario' [aspired to the absolute monarchy of literary art], and to his subsequent reception.[41] The essays in section 1 aim to contextualise Lope the writer, looking at his artistic background and learning, the world of the theatre in Madrid of his day and his growing awareness of literary fame and the power of the printing press, alluded to above. The three essays on his poetry in the second section provide a close reading of a defining sonnet, an overview of his religious verse and a discussion of his creation of poetic identities. As the creator of a national drama, the *comedia nueva*, Lope deserves particular attention, and the most substantial section of the *Companion* is dedicated to this area of his art. Nevertheless only a limited coverage is possible, thanks both to the variety of Lope's output and his astonishing levels of productivity.[42] After an assessment of Lope's dramatic art, which he outlined in a poem, the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*, read to a Madrid academy, a series of chapters both deals with some major sub-groupings within his dramatic oeuvre — comedies, religious plays, chronicle-legend plays — and analyses particular examples of dramas which shed light on some of his dramatic concerns and practice. The fourth section turns the spotlight on to some manifestations of Lope's prose writing, perhaps the most neglected area of his literary output. Chapters here deal with his short fictions, written in imitation of Cervantes, and two longer and more innovative works, *El peregrino en su patria*, and the semi-autobiographical prose 'play', *La Dorotea*. Finally, the fifth section of the *Companion* deals with three aspects of the reception of Lope: the adaptation of his drama to the silver screen, his pictorial representations and the translation of his plays into English. All three chapters testify to the enduring creativity and the transcendent appeal of the figure of Lope de Vega.

The *Companion*'s purpose is in part corrective. As editors we have never intended to be encyclopaedic, or to provide a full introduction to Lope's life and work. We aim rather to raise his profile in the English-speaking world, belatedly perhaps but deservedly, through this series of assessments of his figure, his output, his reception and his influence written by experts in the field of Lope de Vega studies. We are not the first to have become acutely conscious of the difficulties involved in doing justice, within a restricted space, to the breadth and richness of our protagonist. We are aware for example that areas as important as the poet's early, cathartic *romancero* [ballads], his letters, his literary friendships and battles, his epic poetry, his *autos sacramentales* [Corpus Christi plays] and some important prose fiction, are omitted or only touched upon in passing. Plays as significant as *El caballero de Olmedo* and *El perro del hortelano* probably deserve a chapter to themselves, and the emerging sense of Lope as a political

[41] Pedraza Jiménez, *Lope de Vega*, p. 36.

[42] In 1604, in an incomplete listing of his plays, Lope records the titles of some 220 plays, and in 1618 he adds a further 210 new plays to this list: see S. Griswold Morley, 'Lope de Vega's *Peregrino* Lists', *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, 14.5 (1930): 345–66. Scholars generally agree that he wrote between 600 and 800 full-length plays, of which some 400 survive.

playwright is insufficiently reflected. Nevertheless, we provide suggestions for further reading which relate to these areas as well as those covered in more detail. We are reassured, too, by the calibre of the contributors and the extent and quality of their coverage of many important aspects of the man, the artist and approaches to him and his work, that much can be learned about Lope de Vega from these pages. 'Es de Lope' became a proverbial indication of quality in the seventeenth century, and we hope that although this volume is about rather than by Lope, some of his lustre might have rubbed off.

Part 1: The Man and his World

1

Lope's Knowledge

VICTOR DIXON

Pero mil dan a entender	[But heaps of folk imply
que apenas supe leer,	I barely learnt to read,
y es lo más cierto, a fe mía;	and that's quite true, I swear;
que como en gracia se lleva	for just as knowing how
danzar, cantar o tañer,	to dance, or sing, or play
yo sé escribir sin leer,	is only a happy gift,
que a fe que es gracia bien nueva.	I don't read but I can write
(*Peribáñez*, lines 2355–61.)	— a novel gift, I'm sure.]

Under his favourite pseudonym, Belardo, Lope was responding tongue in cheek to all who might doubt if as a writer he could claim to be truly learned. No one could deny of course the breadth of the knowledge he displayed over the range of his immense output, but doubt has indeed been expressed, from his own time to our own, as to whether that knowledge had any depth or was merely superficial. Though the question has been addressed, largely in general terms, by countless modern scholars,[1] it is still unresolved, and probably doomed to remain so, but in approaching it here I shall seek to be specific.

The doubt can be said to have been fuelled, in at least three ways, by Lope himself. Firstly, his intense activity throughout his life and his phenomenal output as a writer have led some to wonder if he can ever have had the time, energy or opportunity to acquire any true erudition. But another look at his biography gives reason to question that view. We can be sure, without taking literally what we are told by Montalbán, his first biographer, or by Fernando, his *alter ego* in *La Dorotea*, that his genius showed itself early. Having perhaps been taught initially by 'mi maestro' [my master] Vicente Espinel, he attended a Jesuit college (where he will have studied Latin grammar, composition and rhetoric, plus a range of Roman authors), and we need not doubt, though we cannot document, his repeated assertions that he studied (perhaps from his mid-teens) at the University of Alcalá. Unquestionably, moreover, his memory, which educators then set great

[1] Marcella Trambaioli, in her recent edition of Lope de Vega, *La hermosura de Angélica* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2005), pp. 93–94, n. 237, quoted the divergent opinions of seven.


image
not
available

well as to entertain, to edify and instruct based on universal knowledge.[12] He knew therefore that he needed not only to be, but more importantly to be recognized as, the 'científico poeta' [learned poet] that he often proclaimed himself.

Very frequently, as a result, he 'doth protest too much'. Numerous scholars have been able to prove (a matter I shall dwell on later) that a great deal of what might seem to be first-hand knowledge was lifted from one or other of the many dictionaries, compendia and so forth published and republished from early in the sixteenth century.[13] It needs to be stressed, however, that recourse to such works was as normal and widespread in Lope's time as it is in our own, and (as I pointed out in a recent study) accusations that he lied about or concealed having used them, though justified in part, have often been pushed too far.[14]

Some of those scholars have argued, moreover, that Lope did not always work in quite the same way. Jameson for instance insisted on differentiating in his epics between those references to Classical writers which must have been present in his mind when he was writing them and those that could have been added later,[15] and Osuna distinguished in his *Arcadia* between the 'erudición sobrepuesta' [superimposed erudition] that he piled into his most pedantic passages and his indexes or annotations, and 'ese inmenso tesoro de datos que no son añadidos y retazos, sino precisamente [...] su bagaje de escritor' [that immense treasure of data that are not additions and snippets but precisely [...] his baggage as a writer].[16] Similarly Trueblood, though suggesting that the frequent use of works of reference may have influenced his habits of thought, added that they must have furnished his mind with 'a wide assortment of humanistic instances and details which his pen could call upon as needed'.[17]

In addition, studies of the sources of his knowledge in particular works have hitherto been concerned almost wholly with his most ambitious, pretentious writings (like his *Dorotea*, his lengthy poems and narratives, his prologues and his dedications), to the neglect of his more spontaneous (like most of his plays and short poems, his letters, his *Novelas* and his *Pastores de Belén*), and in my study I therefore attempted to gauge in a few of the latter how much of his knowledge of

[12] See for instance the disquisitions on literature by several shepherds in Book III of Lope de Vega, *Arcadia*, ed. Edwin S. Morby (Madrid: Castalia, 1975), pp. 267–68.

[13] See Víctor Infantes, 'De *Officinas* y *Polyantheas*: los diccionarios secretos del Siglo de Oro', in *Homenaje a Eugenio Asensio* (Madrid: Gredos, 1988), pp. 243–57; Sagrario López Poza, 'Florilegios, polyantheas, repertorios de sentencias y lugares comunes: aproximación bibliográfica', *Criticón*, no. 49 (1990): 61–76; Isaías Lerner, 'Misceláneas y polianteas del Siglo de Oro español', in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Humanismo y Renacimento*, 2 vols (León: Universidad de León, 1998), II, pp. 71–82.

[14] See Victor Dixon, 'La huella en Lope de la tradición clásica: ¿honda o superficial?', *Anuario Lope de Vega*, 11 (2005): 83–96.

[15] A. K. Jameson, 'Lope de Vega's Knowledge of Classical Literature', *Bulletin Hispanique,* 38 (1936): 444–501 (pp. 496–97).

[16] Rafael Osuna, *La Arcadia de Lope de Vega: génesis, estructura y originalidad* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1972), pp. 192–93.

[17] Alan S. Trueblood, 'The *Officina* of Ravisius Textor in Lope de Vega's *Dorotea*', *Hispanic Review*, 26.2 (1958): 135–41 (p. 136).

the Classical tradition was merely superficial, and how much he had made his own. That attempt was of course conjectural, and to broaden here the focus to the whole of Lope's apparent knowledge and to his works in their entirety cannot but be more so, but I hope it may prove worthwhile. My approach will be conservative; aware of his fondness for dropping names, compiling impressive lists, and quoting, as if directly but in fact at second hand, I shall try to make a balanced assessment.

In respect of religion, his knowledge was certainly not confined, like his Isidro's, to 'un libro solo' [a single book], but 'that Lope's memory was extraordinarily retentive is proved beyond doubt', as Jameson said, 'by his acquaintance with the Bible' — presumably the Vulgate, including of course the Apocrypha.[18] Though only half a dozen of his plays are on biblical subjects, evidence abounds in almost all his works, and above all throughout his sacred verse; again and again for instance he alludes to the life of Christ and meditates on His Passion, influenced undoubtedly by St Ignatius Loyola's *Ejercicios espirituales* [*Spiritual Exercises*] and by other devotional works, like Fray Luis de Granada's *Libro de la oración y meditación* [*Book of Prayer and Meditation*] and Francisco de Osuna's *Tercer abecedario espiritual* [*Third Spiritual ABC*]. Vosters, moreover, was able to trace the appearance throughout Lope's *oeuvre* of biblical symbols associated with serpents, with the Virgin and with aspects of the story of David (with whom he clearly felt a personal affinity). That knowledge however was buttressed, Vosters found, by acquaintance with works by various Fathers of the Church, though very possibly most of these, except St Bernard, were known to Lope best via authors of his own era he rarely mentioned, who had written both in Spanish (Vosters instanced ten) and in Latin (he listed eight).[19] Lope's biblical plays, however, were heavily outnumbered by his *comedias de santos*, no doubt because most were probably commissioned.[20] He appears to have relied in general on the *Flos sanctorum* by Alonso de Villegas or that by Pedro de Ribadeneyra, but to have consulted other sources also for at least eleven. The saints he seems most to have admired and been best informed about are Jerome (*El cardenal de Belén*), Augustine (*El divino africano*) and Francis of Assisi (*El serafín humano* and other plays about his disciples).

He had much more than Shakespeare's 'small Latin'. He made between 1581 and 1585 a translation (now lost) of Claudian's *De raptu Proserpinae*, and claimed in 1632 (as Fernando) that at Alcalá he had often written 'en versos latinos o castellanos. Comencé a juntar libros de todas lenguas, que después de los principios de la griega y ejercicio grande de la latina, supe bien la toscana, y de la francesa tuve noticia' [in Latin or Castilian verse. I began to collect books in all

[18] Jameson, 'The Sources', p. 137.

[19] Simon A. Vosters, *Lope de Vega y la tradición occidental*, 2 vols ([Madrid]: Castalia, 1977), I (*El simbolismo bíblico de Lope de Vega: algunas de sus fuentes*), especially pp. 501–2.

[20] Robert R. Morrison, *Lope de Vega and the 'Comedia de Santos'* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 321–27, following S. Griswold Morley & Courtney Bruerton, *Cronología de las comedias de Lope de Vega* (Madrid: Gredos, 1968), listed 21 certainly and 4 probably by Lope (plus 29 of doubtful authenticity and a further 29 'sometimes attributed').

literatures and languages, for after the rudiments of Greek and much exercise of Latin, I learnt Tuscan well and became acquainted with French].[21] In fact, as well as making a few other versions,[22] he very frequently quoted lines or phrases from Classical writers in Latin or in translation, composed in that language some short pieces of verse or prose,[23] and included in his plays, for comic effect, numerous scenes and passages in the macarronic style.[24] He had certainly 'less Greek', and in fact advised his son Lope in 1620 that though he should diligently study (without failing properly to learn and use his native Castilian) the 'reina de las lenguas [...] por ningún caso os acontezca aprender la griega' [the queen of languages [...] it should on no account occur to you to learn Greek], as some arrogant ignoramuses pretended they had.[25] Many of his Greek quotations, therefore, were surely culled from reference works. Nevertheless he was apparently acquainted, via Latin or vernacular versions or commentaries, with a range of well-known Greek writings: the epics of Homer, the fables of Aesop, several works by Plato, Aristotle and Ptolemy, medical treatises by Dioscorides and Galen, and histories by Herodotus, Josephus and Pausanias, as well as the *Aethiopica* [*Ethiopian History*] of Heliodorus, to which he repeatedly referred and whose influence is apparent in his *La hermosura de Angélica* and especially in *El peregrino en su patria*.

His Latin would have given him direct access to all the Roman writers, but among those who wrote in prose we can be sure only of Diodorus Siculus, Cicero, Livy, Tacitus, the elder Pliny and the younger Seneca, with some of whose plays (although surprisingly he seems to have to have known little directly of Plautus or Terence) he was also familiar.[26] Latin verse attracted him far more. He was acquainted with poems by Lucan, Martial, Juvenal, Statius, Ausonius and Claudian, but above all he admired and knew well the odes and epodes of

[21] Lope de Vega, *La Dorotea*, ed. Edwin S. Morby (Valencia: Castalia, 1958), p. 288. I shall consider below his knowledge of modern languages.

[22] See for instance Silva I, lines 341–46, of Lope de Vega, *Laurel de Apolo*, ed. Christian Giaffreda, with an introduction by Maria Grazia Profeti (Florence: Alinea, 2002), p. 113, and Entrambasaguas, *Estudios*, II, pp. 505–26.

[23] For example a number of epigrams (like one at the conclusion of his *La hermosura de Angélica*), a six-line epitaph added to Sonnet 178 in his *Rimas* and another in two *octavas* as stanzas 70–71 of Canto VI of his *Jerusalén*, 16 mottoes and a possible inscription for the tomb of Philip III, and a letter to Pope Urban VIII (see *Epistolario*, ed. Amezúa, IV, pp. 62–64 and 98–99). He may well also have composed the ten lines near the end of his *Arte Nuevo*, though some critics suppose he was helped.

[24] See Elvezio Canonica-de Rochemonteix, *El poliglotismo en el teatro de Lope de Vega* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1991), pp. 33–106.

[25] In the dedication of *El verdadero amante*; see Thomas E. Case, *Las dedicatorias de Partes XIII–XX de Lope de Vega* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina & Madrid: Castalia, 1975), p. 104.

[26] See for instance Victor Dixon & Isabel Torres, '*La madrastra enamorada*: ¿una tragedia de Séneca refundida por Lope de Vega?', *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, 19.1 (1994): 39–60.

Horace,[27] the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid* of Virgil,[28] and all the major poems of Ovid, whom he saw as a kindred spirit.

Lope's familiarity with the 'narigudo poeta' [big-nosed poet], and his central role in increasing at his time Ovid's long-powerful influence, documented a century ago in Rudolph Schevill's *Ovid and the Renaissance in Spain*, has been emphasized for instance in Osuna's study of the development of the theme of natural abundance, most importantly from the elaboration of Polyphemus's song to Galatea in Book 13, lines 789–868, of the *Metamorphoses*.[29] That poem more than any other gave Lope an unsurpassed knowledge of Classical mythology, which he displayed throughout his *oeuvre*, but especially in five long poems and in seven plays (though in these at least, as Martínez Berbel has shown, he made great use too of the version by Jorge de Bustamante).[30] Several others, moreover, are set in the Classical era, including one at least, *Las grandezas de Alejandro*, about Alexander the Great, to whom he referred almost obsessively, drawing mostly, as Jameson showed, on Quintus Curtius, 'a classical historian whom he certainly knew well'.[31]

What other ancient authors he knew at first hand is very hard to determine. In the dedication of *El cardenal de Belén* he claimed he had never believed that 'sólo es digno de fama lo que no vimos ni conocimos [...] antes bien me causan mayor admiración las obras de los ingenios que vi y traté, si los hallé dignos de alabanza, al igual de los antiguos' [only what we have not seen or known is worthy of repute [...] rather I have more greatly admired the works of the writers I have seen and had dealings with, if I have found them worthy of praise, on equal terms with those of old], and went on to praise a dozen of his contemporaries;[32] yet he paraded in such writings a host of Latin quotations (a dozen, ironically, in that same piece), and many of these were clearly culled from more recent publications, like the jurist Matteo Gribaldi's *De ratione studendi*, to which he referred in other dedications,[33] and via which he silently quoted some other authors.[34] Overall,

[27] For example he constantly echoed and repeatedly glossed the epode *Beatus ille*, and in Sonnet 112 of his *Rimas*, which consists of lines (in four languages) borrowed from a total of eight poets, each of the three in Latin comes from a different ode by Horace.

[28] Jameson, in 'Lope de Vega's Knowledge', referred for instance (p. 494) to six passages in his epics evidently based on similar passages in the *Aeneid*. He very often praised (as well as the version by Gonzalo Pérez of Homer's *Odyssey*) the translations of Virgil by Gregorio Hernández, but would not have needed the latter.

[29] See Rafael Osuna, *Polifemo y el tema de la abundancia natural en Lope de Vega y su tiempo* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1996); he lists in an appendix 119 of Lope's works, and on p. 3 states: 'Es Lope, con mucho, quien más generoso se manifiesta en el cultivo del tema' [It is Lope who proves by far the most generous in the cultivation of the theme].

[30] Juan Antonio Martínez Berbel, *El mundo mitológico de Lope de Vega: siete comedias mitológicas de inspiración ovidiana* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2003).

[31] Jameson, 'The Sources', p. 131. Other more or less historical plays with Classical settings are *Las justas de Tebas*, *Los embustes de Fabia*, *Roma abrasada*, *El honrado hermano*, *El esclavo de Roma* and *Lo fingido verdadero*.

[32] Case, *Las dedicatorias*, pp. 63–65.

[33] Case, *Las dedicatorias,* pp. 73 and 121.

[34] Lope de Vega, *La Dorotea*, pp. 26, 322–23 and 435–36.

nevertheless, Jameson was no doubt right to say that 'Lope had a not inconsiderable acquaintance with Latin literature and a slight knowledge of the Greek historians and geographers [...] And even if he got much of it at second hand it still represents a knowledge of classical literature of quite a respectable size'.[35]

It is time now to consider those 'second-hand' works. Many of them he named in one place or another (which is mostly why they can be identified), but undoubtedly he did so far less frequently than he used them, in some cases not only paraphrasing closely but incorporating their references or quotations. Some could be seen essentially as dictionaries or encyclopedias. We know that he utilized Ambrogio Calepino's polyglot lexicon, the *Enchiridion* by Antonio Maria Spelta, the dictionary of proper names by Carolus Stephanus, and Stobaeus's anthology of Greek *Sententiae* latinized by Conrad Gesner,[36] and above all that he constantly turned (especially when compiling lists) to Ravisius Textor's *Officina*, as countless critics have shown.[37] But even when using this, as pointed out by Vosters, he also drew more often than has been noted on other sources, and 'tales imitaciones híbridas han de prevenirnos contra una sobreestimación de la importancia de la *Officina* para la obra de Lope de Vega' [such hybrid imitations should warn us against an overestimation of the importance of the *Officina* for the work of Lope de Vega].[38]

Others were miscellanies. He claimed, perhaps not falsely, that he had never seen 'la Poliantea' (presumably the most famous Latin one, by Nanus Mirabellius),[39] but he utilized Pero Mejía's *Silva de varia lección* and Antonio de Torquemada's *Coloquios satíricos*, probably knew the latter's *Jardín de flores curiosas* and Luis Zapata's *Miscelánea,* and certainly made much use of both *De honesta disciplina* by Petrus Crinitus and *Il sapere util' e dilettevole* by Constantino Castriota.[40] Others again were commentaries, like those on Terence by the fourth-century Donatus and on the *Poetics* of Aristotle and Horace by the sixteenth-century Robortello that he used in his *Arte nuevo*, or that on the *Symposium* of Plato by Marsilio Ficino, together with works by other Renaissance Neoplatonists — Pico della Mirandola and Juda Leon Abarbanel (León Hebreo) —, the *Syntaxeon artis mirabilis* by Petrus Gregorius and Cipriano Suárez's *De arte rhetorica*.

[35] Jameson, 'Lope de Vega's Knowledge', pp. 500–1.

[36] All of these were used (and all but Stephanus named) in *La Dorotea,* and Stephanus was the main (though not the only) source of the 'Exposición de los nombres poéticos' [Explanation of the poetic names] in Lope's *Arcadia*; see Osuna, *La Arcadia*, pp. 208–16. On his use, sometimes mistakenly, of Stobaeus, see Dixon, 'La huella', p. 99.

[37] See especially Trueblood, 'The *Officina*'; Simon A. Vosters, 'Lope de Vega y Juan Ravisio Textor: nuevos datos', *Iberoromania*, n.s., 2 (1975): 69–103; Aurora Egido, 'Lope de Vega, Ravisio Textor y la creación del mundo como obra de arte', in her *Fronteras de la poesía en el Barroco* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1990), pp. 198–215; and more recently Lope de Vega, *La hermosura*, pp. 95–97.

[38] Vosters, 'Lope de Vega y Juan Ravisio Textor', p. 98: see also Dixon 'La huella', p. 88.

[39] See also Dixon, 'La huella', pp. 86–87.

[40] See especially Edwin S. Morby, 'Constantino Castriota in the *Arcadia*', in *Homage to John M. Hill*, ed. Walter Poesse (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1968), pp. 201–15.

para los versos la más suave' [very sweet, and the smoothest for verse], quoting two lines from a sonnet by Camoens,[53] whom Lope often cited and praised, for instance among more than a dozen Portuguese writers eulogized at length early in canto III of *Laurel de Apolo*.

Lope's knowledge of Spain and everything Spanish was immense, as is evidenced for instance by at least a hundred *comedias* based on its history and legends from Roman times to his own, whose sources Menéndez Pelayo sought a century ago to determine. For its early history, that scholar found, he relied on chronicles, in particular the final reworking of the *Crónica general*, the popular *Valerio de las historias eclesiásticas y de España*, and probably the *Historia general* by his friend Padre Juan de Mariana. But though he no doubt preferred to work from a single text, he can be shown in several cases to have drawn on more, and though adding much of his own invention would often almost transcribe them, whether for ease of composition or out of the genuine respect for history he professed.[54] For *comedias* set in less ancient times he clearly read specific works, but a number were journalistic accounts of recent events, for which he had to use *relaciones*, and at least a dozen, especially of the genealogical kind, were undoubtedly commissioned; for these (as for *La Dragontea*, *Isidro* and *El triunfo de la fe*) he would have been given materials and expected to study them closely.[55]

His awareness in general of his nation's culture, particularly that of his own lifetime, was no less broad and deep, though possibly patchy. He alluded knowledgeably in many works to huge numbers of contemporaries, not only the rich and powerful whose favour he sought but scholars, writers and artists of every kind, especially in Book IV of his *Peregrino*, *El jardín de Lope* and *La Dorotea* but above all in *Laurel de Apolo,* in which he praised almost 300 Spanish and Portuguese writers and artists (at least a sixth of them friends), and which Maria Grazia Profeti has rightly described as fundamental to our knowledge of Lope's culture, of his poetics, and of his relations with Spanish intellectual circles.[56]

He must have been aware of but made few specific allusions to the 'tres o cuatro' [three or four] Spanish dramatists he said had written plays before him, or indeed to those he could boast that his own had engendered, 'más poetas / que hay en los aires átomos sutiles' [more playwrights / than there are flimsy atoms in the air],[57] and his knowledge of Spanish prose literature before his day (apart from the works already mentioned) may not have been extensive. He referred for instance on a few occasions to *Lazarillo de Tormes*, but the only pastoral novels in Spanish

[53] Lope de Vega, *La Dorotea*, p. 135. See also p. 410, where Fernando quotes four lines from another.

[54] In his *Epístola* to don Fray Plácido de Tosantos he praised twelve Spanish historians, contrasting their works with those of slanderous foreigners; *Obras poéticas*, I, pp. 1206–7.

[55] See (especially on *Arauco domado*) Victor Dixon, 'Lope de Vega, Chile and a Propaganda Campaign', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 70.1 (1993): 79–95.

[56] Lope de Vega, *Laurel de Apolo*, p. 17.

[57] See lines 469–74 of his *Égloga a Claudio*, and his *Epístola* to don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, *Obras poéticas*, I, p. 1197.

of significant influence on his *Arcadia* were those by Montemayor and Gálvez de Montalvo. The one very clear exception to the rule must be the *Celestina*; Lope borrowed from it for instance in a number of early plays, based on its central figure the character of Gerarda in *La Dorotea*, and outclassed in *El caballero de Olmedo* every later adaptation of it for theatrical performance. By contrast, no Spaniard of his day knew more of Spanish verse. His plays, especially but by no means only those based on national history and legends, were full of quotations and recreations of traditional poetry of every kind. He lamented frequently the abandonment of native metrical forms, lauding Manrique, Mena and other *Cancionero* poets (many of whose verses he glossed) for their 'agudeza, gracia y gala' [wit, grace and elegance],[58] but he was even more entirely familiar with those who had adopted Italian forms, admiring above all Herrera and Garcilaso (whom he constantly quoted), but naming hordes of others in innumerable lists (though singling out those he could similarly praise as unlike the *gongoristas*).

We can judge (especially from his name-dropping) that he was conversant with other aspects of the intellectual climate and culture of his society. Frequent praise for its singers and other musicians, in particular Juan de Palomares, Juan Blas de Castro and Vicente Espinel, suggest a perhaps not expert but keen and characteristically patriotic interest in their art,[59] and his plays are notoriously full of popular songs and dances. He shows indeed an extreme familiarity with folk culture and with peasant life and language astonishing in one who lived primarily in cities.[60] This was one of the many sources too of his outstandingly extensive vocabulary. As Américo Castro declared, 'es probable que ningún escritor del mundo tenga más abundante léxico' [it is probable that no writer in the world has a more abundant lexicon],[61] and among the nearly 9 million words that Lope wrote in his probably authentic works Fernández Gómez was able to list over 21,000 different items.[62] Another, despite Lope's limited experience of sea travel, was the language of ships and sailors, his deliberate displays of which have often been remarked on, though his familiarity with such terminology should not be over-stressed; he made relatively little go a long way.

Far greater was his knowledge of terms related to painting, architecture and sculpture, which draws attention to a vitally important aspect of his culture: his lifelong love of art and association with artists. As Portús has shown, he is 'el

[58] Lines 1065–73 of Part II of *La Filomena* (Lope de Vega, *Obras poéticas*, I, p. 649); see also his *Respuesta a un señor destos reinos* (ibid., pp. 872–88) but also three prologues: to his *Isidro*, his *Rimas*, and the *Justa poética* in honour of the beatification of San Isidro.

[59] Dedicating *Carlos Quinto en Francia* to Gabriel Díaz, he wrote of 'la gracia que a los españoles en todo género de música vocal o instrumental ha dado el cielo' [the gift for every kind of vocal or instrumental music that Heaven has bestowed on the Spanish], Case, *Las dedicatorias*, pp. 230–32. The 1627 inventory of Lope's possessions includes 'dos ynstrumentos' [two instruments]; see Davis, *27 documentos*, pp. 170–71.

[60] Note too the 153 proverbs in *La Dorotea* (listed by Morby in his edition, pp. 453–61), though almost all had figured in the collections by Juan de Mal Lara and Hernán Núñez.

[61] Quoted for example in Osuna, *La Arcadia*, p. 193.

[62] Carlos Fernández Gómez, *Vocabulario completo de Lope de Vega*, 3 vols (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1971), I, pp. lxiv–lxvii.

escritor del Siglo de Oro que más frecuentemente alude en sus obras a pintores y pinturas' [the Spanish writer of the Golden Age who most frequently alludes in his works to painters and paintings].[63] He constantly returned to the topos of the affinity between the visual arts and poesy, nowhere more neatly than in the sonnet in which he called Marino 'gran pintor de los oídos' [a great painter to the ears] and Rubens 'gran poeta de los ojos' [a great poet to the eyes].[64] He referred at least four more times to that great Flemish painter, whom he may well have met in 1628; and also mentioned other foreign artists, like Bosch, Raphael, Michelangelo, and above all Titian (whom he alluded to fourteen times and brought on stage in *La santa liga*),[65] but his knowledge of his coevals in Spain was clearly far greater.

Related by birth and marriage to various visual artists of some distinction, he formed close connections with others; certainly with Liaño, Ribalta, Pacheco, Jáuregui and Carducho, and probably with several more, like Maíno and Juan van der Hamen. He made at least three specific declarations in defence of the nobility of their art, most notably one of 1628 in support of the exemption of their work from purchase tax, which was published the following year and referred to by Carducho in his *Diálogos* of 1633, together with a ninety-two-line *silva* in praise of painting also penned by Lope.[66] Several of his plays, which in general were conceived for the eye as well as the ear,[67] require moreover the display of paintings on stage, and in a number of his publications, by way of self-promotion, he included emblematic engravings, some probably by his own hand. Indeed he was clearly fascinated by hieroglyphs and emblems. He constantly mentioned Alciato, and was probably well acquainted with other emblematists he mentioned or apparently reflected, like Valeriano, Aneau, Coustau, Reusner, Camerarius, Horozco, Hernando de Soto and Sebastián de Covarrubias, but the influence on his work of such combinations of image and text has only begun to be researched.[68]

Much else undoubtedly remains to be discovered about the knowledge on which his writings were based, but in conclusion we must surely agree with Jameson that 'there is a good deal to be said for the opinion that Lope is to be reckoned among the learned poets as well as among the popular', and that 'his store of knowledge was considerable and his reading wide if casual and

[63] Portús, *Pintura y pensamiento*, p. 134; in a note (pp. 205–6) he lists forty-two modern painters Lope referred to. His final chapter is a mine of information on Lope's knowledge of art.

[64] Lope de Vega, *Rimas humanas y divinas,* p. 271.

[65] See Frederick A. de Armas, 'Lope de Vega and Titian', *Comparative Literature*, 30.4 (1978): 338–52, and his chapter in this *Companion.*

[66] Vicente Carducho, *Diálogos de la pintura*, ed. Francisco Calvo Serraller (Madrid: Turner, 1979), pp. 448–49 and 254–56.

[67] See for instance Victor Dixon, 'La comedia de corral de Lope como género visual', *Edad de Oro*, 5 (1986): 35–58.

[68] See for example Warren T. McCready, '*Empresas* in Lope de Vega's Works', *Hispanic Review*, 25.2 (1957): 79–104; Victor Dixon, '"Beatus ... nemo": *El villano en su rincón*, las "polianteas" y la literatura de emblemas', *Cuadernos de Filología* (Valencia), 3.1–2: *La génesis de la teatralidad barroca* (1981): 279–300; idem, 'The *Emblemas morales* of Sebastián de Covarrubias and the Plays of Lope de Vega', *Emblematica*, 6.1 (1992): 83–101.

miscellaneous',[69] but also with Osuna, who wrote of 'la fenomenal cultura de Lope, la mayor de su tiempo entre literatos, si por cultura no nos limitamos a entender la información, profunda o no, que se adquiría en las universidades; en este sentido, solo Quevedo le supera' [Lope's phenomenal culture, the greatest of his time in Spain among men of letters, if by culture we do not understand merely the information, profound or not, that was acquired in the universities; in this sense only Quevedo surpasses him].[70]

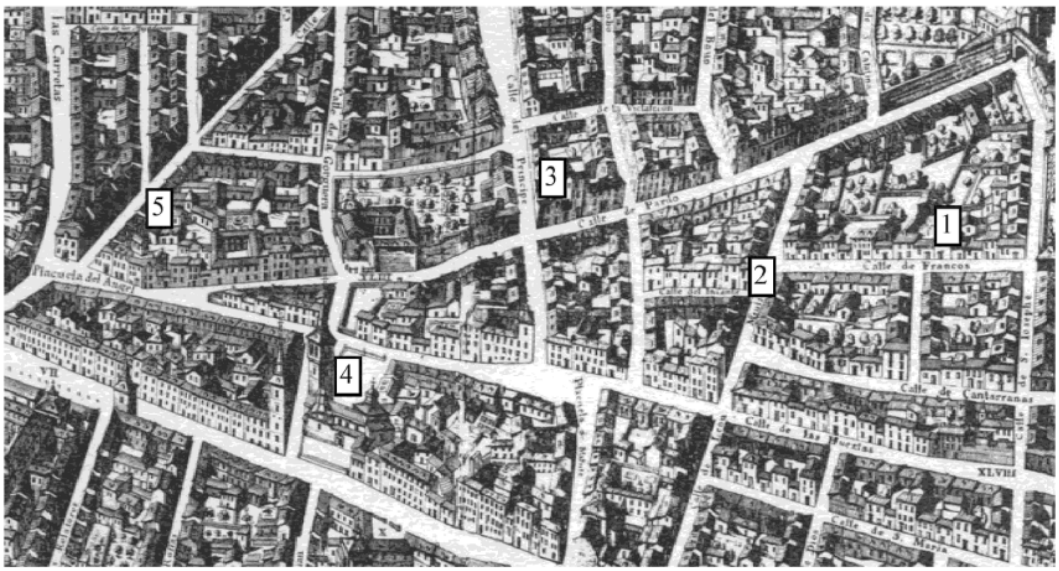
[69] Jameson, 'The Sources', pp. 138–39.
[70] Osuna, *La Arcadia*, p. 195.

2

Lope de Vega and the Theatre in Madrid

JOSÉ MARÍA RUANO DE LA HAZA

On 7 September 1610, Lope de Vega bought a two-storey house on Francos street, on the edge of the Madrid theatre district. The focal points of this district were the Church of St Sebastian — which in 1631 would house the actors' guild[1] — the *mentidero de los comediantes*, or actors' 'gossip shop', in León street; and the two public playhouses: the Corral del Príncipe and the Corral de la Cruz.



Texeira's 1656 map of Madrid (detail)
1. Lope de Vega's house; 2. *Mentidero de los comediantes*; 3. Corral del Príncipe; 4. Church of St Sebastian; 5. Corral de la Cruz

Lope paid 9,000 *reales* for the property, 5,000 as a down payment and the remainder in two instalments of 2,000 *reales* each payable in four and eight

[1] Known as the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Novena. See José Subirá, *El gremio de representantes españoles y la Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Novena* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1960).

of a few landmark edifices — churches, the Royal Palace, the Retiro — other buildings, whose configuration and dimensions are known to us from different sources, are not always accurately depicted.[8] For example, according to a census taken in 1624 for the purpose of ascertaining the number and characteristics of the so-called *casas de malicia*,[9] the south-facing façade of the house owned by Francisco de Treviño, an actor by profession, on the corner of Infante and León streets (see above), measured 41 feet.[10] In Texeira's map that façade is no more than 28.5 feet long.

Lope lived in his house on Francos street until his death in 1635. Actors and *autores*[11] must have often visited him there. Some, like Francisco de Treviño,[12] were his neighbours. Pedro Maldonado and his first wife Magdalena de Chaves lived nearby in Cantarranas street.[13] Also in Cantarranas resided, at least in 1624, Sánchez, 'autor de comedias',[14] a man whose life may serve to illustrate the uneasy relationship that Lope sometimes had with certain members of the acting profession. The *Genealogía* (I, 883) says of him that he was a 'Representante antiguo, y fue autor, de quien se haze mención en el libro de sainetes de Luis Quiñones de Venauente en el folio 2, pero no emos podido aberiguar su propio nonbre' [an actor a long time ago (the *Genealogía* was compiled at the beginning of the eighteenth century), and he became an *autor*, mentioned on fol. 2 of Luis Quiñones de Benavente's book of short pieces, but we have not been able to

[8] For example, the two Madrid playhouses: see J. M. Ruano de la Haza & John J. Allen, *Los teatros comerciales del siglo XVII y la escenificación de la Comedia* (Madrid: Castalia, 1994).

[9] The *casas de malicia* were houses built in such a way that the owner would avoid having to comply with the *Regalía del Real Aposento de Corte*, from which Lope's house was exempted in 1613 (see Middleton, *The Urban and Architectural Environment*, pp. 47–48).

[10] Corral, *Las composiciones de aposento*, p. 76.

[11] The word 'autor' designates the actor-manager of a seventeenth-century company. The playwright was called the 'poeta'.

[12] Called Francisco Tribiño by the eighteenth-century compilers of the *Genealogía* (*Genealogía, origen y noticias de los comediantes de España*, ed. N. D. Shergold, & J. E. Varey, Fuentes para la Historia del Teatro en España, 2, London: Tamesis, 1985, I, 96), he was born in Valladolid and, on 17 September 1612, signed a two-year contract with the company of Juan de Morales, 'dándole cada día tres reales de ración y cinco reales por representación el primer año y seis el segundo' [giving him three reales per day for maintenance and five reales per performance in the first year and six in the second] (Francisco de B. San Román, *Lope de Vega, los cómicos toledanos y el poeta sastre*, Madrid: Imprenta Góngora, 1935, doc. 331, p. 176). In 1617 he was a member of the company of Pedro Llorente and in 1622 he worked for Cristóbal de Avendaño. In 1624 he rejoined Morales' company for the Madrid *autos* and in 1631 travelled to Italy with the company of Roque de Figueroa. He returned to Spain in 1638 and worked, first, for Lorenzo Hurtado, from whom in 1639 he demanded payment of 700 reales 'que se le debe de resto de raciones y representaciones del tiempo que asistió en su compañía' [which he is owed for the remainder of his maintenance and performance payments from the time when he belonged to his company] (Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos acerca del histrionismo español en los siglos XVI y XVII*, Madrid: Revista Española, 1901, p. 307) and then, in 1641, for Antonio Sierra (Luis Quiñones de Benavente, *Entremeses completos*, I: *Jocoseria*, ed. Ignacio Arellano, Juan M. Escudero & Abraham Madroñal, Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2001, p. 719).

[13] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, pp. 124–25. By the time Maldonado died, in 1634, he was married to Jerónima Rodríguez (*Genealogía*, I, 105).

[14] Corral, *Las composiciones de aposento*, p. 76.

ascertain his Christian name]. The reference is to Quiñones's *Jocoseria*, published in 1645 in Madrid by Francisco García.[15] First in the volume is the *Loa con que empezó Lorenzo Hurtado en Madrid la segunda vez* [*Prologue with which Lorenzo Hurtado Opened in Madrid the Second Time*], and there, among many other famous *autores*, such as Cristóbal de Avendaño, Manuel Vallejo, Roque de Figueroa, Antonio de Prado, Juan Acacio and Andrés de la Vega, there is mention of a certain Sánchez.[16] His full name was Fernán or Hernán Sánchez de Vargas, and he was one of the twelve official *autores* named by the 1615 regulations.[17] According to Arellano, Escudero and Madroñal, he began his acting career in 1594 in the company of Diego de Santander, and then, after working for Baltasar Pinedo (1607) and Alonso Riquelme (1608), formed his own company in 1609.[18] In 1610 he bought Lope's *La hermosa Ester*, whose autograph manuscript is preserved in the British Library: he played the part of King Assuerus.[19] Late in 1611 or early in 1612 he must have been in Granada; in January 1612 an innkeeper from that city signed a promissory note agreeing to reimburse 200 *reales* to 'Fernán Sánchez de Vargas, autor de comedias, vecino de Madrid' [Fernán Sánchez de Vargas, *autor de comedias*, resident in Madrid].[20] For the 1612 Corpus Christi festivities, he was contracted to perform in the town of Esquivias (where Cervantes' in-laws lived) the same *autos* that he had already presented in Madrid, plus an unnamed play.[21] Sánchez Arjona claims that he favoured Andalusian playwrights, in particular Luis Vélez de Guevara, and that this earned him the enmity of Lope de Vega, who, in 1614, 'resentido de que no se hubiese limitado a representar sus obras únicamente se negó a escribir para él en Diciembre de 1614 un drama que le solicitó por conducto del Duque de Sessa' [upset that he had performed works by other dramatists, refused to write a play which Sánchez had requested through the Duke of Sessa].[22]

[15] See the recent edition by Arellano, Escudero and Madroñal (2001), cited above.

[16] Quiñones, *Entremeses*, ed. Arellano, Escudero and Madroñal, p. 127.

[17] J. E. Varey & N. D. Shergold, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid, 1600–1650: estudio y documentos*, Fuentes para la Historia del Teatro en España, 3 (London: Tamesis, 1971) (*Fuentes III*), doc. 6, p. 56.

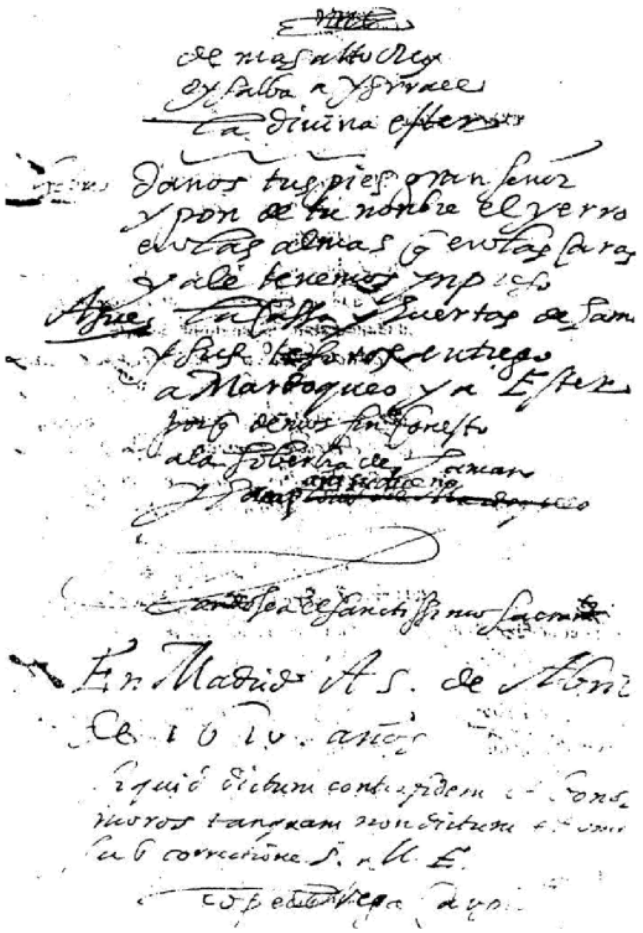
[18] Quiñones, *Entremeses*, ed. Arellano, Escudero and Madroñal, p. 718.

[19] See Marco Presotto, *Le commedie autografe di Lope de Vega* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2000), p. 250.

[20] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, p. 127.

[21] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, pp. 127–28. As Corpus Christi fell on Thursday 21 June in 1612, Sánchez must have performed in Esquivias on Tuesday 26 June. The *autos* must have been the ones he performed in Madrid the previous year, 1611, when he lost the *joya* (a prize worth one hundred ducats) to Tomás Fernández de Cabredo because 'sus dos Autos fueron mejores que los de Hernán Sánchez de Vargas' [his two autos were better than those of Hernán Sánchez de Vargas], Pérez Pastor, 'Nuevos datos acerca del histrionismo español en los siglos XVI y XVII (segunda serie)', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 9 (1907): 360–85 (p. 377).

[22] José Sánchez-Arjona, *Noticias referentes a los anales del teatro en Sevilla desde Lope de Rueda hasta fines del siglo XVII* (Sevilla: E. Rasco, 1898), p. 153. Lope wrote to the Duke: 'Sanchez trahe todas las comedias del Andaluzia, y tiene a Luis Velez y otros poetas que le acuden con los partos de sus yngenios [...] Sanchez me ha hecho a mí notables pesadumbres' [Sánchez gets all the plays from Andalusia, and he has Luis Vélez and other dramatists who bring him the fruits of their invention [...] Sánchez has seriously offended me], Lope de Vega, *Epistolario de*



Last page of the autograph manuscript of *La hermosa Ester*, signed at the bottom by Lope de Vega in Madrid on 5 April 1610

Lope's vindictiveness, not only towards some actors and *autores*, but also towards some fellow writers, is well known. His hostility towards Luis Vélez may have had something to do with the extended belief that he was fond of stealing other playwrights' plots.[23] This, however, did not prevent Lope, shortly after he moved to his house in Francos street, from founding with Vélez and other writers an academy, which Pedro Soto de Rojas, a second-rate poet friend of Lope's and enemy of Vélez's, wittily named *Academia Selvaje* because it met in the house of Francisco de Silva.[24] Lope's attacks on rival playwrights, such as the Mexican Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, and poets, particularly Góngora, are well documented.[25]

Lope de Vega Carpio, ed. Agustín G. de Amezúa, 4 vols (Madrid: Aldus, 1935–43), III, pp. 217–18.

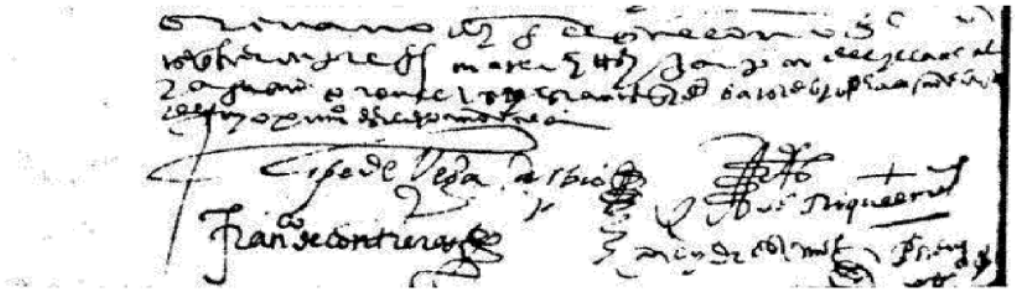
[23] M. Romera-Navarro, 'Querellas y rivalidades en las Academias del siglo XVII', *Hispanic Review*, 9.4 (1941): 494–99 (pp. 496–97).

[24] Silva is the same as *selva*, jungle; hence, *selvaje* or *salvaje* [savage].

[25] See, for example, Hugo Albert Rennert, *The Life of Lope de Vega, 1562–1635* (1904) (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968), chapters XI and XII.

Another possible 'enemy' was the young Calderón, perhaps as a result of an incident that took place near Lope's house in 1629.[26]

Fellow-poets, admirers, actors and *autores* who lived in the parish of St Sebastian must have been frequent visitors to Lope's house. Extant documentation shows that he had close ties with many members of the acting profession. He had a well-publicised and long-lasting love affair with Micaela Luján, who became the mother of five of his children and with whom he travelled extensively while she was performing,[27] as well as with, among others, Jerónima de Burgos, for whom he wrote *La dama boba*,[28] and Lucía Salcedo, 'the mad woman'. He also had many business dealings with *autores*, such as Pedro Jiménez de Valenzuela, who at one time owed him 400 *reales*;[29] Antonio de Granados, who bought from him three plays 'never before staged': *El cuerdo loco*, *Los esclavos libres* and *El príncipe despeñado*;[30] and Melchor de Villalba, for whom he composed *El maestro de danzar*: 'Hice esta comedia en Alba [de Tormes]' — says Lope on the last page of the manuscript — 'para Melchor de Villalva; y porque es verdad firmélo el mes que es mayor el yelo y el año que Dios nos salva 1594' [I wrote this comedy in Alba de Tormes for Melchor de Villalba, and because it is true I signed my name on the manuscript on the coldest month and in the year of our Lord 1594].[31]



Lope de Vega's signature next to Alonso de Riquelme's

He appears as 'principal deudor y pagador' [main debtor and payer] for Alonso Riquelme in a contract by which the *autor de comedias* agreed to travel to the town of Oropesa,

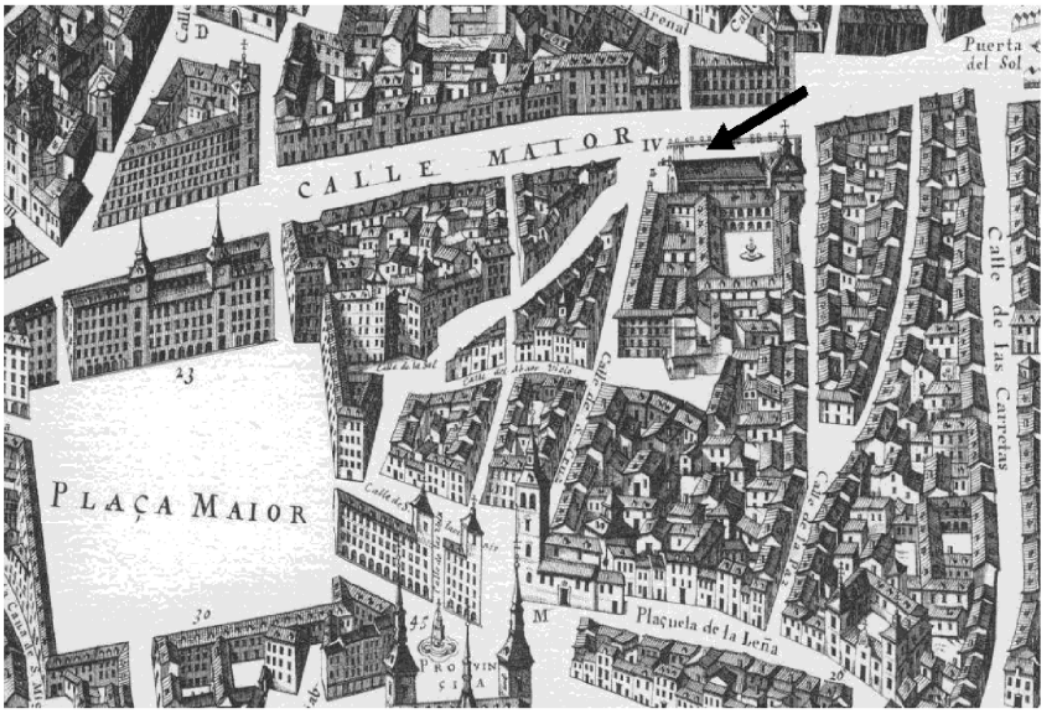
> con su conpañia [...] e que hara el dicho dia de señor san juan por la tarde en la dicha villa en la parte que le fuere señalado una comedia y el dia siguiente, que es domingo por la tarde otra, y el lunes siguiente por la mañana otra, y las comedias han de ser *El hombre de bien*, y *El secretario de si mismo*, y *La obediencia laureada*, bien fechas

[26] Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Ensayo sobre la vida y obras de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Madrid: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1924), pp. 131–33.
[27] Ignacio Arellano, *Historia del teatro español del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995), p. 170.
[28] Sánchez-Arjona, *Noticias*, p. 146.
[29] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, p. 351.
[30] San Román, *Lope de Vega*, doc. 129, p. 75.
[31] Sánchez-Arjona, *Noticias*, p. 95.

con sus adornos y entremeses y bailes.[32]

> [with his company [...] in order to perform in the afternoon of the said day of St John, and in a place to be designated, a play, and in the afternoon of the following day, which is Sunday, a second play, and in the morning of the following Monday a third play. And the plays shall be [Lope's] *The Good Man*, *His Own Secretary* and *Obedience Rewarded*. All three to be properly performed with their stage scenery and their interludes and dances.]

He must also have met many members of the acting profession — *autores*, actors, scribes, prompters, stage managers, other playwrights — in the *mentidero de los comediantes*, which was no more than 300 metres from his house in Francos street. No one knows exactly what it looked like. The more famous *mentidero* on the *gradas* of the disappeared Church of St Philip, which Lope also frequented, did not meet, as its name might suggest, on a flight of steps. Rather, as Mesonero Romanos showed, its members, among whom were some of the greatest writers and wits of the time, gathered on a raised promenade on the side of the church that ran alongside Calle Mayor [Main Street]:



Texeira's 1656 map of Madrid (detail) showing the *Mentidero* of the Church of St Philip

[32] San Román, *Lope de Vega*, doc. 211, p. 126.

following day. The playlet ends with Simón lamenting that 'Jamás / se hace ensayo con concierto' [there is no such thing as a problem-free rehearsal!].[38]

Rehearsals took place behind closed doors not only to prevent *mirones*, such as the two characters in Gil Enríquez's playlet, from ogling actresses, but also to discourage literary piracy. In the Prologue to the thirteenth volume of his collected plays (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1620), Lope complains about two literary pirates, 'que llama el vulgo, al uno *Memorilla* y al otro *Gran memoria*' [whom the populace has named Little Memory and Great Memory], because 'con algunos versos que aprenden mezclan infinitos suyos bárbaros, con que ganan la vida, vendiéndolas á los pueblos y autores extramuros' [they mix an infinite number of their own barbarous lines with just a few of his verses, which they had memorized, and they make a living selling these versions to village mayors and to *autores* outside Madrid]. At least two such piratical versions have so far been identified[39] and one of them, the Melbury House manuscript of Lope's *Peribáñez*, conforms exactly to Lope's description of such versions. But more common than memorizing a play (by watching it repeatedly at rehearsals or during performances) was stealing the original manuscript (as we saw Juan Palacios do in 1611) or, more often, an actor's partial copy. The original manuscript was sold by the poet to the *autor* who kept it under lock and key in the company's chest. One copy of the entire play was usually made for the prompter (and eventually ended in many cases in the hands of a printer) and partial copies were made for actors to help them learn their lines and cues. Occasionally, an actor who moved from one company to another would take with him his partial version, which was then used to reconstruct an illegal version of the play.[40]

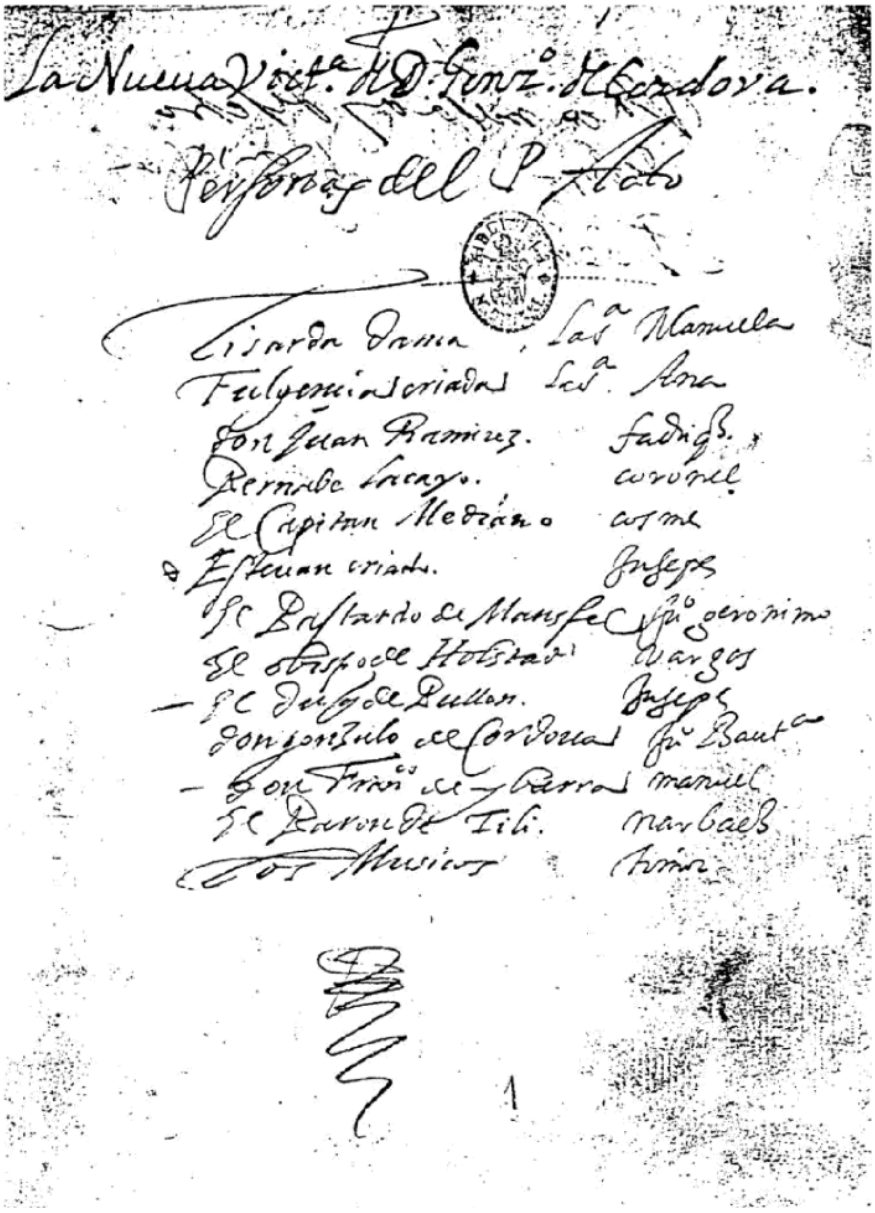
The practice of keeping the poet's original manuscript in the company's chest after producing the prompter's copy helps to explain the survival of so many of Lope's autographs (as compared, say, with his contemporary, William Shakespeare). Marco Presotto has published a full list together with a detailed description of the contents of all thirty-six complete and nine partial extant autographs of Lope's plays. Among them are well known pieces such as *El bastardo Mudarra*, *Las bizarrías de Belisa*, *El Brasil restituido*, *El castigo sin venganza*, *La dama boba*, *El galán de la Membrilla*. They are preserved in Spain's National Library (22) and Royal Academy (3), The British Library (8), Melbury House Library (3), New York Public Library (1), Pennsylvania University Library (2), Boston Library (1) and Laurenziana Library (1). They

[38] Gil Enríquez, Andrés, *El ensayo*, in Hannah E. Bergman, ed., *Ramillete de entremeses y bailes* (Madrid: Castalia, 1970), pp. 337–46.

[39] See José María Ruano de la Haza, 'An Early Rehash of Lope's *Peribáñez*', *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, 35.1 (1983): 5–29; J. L. Canet Vallés, 'Las comedias manuscritas anónimas o de posibles "autores de comedias" como fuente documental para la reconstrucción del hecho teatral en el período áureo', in *Teatros y vida teatral en el Siglo de Oro a través de las fuentes documentales*, ed. Luciano García Lorenzo & J. E. Varey (London: Tamesis, 1991), pp. 273–83.

[40] José María Ruano de la Haza, 'La relación textual entre *El burlador de Sevilla* y *Tan largo me lo fiáis*', in *Tirso de Molina: del Siglo de Oro al siglo XX*, ed. Ignacio Arellano et al. (Madrid: Revista Estudios, 1995), pp. 283–95. Republished in *Hispanic Essays in Honor of Frank P. Casa*, ed. A. Robert Lauer & Henry W. Sullivan (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), pp. 173–86.

were bought by some of the best *autores* of his time, such as Baltasar de Pinedo, Antonio Granados, Alonso de Riquelme, Fernán Sánchez de Vargas, Domingo Balbín, Cristóbal Ortiz, Pedro de Valdés, Antonio de Prado, Juan Bautista Valenciano, Andrés de la Vega, Roque de Figueroa and Manuel Vallejo.[41] Some, such as the one reproduced below, contain cast lists in his own hand, evidence of the part he must have played in assigning the different roles in collaboration with the *autor*.



Autograph cast list for *La nueva victoria de Don Gonzalo de Córdoba*, dated in Madrid on 8 October 1622

[41] Presotto, *Le commedie autografe*, p. 44.

It goes without saying that, while in Madrid, Lope also regularly attended performances of his and other dramatists' plays.[42] In accordance with the Royal Ordinances of 1608,[43] the Madrid playhouses were to be open to the public at 12 noon, but performances began at 2 pm from 1 October to 31 March and at 4 pm during the remainder of the year. If Juan de Zabaleta, writing in the middle of the century, is to be trusted, women were the first spectators to enter the playhouses. Men, says the stern moralist, have an early lunch before heading for the theatre; women, on the other hand, tend to gather there even before lunch.[44] Men and women entered the playhouses through different doors and were kept strictly separated during the performance. This rule did not apply, however, to those spectators who hired an *aposento* or box in one of the houses adjacent to the playhouse. Some of these boxes, especially window boxes, were occasionally used by prostitutes.[45]

The physical configuration of the two Madrid playhouses was very similar.[46] Each consisted of a rectangular courtyard surrounded by four four-storey buildings covered by tiled roofs. Men stood in the patio, which on sunny days was covered by a canvas awning,[47] or sat on benches or tiers of seating (*gradas*) alongside its flanks. In the houses contiguous to the theatre, behind the rows of benches, rose three ranges of boxes (*aposentos*): windows on the first floor, balconies on the second and attic boxes on the top floor. On the side facing the stage was the entrance building, with two boxes (*alojeros*) on the ground floor, a large *cazuela* [stewpan] or women's enclosure on the first floor, boxes for the Madrid City Councillors and other dignitaries such as the President of the Council of Castile on the second, and, on the top floor, a smaller *cazuela*.

Opposite the main *cazuela* was a thrust stage, surrounded on three sides by spectators. The backstage consisted of a tiring house, which served as both the women's dressing room and the discovery space, and two galleries or corridors. All three were usually covered by curtains during the performance. The men's dressing room and the company's wardrobe were in the pit, under the stage platform. At the top of this structure, and hidden from view, was the *desván de los tornos* or stage-machine attic.

Lope composed most of his plays with this basic structure in mind. Often he wrote them to be performed on a bare stage platform. In Act I, scene 2 of *Barlaán y Josafat* [*Barlaam and Josaphat*], a play which, since the autograph manuscript

[42] In a letter to the Duke of Sessa in July 1611, Lope writes: 'Madrid is just as Your Excellency left it: Prado, carriages, women, heat, dust … *comedias* …' (Rennert, *The Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 197).

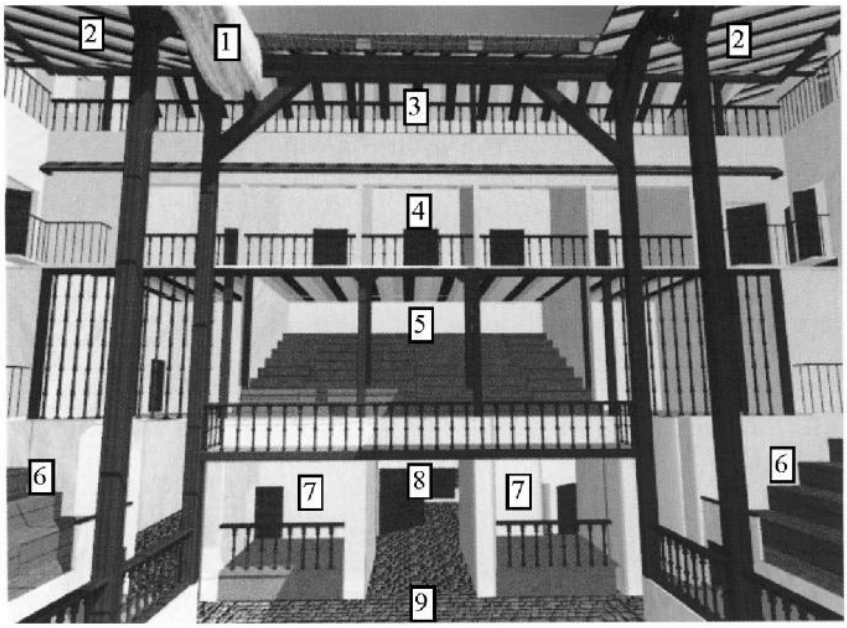
[43] *Fuentes III*, doc. 2, pp. 47–52.

[44] Juan de Zabaleta, *El dia de fiesta por la mañana y por la tarde*, ed. Cristóbal Cuevas García (Madrid: Castalia, 1983), p. 317.

[45] José María Ruano de la Haza, 'Noticias para el gobierno de la Sala de Alcaldes de Casa y Corte', *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, 40.1 (1988): 67–74.

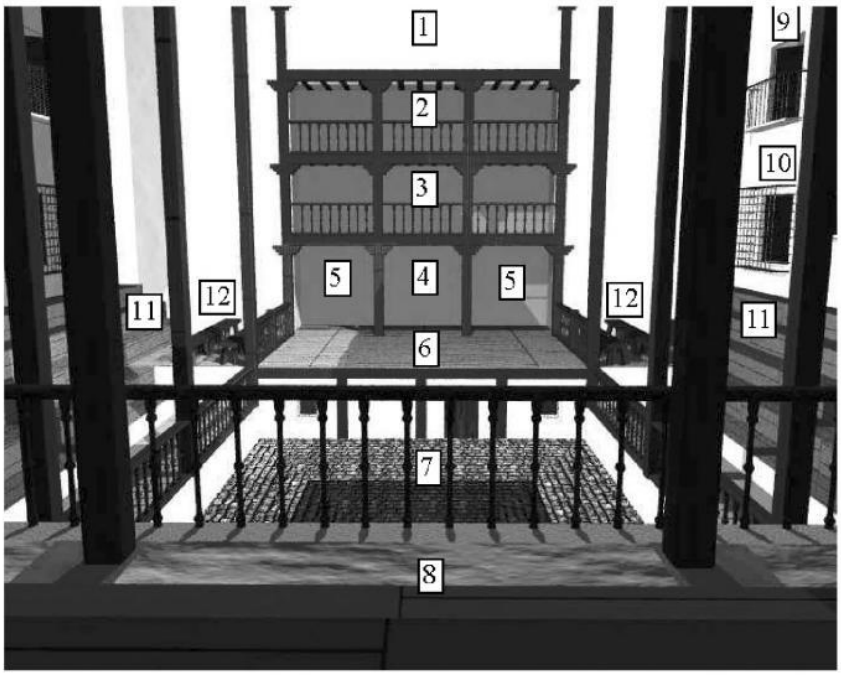
[46] This similarity, however, did not necessarily extend to other playhouses in the rest of Spain. See John J. Allen's survey of other theatres in the Iberian peninsula in chapter VI of Ruano & Allen, *Los teatros comerciales*, pp. 197–231.

[47] The awning must have also improved the acoustics in the theatre.



The *cazuela* of the Príncipe playhouse viewed from the stage

1. Canvas awning; 2. Roof over the *gradas*; 3. Upper *cazuela*; 4. Madrid City Council box; 5. Main *cazuela*; 6. Lateral *gradas*; 7. *Alojero* boxes; 8. Main entrance; 9. Patio



The stage of the Príncipe playhouse viewed from the women's *cazuela*

1. Stage-machines attic; 2. Second gallery (*lo alto*); 3. First gallery; 4. Discovery space; 5. Tiring house; 6. Thrust-stage platform; 7. Patio; 8. Main *cazuela*; 9. Balcony box; 10. Window box; 11. Lateral *gradas*; 12. Stage benches

is dated 1 February 1611,[48] Lope probably wrote in his house in Francos street, Josaphat conjures up the sights, smells, people, shops, buildings and streets of a whole city in the minds of the spectators, who only see in front of them an empty stage platform with a plain curtain as a backdrop. In other plays he utilizes the middle section of the tiring house as an 'inner stage'. Act III of *Las bizarrías de Belisa*, whose autograph manuscript, dated 24 May 1634, is preserved in the British Library, illustrates this stage convention:

FINEA. ¿Escribir quieres agora?
BELISA. Pon, Finea, en esa cuadra
una bujía y papel,
tinta y pluma.
FINEA. Pienso que anda
por esos aires tu seso.
BELISA. ¡Corre esa cortina! ¡Acaba!

Corriendo una cortina, se descubre un aposento bien entapizado, un bufetillo de plata y otro con escritorios, una bujía y el Conde al lado.

BELISA. ¡Jesús! ¿Qué hay aquí?
FINEA. ¡Ay, señora!
¡Un hombre!
CONDE. ¡Quedo! No hagas,
Belisa, extremos. Yo soy.
BELISA. ¿Vueseñoría en mi casa
a tales horas? ¡Ay, Celia!
¡Buen cuidado, gentil guarda!
¿Tú pones en mi aposento
al Conde y junto a mi cama?
¿Dónde se vio tal traición?

[FINEA. Now you wish to write?
BELISA. Please, Finea, bring to that room a lamp, some paper, ink and a pen.
FINEA. I think you are out of your mind.
BELISA. Draw that curtain! Hurry!

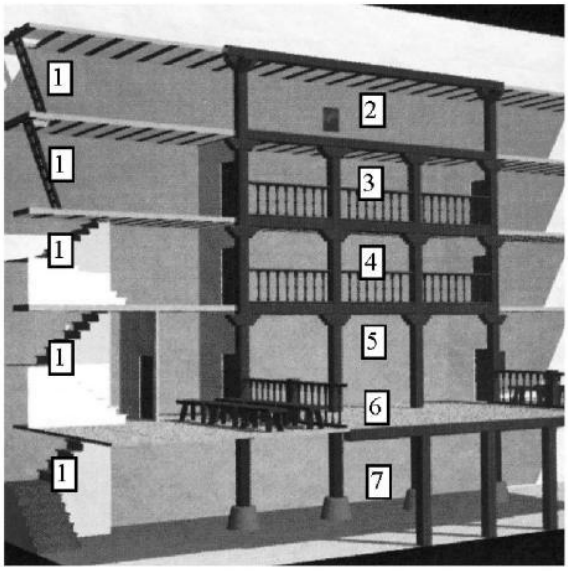
A curtain is drawn to reveal a room hung with tapestries, a small silver writing desk and another with writing implements, a lamp and the Count on one side.

BELISA. Good heavens! What's this?
FINEA. Ah, madam! It's a man!
COUNT. Quiet, Belisa! Please, don't do anything foolish! It's only me.
BELISA. Your Grace in my house and at this time of night? Ah, Celia! Is this the good care you take of me? You are indeed an excellent guardian! You have led the Count to my room, to my bed! Who ever saw such treason!]

[48] S. Griswold Morley & Courtney Bruerton, *Cronología de las comedias de Lope de Vega* (Madrid: Gredos, 1968), p. 89.

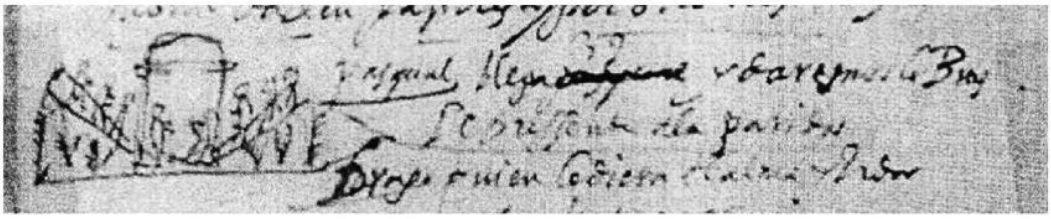
poetas de los carpinteros y los oyentes de los ojos.

[THEATRE. Oh, oh, oh!
VISITOR. What's the matter with you? Why are you like this? Are you sick? You seem to be wearing a head dressing.
THEATRE. It's only one of those cloud machines that the *autores* like to place on my head these days.
VISITOR. But what can be the cause of such howling?
THEATRE. Can't you see the state I am in? I am wounded, my legs and arms broken; I am full of holes and trapdoors, with thousands of nails hammered into me.
VISITOR. Who has put you in such a pitiful state?
THEATRE. The carpenters, on the instructions of the *autores*.
VISITOR. They are not to blame. The poets are. They are the physicians and the *autores* mere barber-surgeons. The former prescribe the cure and the latter bleed you to death.
THEATRE. I find myself in a most sorrowful state and I suspect that this is due to one of three things: either there are no longer good actors, or the poets are all bad, or the audiences lack discernment. For *autores* think of nothing but stage-machines, poets think of nothing but carpenters and spectators think only with their eyes.]



1. Stairs; 2. Stage-machines attic; 3. The 'heavens'; 4. The balcony; 5. Women's dressing room; 6. Stage patform; 7. The pit, men's dressing room and wardrobe

Despite these assertions, Lope's plays, particularly his hagiographies, often required the use of elaborate stage machines. For example, *El cardenal de Belén*, which survives in an autograph manuscript dated 27 August 1610 (scarcely two weeks before he bought the house on Francos street), necessitates a large number of them, as well as several 'discoveries' and two 'mountains', which, unusually, had been sketched in the left-hand margin of the manuscript:



Autograph manuscript of *El cardenal de Belén* with mountains in left-hand margin

At first blush the staging of this play seems to fly in the face of Lope's own criticisms on the inordinate use of stage machinery. However, it is highly likely that *El cardenal de Belén*, which dramatizes the life of St Jerome and was licensed for performance in Madrid on 7 September 1610, Alcalá on 6 January 1612, Granada on 22 December 1613, Jaén on 17 June 1614 and Murcia on 22 December 1614,[51] was not a play destined for performance in a commercial playhouse, but rather in a public square and probably on carts. To begin with, the cast list has about three times as many speaking parts as that of a regular play: 43 characters (37 male and 6 female), even if some parts were doubled, plus an unspecified number of non-speaking parts, must have been impossible to accommodate even in a large playhouse like the Corral del Príncipe, let alone the one in Alcalá.[52] Difficult to fit too would have been the animals that must appear on stage. The lion which shows up in Act III is, of course, an actor in a lion's costume, but the donkey that the lion leads off stage ('Toma el león el cabestro y lleve el pollino') was in all likelihood a real donkey.[53] The number and complexity of some of the stage machines and 'discoveries' also suggest that *El cardenal de Belén* was meant to be staged in an open space and on a large stage platform, probably flanked by carts. For example, towards the end of Act I a stage direction requires that St Jerome be seized by the neck by some unspecified stage-machine and then carried aloft by an Angel, who holds him by his hair, to another part of the stage where a curtain will part to reveal a tribunal with four Angels and a Judge seated on a throne ('Asido por el cuello a una invención se descubra en ella un Ángel, que le lleve del cabello de la otra parte, donde se descubra un tribunal con cuatro Ángeles, y un Presidente, o Juez, con una vara, en una silla, o trono').

[51] Presotto, *Le commedie autografe*, pp. 135–36. The Jaén licence names the *autor* as Domingo de Balbín, an attribution corroborated on the title page of the thirteenth volume of Lope's plays (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1620).

[52] Even though there are serious doubts about their placement of the lateral boxes, the best description of the Corral de Alcalá is still Miguel Ángel Coso Marín, Mercedes Higuera Sánchez-Pardo & Juan Sanz Ballesteros, *El teatro Cervantes de Alcalá de Henares: 1602–1866. Estudio y documentos*, Fuentes para la Historia del Teatro en España, 18 (London: Tamesis, 1989).

[53] No donkey or horse could enter or be kept in the backstage area of the Príncipe or the Cruz, for it had no direct communication with the street. See Ruano, *La puesta en escena*, chapter 11.

Niccolò Antonino Colantonio, ***St Jerome and the Lion*** **(detail), c. 1445**
Museo di Capodimonte, Naples

Although not impossible to set up in a commercial playhouse, flights of this sort were much more easily carried out on a large stage erected for the purpose in a public square. The same holds true for the double 'discovery' that takes place towards the end of Act III: first, an Angel appears, presumably on a cloud machine; and then a curtain is drawn to reveal St Jerome with a very long white beard, dressed as a cardinal, writing seated at a desk, with a lion lying next to him ('Corra el Ángel una cortina, y véase una mesa, y San Jerónimo con una barba blanca muy larga, vestido de Cardenal, escribiendo, el león echado a un lado').

At the end of the scene, the Angel sounds a trumpet and a curtain opens on the top gallery to reveal a half arch, in the middle of which is a Judge; at one of his sides, a Hell's Mouth with some souls visible inside it; and on the other side, St Michael with the scales ('Tóquele un Ángel una trompeta al oído y véase arriba un medio arco en el medio del cual esté un Juez; una boca de infierno a un lado con algunas almas; y en la otra, San Miguel con un peso'). The sketch of two stage 'mountains' that we saw above is also evidence pointing to a performance in a large public square. Whoever was responsible for this sketch saw the need to

draw it precisely because this was not the usual position for the 'mountains' on a commercial stage.[54]

Finally, the expense of building such stage machines and 'discoveries' would have made the play prohibitively expensive for a regular lessee or *autor*. Only the King, the Church or perhaps a grandee would have been able to finance a grand spectacle such as the one required for the staging of *El cardenal de Belén*. The unusual fact that some of the licences were issued by Church officials[55] hints at the involvement of the Church. In short, this hagiographical play — many of whose characters are allegorical (The World, Rome, The Devil, St Mercury [*sic*], Spain, etc.) and others historical (St Augustin, St Damasius, Emperor Julian) — is, like the Yepes version of Calderón's *El mágico prodigioso* [*The Wonder-Working Magician*] which was performed on carts,[56] closer to an *auto sacramental* than to a *comedia de corral* and may not, therefore, be used as evidence of Lope's fondness for elaborate stage machines in commercial theatres.[57]

More typical of the sort of spectacular play that was regularly performed in commercial playhouses was Lope's *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo*, first published in 1617 in Madrid by the Viuda de Alonso Martín. Unlike *El cardenal de Belén*, which according to David Castillejo is among the top 5 plays (out of 400) in the number of characters,[58] *Las paces de los reyes* has as many speaking parts as, for example, *Peribáñez*. Part of Act I takes place on or near to Toledo's city walls and requires the use of the first gallery and the 'discovery' of an image of St James on horseback on an altar. Act II has a 'fishing scene', which was done by means of a trap door (misspelled as *costillon* for *escotillón* in the *princeps*) festooned with blades of grass on the stage platform: Raquel and Alfonso sit next to it, fishing rods in hand, and the king 'catches' a child's skull and an olive branch. In Act III an Angel appears on a stage machine ('Suena música y aparece en una tramoya un Ángel'), speaks eighteen lines and then exits; a second 'discovery', this time of the Virgin Mary, probably used the same altar-set where St James on horseback appeared in Act I. What differentiates 'spectacular plays' destined for performance in commercial theatres from those performed in open spaces is precisely their simplicity as well as the relatively small number of characters, stage machines, special effects and 'discoveries' involved in their staging.

Lope's move to Francos street in 1610 marks the beginning of his most important and productive period as a dramatist. At least until the arrival of

[54] See Ruano, *La puesta en escena*, pp. 192–99. It is always risky to use a single piece of evidence such as this drawing to generalize about the staging of plays in commercial theatres in the seventeenth century, which is unfortunately what Patricia Kenworthy does in her article 'Lope de Vega's Drawing of the *Monte* Stage Set', *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, 54.2 (2002): 271–85.

[55] See Presotto, *Le commedie autografe*, pp. 135–36.

[56] Melveena McKendrick, *Theatre in Spain: 1490–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 159.

[57] For a fuller treatment of spectacular plays in the commercial playhouses, see my *La puesta en escena*.

[58] David Castillejo, *Las cuatrocientas comedias de Lope: catálogo crítico* (Madrid: Teatro Clásico Español, 1984).

Calderón in the late 1620s, he reigned supreme and unchallenged over the Spanish stage for nearly two decades. In his house on Francos street, a short walk from the *mentidero*, the Church of St Sebastian, the two playhouses and the taverns and inns frequented by actors, at the very centre of theatrical activity in Spain, Lope composed some of his greatest masterpieces, plays that are still performed in theatres and studied in classrooms to this day: *Fuenteovejuna* (c. 1612–14), *La dama boba* (1613), *El perro del hortelano* (c. 1613–15), *El mejor alcalde, el rey* (c. 1620–23), *El caballero de Olmedo* (c. 1620–25), and *El castigo sin venganza* (1631).[59] There, in the midst of adulation and rivalry, surrounded by theatre professionals, working, drinking and eating with them, watching them rehearse and perform, aware of their successes and their financial woes, he found himself truly in his element.

[59] These are the approximate dates suggested by Morley and Bruerton.


image
not
available

Cervantes acknowledged in wonder in 1615, 'pasan de diez mil pliegos los que tiene escritos, y todas [sus comedias], que es una de las mayores cosas que puede decirse, las ha visto representar u oído decir por lo menos que se han representado' [he has written more than ten thousand sheets, and he has seen all his plays performed — which is the most incredible thing that can be said — or at least heard that they have been performed].[4]

Theatre enthusiasts could, however, secure manuscript copies of plays for their own private enjoyment. One of these play-readers, none other than the Count of Gondomar, collected dozens of plays at the end of the century, which he had bound and kept in his private library.[5] By the turn of the century the huge success of the plays at public theatres caused people to show interest not only in attending performances at the playhouses, but also in being able to read plays by the most popular playwrights in the privacy of their homes. Furthermore, by the beginning of the seventeenth century companies owned a number of old plays which had lost their commercial value since they had already been performed in the main cities, and the revival of such plays did not attract the paying public to the theatres (plays seem to have had an active lifespan on stage of five to ten years). Therefore, selling copies of them for print now caused no harm to the actors' economic and professional interests. In 1603 Pedro Crasbeeck, a Lisbon-based printer, tried to exploit this market by publishing a volume of plays entitled *Seis comedias de Lope de Vega y de otros autores* [*Six Plays by Lope de Vega and Other Authors*], a misleading title as only one of the plays included in the collection, *Carlos el perseguido*, was an authentic play by Lope (the other five were published anonymously). Lope's reaction to this edition was quick and vigorous. A few months after its release he devoted the entire prologue of his Byzantine novel *El peregrino en su patria* to this matter. In his prologue Lope attacked Crasbeeck's edition for publishing one of his plays without authorization and for using his name in order to sell more by attributing to him plays that were not his. The Spanish playwright also offered a list of the 262 plays he had written up to then as a way to claim authorial possession of his work and prevent others from attributing to him plays he had never written, and warned readers that such plays could be textually corrupt: 'algunas [comedias] he visto que de ninguna manera las conozco' [I have seen some (plays) that I do not recognize at all].[6] Such harsh criticism implies that in 1603 Lope did not conceive of his plays as being for publication, but rather for performance and — at most — to circulate as manuscripts afterwards.[7]

[4] Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Entremeses*, ed. Nicholas Spadaccini (Madrid: Cátedra, 1998), p. 93.

[5] Stefano Arata, 'Teatro y coleccionismo teatral a finales del siglo XVI (el conde de Gondomar y Lope de Vega)', *Anuario Lope de Vega*, 2 (1996): 7–23.

[6] Lope de Vega, *El peregrino en su patria*, ed. Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce (Madrid: Castalia, 1973), p. 63.

[7] Luigi Giuliani, 'El prólogo, el catálogo y sus lectores: una perspectiva de las listas de *El peregrino en su patria*', in *Lope en 1604*, ed. Xavier Tubau (Lleida: Milenio & Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2004), pp. 123–36.

In spite of Lope's furious attack, the publication of plays by Spain's most famous playwright was an attractive prospect for publishers and bookselling entrepreneurs eager to exploit the emerging market. At the same time that Lope was writing this prologue condemning the unauthorized publication of his plays, Crasbeek's edition was being reprinted in Madrid, while another printer, Angelo Tavanno, was printing another volume of Lope plays collected by Bernardo Grassa. This edition, published in Zaragoza in early 1604, included twelve original plays by Lope and bore the title *Las comedias del famoso poeta Lope de Vega Carpio* [*The Plays of the Famous Poet Lope de Vega Carpio*]. This book ultimately set what would become the standard for the majority of printed play collections of the seventeenth century regarding the number of plays it included (twelve, plus some minor works such as *loas* and *entremeses*). Tavanno's edition did not refer to Crasbeeck's previous book and presented itself as a novelty (since it was the first book containing plays which were actually all by Lope), and similar play-books were promised in the prologue if this editorial adventure was profitable. The success of this volume was enormous: seven editions were printed in six different Spanish and European cities in just five years.[8] In 1609 a second volume of twelve plays by Lope saw the light of day, also followed by a great number of editions during the subsequent years. Prepared by bookseller Alonso Pérez and entitled *Segunda parte de comedias compuestas por Lope de Vega* [*Second Part of Plays Written by Lope de Vega*], it consolidated the series initiated by Grassa and Tavanno and also sold thousands of copies. The third *parte* in the series, though presented as being printed in Barcelona in 1612, was really printed in Seville, and returned to the practice of including only a couple of authentic plays by Lope among works by other authors, a fact that did not prevent it from being successful.[9] It was obvious that readers were eager to buy plays which they could read peacefully in their homes, especially if they were plays written by the most famous playwright of the time.

Despite the success of these editions during the first two decades of the seventeenth century, Lope proved to be unenthusiastic about the idea of publishing his plays and was more concerned about others taking advantage of his work and fame and harming his reputation as a playwright by publishing faulty texts or by attributing mediocre plays to him. When Lope finally decided to involve himself in the publication of some of his own plays he did not do so openly and still displayed a negative attitude towards this editorial practice. *Parte IV*, published in 1614, was paid for by the bookseller Miguel de Siles, although it was the *autor de comedias* (company director) Gaspar de Porres who obtained the legal approval, the privilege and the *tasa* (the official set price), and most, if not all, of the plays included in this volume came from his repertoire. The most interesting aspect of this *parte* lies in the fact that Lope had a hand in its publication: the dedication to the Duke of Sessa included in the volume is under

[8] See Lope de Vega, *Comedias de Lope de Vega. Parte I*, coord. Alberto Blecua and Guillermo Serés (Lleida: Milenio & Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1997–), pp. 20–24.

[9] Jaime Moll, 'La *Tercera parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega y otros auctores*, falsificación sevillana', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 77 (1974): 619–26

Porres' name, but we know that it was Lope who wrote it because a rough draft was found among his letters.[10] In this dedication Lope again expresses his annoyance at seeing his plays being printed and claims that he did not write them for that reason, but with a 'diferente intento' [different purpose], that is, exclusively so that they would be performed on stage:

> Para satisfacer al autor de este libro del poco gusto que tiene de que se impriman las cosas que él escribió con tan diferente intento, no hallé medio más eficaz que dirigirle a V. Ex., a quien tanto ama, debe y desea servir.[11]
>
> [I could not find a more effective way to satisfy the author of this book for the little pleasure he finds in seeing in print what he wrote for such a different purpose, than to dedicate it to Your Excellency, whom he loves, to whom he is in debt and whom he desires to serve so much.]

These complaints had no effect whatsoever and *Partes V* and *VI*, both of which were published in 1615, were prepared by other editors eager to make money from Lope's name and work.[12] However, in 1616 Lope actively tried to put an end to the practice of others publishing his plays without his consent. That year the merchant Francisco de Ávila, who had compiled *Parte VI*, bought over twenty plays by Lope from different actors with the intention of preparing two new *partes* (which eventually became *Partes VII* and *VIII*). When Lope found out, he sued Ávila in order to try to bring to a halt the publication of those plays. In his legal action Lope claimed that the publication of his plays undermined his rights and his intention as a creator, because they were not works that had been written to be published, but to be performed:

> Dixo que él no vendió las dichas comedias a los autores para que se imprimiesen, sino tan solamente para que se representasen en los teatros: porque no es justo que se impriman algunas cosas de las contenidas en las dichas comedias.[13]
>
> [He said that he did not sell the aforementioned plays to the directors so that they could be published, but only so that they would be performed in theatres, because it is not right that some of things included in those plays should be published.]

[10] Victor Dixon, 'La intervención de Lope en la publicación de sus comedias', *Anuario Lope de Vega*, 2 (1996): 45–63.

[11] All quotations from the different *partes de comedias* are taken from *TESO: Teatro Español del Siglo de Oro*, CD-ROM database (Madrid: Chadwyck-Healey España, 1998).

[12] Jaime Moll, 'Los editores de Lope de Vega', *Edad de Oro*, 14 (1995): 213–22. The volume known as the *Parte V* of Lope was entitled *Flor de las comedias de diferentes autores. Quinta parte* [*Flower of Plays by Different Authors. Fifth Part*] and, although it presents itself as the follow-up to *Parte IV*, only one of the twelve plays it includes is actually by Lope. The fact that the publisher related this volume to the existing *Partes de comedias* by referring to it as the *Quinta parte* [Fifth Part] shows how Lope's name and fame was used by editors in order to attract potential readers.

[13] Ángel González Palencia, 'Pleito entre Lope de Vega y un editor de sus comedias', *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo*, 3 (1921): 17–26 (pp. 25–26).

Notwithstanding Lope's plea, after the usual proceedings, the court determined that Francisco de Ávila had legitimately bought the plays and was therefore legally entitled to do with them as he pleased, and that Lope had surrendered his rights over his texts when he had sold them to the acting companies.

This event marks a turning point in Lope's relationship with the *Partes de comedias*. After losing the lawsuit he decided to take over the publication of his own dramatic work. By then there were other similar collections of plays. The printer Aurelio Mey, for example, had published two collective volumes of plays by several Valencian playwrights in 1608 and 1616, and Miguel de Cervantes had decided to publish his *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados* [*Eight New Plays and Entremeses, Never Before Performed*] in 1615. Playwrights were resorting to print as a means of disseminating their plays and appealing to a public that increasingly wanted to read theatre, and Lope could not ignore this. In 1617 he collected copies of twelve of his plays from his actor friends and prepared *Parte IX*, the first in the series openly endorsed by him. In the prologue to the reader Lope repeated the idea that his plays were not conceived to be printed but to be performed, and justified his decision to publish them by claiming that in this way he could at least prevent others from publishing bad copies of his plays and ruining his reputation as a poet:

> me he resuelto a imprimirlas por mis originales, que aunque es verdad que no las escribí con este ánimo ni para que de los oídos del teatro se trasladaran a la censura de los aposentos, ya lo tengo por mejor que ver la crueldad con que despedazan mi opinión algunos intereses.
>
> [I have decided to print (these plays) following my original manuscripts, for even though it is true that I did not write them with this intention nor for them to be transferred from the ears of the theatre to the censorship of private chambers, I consider it better than to see the cruelty with which my reputation is torn to pieces by the self-interest of certain persons.]

Lope presented his decision to publish his plays as a lesser evil, a consequence of harmful practices begun by others; he stated that he was publishing his plays because external circumstances had forced him to protect his own creations and not because it was his initial will to do so. Confronted with the decision to prepare the editions himself or letting others do so, he decided that 'el menor daño es imprimirlas' [the lesser harm is publishing them], as Lope later stated in the prologue to *Parte XVII*, published in 1621. Lope justified his rejection of the printing of his plays on the grounds that the plays that were being printed presented textual corruptions, that some of the plays published under his name were not his and that the circumstances which surround the process of writing for the commercial theatre made plays unsuitable for private reading, because the playwright could not invest a lot of time in the elaboration of each text: they were not the result of many days of study — like epic poems — and were therefore unworthy of distribution through the printed word and of being scrutinized by readers. In other words, Lope argued that printed books were not the appropriate

means for plays to circulate because the text alone was unable to reproduce theatricality — that is, the elements that are inherent to the staging of a play (mainly, the actors' performance) — and, therefore, did not reflect accurately the full intentions of the playwright. Under these circumstances, the text and its author are helpless with regard to criticism, because what is offered to the reader does not represent the totality of the play as conceived by the playwright.[14] These complaints, which Lope expressed in other texts, such as the *Epístola a Gaspar de Barrionuevo* [*Epistle to Gaspar de Barrionuevo*] included in the 1604 edition of the *Rimas*, reveal how a modern concept of authorship and its implications concerning textual property was taking shape in Lope's mind: he not only claimed legal rights over his own work, but also yearned to exert effective control over how his plays reached readers in terms of their textual integrity and the extent to which they accorded with his initial intentions as a literary creator.

However, soon after Lope decided to take over the task of printing his plays he started to appreciate the possibilities offered by the printed word. The best proof of this is that between 1617 and 1625 Lope published a total of twelve *partes* (*Partes IX–XX*), and was forced to halt only because of the prohibition on printed plays and novels in the kingdom of Castile from the latter date,[15] much to Lope's dismay, expressed in a letter to the poet Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza in 1628: 'Las *Comedias* de Alarcón han salido impresas: sólo para mí no hay licencia' [Alarcón's *Plays* have been printed; only I do not receive permission to publish].[16] Besides the fact that once Lope embraced the publication of his plays he did so enthusiastically, a discourse in favour of the printed page as a legitimate means for plays to reach their audience can also be traced in several of the prologues which accompany the *partes* he prepared. In the prologue 'El Teatro a los lectores' [The Theatre to the Readers], included in *Parte XI* (published in 1618), Lope promised to keep publishing his plays so that everybody could read 'en su casa o recogimiento con su familia lo que no todos pueden ver' [in their home or together with their family what not everyone can see]. Soon, however, Lope not only thought that printed plays had the ability to offer readers the same aesthetic pleasure that spectators enjoyed in the playhouses, but even considered the printed dramatic text superior to the performance itself. As Lope stated in the prologue to

[14] Roger Chartier, *Entre poder y placer: cultura escrita y literatura en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2000); idem, 'La pluma, el taller y la voz: entre crítica textual e historia cultural', in *Imprenta y crítica textual en el Siglo de Oro*, ed. Pablo Andrés & Sonia Garza (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid & Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, 2000), pp. 243–57.

[15] Jaime Moll, 'Diez años sin licencias para imprimir comedias y novelas en los reinos de Castilla: 1625–1634', *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 54 (1974): 97–103.

[16] *Epistolario de Lope de Vega Carpio*, ed. Agustín G. de Amezúa, 4 vols (Madrid: Aldus, 1935–43), IV, p. 131. During the time this prohibition was in effect re-editions of existing *partes* and new editions of plays attributed to Lope were made without the playwright's consent in the kingdom of Aragon and — as pirate editions — in Andalucía. A fraudulent *Parte XXIV*, for example, was published in Zaragoza in 1633 (the one considered authentic was published in Madrid in 1641). Lope himself had to resort to a printing press in Barcelona when he published his tragedy *El castigo sin venganza* in 1634 as a *suelta* (plays that were printed separately) in order to avoid the ban effective in the kingdom of Castile.

novels in Castile was lifted in 1634, Lope hastily continued publishing the series of his *partes de comedias*, although the two volumes he prepared (*Partes XXI* and *XXII*) only reached the booksellers after the playwright's death. Three more *partes* of plays by Lope (*Partes XXIII–XXV*) were published between 1638 and 1647, after which the series continued during the following decades as a miscellaneous collection of plays by various playwrights (including Lope) and consequently re-titled *Partes de diferentes autores* [*Parts by Different Authors*].[23]

In summary, Lope de Vega's *partes de comedias* dominated the market for printed plays during the first quarter of the seventeenth century and led the way for similar publishing enterprises by other playwrights, from Tirso de Molina to Juan Pérez de Montalbán, Ruiz de Alarcón and Calderón de la Barca. While Lope initially rejected the idea that his dramatic work should circulate among readers in printed form, he eventually embraced the editorial project of the *partes de comedias* and actively participated in the publication of his own plays. At the same time, Lope used his *partes de comedias* as cultural artefacts to promote himself in the competitive worlds of royal patronage and literary dominance. After his death new playwrights filled his place on the stage, but the existing twenty-five volumes of plays contributed decisively to his fame and to the preservation of a large portion of his dramatic work. From our own perspective as twenty-first-century spectators and readers of plays, when Lope had his plays face 'la censura de los aposentos' [the censorship of private chambers] and enter the realm of reading he was leading them along new paths towards modernity.

CHRONOLOGY OF FIRST EDITIONS OF LOPE DE VEGA'S *PARTES DE COMEDIAS*

I	1604	*VIII*	1617	*XV*	1621	*XXII*	1635
II	1609	*IX*	1617	*XVI*	1621	*XXIII*	1638
III	1612	*X*	1618	*XVII*	1621	*XXIV*	1641
IV	1614	*XI*	1618	*XVIII*	1623	*XXV*	1647
V	1615	*XII*	1619	*XIX*	1624		
VI	1615	*XIII*	1620	*XX*	1625		
VII	1617	*XIV*	1620	*XXI*	1635		

[23] Jaime Moll, 'De la continuación de las partes de comedias de Lope de Vega a las partes colectivas', in *Homenaje a Alonso Zamora Vicente*, ed. Pedro Peira et al., 5 vols in 6 (Madrid: Castalia, 1988–96), III.2: *Literatura española de los siglos XVI–XVII* (1992), pp. 199–211.

Part 2: Poetry

4

Imagining Lope's Lyric Poetry in the 'Soneto primero' of the *Rimas*

TYLER FISHER

A noteworthy feature of much Golden Age Spanish literature is its expressions of authorial self-consciousness. Writers of the period display a sharpened awareness of composition techniques and textual dissemination, of circulation patterns and readership — an awareness often incorporated into their texts through plots, tropes and other devices. Among such devices, metaphorical representations of texts and textual production offer particularly sophisticated expressions of how authors understood their craft, their product and their audience.

In the prologue to his *Novelas ejemplares* [*Exemplary Novels*], for example, Cervantes famously likens the collection to a 'mesa de trucos', a type of Italian billiard table then in vogue for public recreation.[1] The playful figure, as Cervantes develops it, embodies a recognition of the simultaneously subjective and communal nature of reading at a time when popular reading habits still included reading aloud to an audience of friends, family members or fellow-labourers.

A self-reflective figure could also illustrate its author's method. A generation after Cervantes, the courtier Juan de Andosilla finds the image of *centones* or patchwork garments to be useful for representing the design and nature of his piecemeal reworkings of Garcilaso de la Vega's poetry.[2] By this sort of figurative application, the term *centón* came to designate a specific sub-genre: a pastiche or literary amalgam composed entirely of fragments from earlier works in such a way that the fragments take on meanings different from those of the original sources.

And even when using a metaphorical commonplace, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz imaginatively elaborates a text-as-progeny topos to suit her unique purposes. Her dedicatory sonnet to the Countess of Paredes in her *Inundación Castálida* [*Inundation of the Muses*] (1689) depicts her poems as children born to an

[1] Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Novelas ejemplares*, ed. Jorge García López (Barcelona: Crítica, 2001), p. 18.

[2] Juan de Andosilla Larramendi, *Christo Nuestro Señor en la Cruz, hallado en los versos del príncipe de nuestros poetas, Garcilasso de la Vega, sacados de diferentes partes, y unidos con ley de centones* (Madrid: Viuda de Luis Sánchez, 1628); repr. in facsimile as *Centones de Garcilaso y otras poesías sueltas*, ed. Pedro Manuel Cátedra & Víctor Infantes (Barcelona: Litosefa, 1981), fol. ¶3v.

'esclava madre' [enslaved mother] who, by law, must surrender possession of her offspring to her mistress.[3] Sor Juana's metaphor at once conveys the poet's singular relationship to her patroness, suggests the intensely and intimately personal nature of the poems, and hints, we might imagine, at a sense of reluctant obligation in relinquishing them to her readership.

Billiard tables, patchwork clothes, indentured children: all three figures illuminate contemporary concepts of the creative impulse, the writing process and the authors' self-conceived role in relation to their texts and readers. Such figures are by no means unique to Early Modern Spain — in addition to examples from Classical literature, one could cite the fourteenth-century *Libro de Buen Amor* [*Book of Good Love*] for its description of itself as a musical instrument or 'pella' [ball] passed from hand to hand (coplas 70 and 1629)[4] — yet several factors combined to make Spanish literature of the period especially rich in metaphors for text and textual production. Contemporary debates and treatises on rhetoric and literary theory revived questions about the nature of texts, authorship and transmission. On a more practical level, the growth of the printed book trade, an increase in pirated editions, the establishment of a fixed, professional theatre and the emergence of *poeta* or author as a viable, professional vocation served to hone a cultural focus on issues of literary communication. Golden Age literature underwent nothing less than a self-conscious reevaluation of its own means and ends.

Among the Golden Age poets who participated in this reevaluation and left an artistic record of it by employing the sort of metaphors this essay has surveyed thus far, Lope de Vega exceeded them all in his sustained and explicit fascination with the creative process, the textual product, its reception and the various ways in which these could be represented. His lyrical works in particular offer a wealth of such representations. These enable us to examine Lope's perspectives on poetry from fresh angles as we consider the functions and implications of his metaphors in context. Characteristically for his era, Lope's representations of the literary endeavour exemplify both continuity with and divergence from Classical sources. Like Sor Juana, he modifies Classical and contemporary commonplaces to suit the poem or series of poems in which they appear and to articulate his arguments. The resulting figures are at once preceptive, expressing Lope's ideals for poetic composition and the properties of the resulting text, and self-consciously descriptive, reflecting his involved familiarity with all aspects of textual production and dissemination.

The most thoroughly developed metaphor for texts and textual production within Lope's lyrical *oeuvre* is the filial or text-as-progeny topos. This figure takes on particular prominence as the dominant image in the first sonnet of his *Rimas humanas* of 1602–9, and it reappears throughout ensuing works. The

[3] Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Sonetos*, ed. Luis Íñigo-Madrigal (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2001), p. 27.

[4] Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de Buen Amor*, ed. Joan Corominas (Madrid: Gredos, 1973).

further underscores the detachment and effacement of the authorial progenitor in the sonnet. Any focus on the first-person speaker, already in the background of the sonnet, increasingly gives way to the actions and characteristics of the *versos* themselves. After the word 'expósitos', significantly, there is no further use of first-person pronouns as in the initial quatrain.

Abandoned to the vicissitudes of public circulation, the *versos* are 'perdidos' [lost]. The adjective points to the speaker's loss of ownership and control over the text. (Lope employs the same participle on a later occasion in reference to a personal letter which, with a conventional show of reluctance, he relinquishes to his patron for publication.[10]) Beyond the author's control, the *versos* become the property of a wider readership, with the result that the lost *versos* are 'rotos' and 'trocados', broken and altered. Even in a literary culture subject to the standardizing forces of the printing press, the circulation of both manuscript and printed works in Golden Age Spain involved accidental and deliberate textual modifications. Indeed, Lope's prologue to the 1609 edition of the *Rimas* openly invites the reader — though arguably with a shade of facetious raillery — to emend its contents: 'Lee si entiendes, y enmienda si sabes. Mas ¿quién piensa que no sabes?' [Read if you understand, and emend if you know how. But who would suppose that you do not know how?] (p. 108). For Lope, the fact that his poems would be altered during publication and circulation is an inevitable part of the process and, he posits, one which authors should bear in mind. In a letter to Don Juan de Arguijo, which serves as a prose introduction to the 1602 *princeps* edition of the *Rimas*, Lope condemns writers or literary critics who are ignorant of the alterations which can be introduced between the writer's draft and the printer's typesetting, between voices subsequently transmitting his text orally, or between the author's original and other, unauthorized versions: 'No saben la diferencia que va del borrador al molde, de la voz del dueño a la del inorante, de leer entre amigos o comprar el libro' [They do not know the changes which come between the author's draft and the form ready for printing, between the voice of the master and that of the uninstructed, between reading among friends or buying the book for oneself], he charges (p. 584).

Lope's *versos*, in print or manuscript or oral form, are passed from hand to hand, mouth to mouth; they circulate 'rotos' and 'trocados', according to the sonnet's description. The *dedicatoria* (dedication) to the 1609 edition of the *Rimas* reveals that its format was designed to facilitate handy transport; it was printed in response to readers' demands for a version of the *Rimas* 'solas y manuales' [alone — i.e. not printed alongside his epic *La hermosura de Angélica*— and easily held in one's hands] (p. 104).[11] The fourth participle in the

2002), p. 124. In *Burguillos*, the figure serves as a playful mask of authorial identity, much like Cervantes's claims to be 'padrastro' [step-father] of *Don Quijote*.

[10] Lope de Vega, 'La respuesta' [The Answer], in his *Obras poéticas*, I, ed. José Manuel Blecua (Barcelona: Planeta, 1969), pp. 889–91 (p. 889).

[11] The prologue to Baltasar Gracián's *El comulgatorio* [*The Communion Rail*] includes a vivid description of how a 'manual' text might be used and transported in the seventeenth century. Gracián states that he intends the book to be 'tan manual, que le pueda llevar cualquiera o en el seno o en la manga' [so handy, that anyone can carry it, either in his bosom or in his sleeve],

descriptive series of lines 5–6 ('trocados') not only indicates textual alteration, but also the exchange of texts — the literal, physical cycles of poetic commerce. Covarrubias again provides a helpful record of what the word would have meant for his contemporaries. He defines the verb *trocar* thus: 'Es lo mesmo que bolver, y el que trueca buelve y rebuelve las cosas como en rueda' [It is the same as to turn, and he who *trueca* turns things round and round as on a wheel] (p. 979). The four participles, then, span the process of textual circulation, from the initial dispersal of the 'expósitos', through their ruinous transit and ultimately to their circuitous return. The series comes full circle, mirrors the wider cycle of the quatrain and prepares the reader for lines 7–8, which describe the recognition of the *versos* when they return to the 'alma' [soul] of the poet, where they were first 'engendrados' [fathered].

The metaphor of the poem-as-progeny is a commonplace of Golden Age letters, an almost obligatory feature in literary prologues of the age. It is, not surprisingly, rooted in the Classical tradition, where it receives an early and extensive treatment in Plato's *Symposium*.[12] I propose that the *Symposium* provides Lope's source, whether directly or indirectly, for the central imagery of the 'Soneto primero'.[13] The first two lines of Lope's sonnet correspond with the language used in the dialogue between Socrates and his teacher Diotima. In both, analogies conflate love and the act of poetic creation. Diotima defines love as a universal desire for beauty, physical or ideal — a desire which strives for procreation, carnal or conceptual. 'Souls', Diotima argues, 'which are pregnant — for there certainly are men who are more creative in their souls than in their bodies, creative of that which is proper for the soul to conceive and bring forth: [...] among such souls are all creative poets and all artists who are deserving of the name inventor'.[14] Moreover, the *Symposium* describes the 'heat which is called love' as 'agony' (pp. 26–27), terms which parallel Lope's 'sentidos abrasados' [burning senses] and 'dolor' [pain] associated with love and the parturition of *versos*.

If Lope's acquaintance with the *Symposium*'s explanation of heated, amorous poetic creation were mediated through a contemporary author, Juan Huarte de San

Baltasar Gracián y Morales, *El comulgatorio*, in *Obras completas*, ed. Arturo del Hoyo, 2nd edn (Madrid: Aguilar, 1960), pp. 1015–1105 (p. 1016). Both *El comulgatorio* and the 1609 *Rimas* were printed in a handy sexto-decimo format.

[12] The figure appears also, though less prominently, in Plato's *Phaedrus*. Lope himself acknowledges Classical sources for the metaphor in his introduction to the 1620 *Justa poética* marking the beatification of San Isidro, in *Obras escogidas de Lope Félix de Vega Carpio*, ed. Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, 3 vols (Madrid: Aguilar, 1946–55), II (1946), pp. 1569–83 (p. 1575).

[13] Lope's active familiarity with Plato's dialogues is well attested. Not only does he evince a mastery of Platonic ideas by incorporating them into a variety of texts, he demonstrates his direct knowledge of Plato's 'fábulas y imágenes matemáticas' [fables and mathematical images] in a letter to Don Francisco López de Aguilar, in which he quotes from a Latin translation of the *Symposium* ('Epístola nona: a Don Francisco López de Aguilar', in *Obras poéticas*, I, ed. José Manuel Blecua (Barcelona: Planeta, 1969), pp. 1311–18, p. 1312).

[14] Plato, Excerpts from the *Symposium*, *Phaedrus* and *Ion*, in *Classical and Medieval Literary Criticism: Translations and Interpretations*, ed. Alex Preminger et al. (New York: Ungar, 1974), pp. 25–48 (p. 28).

Juan's *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* [*Study of Temperamental Aptitudes for Various Professions*] presents a likely source. Huarte de San Juan argues that poetry 'pide tres grados de calor; y esta calidad, tan intensa, [...] echa a perder totalmente al entendimiento' [requires three degrees of heat; and this heat, so intense, [...] spoils intellectual reasoning].[15] On this basis, Huarte de San Juan equates the sultry humoral makeup of poets and lovers. Luis Alfonso de Carvallo's *Cisne de Apolo* [*Apollo's Swan*], published in the same year as the first edition of Lope's *Rimas* (1602), echoes the *Examen*'s pseudo-scientific description of the fiery, sanguine poet-lover:

> en el verano se compone mejor que en invierno, por ser tiempo caliente y seco; y los mancebos enamorados por esta razón dan en poetas, que con la intensa afición del amoroso fuego vienen al grado de calor que para serlo es necesario. Y con la cólera viene también a escalentarse el celebro, de tal suerte que sólo con esto, sin otra ayuda de la naturaleza, se pueden hacer versos.[16]
>
> [in summer, one composes better than in winter, because the weather is hot and dry; and lovesick youths for this reason turn poets, for with the intense affection of amorous fire they attain the degree of heat necessary to be such. And the brain also warms with the choler, so that by this alone, without any other assistance from nature, one can compose verse.]

The picture of the ardent poet producing verse from his 'sentidos abrasados' [burning senses] was in vogue, as these examples attest. As a basis for Lope's image, Huarte de San Juan's and Carvallo's physiological explanations of 'qué complexión ha de tener el hombre para que tenga la imaginativa' [what bodily temperament man requires in order to have the imaginative faculty] (Carvallo, p. 98) lack only the *Symposium*'s explicit image of childbirth.

The sonnet's correspondence with the language of Plato's *Symposium* and with the figurative logic of sixteenth-century humoral theories lends a neat, causal, progressive consonance to the series of phrases in the quatrains. Such order provides little support for Carreño's reading of the two phrases of the first line as somehow representing two dissimilar or contrasting entities, 'dos nociones en juego, aparentemente contrapuestas: la expresión vivencial (los "versos de amor") y el discurso lírico que la configura: los "conceptos esparcidos"' [two notions in play, apparently counterposed: the expression of experience (the 'verses of love') and the lyrical discourse which configures it: the 'scattered conceits'].[17] Rather, the phrase 'conceptos esparcidos', like the subsequent phrase 'partos de mis sentidos abrasados', is appositional to the sonnet's initial substantive, an explanatory equivalent more in keeping with Lope's characteristic style of enumerating synonyms, adjectival constructions or epithets at the beginning of a

[15] Juan Huarte de San Juan, *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias*, ed. Guillermo Serés (Madrid: Cátedra, 2005), p. 407.

[16] Luis Alfonso de Carvallo, *Cisne de Apolo*, ed. Alberto Porqueras Mayo (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1997), p. 98.

[17] *Rimas humanas y otros versos*, ed. Antonio Carreño, notes, p. 943.

sonnet. The 'two notions' that really come into play here are Lope's frequently reworked ideas about *arte y naturaleza* (art and nature), which he subtly sets forth in the closing tercets.

Before turning our attention to the tercets, however, one further observation on the sonnet's first line should serve to elaborate an underdeveloped comment from recent criticism. Patricia Grieve and Felipe Pedraza Jiménez have both highlighted the resonance between Lope's phrase 'conceptos esparcidos' and the 'rime sparse' [scattered verse] of the inaugural sonnet in Petrarch's *Canzoniere* [*Song Book*].[18] Viewing the shared adjectival cognate as a case of direct borrowing, these critics note that Lope's first line immediately introduces a balance between literary imitation and autobiographical inspiration. Such a reading suits the emphasis most criticism of the *Rimas* has adopted, but it is not entirely convincing. First, it is not clear that Lope is in fact borrowing from Petrarch. The word *esparcidos* and its related forms were commonly employed in literature of the age to describe the dispersion of published texts. Granted, the word shared between the first line of one introductory sonnet and that of another collection is striking, but if Lope is indeed taking his cue from the *Canzoniere*, then the differences between the two sonnets are more telling. Such differences in themselves, of course, do not rule out the possibility that Lope is reworking Petrarch's sonnet, but the relationship between the two sonnets beyond the shared cognate is of greater interest. Whereas Petrarch's opening line addresses his audience, Lope addresses the personified *versos*. Instead of Petrarch's focus on his own youthful errancy ('mio primo giovenile errore', line 3), the *versos* themselves are the vagrant youths in the 'Soneto primero'; the 'mio vaneggiar' [my wandering] of Petrarch's line 12 becomes the cyclical wanderings of Lope's *versos*.[19] Lope's suppression of himself as author is a pointed departure from Petrarch's sonnet. Again we see Lope privileging poetic creation rather than personal experience. It is precisely the sonnet's central metaphor, the personification of the *versos* as battered, wayward offspring, that enables the sonnet to focus on art itself rather than on the author's life. This focus narrows in the tercets, in which, after having been described as subjects in the quatrains, the *versos* assume greater agency.

Most criticism devoted to Lope's opening sonnet has concentrated on the quatrains, with only scant analysis of the tercets, which carry forward the sonnet's argument and bring it to its climax. In keeping with traditional sonnet form, the increasingly enigmatic tercets of the 'Soneto primero' mark a divergence from the quatrains in tone and construction, yet they do not depart entirely from the

[18] Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, ed. Marco Santagata (Milan: Mondadori, 1996), p. 5. See Patricia E. Grieve, 'Point and Counterpoint in Lope de Vega's *Rimas* and *Rimas sacras*', *Hispanic Review*, 60.4 (1992): 413–34 (p. 417); Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez, ed., Lope de Vega, *Rimas*, 2 vols (Ciudad Real: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 1993–94), I, p. 184.

[19] Although the more common meaning of *vaneggiare* is 'to be delirious' or 'to rave', the *Vocabulario della lingua italiana*, ed. Rita Levi-Montalcini (Rome: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1994) includes an acceptation more likely to have informed a possible reworking by Lope, and cites Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* [*Jerusalem Delivered*] to support the meaning 'to wander through space': 'Vaneggiare: [...] Vagare nel vuoto: *Ne le spelonche sue Zefiro tace, E'n tutto è fermo il vaneggiar de l'aure* (Tasso)' (*s.v.*).

argument and imagery established there. In rapid succession, the tercets present a series of objects, more or less abstract, which the personified *versos* are said to *hurtar* — that is, to appropriate, excel or match in a certain quality. A survey of Lope's other uses of the verb *hurtar* admits at least two distinct readings of the verb as used in the 'Soneto primero'. In its more literal sense, *hurtar* can mean 'to steal, to appropriate'. This is the acceptation Covarrubias records and which Lope frequently employs in a more or less negative sense to depict plagiarism or literary borrowing from peer, predecessor or muse. Randel interprets the *hurtar* of the 'Soneto primero' as a reference to 'the profession of poetic larceny', the standard 'aesthetic precept of the imitation of models' (p. 228). But this reading does not take into account the generally depreciatory sense with which Lope uses the verb in relation to literature, and it ignores the verb's second meaning. *Hurtar* also figures in the standard lexicon of hyperbolic Golden Age encomium, employed to compare two objects by descriptive correlation and often implying that the *hurtador* surpasses or possesses to a greater degree the quality said to have been *hurtado*. Such usage can be found in Spanish verse of the Petrarchan tradition in which an object of praise is said to *hurtar* or compete with an abstract entity or natural element. This latter meaning of the verb seems more likely for the *hurtar* of the 'Soneto primero'. The *versos* surpass or take on the characteristics of the four objects of the first tercet: they embody and transcend the enigmatic artifice of the labyrinth, the temerity of Daedalus's exalted thoughts, and the volatile passions of the sea and fiery abyss.

The cyclical series of objects thus appropriated or excelled follows a discernible elemental, spatial and narrative sequence built upon the myth of Daedalus and Icarus. Daedalus, according to the Greek myth, designed an ingenious labyrinth for the king of Crete. Later imprisoned within his own creation, he and his son Icarus escaped the island by flying away on wings fashioned from wax and gull feathers. But Icarus ignored his father's warnings against flying too close to the sun; the wax of his wings melted, and the boy plunged to his death in the sea.

Allusions to Daedalus and Icarus became a well-worn topos of Golden Age literature and were often connected to metaphorical descriptions of the act of composition. The myth was easily adaptable to various situations, well suited for moralizing and compatible with the conventional elements of the Petrarchan lexicon, such as imprisonment, rapturous transport, sun and torments. These possibilities made it a favourite for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors, who frequently exploited the myth in dedications, prologues and preliminary notes, generally accompanied by a pun on *pluma* ['quill' as both feather and pen].

In Lope's 'Soneto primero', the adaptation of this stock allusion transcends predictability by its artful subtlety and its fitness within the overall argument of the sonnet. The allusion follows upon the quatrains as if by suggestion, making further use of the figures of the creative father and his uncontrollable, lost autonomous offspring introduced in the opening lines. The narrative development of the Daedalus myth provides one of several ordering sequences in lines 9 to 11. In a series of rapid transitions, the sonnet's imagery departs from the Cretan labyrinth (line 9), rises to 'los altos pensamientos' [the lofty thoughts] (line 10),

> gaze upon the chastisements suffered by the souls of the faithful [...]. In these and other similar contemplations the true and good Poet spends his time.][26]

How, then, might the 'centro' of the sonnet's final line relate to such depictions of poetic imagination and contemplation? Baltasar Gracián provides a possible link in his treatise on *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* [*Wit and the Art of Ingenuity*] of 1648. He applies something like Sánchez de Lima's cyclical, spatial description of poetic contemplation more specifically to the writer's act of mentally forming a *concepto* (here, a poetic likeness or metaphor) and portrays this act as a process of selecting from appropriate *correspondencias* (correspondences) that surround a given subject, like spokes radiating from the hub of a wheel: 'Es el sujeto sobre quien se discurre y pondera [...] uno como centro de quien reparte el discurso, líneas de ponderación y sutileza a las entidades que lo rodean; esto es, a los adjuntos que lo coronan [...]. Los va careando de uno en uno con el sujeto' [The subject upon which one meditates and ponders is [...] like a centre from which contemplation distributes lines of consideration and subtle artifice to the entities which encompass it; that is, to the annexed elements which crown it [...]. He proceeds by comparing them one by one with the subject].[27] A successful, apt selection will produce expressive *agudeza* (wit). In other words, one might imagine the subject or tenor of a metaphor located at the centre of Gracián's conceptual wheel, with a variety of potential vehicles arrayed about it with varying degrees of correspondence.

Following Gracián's terminology, the 'sujeto principal' [principal subject], 'centro', or tenor of the primary metaphor in the 'Soneto primero' is the *versos* or *conceptos* themselves. The vehicle is the itinerant progeny. By Aristotelian physics, the *centro* is the principal state or elemental essence of the *versos*. By Gracián's theory, the *centro* is the conceptual key to the sonnet. The closing words of the sonnet, in light of Gracián's model, restate the self-reflective nature of the piece. Significantly, as I have previously intimated, this is a *centro* associated with 'los vientos' [the winds]. The ethereal texts are enjoined to return to their natural element, recalling Lope's associations of winds and words, winds and transience, fragmentation, scattering — which brings us back to the 'conceptos esparcidos' of the first line and suggests an overall cycle governing the sonnet's imagery. Even though an individual recipient, the 'áspid', might reject the *versos*, there is at least some hint of restful satisfaction that the texts will ultimately reach a wider, if indeterminate, audience.

The systematic order of the tercets and the allusion to Daedalus, the archetype of calculating artistry in Greek mythology, completes Lope's picture of poetic composition as a dual, balanced process of emotional inspiration tempered by

[26] Lope's and Sánchez de Lima's depictions are by no means isolated instances of this cyclical, spatial representation. We find the same idea in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: 'The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling, / Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven; / And as imagination bodies forth / The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen / Turns them to shapes [...]' (ed. Harold F. Brooks, The Arden Shakespeare, London: Methuen, 1979, 5.1.12–17).

[27] Baltasar Gracián y Morales, *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, ed. Eduardo Ovejero y Maury (Madrid: La Rafa, 1929), 'Discurso IV', p. 14.

artistic precepts, just as natural, elemental cycles are governed by physical laws. The tercets qualify the dominant image of the quatrains, which might otherwise present an incomplete picture of seemingly spontaneous poetic generation arising from circumstances and feelings. Lope would later criticize the tendencies he perceived among the younger generations of poets for precisely this sort of unpolished, emotional outpouring in composition, and for their infatuation with poetry produced 'de la abundancia del corazón, efecto cierto de las asociaciones repentinas' [from the abundance of the heart, the inevitable result of impulsive associations].[28] As the apostrophe to the *versos* continues in the tercets, the sonnet reminds the reader that good poetic composition, despite appearances, is not merely a matter of succumbing to a *furor poeticus*. Rather, it is a balance between emotion and construct, between fiery passions and ordered precision.

Scattered children, battered ships[29] and tattered flotsam[30] — all are figures by which Lope portrays the literary endeavour in his *Rimas*. One could read these reiterated depictions of the fragile or damaged text as a positive statement, as Lope's avowal of his veteran status as an experienced poet. The sea-worn and battle-scarred *versos* of Sonnet 149, like those of the 'Soneto primero', may be scattered and broken, but they are also consequently time-tested, worldly-wise and worldly-weathered, having ultimately withstood the onslaughts of criticism and caprices of public taste. Read positively, the figure of the damaged text is not only an affirmation of the seasoned poet, but is necessarily a testimony to the fact that his works are being actively read in circulation. Like the poet who has overcome adversity and merits the prized epithet *Fénix* (Phoenix) — a title incessantly applied to Lope by his admirers and awarded by Lope in turn to his favourites — the figure of the mangled and recycled text suggests endurance and perpetuity, though, significantly, it is a perpetuity subject to conversions and alterations. On the other hand, Lope's figures of textual fragility also represent the sensibilities of *desengaño* ['disabusal'] applied to the act of textual production and circulation — a recognition of textual impermanence and the inconstancy of audiences, an author's more or less acquiescent acknowledgement of forces beyond his control. One can understand these metaphors as intentional manifestations of Lope's awareness of the perils of publication. He is conscious of what might be called a Law of Textual Entropy: literary production is not a tidy process; texts tend towards disorder.

The distinctive nature of Lope's recurring insistence on imagery of evanescence, fragility and dynamic ruin appears even more patent when contrasted with conventional contemporary figures, many of which exalt the architectural formidability and durability of poetic texts. Whereas Lope depicts brittle boats and errant foundlings, the 1608 'Discurso en loor de la poesía' [Discourse in Praise of Poetry] by an anonymous Peruvian poetess extols poets who construct paragons of artifice: 'fabrican [...] romances y sonetos / (como los de Anfión un tiempo a Tebas), / muros a África a fuerza de concetos' [they

[28] Lope de Vega, *Cartas*, ed. Nicolás Marín (Madrid: Castalia, 1985), p. 157.
[29] Sonnet 150 (p. 315).
[30] Sonnet 149 (p. 314).

fabricate [...] ballads and sonnets / (like those of Amphion for Thebes), / walls round Africa by the power of their conceits].[31] Félix de Lucio Espinosa y Malo likewise lauds the merits of writing in general in his *Epístolas varias* [*Various Epistles*] of 1675: 'las letras son como estatuas, y simulacros seguros que la mantienen [la voz] [...] puede su Autor pasarlas donde quiere' [the letters of the alphabet are like statues, and sure simulacra which preserve the voice [...] their Author can transmit them where he wishes];[32] and even Pedro Calderón de la Barca subscribes on at least one occasion to the claims that printed publication would make an author immortal. The printing press, Calderón affirms, grants 'duraciones que el tiempo no consuma, / por quien su autor segundo ser recibe' [durability which time does not consume, by which the author gains a second existence].[33] Such images and assertions run counter to Lope's portrayal of malleable, ephemeral texts. Far from being graven, fixed simulacra of the author's voice, the autonomous offspring of the 'Soneto primero' can evolve and stray and signify more than the author's intention at the time of composition: 'Essos versos os dirán más de mí que lo que yo sabía cuando los hize' [These verses will tell you more about me than I knew when I made them], Lope asserts through one of his characters *La Dorotea*.[34]

Images of construction and enduring artifice, in addition to being too rigid for the qualities Lope imagines for his texts, violate his ideal of the collaborative roles of *arte* and *naturaleza* in composition. Figures of walls and statues grant too much prominence to the artificial components of the literary endeavour — an aspect of such imagery which would lead Lope to adopt it for his arsenal when attacking the excesses of *culteranismo*. In a letter to the Duke of Sessa regarding Góngora's style, he condemns the 'edificio' [edifice] of second-rate *gongorista* imitators and their 'estupendas máquinas' [stupendous constructs] as the product of a 'fábrica portentosa' [astounding new manner of building].[35] As his polemic with Góngora grew more heated, Lope accused his rival of erecting a Tower of Babel, a 'torre de gigantes'.[36] The pejorative image is not only a critique of Góngora's difficult language but also of what Lope viewed as Góngora's overly artificial style.

Unlike those of Espinosa y Malo, moreover, Lope's metaphors predicate no such confidence in the author's ability to direct circulation wilfully. Lope's authorial figures do not retain control over the text beyond composition. He can

[31] Ventura García Calderón, ed., *Discurso en loor de la poesía*, in *El apogeo de la literatura colonial: las poetisas anónimas, el Lunarejo, Caviedes* (Paris: Desclée, de Brouwer, 1938), pp. 13–40 (lines 601–3, p. 33). According to legend, Amphion and his twin brother Zethus erected the walls and seven gates of Thebes. Amphion sang and played the lyre so charmingly that stones tore themselves from the earth and followed after Zethus in procession.

[32] Cited in Aurora Egido, *La voz de las letras en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Abada, 2003), p. 53.

[33] Pedro Calderón de la Barca, 'Soneto al Maestro Joseph de Casanova', in José de Casanova, *Primera parte del arte de escrivir todas las formas de letras*: e*scrito y tallado por el Maestro Joseph de Casanova* (Madrid: Diego Díaz de la Carrera, 1650), fol. ¶$_2^v$, lines 10–11.

[34] Lope de Vega, *La Dorotea*, ed. Edwin S. Morby (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press; Valencia: Castalia, 1958; 2nd edn, revised, 1968), p. 370.

[35] Lope de Vega, *Obras poéticas*, I, ed. José Manuel Blecua, pp. 878–80.

[36] Lope de Vega, *Cartas*, ed. Nicolás Marín, p. 157.

indulge in fanciful speculation about what it would be like to accompany his printed texts in circulation, to provide the same 'viva voz y alma que el día que se leyeron' [living voice and soul as the day they were read] in a poetic tournament;[37] or he may allow a character in *La Dorotea* to contemplate what the presence of Lope's *alter ego* Burguillos would mean for the interpretation of one of his poems: 'Si aquí le tuviéramos, él nos sacara de muchas dudas en la tremenda esfinge deste soneto' [If we had him here, he would resolve many of our doubts about this tremendous sphynx of a sonnet] (p. 350). But Lope ultimately recognizes that texts in circulation are 'perdidos' [lost], Icarean playthings of the wind.

In Lope's metaphorical system, not only do the authorial figures relinquish control over textual dissemination, but the figures of the author themselves are unobtrusive, removed or eclipsed, rendered latent or passive. I have noted how the implied presence of the paternal, authorial speaker in the 'Soneto primero' increasingly gives way to a focus on the agency and characteristics of the filial texts themselves. The distance which the filial figure permits between author and product is crucial to Lope's metaphors for texts and textual production. It allows him to discard the images of simulacra, to exploit the images of dynamic agents, and to call into question the assumption of the author as principal meaning-maker. His suppressed or diminished authorial figure is far from being the centre of his imagined work, as the 'Soneto primero' makes explicit. The vagrant *versos* are said to rest in their self-same centre, a paradoxical rest in flux which leaves open the possibility of further change and disfigurement for the texts, rather than imposed limits, closure, and concretized meanings.

Lope's direct involvement with the printing of his works placed him in a unique position among the leading poets of the age who, in keeping with convention, tended to leave the printing of their poetry to friends, disciples and posthumous editors. His lifelong familiarity with printed publication — as well as with manuscript circulation, his youthful entanglements with manuscript libel, audiences' reactions in the theatres, the whims of patrons — endowed him with a seasoned, self-conscious perspective. His awareness encompasses what he accuses other poets of not sufficiently knowing: 'the changes which come between the author's draft and the form ready for printing, between the voice of the master and that of the uninstructed, between reading among friends or buying the book for oneself' (p. 584, previously cited). Lope draws on this awareness in order to imagine the full variety of audiences and modes of transmission his works encounter, the ultimately fragile nature of the text, and the range of receptions brought to bear on the transit of the texts throughout their repeated circulations.

[37] Lope de Vega, *Justa poética*, ed. Sainz de Robles, p. 1575.

5

‘Quien en virtud emplea su ingenio ...’: Lope de Vega’s Religious Poetry

ARANTZA MAYO

Lector, no hay sílaba aquí
que de oro puro no sea,
que a quien en virtud emplea
su ingenio sucede así.

[Reader, there is no syllable here
made of other than pure gold;
It happens thus to those who put
their wit to the service of virtue.][1]

Lope de Vega’s religious poetry remains the least-known section of his work. While the *Rimas sacras* (1614) have attracted a significant degree of attention over recent years, this collection forms a comparatively small part of his copious religious lyrical production, estimated at around six-hundred-thousand lines, a substantial part of it still awaiting modern editions and studies that take account of its role and relevance within the broad landscape of Golden Age sacred poetry.[2]

Lope wrote on religious subjects throughout his career: his earliest documented collection is his *Los cinco misterios dolorosos de la Pasión y muerte de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo con su sagrada resurrección* (1582?),[3] followed almost two

[1] ‘Lope de Vega al lector’ [Lope de Vega to the Reader] in the preliminaries to Fernando de Camargo y Salgado’s *El santo milagroso* [*The Miraculous Saint*]; Lope de Vega, *Poesía*, ed. Antonio Carreño, 6 vols (Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 2002–5), VI, pp. 601–2. All translations are literal.

[2] Novo and Pedraza Jiménez have produced the most significant recent studies on the *Rimas sacras*: Yolanda Novo, *Las ‘Rimas sacras’ de Lope de Vega: disposición y sentido* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1990); Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez, *El universo poético de Lope de Vega* (Madrid: Laberinto, 2003). The *Rimas sacras* themselves have just appeared in a much-needed critical edition by Antonio Carreño and Antonio Sánchez Jiménez ([Pamplona]: Universidad de Navarra; Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 2006). The calculation of Lope’s religious output is offered by José Rubinos, *Lope de Vega como poeta religioso* (Habana: Cultural, 1935), p. 9.

[3] For the dating of *Los cinco misterios* see the edition by César Hernández Alonso (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1987), pp. 2–5, and Alberto Blecua, ‘De Granada a Lope: sobre

political in nature than strictly devotional; in this class belong most works produced for *justas* (poetry competitions) in honour of a particular saint or festivity, such as the beatification of Saint Teresa or the passage of the Holy Sacrament to the Iglesia Mayor in Lerma, for which Lope produced some pieces.[9] This type also includes those poems aimed at forging or furthering links with a patron by upholding Catholic doctrine, as our author does in his *Corona trágica* with his liberal praise of Pope Urban VIII and the Hapsburg monarchs.

Most of Lope's religious verse falls into the first broad category and, as well as being interesting and valuable for the range of literary qualities it displays in terms of its imagery, musicality and linguistic plasticity, it offers its readership spiritually profitable diversion. In this respect, the role played by this type of poetry is not too distant from that which had once been fulfilled by medieval Books of Hours and continued to be fulfilled by the extremely popular spiritual treatises. As Luis de Granada's *Libro de la oración y meditación* [*Book of Prayer and Meditation*] exemplifies, these treatises were devoted to encouraging 'la meditación y consideración de las cosas divinas, y de los misterios principales de nuestra fe' [the meditation and consideration of divine things and the principal mysteries of our faith].[10] Unlike these guides, however, the vast range of religious subjects expounded by Lope, from the more popular aspects of devotion (such as the adoration of the shepherds in his *Pastores de Belén*) to complex doctrinal or theological points (the doctrine of transubstantiation in the *Triunfos divinos*) are mediated by crucial aesthetic and artistic concerns. Lope's poems hence offer their readership an experience which is akin to that of reading secular literature while drawing their attention to the works' spiritual dimension. These texts form a literary space which conjugates aspects of other kinds of sacred writing, from the socially enjoyed *comedias de asunto religioso* (plays with a religious theme) and *autos* (allegorical plays with a religious theme) — a public form of religious and didactic entertainment — to treatises and guides of devotion — focused on the individual practice of spiritual exercises — and which in its multiple variations can be closer to one or the other genre.

One of the works in which Lope most palpably combines devotion and spiritual guidance with the sort of entertainment that could be derived from a secular lyric or dramatic piece is his *Isidro* (1599), an epic hagiography devoted to the life of the patron saint of Madrid.[11] Although Lope would go on to write three different

[9] *Relación que en las fiestas de la beatificación de nuestra madre santa Teresa se celebraron en estos dos conventos nuestros de Madrid, san Hermenegildo y san Juan* (1614) and *Fiestas en la traslación del Santísimo Sacramento a la Iglesia Mayor de Lerma* (Valencia: José Gasch, 1612), in *Poesía*, ed. Carreño, VI, pp. 389–400 and 211–72.

[10] Granada, in the prologue to his *Libro de la oración y meditación*, in *Obras completas de Fray Luis de Granada: obras castellanas*, ed. Cristóbal Cuevas, 2 vols (Madrid: Turner & Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 1994–97), II, p. 6. In his 'The Problem of the "Best-Seller" in Spanish Golden-Age Literature', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 57.3 (1980): 189–98, Keith Whinnom notes that the book went through well over one-hundred editions between 1554 and 1679, becoming the indisputable 'best-seller' of the period (p. 194).

[11] Isidro was canonized by Pope Gregory XV on 12 March 1622, although he had been considered Madrid's patron since 1212.

comedias (plays) about the holy peasant and contributed to the *justas* (poetry competitions) in honour of his beatification and sanctification, Isidro is his first, most intimate and proselytizing work on the subject.[12] Formally, it combines elements from the *romancero* (ballads), both secular and sacred, and the *comedia* (drama) with a narrative style reminiscent of medieval and early modern hagiographies, an attractive combination for his readership.[13] In particular, the poem echoes well-known *Flos sanctorum* collections, such as Voragine's thirteenth-century *Legenda aurea* and the more contemporary version by Alonso de Villegas published in four volumes between 1578 and 1589.[14] Lope affirms that the poeticization of the saint's life increases its spiritual didacticism and appeal, arguing in his prologue that his use of 'versos castellanos' [Castilian metre] and 'humildes quintillas' [humble five-line stanzas] 'aumentarán la devoción en muchos, que por ser en verso parece que mueven con mayor eficacia' [will increase devotion in many individuals, because they seem to be more effectively moving by being in verse], thus suggesting that his is a particularly fruitful way of spreading Isidro's story.[15] While it is impossible to prove Pedraza Jiménez's affirmation that 'dinero, reconocimiento y la fama personal' [money, public recognition and personal fame] were Lope's motivations for writing the *Isidro*, his observation underlines how poetry of this kind had a wide appeal and could count on being well received.[16]

Isidro is 'un labrador español, / castellano y de Madrid' [a Spanish peasant, Castilian and from Madrid] (II, 704–5) whom Lope involves in a series of situations of the sort that he presents in his own religious *comedias* and that were common in *autos*: the poem includes an allegorical fight with Envy (II, 362–1000) and an almost mystical dream journey to the Holy Land (IV, 896–1000) as well as a liberal dose of miracles and trials; in canto VII alone Isidro's wife, María de la Cabeza, crosses the Jarama river walking over her own shawl to prove her chastity (681–90) and the saint makes a fountain spring to life (976–1000). Lope offers many careful and detailed depictions in delicate lyrical terms which are reminiscent of his secular *romances* (ballads). In particular he relishes the descriptions of Isidro and his bride on their wedding day. María de la Cabeza resembles an image of her own role model, the Virgin Mary, crowned in her precious purity (II, 181–85) while the 'labrador' [peasant] is a genuine 'castellano'

[12] For a study of the plays *La niñez de san Isidro* and *La juventud de san Isidro*, see Elaine M. Canning, *Lope de Vega's 'Comedias de tema religioso': Re-creations and Re-presentations* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2004), pp. 44–84.

[13] Américo Castro & Hugo A. Rennert, *Vida de Lope de Vega (1562–1635)*, 2nd edn (Madrid: Anaya, 1968; repr. 1969), p. 133, as well as Antonio Carreño, in Lope de Vega, *Poesía*, I, p. xxv, note stylistic similarities with *comedias*, *autos sacramentales*, religious and secular lyric and historical ballads.

[14] Santiago de la Vorágine (Jacobus de Voragine), *La leyenda dorada*, ed. José Manuel Macías, 2 vols (Madrid: Alianza, 1982). Villegas also wrote an independent *Vida de Isidro Labrador* [*Life of Isidro the Labourer*] (1592). A key source was the genealogical documents provided to him directly by Fray Domingo de Mendoza and which Lope acknowledges (*Isidro*, in *Poesía*, ed. Carreño, I, p. 205).

[15] *Isidro*, in *Poesía*, I, p. 207.

[16] Pedraza Jiménez, *El universo poético*, p. 77.

[Castilian] who rejects pernicious foreign influences both in religious beliefs and fashions and wears

> De paño abierto el gregüesco,
> no como agora tudesco,
> con tan nuevas invenciones,
> mas con pliegues y cordones
> más acomodado y fresco. (II, 136–40)

[His breeches were made out of broadcloth and not in the now fashionable German style full of new inventions; instead, they had folds and laces which made them more comfortable and fresh.]

He is a Spanish Everyman, a life-like and accessible example of sainthood on which every reader can attempt to model his or her own existence, however humble:

> No supo filosofía,
> física, ni teología
> como Isidro, luz del suelo,
> pero supo hallar el cielo
> llevando la fe por guía. (I, 286–90)

[He did not know philosophy, physics or theology like Isidore [of Seville], light of the earth; but, taking faith as his guide, he knew how to find heaven.]

In the first canto the author places great emphasis on how Isidro is an imitator of Isidore of Seville, regardless of his lack of 'ciencia' [science] and of magnificent clothes (I, 316–440), and although the 'villano' [peasant] is by no means a wealthy man or a scholar, he still achieves holiness because of his steadfast faith and willingness to shape his own actions according to existing models of sanctity, an imitation which is ultimately channelled towards Christ's own example. Their saintliness is realized not least because both men obey the Lord's precepts which are straightforwardly expounded in a moralizing manner throughout the text and which readers should follow if they are to emulate their local hero:

> no mentir era preceto [...]
> que aborrece Dios los labios
> de quien miente. (I, 486–89)

[not lying was a precept [...] because God abhors the lips of those who lie.]

The book's didactic aspects are similarly evident in the constant references to numerous biblical and church figures and episodes which help to illustrate events in Isidro's life but also point the reader to a multitude of complementary role models:

Un Matatías prudente,
un David, un Eleazar
pudiera el viejo imitar,
y él un Isaac obediente
en la leña y el altar. (I, 641–45)

[The old man [Isidro's father] could resemble the prudent Mattathias, David and Eleazar, while Isidro brought to mind an obedient Isaac lying on the wood and the altar.]

The main sources for this stanza are listed beside it (1 Mach. 2 and 3 Reg. 21), as Lope is careful to annotate the margins with the foundations of many of his comparisons, images, precepts and concepts so that the more-educated reader who desires to consider any particular points in more depth or learn more about a specific figure may more easily do so. At the same time such annotations add more than a touch of erudite refinement and authority to an otherwise popular hagiography. The Vulgate is its main referent but a large number of authors, from St Augustine to Thomas Aquinas, as well as many writers from antiquity, are also cited. In addition, the poem is accompanied by a comprehensive appendix with the names of books and authors which Lope indicates will serve 'para la exornación de esta historia' [for the embellishment of this story], pointing to how a religious work such as *Isidro*, which is more closely related in formal terms to the *romancero* or the *comedia* than to a prose treatise, can serve both as edifying and pious reading as well as a solid basis for more sophisticated spiritual reflections, and is thus able to reach a large and diverse readership.[17]

Isidro's character as an entertaining hagiography which may have been approached with varying degrees of devotional engagement by Golden Age readers contrasts with that of other works which actively demand a more substantial spiritual and intellectual involvement from their audience. Many of these texts aim at the identification of the reader with the poetic speaker and insofar as they attempt to steer the spiritual reactions of their audience in a given direction — sorrow, joy, repentance, gratitude, etc. — they bear remarkable similarity with devotional guides, thus being at the other extreme of the literary space occupied by religious poetry, as formulated above. In these compositions, as the poetic speaker contemplates a particular spiritual image, event or concept, often in the first person, he leads his reader through a series of apposite thoughts and responses while allowing sufficient opportunity through the use of multi-layered conceits and biblical or similar allusions for the individual to consider independently related points that may emerge as a result.

Although there is no evidence to suggest that any specific collection of poems by Lope was ever intended to serve as a full guide to meditation, key aspects of Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* and the European meditative tradition they

[17] *Isidro*, in *Poesía*, ed. Carreño, I, p. 539.

summarize in such precise terms are manifest in the author's sacred lyric.[18] In particular, a reading of any of his Christocentric poems, especially those focused on the themes of repentance and spiritual intimacy with the Divinity, provides palpable confirmation that Lope was indeed familiar with Ignatius's manual and used its framework as a guide. Central to Ignatius's programme is the complementary engagement of the soul's three powers — memory, understanding and will — with a full exercise involving the successive action of each of these powers. Every power is dependent on the appropriate realization of its immediate antecedent, although memory, being the first, can be triggered by external elements, such as visual representations of the matter or episode to be contemplated. A small minority of Lope's poems recreate a full exercise, moving from an initial description or composition of place, through the spiritual consideration of the visualized event to the final emergence of one or more affections of the will. In the case of a sonnet entitled 'Fuerza de lágrimas' [The Power of Tears] this is achieved with extraordinary verbal economy.

Con ánimo de hablarle en confianza,
de su piedad entré en el templo un día,
donde Cristo en la Cruz resplandecía
con el perdón que quien le mira alcanza.
Y aunque la fe, el amor y la esperanza
a la lengua pusieron osadía,
acordeme que fue por culpa mía,
y quisiera de mí tomar venganza.
Ya me volvía sin decirle nada
y, como vi la llaga del costado,
parose el alma en lágrimas bañada.
Hablé, lloré, y entré por aquel lado,
porque no tiene Dios puerta cerrada
al corazón contrito y humillado.[19]

[18] The subject has been considered to a varying extent in Antonio Sánchez Jiménez, 'Composición de lugar en las *Rimas sacras* (1614) de Lope de Vega: la influencia ignaciana', *Anuario Lope de Vega*, 10 (2004): 115–28; Pedraza Jiménez, *El universo poético*; Novo, *Las 'Rimas sacras' de Lope de Vega*; M. Audrey Aaron, *Cristo en la poesía lírica de Lope de Vega* (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1967); Eberhard Müller-Bochat, 'Técnicas literarias y métodos de meditación en la poesía sagrada del Siglo de Oro', in *Actas del Tercer Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas*, ed. Carlos H. Magis (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1970), pp. 611–17; and Arantza Mayo, *La lírica sacra de Lope de Vega y José de Valdivielso* ([Pamplona]: Universidad de Navarra; Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 2007). Pedraza Jiménez has argued against the *Rimas sacras* being a full equivalent of the *Exercises*, but points out that some influence is a possibility. Sánchez Jiménez has illustrated various links with Ignatius's work in 'Composición de lugar en las *Rimas sacras* (1614) de Lope de Vega', while Mayo has examined the influence of the *Exercises* as a whole across a wide range of Lope's religious poetry. For the influence of Ignatius on Luis de Granada, see his *Guía de pecadores* [*The Sinners' Guide*], ed. José María Balcells (Barcelona: Planeta, 1986), p. xvi.

[19] *Triunfos divinos con otras rimas sacras*, in *Poesía*, ed. Carreño, V, p. 133.

These different types of poems share a meditative and devotional core in common with contemporary spiritual guides and, in particular, with the influential *Spiritual Exercises*.

A different kind of composition which stands quite apart from the devotional texts so far considered is concerned with the overt political aspects of religion. Such is the case of the elaborate five-part epic *Corona trágica*, which focuses and builds on beliefs and stereotypes about the Reformed church and its members which were widely held in Golden Age Spain. Although far from being a popular piece likely to attract a substantial audience, the poem is presented as a useful tool to strengthen the Roman faith of its readers, as it provides 'ejemplo célebre y estupendo a los verdaderos fieles católicos' [famous and wonderful example for the true Catholic faithful] against the threat of infectious heretical beliefs.[26] The book is designed to please and patently preaches to the converted, not least its dedicatee, Pope Urban VIII, who is liberally praised in the text, predictably as an example of virtue ('sacro Urbano' [holy Urban]) but less so as a literary model ('divino Orfeo' [divine Orpheus]).[27] *Corona trágica* is a poeticized chronicle of the life of Mary, Queen of Scots, tightly packed with biblical and historical references, whose main concern is to illustrate the cruelty and greed of heretical Anglicans and, by contrast, the moral superiority and steadfastness of virtuous Catholics. The conflict is epitomized by two contrasting figures, Elizabeth of England and Mary of Scotland, and narrated from a biased historical perspective which is the obvious product of militant Post-Tridentine Roman Catholicism. Lope introduces his subjects as two equals in power, one of whom chose the perilous route of heresy:

> Una reina os presento, una constante,
> invencible mujer, mujer y fuerte,
> cuyo pecho, católico diamante,
> con otro de crueldad labró la Muerte.[28]

[I give you a constant, invincible woman, a strong woman, whose heart, a Catholic diamond, was carved by Death with another, cruel diamond.]

Mary, despite her colourful biography, is presented as an example of Christian constancy and fortitude. Her execution, ordered by Elizabeth and described as martyrdom, makes her 'invencible' [invincible], almost along the lines of Spain's own Armada which set sail soon after her death, and confirms her moral righteousness in the face of what seems to be an immediate defeat but, in Catholic terms, becomes the ultimate victory. Lope borrows the commonplace but complex

[26] 'Aprobación' by Juan de Jáuregui, in *Corona trágica*, *Poesía*, ed. Carreño, V, p. 221.

[27] *Corona trágica*, in *Poesía*, ed. Carreño, V, p. 228. The Pope had composed a poem on the subject in his youth. Lope's eulogy was duly rewarded by the award of the title of Doctor of Theology as well as that of 'Caballero del Hábito de San Juan' [Knight of the Order of Saint John].

[28] *Corona trágica* (I, 65–68), in *Poesía*, ed. Carreño, V, p. 229.

image of the diamond to describe both characters: diamonds possess rare beauty and strength and queens, by definition, are unique within their own countries and their roles demand exemplary virtue. Diamonds can only be scratched or cut by other diamonds and in this case, Elizabeth misuses her own power to inflict fatal damage on Mary's precious, Catholic heart. The English queen, despite having taken an usurped throne, has the potential to be a shining example of virtue by retreating into the Catholic fold but uses her own strength for destruction: a tacit warning for Christians to fulfil one's responsibilities with integrity, in a manner which implicitly echoes both the parable of the talents (Matthew 25:14–30) and that of the minas or pounds (Luke 19:12–27). These aspects may have been considered by some readers but in effect carry little devotional weight.

Although the poem can be slow in narrative terms and seem too subjected to the constraints of pouring open and lavish admiration on its Catholic characters to modern tastes, Lope's poetic ability is in evidence throughout the text in the vivid descriptions and subtly wrought concepts. Some of the English characters are described in a grotesquely damning manner, which is nonetheless eruditely referenced:

> Sangrienta Jezabel, nueva Atalía
> quedó de tronco tal, reinó en Bretaña
> dura esfinge Isabel, cuya porfía
> en sangre el mar de Calidonia baña;
> incestuoso parto de la arpía
> que el Hércules católico de España,
> pudiéndola matar, perdonó presa,
> para manchar la sacrosanta mesa.[29]

> [A bloody Jezebel, a new Athaliah who came from such a trunk, Elizabeth, a severe sphinx, reigned over Britain and her obstinacy bathed the Caledonian sea in blood; she was the incestuous issue of the harpy that the Catholic Hercules of Spain, having the opportunity to kill her, forgave and imprisoned, for her to stain the sacred and holy table.]

Through a combination of biblical and mythological references Elizabeth is thus the bloodthirsty and death-bringing daughter of the tyrannical and idolatrous Anne Boleyn and a particularly vicious example of a monstrous, devilish and cruel creature who is contrasted with the heroic and semi-divine figure of the benevolent Spanish king.[30] The majority of the book's readership is unlikely to have drawn much spiritual stimulus from these details or the narrative as a whole. Mary, unlike Isidro, is a foreign and ultimately inaccessible model and although at a religious level the text may serve as warning of sorts to fend off the temptation

[29] *Corona trágica* (I, 129–36), in *Poesía*, ed. Carreño, V, p. 231.

[30] Jezebel was an Israelite queen who persuaded her husband Ahab to abandon his God in favour of Baal and ordered the persecution and execution of a number of prophets. Her daughter Athaliah followed her example by turning her husband Jeroham, king of Judah, away from the biblical God. Their stories are recounted in 1 and 2 Kings.

to give any consideration to anything or anyone non-Catholic, its devotional or true guiding content is negligible and stands in stark contrast with the thrust of its political statements.[31] Lope combines the development of the three powers of the soul in various ways throughout his works, sometimes incorporating all of them in the course of a single poem, but more often focusing on the action of a single power and thus preparing the ground for further individual spiritual considerations by the reader.

The small number of works briefly considered in this chapter exemplify in broad terms the main different types of religious poetry produced by Lope. With the exception of *Corona*, spiritual and devotional elements are an essential part of the texts' literary fabric, richly underpinning their formal and narrative structure as well as their imagery. These compositions were appreciated by their contemporary audience not just because of their genuine literary interest, or even because they were 'de Lope' [by Lope] and may have contributed something to his public persona, but because, in addition, they enabled their readers to engage intellectually as well as spiritually at a variety of levels with religious subjects of personal and social relevance. To borrow Fray Diego de Campos's words, the body of Lope's religious lyric 'es una obra de mucho ingenio, trabajo, y agudeza, y muy provechosa para divertir a los inclinados a poesías […] porque leyendo este libro gozarán de admirables doctrinas, sazonadas a su paladar con el gusto de los versos' [it is a subtle, elaborate and witty work, very profitable for the entertainment of those inclined to poetry […] because by reading this book they will enjoy admirable doctrines seasoned to their taste with the condiment of verse].[32]

[31] Lope's prologue is particularly enlightening in this respect; it also includes many contradictions that undermine his own work as a chronicler (*Corona trágica*, in *Poesía*, ed. Carreño, V, pp. 224–25.

[32] Fray Diego de Campo's *censura* [judgment] to José de Valdivielso, *Exposición parafrástica del Psalterio y de los cánticos del Breviario* (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1623), fol. ¶3^{v}.

6

Outside In: The Subject(s) at Play in *Las rimas humanas y divinas de Tomé de Burguillos*

ISABEL TORRES

I

The speaking subject of Lope de Vega's lyric poetry, the *yo lírico* (poetic 'I'), is uniquely plural.[1] Conceived on the borders of intimacy and imitation,[2] the poetic voice of Lope's early *Rimas humanas* (1602) has a mercurial fluidity which, while responding in part to the ontological uncertainty that is a general characteristic of the baroque aesthetic,[3] exposes a specific crisis of self-representation that pervades Lope's lyric trajectory.[4] Within an artistic environment that interrogates poetic creation as both a synchronic and diachronic process, and where lived experience (*erlebnis*) and art (*poesis*) are inextricably connected,[5] the subject

[1] Antonio Carreño has emphasised the fluid nature of Lope's *yo lírico* in his many articles on the poet. See, for instance, '"Amor regalado"/"amor ofendido": las ficciones del yo lírico en las *Rimas* (1609) de Lope de Vega', in *Hispanic Studies in Honour of Geoffrey Ribbans*, ed. Ann L. Mackenzie & Dorothy S. Severin, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* Special Homage Volume (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), pp. 73–82; 'Los mitos del yo lírico: *Rimas* (1609) de Lope de Vega', *Edad de Oro*, 14 (1995): 55–72; '"Que érades vos lo más sutil del mundo": de *Burguillos* (Lope) y Quevedo', *Caliope*, 8.2 (2002): 25–50 (an expanded version of his earlier 'Los engaños de la escritura: las *Rimas de Tomé de Burguillos* de Lope de Vega', in *Lope de Vega y los orígines del teatro español: Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre Lope de Vega*, ed. Manuel Criado de Val, Madrid: EDI-6, 1981, pp. 547–63).

[2] Mary Gaylord Randel has argued that a major difficulty in dealing with Lope's lyric poetry is his deliberate engagement with the practice of literary *imitatio*, so that what on the surface is manipulated to seem like intimacy based authority is, in fact, authority based on a creative strategy of imitation. See her 'Proper Language and Language as Property: The Personal Poetics of Lope's *Rimas*', *MLN*, 101.2 (1986): 220–46. See also Arthur Terry, who argues that 'biographical criticism has often done Lope a disservice [...] emphasising the man at the expense of the conscious artist', 'Lope de Vega: Re-Writing a Life', in his *Seventeenth-Century Spanish Poetry: The Power of Artifice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 94–121 (p. 95).

[3] See Christine Buci-Glucksmann, *La Folie du voir: une esthétique du virtuel* (Paris: Galilée, 2002), p. 118.

[4] See Isabel Torres, 'Interloping Lope: Transformation and Tomé de Burguillos', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* (forthcoming), which explores manifestations of transformation in Lope's lyric poetry.

[5] A particularly influential study in this context is Alan S. Trueblood, *Experience and Artistic Expression in Lope de Vega: The Making of 'La Dorotea'* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

emerges as a dynamic work in progress. And the subject voice is essentially dialectical, fashioned in tense recognition of authorities that exist outside the self, whether these are literary (predecessors, rivals, even implied readers), generic (the conventional resisting beloved of Petrarchan verse), or indeed socio-political (reflected in themes of disillusionment [*desengaño*] that are historically contingent, or in 'occasional poems' that are tied explicitly to an extraliterary context). Moreover, the emphasis placed on the threat of self-erasure (conveyed as the dark side of artistic creation), and on the ambiguous status of identity forged in language that is on loan to the speaker, suggests that there is more at stake when reading Lope's poetry than the issue of the 'imitative confession'; an even more 'troubling oxymoron' to negotiate.[6] The anxieties underlying the construction of a plural subject carry implications for lyric self-fashioning in the Baroque that are not only aesthetic, but epistemic. The selves that are assembled throughout Lope's verse (whether wearing pastoral, Moorish, Petrarchan, sacred, or even parodic masks) are self-consciously indeterminate, and are received at a multiply determined site of signification; that is, the unsettling interface of private and public.

The *yo lírico* moves along contradictory, interdependent axes, where private self meets public image, where intimate desire negotiates aesthetic or socio-cultural conventions and where creative control is compromised by an awareness of collective consumption. Occasionally these issues coalesce and the speaker's attempts to shape the subject in the text result in the objectification of the subject by the text.[7] This is exemplified in the Petrarchan-inspired poetics of the early *Rimas* where the subject of the poem confronts the problematic configuration of an identity that has no stable core, that is, in fact, the reflection of alterity. In the sonnet 'Era la alegre víspera del día' [It was the joyful eve of the day], the poetic persona recalls his capitulation to love upon first sight of Lucinda (generally identified as the fictional representation of Micaela de Luján, with whom Lope enjoyed a ten-year relationship). The final lines read:

> cuando amor me enseñó la vez primera
> de Lucinda en su sol los ojos bellos,
> y me abrasó como si rayo fuera.
> Dulce prisión y dulce arder por ellos;
> sin duda que su fuego fue mi esfera,
> que con verme morir descanso en ellos. (lines 9–14)[8]

Press, 1974). See also Randel, who refers to a 'circular critical mode' ('Proper Language', p. 224) that operates when the reader translates Lope's art back into life.

[6] See Paul Julian Smith, *Writing in the Margin: Spanish Literature of the Golden Age* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), p. 76. The idea is reiterated by Randel, 'Proper Language', p. 224. Carreño engages critically with the concept in 'Amor regalado', pp. 78–79.

[7] This is particularly pertinent to the prologue sonnet of the *Rimas* (1602). See Torres, 'Interloping Lope', and chapter 5 of this volume.

[8] The poem is no. 34 in Lope de Vega, *Poesía selecta*, ed. Antonio Carreño, 4th edn (Madrid: Cátedra, 2003).

absurdity from the materialistic counter-text to the idealistic targets being mocked. In this parodic context, the Burguillos subject is a critical intervening figure between writer and reader, a catalyst that opens up a space for critique, but also for renewal.

Parody's preference for the material over the ideal is taken to literal extremes in the *Burguillos* poems. The illusion of the subject is constructed in materiality. In contrast to the elusive 'yo' of the early *Rimas*, who escapes us in the to-ing and fro-ing of art and biography, or the Gongorist subject's slippage into syntactical acrobatics that support aggressively open signifiers, Burguillos is grounded in the trivia of mundane life, both his own and the reader's.[16] Whereas in the *Soledades* [*Solitudes*], Góngora creates a protagonist/speaker who is entirely emptied of identity (without name, place, or single perspective), who is a defiant representation of the ambiguous relationship between the early modern subject and his environment, Lope de Vega insists on the who, what, where and when of his counterfeit subject, thus extending ambiguity into ambivalence. While ambiguous identity allows for the potential cancelling out of one authority by another (the anxiety which always underpins emulative poetics), a deliberately constructed ambivalent subject permits oppositional identities to co-exist and for authority to waver between them, and even, on occasions, to embrace both. Thus, depending on the poem in question, the reader identifies the 'yo' of the text as Tomé, or as Tomé masking Lope, or as Lope masking Tomé, or as the voice of Lope de Vega himself (whether constructed or real).

The poems and prose texts that introduce the 1634 collection correspond to conventional introductory formulae, that is, approbations, a dedication, a prologue to the reader and poetic eulogies. In the literary works published in the period these paratexts (authored by, addressed to, and referencing, real people) have an inevitable liminal quality, quite literally located on the threshold between life and art. The preliminary material that introduces the *Burguillos* poems, however, operates wholly within the parodic framework of the collection, giving the authorising border an enhanced plasticity and preparing the reader for the playfully subversive performance of subjectivity that will follow. Thus Valdivieso's approbation, which confirms the authorship of Tomé de Burguillos, is followed by that of Francisco de Quevedo, who authorises Tomé in the fragile linguistic space of the work's title, but legitimises the text by comparing its style to that of Frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio. Lope's own dedication to the Duke of Sessa forges a 'yo' that speaks in the name of Tomé, followed by a preface to the reader which challenges assumptions that Burguillos is not actually real. The reader, who may be sceptical of fragile or circumstantial linguistic evidence (the brief biography, character sketch and physical description) is directed for corroboration to a portrait of Burguillos, which is not in itself authentic, but a copy of a canvas

[16] In a recent reading of the *Burguillos* anthology Adrián Pérez-Boluda explores how the poet creates a poetics of erotic *costumbrismo* through sensualising elements of prosaic reality; see 'Costumbrismo erótico y parodia antipetrarquista en el *Tomé de Burguillos* de Lope de Vega', *Caliope*, 12 (2006): 57–75.

painted by the artist Francisco Ribalta.[17] The self-portrait is, of course, of Lope, laurel-wreathed and subverting the rejection of emblematic ideality that characterises the materialistic Burguillos, who prefers olives as fruit over laurel as symbol, and is wreathed always in thyme ('que más quiere aceitunas que laureles / y siempre se corona de tomillos' [who prefers olives to bay leaves and is always wreathed in thyme]). These verses close out a sonnet, ostensibly written by El Conde Claros and addressed to Tomé, in which three subjects are at play in a variegated voice. In a fusion of empirical person and poetic persona, Lope de Vega becomes Claros, a manoeuvre that allows him to confirm his anti-*culto* poetics, to absent (and present) Góngora from a subjective canonical tradition, and to introduce his latest self-incarnation, a burlesquing Burguillos, as a worthy successor to Garcilaso de la Vega and to Camoes. So before the reader enters Tomé/Lope's alternative world, ambivalent subjectivity has been established and polyvalence conveyed as its natural correlative.

The first of four programmatic sonnets reveals the three guiding principles of the collection (a critique of Gongorist 'new poetry'; literary recreation; and a preoccupation with time that was integral to the disillusioned literature of the period),[18] but gives clear priority to the redeployment of courtly love/Petrarchan topoi in a new burlesque disposition:

> oíd de un caos la materia prima,
> no culta como cifras de receta,
> que en lengua pura, fácil, limpia y neta,
> yo invento, Amor escribe, el tiempo lima. (lines 5–8)

> [Listen to the raw material of chaos [i.e. poetry derived from the suffering of unrequited love], not contrived [lit. 'not learned', with an aural pun suggesting 'not hidden'] like prescription codes, for in language that is pure and simple, clean and clear, I invent, Love writes, time polishes [away].]

The diminutive *ars poetica* of line 7 resonates with the terms of the *claros/cultos* literary polemic and inserts Lope de Vega right into the centre of Tomé's opening poem, a symbolic underlining of what might be considered the objective of the entire anthology — an elderly Lope's attempts to reclaim the centre of Spanish poetics.[19] But the process of poetic creation, as it is conveyed here, is rooted in an

[17] Aurora Egido, citing Pierre Civil, draws our attention to the evolving, controlled self-portraits of Lope from the publication of the *Arcadia* in 1598; see 'Escritura y poesía: Lope al pie de la letra', *Edad de Oro*, 14 (1995): 121–49 (p. 136). See also Antonio Sánchez Jiménez, *Lope pintado por sí mismo: mito e imagen del autor en la poesía de Lope de Vega Carpio* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2006) which offers the first substantial analysis of an evolving self-fashioning in Lope's work, taking visual representation into account throughout (the Burguillos 'portrait' is discussed in chapter 5).

[18] As noted by García Santo-Tomás, 'Lope, ventrílocuo de Lope', pp. 289–90.

[19] See also Sonnet 147, addressed to a Gongorist poet 'Libio', especially lines 5–8, where Lope's presence is metaphorical but still central: 'Si vos, imperceptible, si remoto, / yo, blando, fácil, elegante y puro; / tan claro escribo como vos escuro; / la vega es llana y intrincado el soto' [Your style is [lit. you are] incomprehensible, distant, mine is [lit. I am] soft, easy, elegant and

ambivalent subject whose control over poetic invention is further compromised by the ambiguous role played by time (operating as a force for improvement, but also of erosion), and by an all too familiar subject matter (love).[20] It is true, as Rozas and others have suggested, that the prevalent view of the *Burguillos* poems as an 'anti-*canzoniere*' to the washerwoman Juana is fallacious (in that only 34 of the 168 compositions treat the amorous theme),[21] but it is equally true that Lope had a hand in guiding the fallacy. Aside from the fact that there are four programmatic sonnets instead of the usual one, and that all four turn on Burguillos' triple submission to love, to Juana and to love poetry, Lope had already proclaimed Juana as the subject of the anthology in the prologue (albeit misleadingly). In fact, he undermines Juana's identity as material subject by suggesting that her vulgar reality may be artificially constructed, that 'Juana' is a deceptive sign, a common label denoting a much loftier lady, a burlesque deflation of conventional poetic disguises. 'Juana', therefore, is Tomé's shepherdess, but extracted from the privileged site of the fertile *locus amoenus* and relocated to the banks of the dried-up Manzanares. She is no more real than, and as real as, Lope de Vega's Filis, Amarilis, Belisa, Camila Lucinda and Marfisa. One of the great and deliberate ironies of the anthology is that the ironic distance that enables the deconstructive voice of parody is not very distant after all. The poetic tradition parodied in the Juana poems not only includes Lope as former practitioner, but informs the practice that produces the parody.

III

The second sonnet of the collection encourages us to contemplate this poetic methodology in action: to confront the deceptive feigning that is involved in the transformation of life into art, a strategy the speaker simultaneously rejects and reinforces:

pure; my writing is as clear as yours is obscure; mine a flat meadow, and yours a tangled grove]. There is a clear pun on the author's name in 'vega', while opinion is divided over whether 'soto' is a veiled reference to the writer Pedro Soto de Rojas — a Gongorist poet but also a friend of Lope's (Lope wrote the eulogy which precedes Soto's 1623 anthology, *Desengaño de amor en rimas*).

[20] Daniel L. Heiple refers to these verses to support his argument that Lope's originality lies in great part in his view of poetry as an act of creation — invention over imitation; see 'Lope's Arte poética', in *Renaissance and Golden Age Essays in Honor of D. W. McPheeters*, ed. Bruno M. Damiani (Potomac, MD: Scripta Humanistica, 1986), pp. 106–19 (p. 118).

[21] See Rozas, 'Burguillos como heterónimo', pp. 145–46. Critical responses to Lope's poetry in general have been somewhat scant and with a tendency towards partial emphases, in comparison to the reception enjoyed by his drama. Responses to the *Burguillos* poems have been even fewer, if not further between. There are two main approaches: the text as parodic anti-text with an emphasis on 'desengaño amoroso y literario' (Carreño, in Lope, *Poesía selecta*, p. 381, and also Trueblood, *Experience*, p. 162); an historico-biographical approach which reads the poems in the context of the issues informing Lope's *ciclo de senectute* (e.g. Rozas & Cañas Murillo, in Lope, *Rimas*, pp. 20–21, and Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez, 'El desengaño barroco en las *Rimas de Tomé de Burguillos*', *Anuario de Filología*, 4 (1978): 391–418).

Celebró de Amarilis la hermosura
Virgilio en su Bucólica divina,
Propercio de su Cintia, y de Corina
Ovidio en oro, en rosa, en nieve pura;
Catulo de su Lesbia la escultura
a la inmortalidad pórfido inclina;
Petrarca, por el mundo peregrina,
constituyó de Laura la figura;
yo, pues Amor me manda que presuma
de la humilde prisión de tus cabellos,
poeta montañés, con ruda pluma,
Juana, celebraré tus ojos bellos:
que vale más de tu jabón la espuma
que todas ellas y que todos ellos.

[Virgil celebrated the beauty of Amarilis in his Eclogues divine [both work and lady]; Propertius celebrated Cynthia, and Ovid Corinna, in gold, in rose, and pure white snow; Catullus celebrated Lesbia's sculpture, thereby immortalising marble; Petrarch fashioned Laura's face, famous throughout the world; Now since I, a Cantabrian poet, with a primitive pen, am told by Love to boast that I am humbly bound by your hair [lit. 'boast of the humble prison of your hair'], Juana, I will celebrate your beautiful eyes; for the foam from your soap is worth more than all of them —women and writers.]

The poem pushes several intertextual buttons in a carefully crafted sequential sonnet that is more a celebration of subjective creativity based on reality than an attempt to forge idealistic associations. Meaning is derived in great part from the poem's relationship to the prior texts, literary predecessors and female subjects listed in the quatrains, but rather than casting doubt on the poem's autonomy, or uniqueness, deviance from conventional models serves to legitimise the speaker's emulative stance. A sense of continuity and rupture informs the emergence of the speaker in the tercets, where the self is textured in tense recognition of its reliance on the conventional rhetoric of amorous poetry, but also on an innovative impulse that can breathe new life into old images. Thus the poem acknowledges the inadequacy of the stereotypes it cannot do without, reiterating the speaker's subservience to a higher authority, employing conventional symbols of female power and beauty — hair and eyes — and dedicating the subject voice to a celebratory poetics. But whereas conventional motifs remain unchallenged in the following dedicatory sonnet, no. 3 (ice and fire, salamander, siren, moth and flame), the final tercet of Sonnet 2 confidently punctures Petrarchan pretensions. The meta-artistic finale has multiple antagonists: Juana, the speaker, the poetry, against a whole poetic legacy, Classical and vernacular. Ultimately the latter is deflated through its objectification in a poetics of experience, in which originality of concept and style is seen to owe something to origins that are non-literary, to the modest beginnings of the subject voice and the mundane activity of the subject matter. And there is an alternative splendour in this grounding. For the foam that in other aesthetic contexts might denote the emergence of water nymphs, the birth

of Venus, or the fluid border of land and sea,[22] is not so much re-shaped in Tomé's poem as re-directed. In this transformed and transforming context a whole world of connotations converge and survive, but are submerged in Juana's suds.

The redeployment of conventional archetypes is also a feature of Sonnet 7, 'Bien puedo yo pintar una hermosura' [I am more than capable of depicting beauty], a poem which revels in its ambivalent subjects. The speaker is a dominant presence from the outset, and on this occasion has a single antagonist in the emulative arena, none other than Lope de Vega himself. Thus lyric self-creation in the present involves a confrontation with plural poetic selves of the past (lyric and pastoral), and depends on the agency of an informed and dynamic reader to realise manipulated life/art connections (the most obvious being the representation of Elena Osorio as Helen of Troy, or Filis). The poem authorises transgression on all levels, temporal, spatial and cognitive, ultimately proclaiming subjective creativity to know no bounds. The writer's freedom to rewrite reality can even transform Juana: 'basta que para mí tan linda seas' [It's enough that I find you so beautiful]. Whether or not Juana's beauty has the power to transform the world around her is the starting point of Sonnet 148. The poem opens in similar vein to no. 10, 'Describe un monte sin qué ni para qué' [He describes a mountain for no good reason], which engages in extreme terms with the reader's expectations of an erotic *locus amoenus*. Both poems open out hyperbolically into familiar idyllic territory, only to flummox the reader in a contrived anti-climax. Just as the speaker of no. 10 acknowledges that nothing ever happened to him (or, indeed, could happen to him) in a landscape too artificial to be true, the flowers and nightingales of no. 148 acquire a more authentic role, a linguistic alternative to stale rhetoric in the perspective of the speaking subject:

> Aunque decir que entonces florecieron,
> y por ella cantaron ruiseñores,
> será mentira, porque no lo hicieron.
> Pero es verdad que, en viendo sus colores,
> a mí me pareció que se rieron
> selvas, aves, cristal, campos y flores. (9–14)

[Although I'd be lying if I said that fields flowered and nightingales sang for her, because they didn't. But truth be told, it seemed to me that the sight of her colours made woods, birds, silver streams, fields and flowers laugh.]

The triumph of the ending, however, is also its undoing. Identity constructed in and through the language of another will only ever acquire a partial, and subjective, truth.

The intentionality of language that emerges from a non-neutral frame of reference has ramifications for lyric self-creation that are both positive and

[22] Carreño provides a more detailed discussion of the symbolic associations of 'espuma' [foam], but reads the ending of the poem in terms of a deconstruction of antecedents; see 'Los engaños de la escritura', p. 555.