

DEFFENSA DE POESIA

A Spanish Version of  
Sir Philip Sidney's  
Defence of Poesie

by

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Submitted to the Department of  
Romance Languages and Literatures  
and the Faculty of the Graduate  
School of the University of  
Kansas in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy.

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May, 1956

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would be impossible to name or even bring to mind the names of all those who have contributed to the appearance of this work. Professor J. M. Osma has seen the research through all its phases. Background work in linguistics, literary theory, and work applying specifically to this thesis has been aided at various periods and to no small extent by the librarians in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, the Library of Congress, and the libraries of the University of Kansas and Northwestern University. Thanks of a very special nature is due the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures at the University of Kansas for unhesitating and unique liberality in purchasing needed materials whenever requested.

D. C.

TO

J. M. OSMA

DEFENSA DE POESIA

## Foreword

In connection with work on the relation of form and content in language and literature I have had many an occasion to refer to the work of the preceptors, to those writers in ancient, medieval, and Renaissance times who dealt with the science of style in language-- in oratory, prose and poetry. While surveying the Spanish output in this genre, published but generally unavailable in this country, I came across this manuscript, Deffensa de Poesia; it seemed worthy of notice and analysis as a fair sample of the Renaissance poet's attempt to define and to justify his art in a sometimes not too receptive society. The role of the preceptor, at all times attempting to analyze the role of the creative artist in a particular culture, is in the Deffensa de Poesia carried out by one who is at the same time a creative artist. Of more than passing interest is the fact that this humble work is so intimately connected with Anglo-Hispanic literary affairs in the Renaissance, a field of wide possibilities largely unexplored except for the outstanding exception of Underhill. The connection of the present work with the Defence of Poesie of Sidney, to be discussed in Chapter One, is of course of great historical interest; further study may show this connection to be significant to the literature of Spain. All these facts invite the publication of the manuscript Deffensa de Poesia.

## CHAPTER ONE

The anonymous manuscript Deffensa de Poesia MS 3908 of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid has sixty pages fifteen and one-half by twenty-two and one-half centimeters in dimension. Under the former system of cataloguing holdings it carried the signature M-119.<sup>1</sup> A copy of the manuscript on microfilm is to be found in the library of the University of Kansas; this copy was made in August 1955 and is the only one known to have been made.

The bibliography of the manuscript is brief. Menéndez y Pelayo does not mention it;<sup>2</sup> Gallardo lists it among anonymous manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> In 1954 a bibliographer of the Instituto de Estudios Madrileños erroneously described it thus: "Es una apología de la poesía. En los capítulos 15 y 16 (fols. 26r and 29r) trata de algunos géneros poéticos. El manuscrito no tiene fecha y su autor, anónimo, dice haber estado en la corte del Emperador [Carlos I]."<sup>4</sup> Such is the extent of the bibliography of the manuscript. The issue here presented is in a diplomatic edition.

Concerning the origin of the manuscript we have certain knowledge of only one owner. On [60r] appears the following legend in cursive script, apparently not the hand of the manuscript's scribe. "Si este libro se perdere/ Como suele acontecer/ Suplico al que se lo hallare/ que me lo mande boluer/ y si no saue mi nombre/ aqui lo quiero poner/ Iuan de bustamante/ De la mano y pluma de/ D<sup>n</sup> Iuan de Bustamante/ Cauallero muy noble." Page [56v] carries substantially the same inscription, barely legible, written vertically in the right margin. The only well-known Bustamante who could possibly have been

a contemporary of the manuscript is one Juan Ruiz de Bustamante, according to the Espasa encyclopedia, "Gramático y filólogo español del siglo XVI, al que se deben, entre otras obras, una Gramática castellana y el libro Formulas adagiales latinas y españolas."<sup>5</sup>

A description of the handwriting is of interest even though the penmanship may not aid us in determining date or authorship of the manuscript. The hand is a Spanish bastard, its particular style being comparable to illustrations given in Day<sup>6</sup> and Cotarelo y Mori.<sup>7</sup> Day's illustration of the Spanish bastard in his Plate 48 most closely resembles the hand of the Deffensa; the illustration was taken from a Spanish penmanship manual, that of Francisco Lucas of 1577. Cotarelo y Mori says that Juan de Iciar introduced the bastard style into Spain in 1548 in his Arte de escribir, Zaragoza, 1548. The calligraphy of the manuscript will aid us in determining its earliest possible date but not in fixing its latest possible date, for the bastard style continued in use in Spain long after dates of composition made possible by internal evidence of the manuscript.

The second half of the manuscript is dedicated to an evaluation of English poetry and a description of the status of poetry in England. Comparison of the Deffensa with English poetic theory reveals it to be a version of Sir Philip Sidney's Defence of Poesie. Two printed versions of Sidney's Defence appeared in 1595, one printed for William Ponsonby was entitled The Defence of Poesie,<sup>8</sup> the other, printed for Henry Olney, An Apologie for Poetrie.<sup>9</sup> Because of the linguistic analysis which follows it will suffice to say here that the Spanish version corresponds more closely to the Ponsonby Defence than to the Olney

Apologie, but that it in turn carries about as much unique material in comparison to Ponsonby as does Ponsonby in comparison to Olney. The Deffensa carries chapter titles which come at logical transition points in the continuum; neither the Apologie nor the Defence carries chapter titles.

The character of the Deffensa presents a clear possibility that the author may have been an Englishman writing in Spanish and places the document in a rather special classification, there having been almost no attempt by Englishmen to write in Spanish during the Renaissance. John Garrett Underhill does mention one such work, at the same time barring its inclusion in literature proper, the manuscript collection authored by John Smith, Collection and Observations relating to the conditions of Spain, written, according to Underhill, partly in Spanish and partly in English.<sup>10</sup> At the time of his writing Smith was carrying out his short-lived embassy to the Spanish court, 1576-1577.<sup>11</sup>

In order to relate the Sidney Defence to the material that we are presenting here for the first time we must sketch in a history of Sidney's life and the genesis of the Defence.<sup>12</sup> The precise and detailed pagination of sources, particularly of Wallace, by footnotes will give easy access to primary sources for interested readers. Chronological clarity is not always a virtue of Sidney's biographers. The pertinent facts, then, are these:

Philip Sidney, son of Sir Henry Sidney, was born at Penshurst on November 30, 1554.<sup>13</sup> On October 17, 1561 he entered Shrewsbury School;<sup>14</sup> and in 1568 he went to Christ Church, Oxford.<sup>15</sup> In 1572 he received



license from Elizabeth I to go abroad for travel and in order to learn foreign languages.<sup>16</sup> It was on May 25 that she permitted "her trusty and well-beloved Philip Sidney, Esq., to go out of England into parts beyond the seas, with three servants and four horses, etc., to remain the space of two years immediately following his departure out of the realm, for his attaining the knowledge of foreign languages."<sup>17</sup> Sidney reached Paris June 8, 1572.<sup>18</sup> There he witnessed but survived under the protection of Sir Francis Walsingham the Massacre of St. Bartholemew's Day.<sup>19</sup> He followed Herbert Languet to Vienna in the summer of 1573,<sup>20</sup> and in August made a rather unexpected side trip into Hungary.<sup>21</sup> November 1573 saw him set out for Italy.<sup>22</sup> On August 4, 1574, he drew his last money in Venice.<sup>23</sup> Between this date and November 27, 1574, he made a protracted visit to Poland.<sup>24</sup> On November 27, 1574, he was again in Vienna with Languet; he spent the winter of 1574-1575 there, gaining the friendship of Edward Wotton and undergoing the much discussed training in equitation with Pugliano.<sup>25</sup> On May 31, 1575 he embarked from Antwerp with Edward Wotton for England.<sup>26</sup>

Sidney was to have further contact with the courts of Europe, for on February 7, 1577 Elizabeth I drew instructions for him concerning a mission of condolence to Emperor Rudolf and his mother at the time of the death of Emperor Maximilian and incidentally to convey the royal sympathy to the Counts Palatine, Lewis and Casimir, for the death of their father.<sup>27</sup> On March 5, 1577 Sidney had arrived in Brussels;<sup>28</sup> and some days later he paid his respects to Don Juan of Austria in Louvain.<sup>29</sup> In Vienna on Easter Monday he conversed with the Emperor Rudolf, apparently in Latin.<sup>30</sup> He returned to Heidelberg April 30, 1577. He was at Bruges June 5, 1577 and probably sailed for England

a few days later; for letters of Walsingham and Waterhouse June 10, 1577 announce his arrival in England.<sup>31</sup>

Recognized as one of the young men leading the opposition to Elizabeth's marriage to Alençon, he was forced to leave the court for Wilton in 1580.<sup>32</sup> On New Years Day of 1581 he gave signs of submitting to the Queen's will;<sup>33</sup> back in court in 1581 he interested himself in the cause of Don Antonio, one of the pretenders to the Portuguese throne.<sup>34</sup> September 21, 1583 saw his marriage to Frances Walsingham;<sup>35</sup> Wallace places the birthdate of their daughter Elizabeth in 1585.<sup>36</sup> On July 8, 1584 instructions were drawn for Sidney for a special mission to France, ostensibly to condole with the King and the Queen Mother on the death of Alençon, but in reality to persuade France to oppose Spain in the Low Countries.<sup>37</sup> The French court chose not to enter into insincere negotiations; and Sidney turned back, the project abandoned.<sup>38</sup>

In 1585, after Elizabeth's decision to aid the Netherlanders against Spain, she appointed Sidney governor of Flushing, probably upon the persuasion of Sir Francis Drake.<sup>39</sup> He departed thence November 16, reached Walcheren November 18, 1585, and proceeded to Flushing on foot.<sup>40</sup> He spent a weary winter there; in the summer of 1586, May 5, his father died;<sup>41</sup> August 9 of that summer saw the death of his mother.<sup>42</sup> It was on September 22, 1586 in an action against a convoy from the Duke of Parma to Zutphen that Sidney received the wound that caused his death on October 17, 1586.<sup>43</sup>

This biographical summary will serve as a framework within which to discuss necessary questions concerning the date of Sidney's Defence, the circumstances of its composition, and the sources or origin of the present Spanish Deffensa.

First as to the date of composition of the Defence. Zouch<sup>44</sup> does not concern himself with the date of composition of the Defence, neither does Denckinger.<sup>45</sup> Myrick<sup>46</sup> treats the Defence only as an essay constructed as a model of rhetoric, oratorical rhetoric.

On October 18, 1580, at the age of twenty-five, Philip Sidney wrote from Leicester House to his brother Robert, then aged seventeen and traveling in Germany, a letter long and brotherly and full of ideas concerning the study of history. Arber believes that this confidential letter shows that Sidney's mind was at this time much occupied with the consideration of subjects dealt with in the Defence, and that the letter may be considered the forerunner of the Defence.<sup>47</sup> The text of the letter upon which such a supposition is based is this:

"For the Method of writing Historie, Boden hath written at large; yow may reade him and gather out of many Wordes some Matter. This I thinke in Haste, a Story is either to be considered as a Storie, or as a Treatise, which, besides that addeth many Things for Profite and Ornament; as a Story, he is nothing but a Narration of Things done, with the Beginnings, Causes, and Appendences thereof.... In that Kinde yow haue principally to note the Examples of Vertue or Vice, with their good or evell Successes, the Establishments or Ruines of great Estates, with the Causes, the Tyme, and Circumstances of the Lawes they write of, the Entrings and Endings of Warrs, and therein, the Stratagemes against the Enimy, and the Discipline vpon the Soldiour; and thus much as a very Historiographer.

"Besides this, the Historian makes himselfe a Discourser for Profite, and an Orator, yea a Poet sometimes for Ornament. An Orator,

in making excellent Orations, e re nata, which are to be marked, but marked with the Note of Rhetoricall Remembrances: A Poet in painting forth the Effects, the Motions, the Whisperings of the People, which though in Disputation, one might say were true, yet who will make them well, shall finde them taste of a Poetical Vaine, and in that kinde are gallantly to be marked, for though perchance they were not so, yet it is enough they might be so. The last Poynt which tendes to teach Profite, is of a Discourser, which Name I giue to who soeuer speakes, Non simpliciter de facto, sed de qualitatibus et circumstantijs factij; and that is it which makes me, and many others, rather note much with our Penn then with our Minde.... This write I to yow in greate Hast, of Method without Method, but with more Leysure and Studie (if I doe not finde some Booke that satisfies) I will venter to write more largely vnto yow." <sup>48</sup>

There is a reference in the Defence to Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar. Arber says: "[This reference] proves incontestably, that Sidney wrote his Apologie subsequent to the 5th December, 1579, the date of the licensing upon entry at Stationer's Hall of Spenser's work; the first edition bears the date 1579, the second 1581, and the third 1586. The earliest date assignable to the present reprint [of the Defence] is therefore 1580. Some time should, however, be allowed for the Shepherd's Calendar to attain to its acknowledged reputation. The date usually given for the composition of the Apologie for Poetrie, viz., 1581, may therefore be taken as approximately correct."<sup>49</sup>

Bourne says in his Memoir that the Defence of Poesie, written after the Arcadia and Astrophel and Stella, and therefore probably not until the year 1583, was the last of Sidney's longer writings.<sup>50</sup>

Later, in Sir Philip Sidney, after discussing internal evidence, Bourne says that the Defence was written soon, perhaps no more than a few months, after the appearance of The Shepherd's Calendar, or in 1579.<sup>51</sup>

J. Churton Collins states: "The exact date of the composition of the Apologie cannot be settled, but it was probably written either at the end of 1580, when Sidney was in retirement at Wilton, or some time in 1581."<sup>52</sup> The editor of the Noel Douglas reproduction places the date of composition in "about 1581."<sup>53</sup>

Addleshaw shows some independence in discussing the date of authorship. He carries to his reasoning internal evidence which does not consist merely of references to events and works: "Philip may have composed [the Defence] years before he gave it to the world, though it is not at all likely that he did. But mere assertion is dangerous, and we have no evidence to prove he had not been at work on it for twenty years. So precocious a boy might have well begun serious work before he went to Shrewsbury."<sup>54</sup>

Wallace produces a more convincing argument to the same conclusion: "There has been general agreement, however, that in writing it [the Defence] Sidney had in mind Gosson's School of Abuse, which appeared in August, 1579, and, consequently, that his own work is of later date. Gosson had dedicated his book to Sidney evidently without having sought permission."<sup>55</sup>

"In the absence of all definite evidence as to the date of composition of the Apologie we may hazard the opinion that the work as we have it to-day was not composed at one time. Mr Shuckburgh has pointed out the similarity between many of the ideas

expressed by Sidney in the letter which he wrote to his brother Robert in October, 1580, and those elaborated in the earlier part of the Apologie where the various functions of the historian, orator, philosopher and poet are treated. Spenser's lost work The English Poet may have originated in conversations which also gave rise to the Apologie, in the months immediately preceding Spenser's departure for Ireland. On the other hand, the last division of the Apologie, which deals with the state of contemporary English literature, must surely have been written several years later. The references to the Shepherd's Calendar and the tedious prattling of euphuism "in certain printed discourses" suggest a period when Spenser's poem and Lyly's novel had become well known. Moreover, Sidney's antipathy to rhyme has disappeared; he now finds in it both sweetness and majesty of quantitative verse. A more convincing argument, perhaps, may be based on his contemptuous reference to the artificial love-songs and sonnets of the day. He condemns them not only because of their insincerity but because he remembers how much better poetic ability might be employed in singing the praises of the immortal beauty, the immortal goodness of that God who giveth us hands to write and wits to conceive. It is difficult to believe that this passage was written before Sidney's own sonnet-writing days had passed. He himself has been admitted to the company of these paper blurrers, he tells us, and he offers as an excuse that he had yielded an inky tribute to certain thoughts by which he had been overmastered. The tone recalls that of the last sonnet: "leave me, O love, that reachest but to dust," and the air of detachment from all such trivialities and the religious tone accord rather with the latter period when Sidney was translating

into English the religious works of Du Bartas and Du Flessis Mornay. We may conjecture that the Apologie was begun towards the end of 1579 or during 1580 and that it was concluded in 1583 or 1584."<sup>56</sup>

Wallace here has raised the question of the motive to composition of the Defence; the reasons usually cited are those set out by Arber (although not originally) in 1901: "The motive to its [the Defence] production is known. It is a carefully prepared answer to portions of two works dedicated to Sidney, by another poet, Stephen Gosson; who had but recently forsaken the stage for the Pulpit. These works were the Schoole of Abuse, which appeared about August 1579, and An Apologie of the Schoole of Abuse, which was published in the following November."<sup>57</sup>

J. Churton Collins is convinced that out of the Gosson attack grew the Defence: "In 1579 appeared--written by Stephen Gosson, a Kentish man, educated at Oxford--a treatise bearing the following title: 'The Schoole of Abuse, Containing a plesaunt inuectiue against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Iesters and such like Caterpillers of a Commonwealth! Setting vp the Flagge of Defiance to their mischieuous exercise and ouerthrowing their Bulwarkes by Prophane Writers, Naturel reason and common experience, &c.' This treatise was dedicated to Sir (then Mr.) Philip Sidney. There can be little doubt that if this work ded not actually inspire the Apologie for Poetrie, it was in Sidney's mind when he wrote the Apologie, and that in parts of the work though he nowhere makes any mention of Gosson, he was directly replying to him. That from the first he had no sympathy with Gosson is clear from a letter written by Spenser to Gabriel Harvey, dated October, 1579: 'Newe booke I heare of none but only one that writing a certain booke called The Schoole of Abuse,

and dedicating it to Maister Sidney was for his labour scorned: if at leaste it be in the goodnesse of that nature to scorne...."<sup>58</sup>

It is interesting to note what Bourne says about the composition motive: "His eloquent and humorous treatise was in reality as much a challenge to his friends of the Aeropagus and others to give dignity to the poet's calling as a defence of poetry against such ribald, but not wholly unmerited, attacks as Stephen Gosson had lately made in "the School of Abuse."<sup>59</sup>

Wilson believes that the 'newschool' called for an apologist and its manifesto was Sidney's Defence. Citing no specific evidence of preoccupation with the Gosson attack she states that "Several passages in the Defence indicate that the School of Abuse was still fresh in Sidney's mind, and the whole movement of the treatise suggests that it was not lying long on the stocks, but was written currente calamo while the subject was uppermost."<sup>60</sup>

Wallace will concede only that "There has been general agreement, however, that in writing [the Defence] Sidney had in mind Gosson's School of Abuse, which appeared in August, 1579...."<sup>61</sup>

Addleshaw dissents: "I do not think the allusions to Gosson's two rather foolish books are at all conclusive in approximating the date. The first was called The School of Abuse, which appeared in April, 1579, and the second, An Apologie of the Schoole of Abuse, which electrified readers the following November. I cannot see that either of these publications affect An Apologie for Poetry. Still, great effects from little causes spring...."<sup>62</sup> He goes on to say that he has studied the problem for many years and confesses with candor that he does not understand why so great an amount of discussion



should be adduced to relate these chronologically approximate but otherwise disconnected events.

Sidney's Defence circulated in manuscript until 1595, nine years following Sidney's death. The sparse fly-leaf introduction of the Noel Douglas reprint gives us this information: "In that year [1595] two distinct editions appeared printed from different titles. The earlier entry in the Register is that of Ponsoby [The Defence of Poesie by Sir Phillip Sidney Knight London Printed for William Ponsoby 1595]. Olney's edition [An Apologie for Poetrie written by the right noble virtuous and learned Sir Phillip Sidney Knight.... At London printed for Henry Olney 1595] has slightly different text and includes four sonnets by Henry Constable which are not in Ponsoby's edition. Olney's sheets were later transferred to Ponsoby who reissued them with his title page. Copies of the original Ponsoby edition are exceedingly rare. In view of the fact that Ponsoby was the printer of the authorised edition of Arcadia in 1598 and that he took over Olney's copies of the Apologie it seems probable that his edition is to be regarded as the better authorised. It has therefore been chosen for reproduction here in the absence of any conclusive evidence of priority in time. There are copies of both editions in the British Museum and the British Museum copy of the original Ponsoby issue is here reproduced." <sup>63</sup>

J. Churton Collins points out: "From this it would seem that the manuscript itself was without title." <sup>64</sup> Robert Sidney, brother of Philip, owned a manuscript of the poetics of Sidney which bore the title Defence. <sup>65</sup> Wilson says that the Defence was preferred by the Countess of Pembroke for her edition of 1598, but that the Apologie presents a slightly better text. <sup>66</sup> It is remarkable that

critics and editors should be able to determine which is the 'better' text or which edition is the 'better authorised' at all and especially so without analyzing the text. The present study makes the minimal steps in setting out differences between the Ponsonby Defence and the Olney Apologie and sets out in detail a comparison of the Spanish Deffensa to the two English versions.

It is necessary to place the Defence in the literature of poetic preceptors in England and then relate it to the theories of poetry of the Renaissance in Europe. Bourne gives a complete but concise picture of the critical environment into which the Defence was born: "It was a thoroughly original work. Very little had been written in foreign languages, and there was nothing in English, which could rob him of renown as the foremost literary critic of real worth. Of verbal criticism there had been much; and hardly anything of this kind could be better than a work already mentioned, Thomas Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique, published in 1554. Wilson, indeed, professing to speak only of the right use of words, had occasionally turned aside to offer wise judgement upon the sense wrapped up in the words of famous authors; but such remarks were merely incidental. Sidney may have found more precedent in the Poetics of Julius Caesar Scaliger, wherein after much description of the various sorts of poems, of the different metres, and of all possible figures of speech and turns of language, he presented a lengthy comparison of Homer with Virgil, and a criticism of the various modern writers of Latin verse. But the Poetics, though it may be possibly have suggested the writing of The Defence of Poesie, can have done no more."<sup>67</sup>

Bourne continues: "The Defence of Poesie took altogether independent ground, but there were other books, about contemporary with it, having

poetry for their theme. In 1575 George Gascoigne had written Certayne Notes of Instruction concerning the making of Verse or Ryme in English, very brief and sensible, but of a much more technical character than the small technical parts of Sidney's masterpiece. This appears to be the earliest production of the kind, and, --if we except seven notable letters which passed between Edmund Spenser and Gabriel Harvey in the years 1579 and 1580, treating chiefly of their unnatural schemes for naturalizing the classical metres in English, --none other of the sort preceded The Defence. In 1584 was published A Treatise of the Airt of Scottis Poesie, the product of King James's genius, and in 1586 appeared a valuable Discourse of English Poetrie, written by William Webbe, a student of Cambridge and probably a friend of Harvey's. Webbe was enthusiastic about the classical metres, and included in his treatise translations of two eclogues of Virgil into hexameters, and of a part of the Shepherd's Kalendar into sapphics. A part of the treatise, however, is skilful, Spenser's poem being mainly the text for critical remarks upon the various styles. From the parallelism in a few passages I am disposed to think that Webbe had seen The Defence of Poesie in manuscript, before writing his own humbler work. And I have hardly a doubt that a like privilege fell to George Puttenham, author of a longer and more ambitious Arte of Englishe Poesie, published in 1589. Some passages are strikingly like those written by Sidney, to whom reference is frequently made, as though he were dead. Puttenham's style was not bad, but he went to absurd lengths in the elaboration of rules for ornament, expression and so forth. One of the passages in which he turned from these subjects to offer sensible criticism contains a review of English poets." 68

The question of influences Sidney is supposed to have undergone is attended by nearly all his commentators. It is hardly necessary to go into the flights of imagination that Scott does to comprehend that Sidney could possibly have read Boccaccio, although not necessarily in the Italian.<sup>69</sup> From the remarks of Osgood in the introduction to his English translation of the poetic theory of Boccaccio we come to understand that the themes and preoccupations common to Sidney and Boccaccio were probably original with neither of them and that Sidney need not have read the De Genealogica Deorum in order to have expressed them in his Defence.<sup>70</sup> With regard to the influence of Scaliger and Minturno upon Sidney, it is certain that he expresses ideas that are similar and in a fashion that is parallel to the works of the former two;<sup>71</sup> all such citations of influence by Scaliger and Minturno seem to go back to Spingarn. Spingarn, on the other hand, says this: that the definition of poetry given by Sidney resembles that given by Minturno<sup>72</sup> and that Sidney must have known Scaliger in order to have cited him.<sup>73</sup> It seems safe to say that a study of influences remains to be made; in any case it will undoubtedly remain impossible to say what books Sidney read and in what order he read them. The fact is that Sidney must have known these theorists, as well as a number of their contemporaries and the ancients that served them all as sources.<sup>74</sup>

The problem of the origin of the Spanish Deffensa is central to this study. If the Deffensa were a simple translation of either the Ponsonby or the Olney issue, which it is not, there would be no problem. If the Deffensa were a purely Spanish creation, which it probably is not, again there would be no problem. We could find equal

comfort in a situation where we were sure of authorship and date of composition; of none of these are we absolutely certain. We then pose the following questions: Did Sidney or someone near him write the Deffensa? What is the relation of the Deffensa to the Defence-Apologie?

A multitude of constructions in the language of the manuscript at first give one an impression of an English text written with Spanish words. Even the morphology and distribution of phonemes seem in places to be unlike Spanish. A thorough examination of these constructions is later set out; the conclusion here generally stated and again presented in detail at the end of Chapter Two is that all the constructions which seem foreign could have existed in sixteenth-century Castilian; nearly all of them are specifically and liberally attested in dictionaries of archaisms. Let it further be stated that in the realm of morphology and phonemics as opposed to syntax the variances from standard Castilian structure which this text presents belong to the area called 'vulgarism' by Vicente García de Diego rather than to non-Castilian dialects. The syntactical constructions which at the beginning seem so foreign to Castilian appear one by one attested by Keniston as occurring usually under somewhat complex but logically describable circumstances. It is true that Keniston often places a time limit for common usage upon several Spanish syntactical constructions which much antedates the appearance of the Defence. We may therefore not set up a hypothesis concerning the origin of the Spanish Deffensa, but rather we must list the total possibilities, surmising as we now must that either an Anglicized Spaniard or a Hispanicized Englishman could have produced it.

Historical research shows us these facts: 1) that Sidney himself could have written the Deffensa, and 2) that he was surrounded by people

who could have done so, who would have wished to do so, and who would have considered such a work not extraordinary.

Sidney's knowledge of foreign languages is generally assumed, although it need not be. A short sketch of his attested linguistic experience and his implied linguistic knowledge will demonstrate his familiarity with the important European languages of his time, his personal connections with and the role he played in the affairs having to do with Spain, and his knowledge of the language of that country.

It is not necessary to wait long in the life of Philip Sidney to see him display skill as a linguist. In a letter from Sir Henry Sidney to Philip at Shrewsbury we find this statement: "I have received two letters from you, one written in Latin, the other in French; which I take in good part, and will you to exercise that practice of learning often; for that will stand you in most stead in that profession of life that you are born to live in."<sup>75</sup> We already know that in 1572 he departed for the continent to prepare for a life of statesmanship by spending two years learning foreign languages. France, Germany, Austria, and Italy were on his agenda.<sup>76</sup> Wilson describes in popular terms and at second-hand Sidney's language experiences on the continent: "His progress in his more serious studies is regularly reported to Languet. He read Italian and French. He offers to send various recent Italian books, chiefly historical, and is anxious to possess a copy of Amyot's Plutarch even if he must pay five times its price. A little Spanish he may have picked up in Venice, as he was able later to translate Spanish songs. But he drew the line at German."<sup>77</sup> Wilson's source was the correspondence between Languet and Sidney; Wallace has recourse to the same source:

Languet is afraid that Sidney will not be able to devote sufficient time to Greek to justify the effort he must expend on acquiring it; some superficial knowledge of German in addition to the four languages with which Sidney is already acquainted would probably be of more practical use.<sup>78</sup> Languet urges Sidney to read Cicero's letters in order to improve his Latin style;<sup>79</sup> Sidney describes his language drills: he had the custom of making circular translations from say Latin to English to French back into Latin.<sup>80</sup>

During his 1577 embassy Philip Sidney conversed with Don Juan of Austria, the Counts Palatine and Emperor Rudolph, noting in all of them Spanish hauteur. In what languages these conversations were held is not too clear, except that in the case of Rudolph the Emperor answered in Latin;<sup>81</sup> there is no indication that Sidney ever used an interpreter; it is certain that he could not conduct affairs of state in German. Thus there is evidence that Sidney could and did handle himself in almost any language he chose to; there is no definite information to prove that he could speak or compose in Spanish. As to his passive knowledge of Spanish, Underhill is eloquent in testifying to Sidney's familiarity with things Spanish--a familiarity that may have caused him and his contemporaries to take a knowledge of Spanish for granted.

Underhill in telling of Sidney's close relationship to the affairs of Spain says: "No families of Elizabethan England were open to influence from Spain at more points than the Sidneys and Herberts. When Philip II. attempted to cajole the confiding Mary in order to obtain the mastery of the country and the crown, the Earl of Pembroke was the most trusted of his northern followers. It was Pembroke who led the promised aid to Philip on the continent in the war with France. Sir Henry Sidney was

scarcely less devoted to the cause of the king. He and Lady Sidney were among the most untiring plotters who secretly visited De Quadra at Durham Place, when the stability of Elizabeth's government was not yet assured. De Silva was intimate with Henry Sidney, and was entertained at the country home of his brother-in-law, Sir William Dormer. When Antonio de Guaras, the merchant who acted as representative of Philip II. in London after the expulsion of Guerau de Spes, was thrown into the Tower, it was Sidney who had to be called all the way from Ireland to explain De Guaras' case. Leicester was guilty of complicity in these plots; indeed, they were designed to promote his advancement. The Haringtons, a family into which a sister of Sir Henry Sidney had married, kept up open communication with their cousins, the Ferias, in Spain. Lady Margaret Harington had removed to that country with the Duchess of Feria. William Harington and William Burlace, a dependent of Leicester, and one of the Dormers at least, visited the peninsula for the purpose of conferring with their relatives. George Fitzwilliam, another connection, successfully carried through the plot by means of which Philip II. was induced to grant John Hawkins letters of nobility for his pretended treason to the queen, and to liberate his sailors imprisoned in Spain."<sup>82</sup>

These connections were alive during Sidney's formative years and were strengthened by similar connections outside the family:

" This event [concerning George Fitzwilliam] took place in the year that Sir Philip Sidney left college. It was not only in his own family that Sidney came in contact with Spanish influences. At Oxford he was the contemporary of Richard Carew, Thomas D'Oylie, Thomas Rogers, and Hakluyt, all subsequently at least familiar with Spanish.



When Sidney matriculated, Cipriano de Valera must have been in residence at the university. The incentives which urged Carew and his friends to study the language, cannot have been escaped by Sidney. They were powerfully reënforced by other associations in after life. The friendship of Sidney with Drake and Michael Lok and other men of action and affairs opened before him storied information that the sea-dogs and tradesmen brought from the colonies and the home ports of Spain. It was only the year before his death, when on his way to carry out an intention of embarking with Drake, that he fell in with Dom Antonio del Crato, the Portuguese pretender, at Drake's house in Devonshire. Dom Antonio at once wrote to Elizabeth that he would like to go on the expedition simply to keep Sidney company. The letter, though overpolite, is an interesting memorial of Sidney's later dealings with the Spaniards." 83

There were influences of a more formal and literary nature: "Richard Carew, Abraham Fraunce, and Hakluyt were personally connected with [Sidney's] set; Nicholas Lichfield, the traveller, and many other translators from the Castilian invited his patronage by placing his name on their title pages; and Thomas Moffett, the Paracelsian, who had visited the peninsula, later maintained relations which were of an intimate nature with the following of the Countess of Pembroke. Throughout the Sidney and Pembroke circles, which may be considered in the present connection as one, there was an evident familiarity with peninsular literature. References to Spanish books are too frequent to be casual. Sir Philip himself translated from Montemayor. Fraunce in his Arcadian Rhetorike presupposes an acquaintance with Castilian in the reader. That language, together with the pastoral of Montemayor, according to the testimony of

Bartholomew Young, was well known to Lady Rich. Despite the fact that Sidney at twenty had such a contemptuous opinion of the Spaniards, neither he nor his adherents held the literature of the peninsula cheap."<sup>84</sup>

Cooke is our main source for proof of at least a passive knowledge of Spanish on the part of Sidney: "When one considers that Sir Philip Sidney, godson and namesake of King Philip II of Spain and scion of a family long on intimate terms with the Spanish nobility, had a wide knowledge of Latin, French and Italian, one may reasonably infer that he was acquainted to some extent with Spanish. The inference seems sound when one perceives here and there throughout Sidney's writings statements which indicate that he took a wholesome interest in Spanish affairs. ...I have examined Sidney's English translations of two lyrics from Montemayor's Diana, and after collating Colin's French (the only previous translation available to Sidney), I have concluded that Sidney translated directly from the Spanish original. The faithfulness and general excellence of his versions, together with his references to Spanish affairs and his knowledge of Latin and Romance languages, make it safe to conclude that Sir Philip Sidney knew a fair amount of Spanish, enough to enable him to read Spanish literature in the original."<sup>85</sup>

According to Martin Hume's conclusions, Sidney's knowledge of Spanish must have been sufficient to permit him to improve upon the works he used as sources of inspiration. <sup>86</sup>

This essay has provided the setting for the Defence of Poesie, and has shown the bases for questioning the authorship of the Defence and for establishing the relationship between the Defence and the Deffensa. Evidence has been adduced to show that Sidney could have

written the Deffensa in Spanish and that such a feat would not have been considered at all remarkable by his contemporaries. At the same time it has been pointed out that there is no evidence that Sidney did write the Deffensa in Spanish. Clearly the only method of establishing the relationship of the Defence, the Apologie, and the Deffensa -- barring fortuitous discovery of historical evidence-- lies in an analysis of the language in which they are composed and to some extent in a comparison of content. Comparison of the three issues will not suffice to establish the priority of either the Apologie or the Defence; analysis of the English would therefore be necessary for there is a clearly marked stylistic variance between the first and second sections noted by scholars who argue for an early date of composition but never structurally described by them.

Notes: Chapter One

1 Barolomé José Gallardo, Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos (Madrid, 1866), II, 129.

Ramón Paz, personal letter (Madrid, 1956): "De la procedencia de este manuscrito no poseemos antecedentes en la sección."

2 Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de las ideas estéticas en España (Madrid, 1940-43), 5 vols.

3 Gallardo, p. 129.

4 Juana de José Prades, La teoría literaria (Madrid, 1954), p. 9.

5 Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana (Bilbao; Madrid; Barcelona, 1905-30), vol. 9.

6 L. F. Day, Penmanship of the XVI, XVII, and XVIIIth Centuries (London, n. d.), plate 48.

7 Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, Diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico de calígrafos españoles (Madrid, 1913-16), I, 10.

8 Noel Douglas, ed. Sir Philip Sidney, [The Defence of Poesie London: William Ponsonby, 1595] (London, 1928).

9 J. Churton Collins, ed. Sir Philip Sidney, An Apologie for Poesie [London: Henry Olney, 1595] (Oxford, 1907).  
19

10 John Garrett Underhill, Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors (London, 1899), pp. 230-231.

11 Underhill, p. 229.

12 The following biographies cover the history of Sidney's life quite completely. All have been consulted; the only one usable for scholarly purposes is Wallace. Of course, Arthur Collins, the Languet-Sidney correspondence, and the Fulke Greville biography are prime sources for all biographers listed.

Percy Addleshaw, Sir Philip Sidney (New York, 1909).

Henry Richard Fox Bourne, A Memoir of Sir Philip Sidney (London, 1862).

\_\_\_\_\_, Sir Philip Sidney (New York, 1891).

- John Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance (London, 1954).
- Emma Marshall Denkinger, Philip Sidney (London, 1932).
- Kenneth Orne Myrick, Sir Philip Sidney as a Literary Craftsman (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1935).
- Malcolm William Wallace, The Life of Sir Philip Sidney (Cambridge, England, 1915).
- Mona Wilson, Sir Philip Sidney (New York, 1932).
- Thomas Zouch, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Philip Sidney (Mork, 1808).

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Secondary sources are in brackets [ ].

- William Aspenwall Bradley, ed. The Correspondence of Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet (Boston, 1912).
- Arthur Collins, ed. Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sidneys (London, 1746).
- [Sir Fulke Greville, The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney (London, 1652) .]

13. Wallace, The Life of Sir Philip Sidney, p. 1.
14. Wallace, p. 35.
15. Wallace, p. 88.
16. Wallace, p. 114.
17. Wallace, p. 114, n. 2.
18. Wallace, p. 116.
19. Wallace, pp. 120-123.
20. Wallace, p. 126.
21. Wallace, p. 127.
22. Wallace, p. 128.
23. Wallace, p. 140.
24. Wallace, p. 140.
25. Wallace, pp. 140-141.
26. Wallace, p. 144.

- 27 Wallace, p. 173.
- 28 Wallace, p. 174.
- 29 Wallace, pp. 173-174.
- 30 Wallace, p. 176.
- 31 Wallace, p. 182.
- 32 Wallace, p. 219.
- 33 Wallace, p. 260.
- 34 Wallace, p. 268.
- 35 Wallace, p. 291.
- 36 Wallace, pp. 333-334.
- 37 Wallace, p. 307.
- 38 Wallace, p. 310.
- 39 Wallace, p. 332.
- 40 Wallace, pp. 341-342.
- 41 Wallace, p. 360.
- 42 Wallace, p. 363.
- 43 Wallace, pp. 376-388.
- 44 Zouch, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Philip Sidney.
- 45 Denkinger, Philip Sidney.
- 46 Myrick, Sir Philip Sidney as a Literary Craftsman.
- 47 Edward Arber, ed. Sir Philip Sidney, Apologie for Poetrie (Westminster, 1901), pp. 4-5.
- 48 Arber, pp. 4-5.
- 49 Arber, p. 7.
- 50 Bourne, Memoir, p. 407.
- 51 Bourne, Sir Philip Sidney, pp. 256-257.

- 52 J. Churton Collins, ed. Sir Philip Sidney, Apologie for Poetrie (Oxford, 1907), pp. xxii-xxiii.
- 53 Noel Douglas, ed. Sir Philip Sidney, The Defence of Poesie (London, 1928), unnumbered introductory page.
- 54 Addleshaw, pp. 358-359.
- 55 Wallace, p. 237.
- 56 Wallace, p. 239.
- 57 Arber, p. 7.
- 58 Collins, Apologie for Poetrie, pp. xxii-xxiii.
- 59 Bourne, Sir Philip Sidney, pp. 256-257.
- 60 Wilson, p. 156.
- 61 Wallace, p. 237.
- 62 Addleshaw, pp. 358-359.
- 63 Douglas, The Defence of Poesie, unnumbered introductory page.
- 64 Collins, Apologie for Poetrie, pp. xxii-xxiii.
- 65 Myrick, p. 46, n. 1. "...the Penshurst manuscript, once owned by Robert Sidney has the title of Defence of Poetry."
- 66 Wilson, p. 156.
- 67 Bourne, Memoir, pp. 383-384.
- 68 Bourne, Memoir, pp. 404-406.
- 69 F. N. Scott, "Boccaccio's De Genealogica Deorum and Philip Sidney's Apologie," Modern Language Notes, VI (April, 1891), 193-202.
- 70 Charles S. Osgood, ed. Boccaccio on Poetry (Princeton, 1930), p. xli.
- 71 Myrick, p. 91.
- 72 Joel E. Spingarn, La Critica Letteraria nel Rinascimento (Bari, 1905), p. 266, n. 1.

73 Spingarn, p. 266, n.3.

74 Wallace, p. 327. "Another translation of Sir Philip's the existence of which has been entirely forgotten, consisted of the first two books of Aristotle's Rhetoric."

75 Wallace, p. 68.

76 Wallace, p. 114.

77 Wilson, p. 56.

78 Wallace, p. 134.

79 Wallace, p. 133.

80 William Aspenwall Bradley, trans. Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet, The Correspondence of Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet (Boston, 1913), p. 26.

81 Wallace, p. 176.

82 Underhill, pp. 264-265.

83 Underhill, pp. 265-266.

84 Underhill, pp. 263-264.

85 Paul John Cooke, The Spanish Romances in Sir Philip Sidney's 'Arcadia' (Urbana, 1939), pp. 9-10.

86 Martin Hume, Spanish Influence on English Literature (London, 1905), pp. 119-21. "When Sir Philip Sidney went abroad to die, he left instructions that his pastoral story called Arcadia, written for the amusement of his sister the Countess of Pembroke, should be destroyed. Fortunately his command was disobeyed, and one of the gems of English literature was preserved. It is written deliberately in what is called the euphuistic or affected, obscure, and precious style which had become fashionable in England, as I mentioned in the last chapter, through the popularity of Guevara's writings. This style, which is also that of Montemayor himself, is suited to the completely artificial pastoral tales, though probably Sidney's correct taste and judgement had no desire to link his fame for ever with a style which sins against simplicity. He has, however, written enough beautiful pure English for us to look with indulgence upon Arcadia. If you will read Bartholomew Young's translation of Diana, and then read Sidney's Arcadia, you will see that he copies closely. Indeed, in the lyrics with which the text is



interspersed, he much improves upon the Spanish book, which, it must be understood, he did not translate, but imitated. These two verses of Sidney's for instance, are better than anything Montemayor could write:--

'Of this high grace with bliss conjoined,  
No further debt on me is laid.  
Since that is selfsame metal coined,  
Sweet Lady, you remain well paid.  
For if my place give me great pleasure,  
Having before me nature's treasure;  
In face and eyes, unmatched being,  
You have the same in my hands, seeing  
What in your face mine eyes do measure.

Nor think the match unevenly made  
That of those beams in you do tarry.  
The glass to you but gives a shade,  
To me mine eyes the true shape carry;  
For such a thought, most highly prized  
Which ever hath Love's yoke despised,  
Better than one captiv' perceiveth;  
Though he the lively form receiveth,  
The other sees it but disguised.'

Throughout the later sixteenth, and all the seventeenth century, in England and France, the pastoral form of romance and poetry continued in vogue. Quite divorced from truth or probability, it yet allowed the sentiment of love, which is always real to be set forth with such ideal surroundings as lent glamour to it on paper."

For objectivity contrasting to the attitude of Hume's criticism, Montemayor's original should be presented for comparison:

De merced tan estremada  
ninguna deuda me queda  
pues en la misma moneda,  
señora, quedáis pagada.  
Que si gozé estando allí  
viendo delante de mí  
rostro y ojos soberanos,  
vas también viendo en mis manos  
lo que en vuestros ojos vi.

Y esto no os parezca mal  
 que de vuestra hermosura  
 vistas solo la figura  
 y yo vi lo natural.  
 Un pensamiento estremado  
 jamas de amor subjectado  
 mejor vee, que no el cativo  
 aunque el uno vea lo vivo  
 y el otro lo debuxado. <sup>a</sup>

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a Jorge de Montemayor, Los siete libros de la Diana  
 (Madrid, 1946), p. 22.

It is an almost more difficult task than even Hume should essay to prove that a translation or an adaptation can be an improvement upon its source. After all, once completed the translation, the entities, are of two different cultures and cannot be compared except by structural means which Hume does not use. I shall say that for subjective reasons. (probably because I have recently read more Spanish poetry than English) that I prefer the Montemayor. Now we are simply back on the level of opinion, i. e., where we started.

## CHAPTER TWO

In this chapter are presented the variations between the Defence and the Deffensa versions of Sir Philip Sidney's work and the language of the Deffensa; they are set out according to this scheme, following linguistic levels:

1. Variations Possibly Arising From Variations in Textual Sources
  - 1.1 Variations of Contradictory Quantity
  - 1.2 Variations Involving Proper Names
  - 1.3 Variations of Tenses
  - 1.4 Variations of Demonstrative Modification
  - 1.5 Variations of Conjunction Usage
  - 1.6 Variations of Grammatical Number
  - 1.7 Spanish Parataxis Corresponds to English Hypotaxis--Non-Modification
  - 1.8 Spanish Parataxis Corresponds to English Hypotaxis--Modification
  - 1.9 Spanish Hypotaxis Corresponds to English Parataxis--Modification
  - 1.10 Other Variations
2. Linguistic Features of the Deffensa Involving Deviations from Normal Spanish Structure
  - 2.1 Phonemic Deviations
    - 2.1.1 Consonant--General
    - 2.1.2 Consonant--/s/ is substituted for /θ/
    - 2.1.3 Consonant--the /ks/ cluster
    - 2.1.4 Consonants--Vulgarisms

- 2.1.5 Vowel
- 2.2 Morphophonemic Deviations
- 2.3 Morphemic Deviations
  - 2.3.1 Consonant Clusters--Distribution of /s/ plus unvoiced stop
  - 2.3.2 Hyperurbanism
- 2.4 Grammatical Categories
- 2.5 Syntax of the Preposition
- 2.6 Syntax of the Noun
- 2.7 Syntax of the Pronoun
- 2.8 Syntax of the Adjective
- 2.9 Syntax of the Verb
- 2.10 Syntax of the Adverb
- 2.11 Semantics

Two variations of the texts require discussion beyond that given them where they are set out in comparison. The first variation has to do with the authorship and identity of the translator of the Spanish version. The English Apologie and the Defence both give 'When the right vertuous E. W. and I were at the Emperours Court together'. J. Churton Collins says the this 'E. W.' is Edward Wotton, a conclusion undoubtedly correct in itself, for there are sufficient references to Edward Wotton's presence in Vienna and his accompanying Sidney back to England.<sup>1</sup> The Deffensa says: 'Quando el uirtuosissimo .N. y yo estuuimos Juntos en la corte del Imperador!..'. Sidney elsewhere mentions people whose patronymic initial was 'N' being in Vienna with him. One is a certain Nevell present in Vienna.<sup>2</sup> Sidney also mentions one Nevers: "Nevers suffered here from severe pain in his leg, where he was wounded some years ago, but suppuration has taken place and he is getting better, so, that I suppose he will go away in a few days", this reference appearing in his correspondence with Languet.<sup>3</sup> We see that there is historical evidence of his having been in the court of the Emperor with persons named 'N \_\_\_\_' just as there is of his having been there in the company of E[dward] W[otton].

It is possible that the scribe of the Deffensa may have inserted the initials of his own name for those of 'EW'. He could have hoped to share Sidney's glory; he may have been in fact justified in inserting his initial if he was indeed with Sidney in Maximilian's court. There exists yet another

possibility in regard to this patronymic initial 'N': Sidney may have written a version in addition to those two which served Ponsonby and Olney for their editions and may well have placed the 'N' there himself, a statement of his which could be historically justified by his references to Nevell and Nevers. It has been stated that the Deffensa seems to correspond to neither the Defence nor to the Apologie in many segments of its language; comparisons of their language in this chapter argue for the existence of a third version. We know that Sidney's apology did circulate in manuscript between the time of its composition and its publication.

Let us review Sidney's relations with people active in the literary phase of Anglo-Hispanic affairs in his day. Several men with a patronymic initial 'N' appear in groups which surrounded Sidney. They are Alexander Neville, Thomas Newton, Alexander Nowell, and Thomas Nuce. Let us examine their literary activities, their relationship to Sidney, and their position in extra-insular affairs. The various connections of Alexander Neville make it entirely possible that he might have served as the author of the Spanish Deffensa. Four months after the death of Sidney Cambridge University produced a memorial volume of many poems; the book was published by Neville. He was in fact the author of the first poem in the volume. Wallace calls him the scholarly secretary of Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift, and an esteemed friend of Philip Sidney.<sup>4</sup> Now Neville was a member of the group which contained three other potential

authors of the manuscript, Thomas Newton,<sup>5</sup> Alexander Nowell,<sup>6</sup> and Thomas Nuce,<sup>7</sup> already mentioned. Underhill says that the relationship of these four men to the ambassadors in Spain was also marked.<sup>8</sup> Thomas Newton is the translator of a 1580 version of Pedro Mexia's Pleasaunt Dialogue concerning phisicke and phisitians; it is said that he dealt with no other Spanish authors.<sup>9</sup>

Other possible authors of the Deffensa there were, it is true, if we look for men in this period whose name began with 'N'. They were Thomas Lord North, Thomas Nicholas, and Thomas Nichols. Nicholas Litchfield, by reason of the facts that his given name begins with 'N' and that he was closely associated with Sidney in his penchant for Spanish letters, must also be considered as a potential author for the Deffensa. Thomas Lord North as translator of the best known version of Antonio de Guevara would have been most familiar with a style of Spanish which would explain many of the variances between the Deffensa and the Defence, a style the unusual syntactical segments of which are characterized by parataxis. Thomas Nicholas translated from Francisco López de Gómara's Historia de las Indias and Agustín de Zárate's Conquista del Perú.<sup>10</sup> Nichols is known for his Description of the fortunate islandes of Canaria, a correction addressed to an English version of Andre Thevet's New founde Worlde.<sup>11</sup>

Many of the constructions of the language of the Deffensa are not similar to modern Spanish usage; many of the instances of deviation from standard Castilian usage are parallel in syntax to the structure of English. One might conclude, indeed it is necessary that one do so, that the author of the Deffensa was

either a person whose native language was English or a person whose native language was Castilian but whose proficiency in the language had suffered by contact with English structure. We do know, however, that all the locutions used in the Deffence with one or two minor exceptions were used by one or another sixteenth-century Castilian author; all of them can be found attested in Keniston. It is true that we must not go to the extreme of saying that sixteenth-century Castilian tolerated any syntactical construction possible in English, but it is true that Keniston found constructions parallel to almost all those of the Deffensa, that he found circumstances in their distribution which permitted him to rationalize for each one and its norm a mutually exclusive distribution. There is no reason in the language, then to suppose that the author of the Deffensa could not have been a Spaniard.

The second variation which requires lengthy discussion involving content has to do with the date of composition of the Sidney apology and the Deffensa. The discussion of this date of composition is a precarious affair, for the matter has not been settled in regard to the English versions, and there is little internal evidence upon which to base calculations for the Spanish version. The author of the Deffensa says that Caesar has been dead 1616 years. The Apologie and the Defence under the same circumstances 1600 years. The author of the Spanish must have made a conscious calculation, for he uses no round number. If the date 1616 means



anything, the date of composition would have to be placed at 1572. But the Spanish as well as the English versions granted that it is in the second half of the apology--the portion treating of English poetry--refer to events of the year 1579. We therefore conclude that it is possible that the Spanish comes from an English version which was composed of two portions written at widely separated intervals. Addleshaw may be more nearly correct than scholars were willing to concede when he stated that Sidney might have started his apology as early as his days at Shrewsbury.<sup>12</sup> Wallace believes in the possibility of the two portions of the apology having been written at separate intervals, but believes that the span of time separating the two dates of composition to have been about three years.<sup>13</sup> There is one other possible solution to the dating of the Spanish manuscript, one which carries with it no good reason for adoption. That is, that the Spanish was composed in the calendar year 1616, that the composer supposed the Defence to have been written in 1600, and that he reconciled the date in his own composition to the lapse of time between. There is no good reason to adopt this reasoning, for to do so would require the authors of the English and Spanish to have equated the death of Caesar chronologically to the beginning of the Era, and the Spanish author's assumption that Sidney had done so and his acceptance of Sidney's correctness. An additional strong argument against the acceptance of this reasoning is that where the language of the Deffensa deviates from standard Castilian structure, such deviations were in many cases found by Keniston to be rare even in the second half of the sixteenth century.

In the following presentation of the analysis of the language of the Deffensa frequent references are made to Keniston, The Syntax of Castilian Prose.<sup>14</sup> Keniston's sources quoted here are abbreviated according to the short forms listed below. His work is cited by section number, e.g., [00.00]; and where his frequency and range indexes are given to correspond to the segment which we cite they are included. The remarks following each abbreviation below are from Keniston.

Material cited is being compared either to the English version for content or to the corresponding standard Castilian for whatever linguistic base is in question. The material for the Deffensa always appears on the left in italics; the material for the Defence is on the right as is the supplied standard Castilian; the latter always bears the asterisk[\*]. It has not always been necessary to cite comparative material from either the English or the supplied Castilian standard. Citations from the Deffensa are to MS page, not to the pages of this work. The page number is the number in square brackets in the upper left-hand corner of right-hand pages, e.g., [8r/v].

- Abe     El Abencerraje.  
 1551    Written as early as 1551, since the license of the first edition of 1565 (in the Inventario of Antonio de Villegas) is dated 1551. The author is probably of Castilian origin.
- Alf     Alemán, Mateo, Guzmán de Alfarache, Part I.  
 1599    Born at Sevilla, 1547; died after 1613. Educated at Sevilla, Salamanca, and Alcalá. 1st ed. 1599.
- Ayo     Ayora, Gonzalo, Cartas al rey don Fernando.  
 1503    Born at Córdoba, 1465; died after 1521. Text written 1503; 1st ed. 1794.

- Ber 1579 Mendoza, Bernardino de, Correspondencia.  
Born at Guadalajara, 1540?; died 1604.  
Educated at Alcalá.  
Text written 1579; 1st ed. 1888.
- Cap 1500-1507 Fernández de Córdoba, Gonzalo, Cartas del Gran Capitán. Born at Montilla (Córdoba), 1453; died 1515. No formal education. Text written 1500-1507; 1st ed. 1908.
- Cis 1508-1517 Jiménez de Cisneros, Francisco, Cartas dirigidas a don Diego López. Born at Torrelaguna (Madrid), 1436; died 1517. Educated at Salamanca. Text written 1508-17; 1st ed. 1867.
- Cor 1520 Cortés, Hernán, Segunda carta-relación al Emperador. Born at Medellín (Extremadura), 1485; died 1547. Studied two years at Salamanca. Text written, in México, 1520; 1st ed. 1522.
- Cru 1585 Juan de la Cruz, San, Llama de amor viva. Born at Fontiveros (Avila), 1542; died 1591. Educated at Salamanca. Written 1585; 1st ed. 1618.
- Eli 1542 Muñón, Sancho de, Tragicomedia de Lisandro y Roselia, llamada Elicia. The only sure fact known concerning the author is his own statement that he was a "natural de Salamanca." It is impossible to identify either of the men who are known to have borne this name as the author of the Elicia. 1st ed. 1542.
- Her 1537 Hermosilla, Diego de, Diálogo de los pajes. Nothing is known of the author other than that he was a mature person in 1541 and a chaplain of Charles V; he was almost certainly of Castilian origin, probably from Old Castile. Text written, 1573; 1st ed. 1901.
- Hit 1595 Pérez de Hita, Gines, Guerras civiles de Granada. Primera parte. Born at Mula? (Murcia), 1544? died after 1619. 1st ed. 1595.
- Laz 1554 Lazarillo de Tormes. The author is almost certainly of Castilian origin. The additions of the edition of Alcalá, 1554, are probably by a different hand.
- Len 1535 Valdés, Juan de, Diálogo de la lengua. Born at Cuenca, 1495?; died 1541. Studied at Alcalá. Written, at Naples, 1535; 1st ed. 1737.

- Mec 1545 Hurtado de Mendoza, Diego, Mechanica de Aristoteles. (II) Born at Granada, 1503; died 1575. His family was of Castilian origin (Guadalajara); his father was serving as alcaide of the Alhambra at the time of his birth. Educated at Salamanca. Written 1545; 1st ed. 1898.
- Men 1539 Guevara, Antonio de, Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea. Born at Treceño (Asturias), 1480?; died 1545. Educated at court, perhaps by Peter Martyr. 1st ed. 1539.
- Nom 1583 Luis de León, De los nombres de Cristo. Born at Belmonte (La Mancha), 1527?; died 1591. Educated at Salamanca. 1st ed. 1583.
- Oli 1530 Pérez de Oliva, Hernán, Teatro. Born at Córdoba, 1494?; died 1532? Educated at Salamanca, Alcalá, Paris, and Rome. 1st ed. 1530.
- Pen 1514 Jiménez de Urrea, Pedro Manuel, Penitencia de amor. Born at Zaragoza (Aragón), 1486?; died 1535? 1st ed. 1514.
- Que 1508-1512 Question de amor. Written, at Naples, 1508-12; 1st ed. 1513?
- Rue 1565 Rueda, Lope de, Teatro. Born at Sevilla, 1510?; died 1565. 1st ed. 1567, edited by Timoneda.
- Ser 1521 Comedia llamada Seraphina. Menéndez y Pelayo (Orígenes de la novela, III, clxxvii) conjectures that the author is an Andalusian; the text is Andalusian in its loísmo.
- Ter 1562-1566 Teresa, Santa, La vida de la madre Teresa de Jesus, escrita de su misma mano. Born at Avila, 1515; died 1582. Text written 1562-66; 1st ed. 1588, edited by Luis de León.
- Zap 1592-1594 Zapata, Luis, Miscelánea. Born at Llerena (Extremadura), 1526?; died after 1594. Text written 1592-94; 1st ed. 1859.

## 1. Variations Possibly Arising From Variations in Textual Sources

## 1.1 Variations of Contradictory Quantity

[11v] <u>çien</u>	1000
[22r] <u>1616</u>	1600
[41r] <u>y con todo esso siendo de la edad de sessenta anos</u>	and yet being foure score yeares old
[52v] <u>y de mil buffonrias y locuras</u>	twentie madde Antiques

The examples presented here contain numbers which are in themselves plainly contradictory, the contradiction not being explainable by morphology, e.g., English 'seven or eight': Spanish 'seis u ocho'; 'a week'; 'ocho días'. The most parsimonious explanation and one which is not inconsistent with other evidence is that different texts served as sources for the Deffensa and for the Defence.

## 1.2 Variations Involving Proper Names

[1r] <u>.N.</u>	E.VV.
Possible reasons for this variation are set out at the beginning of Chapter Two.	
[22r] <u>Phalaris</u>	Phalaris
[25r] <u>Meninio Agrippa</u>	Menemus Agrippa
[31r] <u>melius crisippo et cantore</u>	Melius Chrisippo & Crantore
[51v] <u>Amphitreya</u>	Amphitrio
[59v] <u>Chaucero</u>	Glauserus

Historical knowledge and a third language, Latin, here come in to arbitrate; the English version presents the historically and linguistically correct versions.

## 1.3 Variations of Tenses

[2r] <u>se muestra</u>	did shew
[2v] <u>depende</u>	depended
[3v] <u>hecha fuera</u>	draue out
[10v] <u>lo que pudo ser</u>	what may be

## 1.3 Variations of Tenses (concluded)

[20v]	<u> fingio </u>	faineth
[21v]	<u> quando tendriã al destierro por felicidad </u>	when they would haue thought exile a happinesse
[38v]	<u> mas que siendo abusaria </u>	but that being abused
[52v]	<u> no podremos </u>	cannot

There is in the context of none of these examples any circumstance which will permit the rationalization of the variations of tense listed here. None of the examples involve questions of diachronic morphology, e.g.,  haria<sup>ca</sup> niciera . Nor is a question of syntax involved, e.g., grammatical preterit indicative for the logical future indicative:  Si lo hace le maté .

## 1.4 Variations of Demonstrative Modification

[2v]	<u> aquella </u>	the
[5v]	<u> aquella </u>	the
[8r]	<u> la Idea </u>	that <u> Idea </u>
[16r]	<u> esta </u>	his
[33v]	<u> esta </u>	that
[46v]	<u> esto </u>	that
[50v]	<u> esto </u>	that

Both English and Spanish present situations in which speakers will offer, for reasons of emphasis among others, the demonstrative adjective where normal usage calls for the definite article or the unstressed possessive adjective. The contexts of the cases presented here do not furnish material for rationalization by analogy to such situations. In the last three cases there is no possible explanation of the variance in the usual Spanish to English shift between 'near' and 'remote' demonstrative adjectives when the meaning is 'the former, the latter'.

## 1.5 Variations of Conjunction Usage

[8r]	<u> y </u>	or
[11v]	<u> ò </u>	and
[18r]	<u> y </u>	or
[19v]	<u> y </u>	or

## 1.5 Variations of Conjunction Usage (Concluded)

The Deffensa does not regularly give 'y' where the Defence has 'or' but does so on four occasions. In the cases where 'y' corresponds to 'or' the English has a meaning involving an alternative; in the case where 'e' corresponds to 'and' the semantics of the English presented a meaning of 'together' rather than of 'alternative'.

## 1.6 Variations of Grammatical Number

By 'number' we here refer to the grammatical category of number manifested in Spanish in the noun and related parts of speech and in the verb.

[4v]	<u>sonetos</u>	song
[6r]	<u>conceptos</u>	conceit
[6r]	<u>poetas</u>	Poet
[8v]	<u>ideas</u>	idea
[9r]	<u>argumento</u>	arguments
[11v]	<u>Poeta</u>	Poets
[12v]	<u>han</u>	hath
[14r]	<u>contienen</u>	contains
[16r]	<u>exemplos</u>	example
[16v]	<u>aquellas bestias bien pintadas</u>	those beasts well painted
[18v]	<u>los Poetas</u>	the Poet
[24v]	<u>del filosofos</u>	of the Philosopher
[38v]	<u>a unos olos de mal gusto</u>	an ill pleased eye
[40r]	<u>su patria</u>	their countries
[44r]	<u>Iustas causas</u>	iust cause
[49r]	<u>notables moralidades</u>	notable moralitie
[49v]	<u>tiempos</u>	time
[60r]	<u>nomas</u>	nome

In the context of none of these examples of variation in grammatical number is there any explanation for such a variance, i.e., the variations seems arbitrary; it is therefore

concluded that the two versions proceed from different sources. The usual reasons for such discrepancies between English and Spanish descriptions of the same reality are in most cases absent. An example of such a discrepancy would be a plural referent described by a word singular in form.

#### 1.7 Spanish Parataxis Corresponds to English Hypotaxis--Non-Modification

[5r]	<u>algunos de los quales han intentado ally de deshazer y quitar toda memoria de la doctrina y lengua</u>	some of whom, did seek to ruine all memory of learning from among them
[5v]	<u>que los espiritus se mandaron y obedecian a tales versos</u>	spirits were commanded by such verses
[10v]	<u>se pueden iustamente llamar Vates, y aduinos</u>	may justly be termed Vates
[11v]	<u>una toga ò ropa larga</u>	a long gown
[11v]	<u>y no causa ninguna de la Poesia</u>	and no cause to Poetrie
[13v]	<u>siendo la accion y obra uirtuosa</u>	being vertuous action
[14r]	<u>su enemigo y contrario el uicio</u>	his enemy vice
[14r]	<u>que de ella se deducen y salen</u>	that are deriued from it
[14r]	<u>y para mantener amistades y conuersacion publica</u>	and mainteining of publike societies
[15r]	<u>han sido ayudados y encaminados</u>	haue been directed
[16r]	<u>los costumbres y criança de los hombres</u>	mens manners
[18r]	<u>nuestro Saluador Iesu Xpo</u>	our Sauior Christ
[19v]	<u>el retrato de Vaspasiano Iusto como era, que conforme a la uoluntad del pintor, no semeia noble en nada</u>	Vespacians Picture right as he was, or at the Painters pleasure nothing resembling



1.7 Spanish Parataxis Corresponds to English Hypotaxis--Non-Modification  
(Continued)

- [20r] entonces sy ua decir la then indeed hath it some  
uerdad tiene alguna uentala aduantage to a grosse  
para con un hombre grossero conceit  
y de tosoo entendimiento
- [20r] ha de fabricar y formar hee is to frame
- [22v] no es Gnosis y speculacion it is not [γνωσις], but [πραξις]  
si no Praxis, la practica must be the frute  
que ha de ser el fructo
- [23r] Hoc opus hic labor est. aqui Hoc opus hic labor est.  
es el trabajo
- [24v] (como a ellos parece) they think scorne to  
desdenan y escarescen de delight  
deleytar
- [25r] insimarse y ganarle or cunning insinuations
- [28v] en el pristrino e molina in Pistrinum
- [29v] uno de los mas principales one of the chiefest  
atizadores para un brauo kindlers of braue courage  
y bizarro animo
- [33r] prometia y mostraua would promise
- [34r] un buen tino y conjetura de a neare gesse to the  
la que sigue follower
- [34v] es menester que sea burlando it must be in iest  
y no de ueras
- [35r] las mas importantes impusi- the most important  
ciones y obIecciones que se imputations laid to the  
les imputan y se hazen contra poore Poets  
los pobres poetas
- [35r] estauamos llenos de corage y we were full of couraga  
ualor dados a exerciçios giuẽ to martial exercises  
militares
- [35v] y cierto aun que un hombre though a man should graunt  
concediesse la primera their first assumption  
assumption y parte de su  
argumento

1.7 Spanish Parataxis Corresponds to English Hypotaxis--Non-Modification  
(Continued)

- [36v] mas que lusto a la entrada but enē for his entrie  
y principio
- [37r] muy fletados y cargados de full fraught with falshood  
falsedades
- [38r] si bien esto es muy duro be verie hard  
y deficiil
- [38r] no bestia ninguna tiene aquel no beast hath that gift  
don de discernir y conocer a to discern bewtie  
la hermosura
- [38r] cosas pftas y buenas good things
- [38r] con indignos y malos obietos with unwoorthie obiects
- [39r] siendo a derechas y rectamente being rightly vsed  
usada
- [39r] y del derecho y recto uso and vpon the right vse
- [40r] contra toda doctrina, y el against all learning or  
mucho darse el hombre a leer bookishness  
o estudiar en sus libros
- [42r] los uerdaderos y eleganti- the right discerning true  
simos puntos para discernir y points of knowledge  
conocer a derechas la  
sciencia
- [42r] mas buscaron por todas maneras but sought by all means to  
de desacreditar a sus amos y discredit their maisters  
maestros que fueron los  
poetas
- [42v] quanto menos les pudieron uencer the less they could  
y disbaratar tanto mas dieron ouerthrow them, the more  
en aborrecerlos they hated them
- [43v] induzieron al Atheismo y nega- brought in Atheisme  
miento de Dios
- [44r] que querer disbaratar y then go about to ouerthrow  
uencer
- [45r] es un solar idoneo, sobre que it is a fit soyle for  
apoya y mora la alabanca praise to dwell

1.7 Spanish Parataxis Corresponds to English Hypotaxis--Non-Modification  
(Continued)

[45r]	<u>sino de despertar notablemente y llevar el ualor</u>	but a notable stirring of courage
[45r]	<u>no de abusar, sino de corroborar y esforçar el entendimiento humano</u>	not of abusing mans wit, but of strength thening mans wit
[46v]	<u>una quietud simple y floxa con Vulcano</u>	the homely quiet of Vulcan
[46v]	<u>con su propria disgraçia, disacre- ditan y affrentan a la mas graçiosa poesia</u>	by their own disgracefulness, disgrace the most gracefull
[47r]	<u>mas se contentan de abatir y encumbrir lo fecundo que mana fuera de sus entendimientos</u>	are better content to suppresse the outflowings of their wit
[47r]	<u>de la misma orden y habito</u>	of the same order
[47v]	<u>si por su proprio Genio y naturaleça no sea lleuado a ello</u>	if his owne Genius be not carried into it
[48r]	<u>ha menester ser labrado y cultiuado</u>	must be manured
[49v]	<u>que el farsante y actor quando entra</u>	that the Player when he comes in
[52r]	<u>las cosas mas disconuenibles y disproporcionadas</u>	things most disporportional
[52v]	<u>y de mil buffonerias y locuras</u>	twentie madde Antiques
[54r]	<u>que el uiento estava tramontano, poniente, y de mediodia</u>	the winde was at Northwest and by South
[54v]	<u>Agora, quanto a la haz y lo exterior</u>	Now for the outside
[54v]	<u>con palabras tan lexos deduzidas y deriuadas</u>	with so farre fet words
[55r]	<u>como por la attencion y diligencia en traducirlos</u>	as by attentive translation
[55r]	<u>ser finos y galanes</u>	to be fine
[57v]	<u>que llamamos Rithmos o metro</u>	which we call Rime
[58r]	<u>por su rithmo y metro</u>	with his rime
[58v]	<u>aun al mismo Rithmo o metro</u>	euen the verie Rime it selfe

### 1.7 Spanish Parataxis Corresponds to English Hypotaxis--Non-Modification (Concluded)

In all the cases of variance set out above the Spanish syntax shows parataxis where the corresponding English syntax has hypotaxis; in addition none of the cases of broadening from English to Spanish are brought about by mere modification, *i.e.*, parataxis may correspond to hypotaxis in a modifier but in no case is the broadening of a linguistic base brought about by the mere addition of a modifier. A comparison of English and Spanish linguistic structure in these examples will prove nothing concerning identity of author or origin of the Deffensa. In the first place, it is already surmised from other internal evidence that the Deffensa and the Defence proceed from different sources; the source of the Deffensa could have paratactic constructions in the segments corresponding to these set out above. In the second place, a Spaniard might have found it natural to write in this florid, expanded style, so often occurring in Spanish Renaissance literary language that it was by no means an abnormal mode of expression. In the third place, an Englishman who might have known Spanish and also might have authored the Deffensa probably would have considered such expansions justified or perhaps even necessary to attain a tone of genuineness in the Spanish vernacular having heard and read this style most often in the Spanish literary language.

### 1.8 Spanish Parataxis Corresponds to English Hypotaxis--Modification

[15r]	<u>sciencias seruidoras y subordinadas</u>	seruing sciences
[16v]	<u>una descripcion uerbal y de palabra</u>	a wordish description
[21r]	<u>que se halla en notar el successo de las cosas</u>	is got by marking the successe
[21v]	<u>miserablemente muerto a traycion</u>	miserably murthered
[23v]	<u>con grandes dudas</u>	with doubtfulnessse
[35v]	<u>como si con flechar con el arco uuieron sobrepujado a Robinhood</u>	as if they had ouershot Robinhood
[38r]	<u>puede dexar a todo esto</u>	may leaue those
[41r]	<u>a las graçias poetica</u>	to the Graces

The commentary appended to section 1.7 is applicable to section 1.8.

## 1.9 Spanish Hypotaxis Corresponds to English Parataxis--Modification

[1v]	<u>con mas uoluntad</u>	with more good will
[11v]	<u>academia</u>	dangerless Academy
[20r]	<u>mas si el sabe que un exemplo informa</u>	but if he know an example onely informes
[29v]	<u>aquella suerte de musica consigo al campo</u>	that kinde of Musicke euer with them to the field
[45r]	<u>y lo uil de sus obiecciones</u>	and the low creeping obiections
[51v]	<u>mas empuxan dentro al uillano para representar</u>	but thrust in the Clowne by the head and shoulders to play

It is interesting to note that this is the only group of variations between the Deffensa and the Defence which represents a narrowing of the Spanish in comparison to the corresponding English. It is readily seen that the non-occurrence of modifiers in Spanish where they do occur in English makes for substantial variations in meaning. There is no justification to bring here the reasoning that a scribe's errors underlie these variations; they are strong indicators of the existence of different sources for the Deffensa and the Defence.

## 1.10 Other Variations

The following discrepancies in segments of the texts argue for different sources for the Defence and the Deffensa:

[6r]	<u>y decir q los Santos Salmos de Dauid</u>	and say that the holy <u>Dauids</u> Psalms
[6v]	<u>temo que no pareSCO profanar</u>	I fear I seeme to prophane
[7v]	<u>en Rerum natura</u>	in nature.
[9r]	<u>la qual parte muchos hombres doctos intitula de la sagrada escriptura</u>	which beside others, the learned <u>Emanuel</u> , <u>Tremelius</u> , and <u>R.</u> <u>Iunius</u> , do entitle of the scriptures
[11v]	<u>se llamaria</u>	should be
[12r]	<u>poetas</u>	poetrie
[12r]	<u>pesando</u>	peasing
[13r]	<u>al mas alto fin y sciencia señora, llamada por los Griegos Architechtonica</u>	to the highest end of the mistresse knowledge by y Greeks [Ἀρχιτεχτονική]

## 1.10 Other Variations (Continued)

- [18r] como dio lo diuina enarraqion de Diues et Lazarus, del Aico y de Lazaro as the diuine narration of Diues and Lazarus
- [18r] piadoso gracious
- [18r] del rico of Diues
- [22r] la qual no se contenta con los castigos de este suelo which not content with earthly playrs
- [22r] occidentos esse occidentos esse
- [22r] por esto se puede hechar de uer it may by this appeare
- [32v] misomusoi [ $\mu\iota\sigma\omicron\mu\delta\sigma\omicron\iota$ ]
- [35r] ancho campo al oydo the largest field to eare
- [40r] un uerdugo, parece que fue, hombre adaptado para executar todo mal pensamiento, cuya ualentia exercitaua en muchos cuerpos muertos one hangman belike fit to execute the frutes of their wits, who had murthered a great number of bodies
- [43v] Qua autoritate barbari quidam atq; insipidi abuti uelint ad poetas e republica exigendos. Qua autoritate barbari quidam atq; hispidi abuti uelint ad poetas e rep. Exigendos.
- [44v] se le presentaria adelante would present themselues
- [45v] tales Cardinales como Bembo y Bibienna such Cardinalls as Bembus, and Bibienna; such famous Preachers and Teachers, as Beza and Melanchthon
- [49r] notables moralidades; las quales ensenan con muchissimo deleyte notable moralitie, which it dooth most delightfully teach
- [49r] para que pudiera quedar por un perfecto dechado de Tragedias because it might/<sup>not</sup> remaine as an exact moddell of al Tragedies

- [50r] por que es ordinario, dos For ordinarie it is, that  
principes moços se two yoong Princes fall in  
enamoran Iuntos loue
- [50v] Ultimamente si quieren Lastly, if they will represent  
representar una historia, an Historie, they must come to  
no es menester (como the principall poynts of that  
dice Horacio) que comien- one action which they will  
çen, Abouo, sino es represent  
menester que uengan al  
punto principal de aque-  
lla sola açcion que quieren  
representar
- [51r] caminar traualle.
- [51v] todo su representar all their Playes
- [60r] uenir a ser tales tantos will become such a mome  
como el ser unos momos  
de la poesia

## 2.0 Linguistic Features of the Deffensa Involving Deviations from Normal Spanish Structure

### 2.1 Phonemic Deviations

#### 2.1.1 Consonant-General

/r/ for /r̄/ :

[3v] quereis for \*querreis

[56v] acoralado for \* acorrulado

It seems hardly probable that a Spanish speaking person should fail to note phonemic length in his orthography above all in the only position in words where the two varieties of [r] contrast. García de Diego records the simplification of /r̄/ in forms of querer, noting that in spelling the illiterate may substitute 'dr' for 'rr'; i.e., the reverse process of compensatory lengthening takes place.<sup>15</sup>

/tt/ for /t/ :

[54v] attencion for \*atención

This item is noted because the spelling used corresponds to that of the English cognate; the spelling also occurs in vulgar Spanish orthography.

Omission of intervocalic /x/ and /y/:

## 2.1.1 Consonant--General (Concluded)

[30v] reliosas for \*religiosas[41v] conclue for \*concluye

Orthographic haplology is here tolerated by the scribe, possibly unconsciously if the scribe is Spanish, apparently for the reason that at the junctures formed where /x/ and /y/ are omitted there emerge semiconsonants.

Varying orthographical representation of /j/:

[1r] Juan Pedro Pugliano

The given names are hispanized, but the /j/ of the patronymic is rendered with Italian orthography.

[1v] Pullano

The orthography of /j/ is hispanized.

Epenthesis of a consonant to preserve hiatus:

[30r] trahe for \* trae[17r] comprehender for \*comprender

The presence of the 'h' was necessarily aspirate in the scribe's speech; it could indicate his knowledge of the etymology in each case, or that he in his speech made hiatus at the point where he inserts 'h' or that he knew that standard Spanish does make hiatus there.

Loss of hiatus:

[60r] ay for \*ahí

This phenomenon is well attested in the vulgate.<sup>16</sup>

## 2.1.2 Consonant--/s/ is substituted for /θ/:

/s/ is substituted for /θ/ in these examples, but /s/ does not always replace /θ/. Also used to spell /θ/ are 'c', 'ç', and 'z'. This manner of spelling /θ/ does not necessarily indicate non-Castilian speech in the scribe for a period of orthographic flux followed the unvoicing of the voiced Castilian sibilants.



## 2.1.2 Consonant -- /s/ is substituted for /θ/: (Continued)

- [2r] pobresillo
- [4v] hasañas
- [7r] hasedor See also [8v].
- [8v] hiso See also [20r], [22r], [25v], [26r], [28v], [29r],  
[46v], [47v], and [51v].
- [9v] contrahaser
- [11v] hase See also [19v], [26r], and [35v].
- [12v] certesa
- [13v] hasia
- [15v] haser See also [15v], [16v], [19r], [19v], [21r], [21v],  
[22r], [22v], [23r], [24v], [26r], [27v], [39v], [47r],  
[51r], [53r]
- [16r] sensillas
- [17r] Iusial
- [17r] Iusgatiua
- [17v] parese
- [19r] postisos
- [19r] hisiera See also [42v].
- [23r] ues See also [54v].
- [24v] hisieron See also [25v], [42v], and [43v].
- [25r] ceresas
- [27r] flaquesa
- [31r] perIusial
- [33r] excarnisadores
- [38r] diçernir
- [39v] hasiendo See also [42r], and [43r].
- [44r] rebusnar
- [46r] parezca

## 2.1.2 Consonants-- /s/ is substituted for /θ/: (Concluded)

[51v] riquesa[51v] mesclando[53r] mesclar[55r] hisiessen[57r] mesclada

## 2.1.3 Consonant--the /ks/ cluster:

/ks/ before unvoiced stops:

This syllable-final cluster is sometimes but not always written 's', reflecting vulgar speech habits. On the other hand the scribe shows that he is aware of the etymology when he varies and writes 'x' in such positions.

[10r] espressa[13v] esteriormente[17v] espressadas[16v] esquisitamente[19v] espresso[20v] estrema[43r] estiende[56v] esperiençia

The scribe is aware of the ultracorrect pronunciation /ks/ for 'x'. He in turn confuses the /s/ rendering of this cluster with /θ/ in his orthography.

[39r] exercito[46v] exercitar[48r] exerciçio

## 2.1.4 Consonant--Vulgarisms

[7r] Arishmetico                      Arithmetician

Martínez Vigil supplies arishmético.<sup>17</sup>

## 2.1.5 Vowel

The following vowel alternations occur under primary accent:

- [8v] se for \*si
- [28v] incertidombre for \* incertidumbre
- [31r] infirmas for \* enfermas
- [31r] infirmidad for \* enfermedad
- [33r] excarnisadores for \*escarnecedores
- [33r] ant&xadiza for \* antojadiza
- [36r] infirmidad for \* enfermedad
- [45v] inquerir for \* inquirir
- [54v] concurrer for \* concurrir

Similar vowel alterations occur in syllables not bearing primary accent:

- [5v] Imperadores for \*emperadores
- [10v] ádeuinos for \* adivinos
- [18r] sabidora for \* sabedora
- [18v] enstruyen for \* instruyen
- [20r] assigura for \* asegura
- [22v] enforma for \*informa
- [23v] burrones for \* borrones
- [24r] curtesia for \* cortesía
- [25r] particularmente for \* particularmente
- [27v] uillaqueria for \* bellaquería
- [30v] enflama for \* inflama
- [32v] infermo for \* enfermo
- [44v] authoredad for \* autoridad
- [45v] currido for \* corrido

## 2.1.5 Vowel (Continued):

[48r] uieremos for \*hubieramos[48r] compliendo for \*cumpliendo[48v] assigurada for \*asegurada[55r] piscador for \*pescador

For vulgarisms involving similar vowel changes see García Diego;<sup>18</sup> also note semos for somos and seis for sois.<sup>19</sup> Martínez Vigil adds carnecería, creatura, Escariote, mesmo, nengún, berniz, bernizar, empollar, estilla, frezada, tresquilar, escurecer, escuridad, escuro, hospital, retulo, adivinar, adevino, deligencia, deligente, escrebir, medecina, medecinal, privilegio, recibir, venimos, veniste.

Vowels are elided:

[18r] reglar for \*regular[37v] deurian for \*deberían

Martínez Vigil records examples from the same verb in the future and conditional tenses of the indicative mood.<sup>21</sup>

Epenthesis of vowel:

[12v] comunemente for cománmente[18r] enarracion for \*narración See also [37r].

Martínez Vigil lists enllenar,<sup>22</sup> laborar,<sup>23</sup> and liberar.<sup>24</sup>

What is usually treated for historical reasons under morphology but synchronically is vowel lengthening is seen in these forms:

[4v] uee for \*ve See also [7r] and [28r].[11r] ueen for \*ven See also [28v].

Menéndez Pidal treats such forms and their simplified doublets under both phonemics and morphemics.<sup>25</sup>

## 2.2 Morphophonemic Deviations

We should class as vulgarisms rather than non-Castilian dialect forms infinitives or forms of the infinitive bearing secondary accent into which have been introduced the diphthongs /ue/ and /ie/ from verb forms which carry primary accent on the stem. Conversely, simple vowel segments /o/ and /e/ appear where primary accent would normally induce /ue/ and /ie/ respectively. García de Diego terms vulgarisms parallel forms such as juegar, atiesar, and aviejar.<sup>28</sup>

[6r] concordan for \*concuerdan

[6v] deplenden for \*dependen

[9v] niegare for \*negare

[27r] muestrar for \*mostrar

[36v] niegare for \*negaré

[43r] desterra for \*destierra

[46r] terra for \*tierra

[48r] uola for \*vuela

[52v] costa for \*cuesta

[59v] aposta for \*apuesta

A related vulgarism occurs which also concerns a diphthong, but one which is simplified in an unaccented syllable:

[54v] monstros for \*monstruos

In words where /o/ and /e/ of verb stems normally become in Castilian /u/ and /i/ respectively in inflected forms due to non-contiguous regressive assimilation, the language of the scribe sometimes fails to reflect the phenomenon:

[6r] ueniendo for \*viniendo See also [37r].

[1v] ueniesse for \*viniese

[16v] repetir for \*repetir See also [42v].

[20r] ha lluido for \*ha llouido

[20v] receuido for \*recibido

[21v] seguio for \*siguió See also [25v].

[28r] percebir for \*percibir

## 2.2 Morphophonemic Deviations: (Continued)

[31v] continiendo for \* conteniendo[36v] mentió for \* mintió[43r] podrian for \* podrian[52v] reyessen for \* riesen

Martínez Vigil attests analogous archaisms: recebir,<sup>27</sup>  
venimos and veniste,<sup>28</sup> and pidir,<sup>29</sup> García de Diego  
 records conviniente and tiniente.<sup>30</sup>

/i/ replaces /e/ and /e/ substitutes for /i/ in syllables carrying secondary accent. In some cases the substitution of /dis-/ as a prefix for /des-/ is involved. Cases such as derigir are probably due to non-contiguous regressive assimilation:

[5v] dirivado for \* derivado[6r] dispertar for \* despertar[16v] discripcion for \* descripción See also [24r].[17r] difinitiones for \* definiciones See also [23v].[17v] derigir for \* dirigir[21v] disagrado for \* desagrado[22r] dishonesta for \* deshonesta[21v] disenfrenada for \* desenfrenada[28v] discubre for \* descubre[29r] dispecho for \* despecho[29r] disagrada for \* desagrada[29r] disuario for \* desvarío[35v] disterro for \* desterró[38r] deficil for \* difícil[38v] difinido for \* definido[41r] difinicion for \* definición

## 2.2 Morphophonemic Deviations: (Concluded)

- [41v] disagradaua for \* desagradaba  
 [42r] disacreditar for \* desacreditar  
 [42v] disbaratar for \* desbaratar See also [44r].  
 [43v] di shechando for \* deshechando  
 [44r] disterrando for \* desterrando  
 [45r] disbaratado for \* desbaratado  
 [47v] discuyde for \* descuide  
 [52r] disproporcionadas for \* desproporcionadas  
 [54r] discubrir for \* descubrir  
 [58r] disgraciadamente for \* desgraciadamente

Martínez Vigil records the following analogues: defunto, deligencia, deligente, desculpar, desgusto, difinición, difinitivo, and disvariar.<sup>31</sup> García de Diego offers dispierto, dimpues<sup>32</sup>, prencipal, cevil, melitar, deligencia, manistro, adevinar, medecina, vesita, sigun, and siguro.<sup>33</sup>

/θ/ for /x/:

- [46r] produçio for \* produjo

García de Diego records similar forms, e.g., conduci for conduje.<sup>34</sup>

Total contiguous regressive assimilation of consonant to /θ/:

- [38r] diçernir for \* discernir  
 [57r] infecçion for \* infección

García de Diego offers escección, corrución, concección, lección, acidente, and destrucion.<sup>35</sup>

## 2.3 Morphemic Deviations

## 2.3.1 Consonant Clusters-- Distribution of /s/ plus unvoiced stop:

[24r] scuela for \* escuela[26v] speçies for \* especies[37r] Iuan de Stilo[55r] speçias for \* especies

## 2.3.2 Hyperurbanism

[40v] bienissime best

## 2.4 Grammatical Categories

By grammatical categories one understands here such categories as gender and number in nouns and related parts of speech and person, number, mood, and tense in the case of verbs. Of course many cases involving what we here call grammatical categories are also treated under other classificatory headings.

[6r] una poema See also [11v] and [49r].

The gender of this noun is made to conform to the norm of those nouns ending in -a.

[16r] los costumbres for \* las costumbres[16v] aquellas bestias bien pintada

Keniston found no similar cases in his survey of sixteenth century Castilian prose; adjectives agree with the noun they modify in person and number.

[35v] tinta y papel no pueden ser empleadas

The gender of the modifier of two nouns of different gender is in this case neither masculine nor does it agree in gender with the nearest noun it modifies.

[38r] hoIos for \* holas[39v] nuestra naçion tenian

Keniston lists an analogous case, 36.223: Laz 50.21 acordaron el Ayuntamiento que todos los pobres extranjeros se fuessen de la ciudad.



## 2.4 Grammatical Categories: (Concluded)

[49r] pocas poemas for \* pocos poemas

## 2.5 Syntax of the Preposition

[5r] han tenido poetas, los quales ellos llaman Bardes

Keniston 2.156: While the use of a as a sign of the direct object is by no means as extensive in the sixteenth century as it is today, the main lines of the construction are fairly clear. Its chief use is with words referring to definite persons. There is no exception to this practice when the object is a stressed personal pronoun. Before the proper name of persons, and by extension, before other proper names, especially of places, exceptions are extremely rare. Before other nouns and pronouns referring to definite persons, the use of a is the rule; the majority of cases in which no a is found may be explained by a "depersonalization" of the noun, by which it becomes equivalent to a thing.

[6v] a ser uista solamente con los olos

Keniston 35.26: Lists no examples of con introducing the agent of an action; he attests only por and de in such circumstances.

[7r] sobre que dependen tanto[9v] figurar fuera                      figuring forth[10r] tratan en materia filosofica[13r] mirando a las estrellas      looking at the stars[13v] sale fuera.                      comes out      See also [21v].[15v] tratan en la                      deale in the consideration  
consideracion[37v] pintado hombres              painting men

Keniston 38.321: Len 351,21 ayudandoles Dios iuan ganando tierra. Laz 16,2 confesando yo no ser mas sancto que mis vezinos... no me pesara que hayan parte. Alf I,50,2 no siendole permitido ni posible llevarlos vivos... pidio a dos famosos pintores que le retratase el ayto.

[44v] en poniendo

Keniston 38.35: Cis 127,4 en llegando nuestra armada el dicho cosario... sera destruydo. Laz 21,35 que, en yendose el que le mandava rezar, le tirasse por el cabo del capuz.

## 2.5 Syntax of the Preposition: (Concluded)

[44v] se imagino de ser hecho de el

[44v] acompañado con razon

[44v] entregado de su padre

Keniston 35.251: There are listed no cases of con introducing the agent of an action. de is used, according to Keniston, when the action is stressed. Men 36,20 la qual será de muchos leída y de pocos entendida. Rue 72,14 para que ... no seamos de nadie espiados Alf I, 92,17 es imposible ser de todos bien recibido

## 2.6 Syntax of the Noun

[1v] del Pullano

Keniston 18.37: Since proper names refer only to definite individuals, they are not modified by the article. .... In one example the article is found. Ber 328,3 la aficion que tengo al Antonio de Guaras y su mujer. The only explanation which can be suggested, according to Keniston, is that the author is seeking to distinguish him from his brother, Gombal de Guaras; the article is almost a demonstrative.

Keniston 18.371: The use of the definite article with the names of distinguished writers which is found in Italian appears also in sixteenth-century Spanish. Que 62a,30 el Petrarca It was extended to classic writers. Pen 3,11 el Terencio It was extended even to Spanish writers. Her 44,29 el Otalora.

[7v] en una otra naturaleza

Keniston 20.487: Len 359,4 aviendos de mostrar por un otro exemplo lo que quiero dezir. Nom I,100,10 un traslado de gracia o una otra gracia trasladada

[11v] y todavia estos ambos a dos escriuieron en prosa

Keniston 21.2: Tim 61 ambas a dos hermanas

[16r] es sciencia menos fructuosa

Keniston 20.44: Ayo 3,12 esta es comun maña de aquella gente. Men 36,12 como fuesse muy gran amigo y privado del rey Lisimaco. Oli 530,5 mi sueño no es sino representacion de guerra y sangre (30-315)

## 2.6 Syntax of the Noun: (Concluded)

[35r] la ama the mother

Keniston 18.121: The use of el (from Old Spanish ela) before feminine nouns beginning with stressed a- is definitely established in the sixteenth century. Juan de Valdés, commenting on the use of el before nouns beginning with a-, gives examples only of stressed a-. Len 358,28 el arca, el ama, el ala. Rarely, however, la is found before a stressed a-. Len 60,17 toda la Asia Eli 57,5 voy a arrancarle la alma

[40r] no, dixo un otro muy mesurado

See this section above, [7v]

[48r] fue engendrada por Sciencia

Keniston 18.242: Len 382,1 son pertenecientes o a la religion o a doctrina. Eli 5,28 segun fama Alf I,238,12 en manos de fortuna Cor 64,31 Dios es sobre natura Keniston rationalizes such uses of the definite article before abstract nouns by the fact that the abstract nouns are here objects of prepositions.

## 2.7 Syntax of the Pronoun

[1r] hombre one

Keniston 27.55: Ser 302,13 andando a escuras, presto tropieza hombre The use of the indefinite hombre as a subject dies out during the sixteenth century. Of the 23 counted examples, only 2 occur after 1550; the last examples noted are found in Diego de Hermsilla (1573).

[4r] y otros, lo qual no sabe ser flores

No explanation is to be found for this use of a singular relative to refer to a plural antecedent.

[10v] Estos son aquellos que como los primeros y mas nobles

[11r] como aquella que enseña

[16r] que dichoso aquel quien la entiende

[30r] aquel quien trahe

[34r] am aquellas mismas que han

[35v] aquella que

[36r] es afirmar ser aquello uerdad que es falso

## 2.7 Syntax of the Pronoun: (Concluded)

Keniston 15.5: While the usage of aquel que is in general similar to that of el que, the demonstrative element is stronger in the former. It therefore rarely is used to refer to indefinite individuals. On the other hand, it is largely used instead of el que when the relative is object of a preposition and the preposition is not anticipated before the demonstrative.

Keniston 15.51: Cor 55,36 fice quitar los vestidos a aquellos que venian a facerme el requerimiento Keniston 15.52: Hit 25,29 no saldrán mas de aquellos que salieren de Granada (2-2)  
 Keniston 15.546: Cor 112,11 Habia ... botilleria abierta para todos aquellos que quisiesen ... beber. Keniston 15.6: The uses of aquello que are comparable to those of lo que, Keniston 15.61: Cap xxiii a,11 Remítome a aquello que será mas su servicio Rue 41,22 que hagas aquello que las virtuosas y sabias donzellas ... suelen hazer Cru 420,8 conforme aquello que David dice

[57r] la falta la gramatica

Keniston 7.32: Feminine persons and things are referents of the indirect object pronoun. Cap xx b,27 Dezido assi a la Reyna para que vea lo que la parece que se debe fazer Abe 229 yo la respondi

## 2.8 Syntax of the Adjective

Keniston 25.112: The main principles which govern adjective position may be stated briefly. An attributive adjective serves two main functions: (a) It may be used to distinguish or identify the noun which it modifies, specifying the particular individual in a class or the particular class among other classes. When thus used it is essential to our understanding of the notion involved; and as essential, it must be stressed. (b) It may be used to add a descriptive qualification to the noun which it modifies, a qualification which may be said to decorate the noun according to the whim of the speaker. In this use, the adjective is not essential to the comprehension of the notion involved, and is therefore unstressed. Putting the matter in another way, we may say that the use of the stressed, distinguishing adjective is objective and logical; that of the unstressed, descriptive adjective is subjective and emotional. The basic principles of adjective position correspond to these two functions: the stressed, distinguishing adjective follows its noun; the unstressed, descriptive adjective precedes its noun.

It is well to review these principles here set out by Keniston before presenting the list of what the editor feels to be cases of unusual adjective placement in Spanish.

## 2.8 Syntax of the Adjective: (Continued)

Event hough the placement of the adjective in each case set out may be parallel to the usual English word order and not parallel to the usual Spanish word order, such word order is possible in Spanish and does occur in Spanish. We can go further and say that the semantic value of the position of the adjective in Spanish is roughly equivalent to lexical meaning in English, i.e., the speaker is free to place the adjective where he will, depending upon the meaning he wishes to convey.

[2r] fieros indomitos ingenios

[2v] allende del su poetico descriuir las circunstancias de luntarse

[1r] el su apassionado descriuir las passiones

Keniston 19.33: The unstressed form [of the possessive] is preceded by the definite article.... [Its use] is dying out in the sixteenth century.... Up to the end of the century, however, it occurs sporadically in passages which are consciously archaic or elevated in diction, in biblical quotations and legal documents. Cap xx a, 46 mi secretario y del mi Consejo

[1r] un grande passaporte de la Poesia

[5v] la grande reuerencia

[51r] por grand numero

[53r] la grande falta

Keniston 25.282: Cap xxi a,3 grand trabajo (2-8) Keniston 25.286: Ter 101,4 grande provecho

[13r] el inquisidor filosofo

[13v] moral filosofo the moral Philosophers

[17v] la crueldad tragadora de sy misma the self e deuouring cruelty

[18v] del perdido hilo

[19v] por uestro uso proprio y doctrina

[54v] a la haz y lo exterior

Keniston 18.122: la habla. During much of the sixteenth century initial h- derived from Latin f- was an aspirate, particularly in the South of Spain. Feminine nouns beginning with ha- therefore took the feminine article. Pen 32,22 la habla Alf II,251,1 la hacha

## 2.8 Syntax of the Adjective: (Concluded)

Keniston 18.9: The neuter article lo is used with adjective and past participles.

[56r] en diuersos un poco doctos cortesanos

[59v] o antes por un cierto rustico

Keniston 21.2: un cierto Len 360,31 veo un cierto uso  
Rue 59,25 un cierto hombre de Piedrahita As the figures show, the use of the indefinite article with cierto is not uncommon in the sixteenth century. (5-7)

## 2.9 Syntax of the Verb

[2v] ellos siendo

Keniston 25.393: Alf I,76,1 Los ojos parleros, las bocas  
callando se hablaron (10-29)

[6r] como sy fuera uer a dios ueniendo

Keniston 38.22: Laz 34.3 veo a deshora al que me matava  
de hambre... volviendo y revolviendo, contando y tornando a  
contar los panes (1-2)

[2v] se continuó despues por Platon

[5v] como se dize por muchos

Keniston 35.253: Len 345.5 Si os quereis gobernar por mi,  
haremos desta manera Mec387,8 mas se mueven por una misma  
fuerça las linças que describen mayores çirculos Gra 99,26  
resolutos a no mandarse por el Marques (2-2)

[9r] esto tanto espero que me sera conçedido

[12v] espero que recibiremos una mas fauorable sentençia

Keniston 28.265: Esperar in the sense of 'hope' is always followed by the indicative in sixteenth century prose.

## 2.10 Syntax of the Adverb

[16r] por no hablar Ingles tanto bien

[53v] el animo tanto bueno

Keniston 39.843: ...tanto is used when the adverb is stressed.  
Que 97a,23 se torno a Noplesano tanto lleno de tristeza que  
en todo el camino... a ninguno hablo palabra

## 2.11 Semantics

There occur a number of forms which indicate that the translator or scribe's knowledge of Spanish may have been imperfect to the extent of leading him to set up cognates that do not seem Spanish:

- [3v] ueneranda venerable  
 [2v] poliçia pollicy See also [17r].  
 [9r] astronomical astronomical  
 [12r] pesando peasing

Other deviations from Spanish structure involve the opposition between ser and estar:

- [5v] de que son llenas las historias de las uidas de los Imperadores  
 [9v] en este genero f. . . fueron Orphea  
 [10r] quando son alegres  
 [11v] pues han sido muchos Excelentes poetas que nunca han uersificado  
 [23r] aqui es el trabajo

Keniston 35.6: Cis 33,18 dice que será aquí antes de pascua  
 Cor 64,30 Dios es sobre natura Alf I,115,4 ¡Valgame Nuestra Señora, que sea conmigo! This use of ser is diminishing in the sixteenth century; of the 105 counted examples, only twenty-five occur in the second half of the century. (21-105)

Keniston 35.61: [ser] with the force of impersonal hay.  
 Pen 45,29 algumas son que usan de su naturaleza flaca y debil  
 Abe 13 fué vn cavallero que se llamo Rodrigo de Narusez Zap 29,3  
Fuè un hombre en estos reinos ... a quien llamaron Elmicio It will be observed that this use occurs normally when there is a relative clause modifying the predicate. (5-5)

Keniston 35.7: Alegre fué el buen Maestre con la respuesta (1-1)  
 Hit 27,8

Indications of the analysis of variations between the texts of the Defence and the Deffensa are that (1) the sources of the Deffensa and the Defence are not one and the same; and that (2) many linguistic segments of the Deffensa are more nearly parallel to English structure than they are to the norm of Castilian structure; nevertheless, patterns analogous to those found in the Deffensa do occur in sixteenth-century Castilian prose. For these two reasons and for external and historical reasons already mentioned these possibilities emerge: (1) Either an Englishman or a Spaniard could have produced the Deffensa; (2) Philip Sidney or any one of a number of his associates could have produced the Deffensa.



Notes: Chapter Two

- 1 Collins, Apologie for Poetrie, p. 63, n. 2 to p.1.
- 2 Arthur Collins, I, p. 285:
- 3 Bradley, p. 80.
- 4 Wallace, p. 106.
- 5 Underhill, p. 245-246.
- 6 Underhill, p. 243.
- 7 Underhill, p. 243.
- 8 Underhill, p. 244.
- 9 Underhill, p. 245.
- 10 Underhill, p. 165.
- 11 Underhill, p. 167.
- 12 Addleshaw, p. 359.
- 13 Wallace, p. 238-239.
- 14 Hayward Keniston, The Syntax of Castilian Prose. [Volume II] .  
The Sixteenth Century. (Chicago, 1937).
- 15 Vicente García de Diego, Manual de dialectología española  
(Madrid, 1946), p. 316.
- 16 Carlos Martínez Vigil, Arcaísmos españoles usados en América  
[s.f., s.a.], p. 71. García de Diego, p. 314.
- 17 Martínez Vigil, p. 116.
- 18 García de Diego, p. 314-315.
- 19 García de Diego, p. 318.
- 20 Martínez Vigil, pp. 42, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 72, 73, 74, 75,  
76, 82, 83, 103, 124, 126.
- 21 Martínez Vigil, p. 44.
- 22 Martínez Vigil, p. 48.

- 23 Martínez Vigil, p. 102.
- 24 Martínez Vigil, p. 22.
- 25 Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Manual de gramática española.  
Octava edición (Madrid, 1949), Section 31.
- 26 García de Diego, p. 24.
- 27 Martínez Vigil, p. 55.
- 28 Martínez Vigil, p. 26.
- 29 Martínez Vigil, p. 27.
- 30 García de Diego, pp. 314-315.
- 31 Martínez Vigil, pp. 45, 78, 79.
- 32 García de Diego, pp. 314-315.
- 33 García de Diego, pp. 314-315.
- 34 García de Diego, p. 318.
- 35 García de Diego, pp. 314-315.

DEFENSA DE POESIA

## Arrangement of Text

The text of the Deffensa appears in diplomatic edition on the right; a transcription of the diplomatic Noel Douglas edition of the Ponsonby Defence appears on the left. The footnotes to the Defence represent variations appearing in the J. Churton Collins edition of the Arber reprint of the Olney Apologie. Footnotes to the Deffensa show the parallel version appearing in the Ponsonby Defence and are merely an editorial device which anticipates published form. Chapter titles from the Deffensa have been extracted and set out as a table of contents preceding the text. The number appearing in brackets is the folio number from the Deffensa MS, i.e., [r] recto and [v] verso being added in each instance. In the case of the Defence page numbers are placed in square brackets at the end of each line which terminates a page of the Noel Douglas edition. The page numbers are arbitrary, there being only quarto signatures in the Douglas edition of the Defence.

The edition of the manuscript presented here is diplomatic; that is, for each phonemic symbol appearing in the manuscript there appears a phonemic symbol in the edition. Any alteration of the text would destroy the effective linguistic value which the document has. One type of alteration has been introduced, an edition which has to do with obvious omissions. The corrections are inserted in cases where the scribe has omitted segments of words at least one syllable in length. Segments omitted by the author or scribe are inserted between brackets [ ]. Almost all these omissions occur after hyphen. Apparent misspellings by the scribe are left unaltered, e.g., Arishmetica, as are abbreviations,

e.g., ñ. The editorial symbol "ñ" represents the scribe's symbol in words such as sj. It definitely represents the Spanish phoneme /i/ but its distribution does not have positive correlation with any allophone of /i/. "I" appears in words such as Iunto and Iamas, where "I" represents a phoneme that has become modern Spanish /x/. "I" also represents the /i/ phoneme in words where it occurs initially. In the English text of the Defence set opposite the Spanish of the Defensa square brackets contain ampersand and Greek script; the brackets in these cases do not indicate that the editor has supplied material to the text or that he has changed material in it.

The principal reason for preserving this text in diplomatic edition is that it presents an unusual amount of linguistic data from an informant who may well have been bilingual; this data occurs in an area and comes from a period in which such information is indeed scarce. This document will be valuable to the theorization of bilingualism at least on the phonemic level, that is, in describing structurally the interpretation of Spanish phonemes by a person who is possibly a speaker of English; it also furnishes some material for the comparison of English and Spanish systems of morphology and syntax. Any correction of the text would destroy the record we have here of the interpretation made by a possible speaker of English in the sixteenth century of Spanish linguistic segments.

It has been suggested to me that I normalize the punctuation of the manuscript; I had determined to refrain from doing this and continue to refrain from doing so in this edition. The reasons for not doing so are those given in support of a diplomatic edition: a normalized text is of little or no value for a structural linguistic analysis.

In the bound manuscript, material appearing on page [2] logically followed that of page [3]; materials were bound in reverse order, that is, page [2] followed page [3]. The pages of the manuscript now appear at the beginning of this edition in the following order:

[1], [3], [2], [4], [5], and so forth. Each page of the manuscript has been set up as a page in the edition and retains in the edition the same format that it had in the manuscript.

The spelling for each item appearing in the index of this edition has been determined normatively from spellings of the author; here normalization is merely an economical device, it in no way alters the text. For reasons of consistency entries constructed by the editor to cover general subjects were cast in Spanish, e. g., all material referring to the author will appear under Autor; all that having to do with the date of composition of the manuscript text appears under the entry Fecha.

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14	dos exemplos delos maravillosos efetos de la Poesia	25r
15	dela poema pastora, elegiaca, Iambica, satyrica, comica y Tragica	26r

- 16 dela poema lirica y heroica y la conclusion de todo lo  
que se ha dicho en loor de la Poesia 29r
- 17 se propone de responder a los argumentos demomento que  
se pretenden auer contra la poesia y primero se responde  
a lo que se diçe contra el mismo 32r
- 18 se responde a lo que se diçe que mejor pudiera el hombre  
gastar su tiempo en otras sciencias mas fructuosas que  
en la poesia 35r
- 19 se responde alo que se dice que la poesia es la madre  
de mentiras 36r
- 20 se responde a lo que se dice que la poesia abusa a los  
ingenios de los hombres, criandolos a loçanos  
pecados y amores lasciuos 37v
- 21 se responde a lo que se diçe que antes que los poetas  
començaron a ser estimados los hombres no eran tan  
floxos y tenian todo su deleyte en hazer cosas dignas  
de escriuirse y no en escriuir cosas dignas de hazerse 39v
- 22 que la falta de merito en los poetas es la causa por que  
Inglaterra les es tan dura madrastra 41v
- 23 se responde a lo que se diçe que Platon desterro a los  
poetas de su republica y se conclue que no solo Platon  
sino muchos otros muy famosos en letras y armas les  
han estimado muchissimo 45r
- 24 de la arte imitaçion y exercicio y que el no usar de  
ellos aderechas es la causa de faltarse meritos a  
los poetas de Inglaterra 47r
- 25 de muchos otros yerros que se cometen con sus comedias  
y tragedias en Inglaterra y tambiẽ en sus liricos de  
cançiones y sonetos 51r
- 26 de algunos errores que de ordin[ario] se cometen en usando  
mal de algunas figuras dela diction 51r
- 27 y ultimo de la excelencia de la lengua Inglesa, de dos  
maneras que ay de uersificar, y la conclusion de este  
tratado 56v
-



**DEFENSA DE POESIA**

The defence of Poesie, by  
 Sir Philip Sidney Knight<sup>1</sup>

(W)hen the right vertuous E. VV. and  
 I, were at the Emperours Court  
 together, wee gaue our selues to  
 learne horsemanship of Ion Pietro  
Pugliano, one that with great com-  
 mendation had the place of an Es-  
 quire in his stable: and hee accor-  
 ding to the fertillnes of the Italian wit, did not onely  
 afford vs the demonstration of his practise, but  
 sought to enrich our mindes with the contemplati-  
 ons therein, which he thought most precious. But  
 with none I remember mine eares were at any time  
 more loaden, then when (either angred with slow  
 paiment, or moued with our learnerlike admirati-  
 on) hee exercised his speech in the praise of his fa-  
 cultie. He said souldiers were the noblest estate of  
 mankind, and horsemen the noblest of souldiers. He  
 said they were the maisters of warre, and ornaments  
 of peace, speedie goers, and

---

1 AN APOLOGIE FOR POETRIE

[1r]

DEFFENSA DE LA POESIA

3908

Capitulo primero en que se propone de traer Razones eficaces en deffensa de laPoesia

Quando el uirtuosissimo N.<sup>1</sup> y yo estuuimos  
 Iuntos en la corte del Imperador, pusimos cuidado  
 en aprender al andar a cauallo de Iuan Pedro Pulla-  
 no<sup>2</sup>, hombre<sup>3</sup> que con mucha alabança suya, tenia el  
 lugar y puesto de Cauallero en su caualleriça: y el,  
 segun la fertilidad del ingenio Italiano no solo nos  
 dio la demostracion de su practica, sino quiso en-  
 riqueşer a nuestros entendimientos con la contempla-  
 çion de ella, la qual el pensaua ser preciosissima.  
 Pero me acuerdo que con nada mis oydos en algũ  
 tiempo fueron tan cargados, como quando (o enoia--  
 do de la tardança del pagamento, o mouido de nue--  
 stra aprendiz admiracion) el exerçitaua su habla  
 en loor de su facultad. Decia que el de los soldados  
 era el mas noble estado del genero humano, y que el  
 de los hombres de a cauallo era el mas noble estado de  
 los soldados.<sup>4</sup> Decia que eran los maestros de la guerra  
 y el ornamento de la paz, ueloçes en caminar y

---

1 E. VV.

2 Ion Pietro Pugliano

3 one

4 He said souldiers were the noblest estate of mankind, and  
 horsemen the noblest of souldiers.

strong abiders, trium-

phers both in Camps and Courts: nay to so vnblee-  
 ued a point he proceeded, as that no earthly thing  
 bred such wonder to a Prince, as to be a good horse-  
 man. Skill of government was but a Pedanteria, in [1]  
 comparison, then would he adde certaine praises by  
 telling what a peerlesse beast the horse<sup>1</sup> was, the one-  
 ly seruiceable Courtier without flattery, the beast of  
 most bewtie, faithfulnessse, courage, and such more,  
 that if I had not bene a peece of a Logician before I  
 came to him, I thinke he would haue perswaded me  
 to haue wished my selfe a horse. But thus much at  
 least, with his no few words he draue into me, that  
 selfeloue is better then any gilding, to make that  
 seem gorgious wherin our selues be<sup>2</sup> parties. Wher-  
 in if Pulianos<sup>3</sup> strong affection and weake arguments  
 will not satisfie you, I wil giue you a nearer example  
 of my selfe, who I know not by what mischance in  
 these my not old yeares and idlest times, hauing slipt  
 into the title of a Poet, am prouoked to say somthing  
 vnto you in the defence of that my vnselected voca-  
 tion, which if I handle with more good will, then  
 good

---

1 a horse

2 are

3 Pugliano his

[lv]

Deffensa de

fuertes en pararse, Triumfadores assi en los câpos como en las cortes: y no solo esso syno a tan increíble punto procedia, que ninguna cosa en este suelo hazia en tal manera marauillar a un Principe como el ser buen hombre de a cauallo. el sauer gouernar era un nada<sup>1</sup> en su comparacion: entonçes añadia ciertas frases, en decir que animal tan sin par era el cauallo, el solo cortesano de seruiçio sin lisonya, el animal mas hermoso mas fiel y mas ualeroso y otras semejantes cosas, que sy yo no uuiera sido un pedaço de logico antes que ueniesse a su escuela de el, creo que me uuiera persuadido dessear ser cauallo. mas esto tanto a lo menos con sus palabras no pocas el fixo en my saber, que el amor proprio es mejor que qualquiera doradura para hazer paresçer aquello sumptuoso en que nosotros mismos somos parte.

En lo qual sy la afiçion fuerte y los flacos argumentos del Pullano<sup>2</sup> no os satisfazen, yo os dare un exemplo mas allegado y çercano en mi mismo, quien no se por que desdicha en esta my edad no uieïa y tiempo mas ocioso, auien-do deslizado en el titulo de Poeta, soy prouocado a dezir os algo en defensa de aquella mya no escogida uocaciõ; de la qual sy trato con mas uoluntad<sup>3</sup> que buenas  
raçones

---

1 a Pedanteria

2 Pulianos

3 good will

reasons, beare with me, since the scholler is to be pardoned that followeth the steps of his maister . And yet I must say, that as I haue more iust cause<sup>1</sup> to make a pittifull defence of poore Poetrie, which from almost the highest estimation of learning, is false to be the laughing stocke of children, so haue I need to bring some more auailable proofes, since the former is by no man bard of his deserued credit, the silly later, hath had euen the names of Philosophers vsed to the defacing of it, with great daunger of ciuil warre among the Muses. And first truly to all them that professing learning enuey against Poetrie, may iustly be objected, that they go very neare to vngratefulnessse, to seeke to deface that which in the noblest nations and languages that are known,

[2]

---

1 have just cause

[3r]

## Poesia

razones, sufrámelo, pues se ha de perdonar al  
 discipulo que sigue las pisadas de su maestro. y con  
 todo esto es menester que diga, que como tengo mas  
 Iusta causa de hazer una piadosa defensa de la  
 pobre poesia, la qual casi de la mas alta estima de  
 doctrina, ha caido a ser el Iuego de muchachos.  
 assi tengo menester de traer prueuas mas efica--  
 ces pues al primero (que es el hombre de a Cauallo)  
 nadie le va a la mano para tener su deuido credito,  
 al postrero pobresillo (que es el Poeta) para disacre--  
 ditarle y deshazerle, se han aprouechado de los  
 nombres y authoridad aun de los mismos filo--  
 sofos, con grande riesgo de guerra ciuil entre las  
 misas

Cap. 2 que la poesia es  
la mas antigua y la causa  
de todas las de mas sciencias.

Lo primero uerdaderamente a todos los que  
 professando letras afean a la poesia se les puede  
 Iustamente oponer que se allegan y açercan  
 a la ingratitude, en querer deshazer aquello que en  
 las mas nobles naciones y lenguas conocidas,

hath bene the first light giuer to ignorance, and first nurse whose milke litle [ & ] litle enabled them to feed afterwards of tougher knowledges. And will you play the Hedge-hogge, that being receiued into the den, draus out his host? Or rather the Vipers, that with their birth kill their parents? Let learned Greece in many of his<sup>1</sup> manifold Sciences, be able to shew me one booke before Musaeus, Homer, [ & ] Hesiod, all three nothing else but Poets. May let any Historie bee brought, that can say any writers were there before them, if they were not men of the same skill, as Orpheus, Linus, and some other are named, who hauing bene the first of that country that made penne deliuerers of their knowledge to the posteritie, nay iustly challenge to bee called their Fathers in learning. For not onely in time they had this prioritie (although in it selfe antiquitie be venerable) but went before them, as causes to draw with their charming sweetness

---

1 her



[3v]

Deffensa de

ha sido el primer alumbrador de la ignorancia, y la primera ama cuya leche poco a poco<sup>1</sup> les dio fuerças para apacentarse despues de mas duras y dificultosas sciencias. y quereis uosotros hazer como el erizo, que siendo recebido dentro de la Cueva hecha fuera<sup>2</sup> su uespel? o mas presto como las uiuoras que con su nascimiento matan a sus padres? la docta Grecia en alguna de sus muchas sciencias muestreme sy puede<sup>3</sup> un libro antes de Musaeo, Homero, y Hesiodo todos tres no otra cosa sino poetas, o traygase alguna historia que pueda decir auer estado ally algunos Escriptores antes de ellos. Sy no han sido hombres de su mismo arte, como Orphea, Lino y algunos otros<sup>4</sup> que se nombran, los quales por hauer sido los primeros de aquella Patria que por escripto manifestaron<sup>5</sup> su sauer a la posteridad, pueden iustamẽte pretender ser llamados sus padres en doctrina. Por que no solo en el tiempo han tenido esta preceçdençia (sy bien la antiguedad de suyo es ueneranda) mas iuan adelante de ellos como causas para atirar con su encantadora

dulçura

- 
- 1 little and little
  - 2 draue out
  - 3 Let learned Greece... be able to shew me
  - 4 Some other
  - 5 that made penne deliuerers

the wild vntamed wits to an admiration of knowledge. So as Amphion, was said to moue stones with his Poetry, to build Thebes, and Orpheus to be listned to by beasts, indeed stonie and beastly people. So among the Romans, were Liuius, Andre-  
nicus, and Ennius, so in the Italian language, the first that made it aspire to be a treasure-house of Science, were the Poets Dante, Bocace, and Petrarch. So in our English, wer Gower, and Chawcer, after whom, encouraged, delighted with their excellent foregoing, others haue folowed to bewtify our mother toong, aswell in the same kind as other arts. This did so notably shew it self, y<sup>t</sup> the Philosophers of Greece durst not a lōg time apear

[2r]

## Poesia

dulgura de los fieros indomitos ingenios en admiracion de la sciencia. de modo que Amphion se decia de mouer las piedras con su poesia para fabricar a Thebas y Orpheo de ser escuchado de las bestias, a la uerdad hombres empedernidos y bestiales.

Assi entre los Romanos fueron Ljuiio, Andronico y Ennio; y lo propio en la lengua Italiana los primeros que la hicieron aspirar a ser una tesoreria de Ciencias han sido los poetas Dante, Boccacio y Petrarcha; y tambien en nuestra Inglesa fuerõ Gouero y Chancero, despues de los quales animados y deleytados con su excellente precedencia, otros han seguido para hermosear a nuestra lengua materna tanto en el mismo genero como en otras Artes

Cap. 3 que los Filofos y hi--

storiadores antiguos primero

no osaron parescer al mundo

sino debaxo dela mascara dela

Poesia

Esto se muestra<sup>1</sup> tan notablemente, que los filofos de Grecia no osaron en mucho tiempo pa--

---

1 did shew

to y<sup>e</sup> world, but vnder y<sup>e</sup> mask of poets. [3]

So Thales, Empedocles, and Parmenides, sang their naturall Philosophie in verses. So did Pithagoras and Phocillides, their morall Councels. So did Tirteus in warre matters, and Solon in matters of pollicies, or rather they being Poets, did exercise their delightfull vaine in those points of highest knowledge, which before them laie hidden to the world. For, that wise Solon was directly a Poet, it is manifest, hauing written in verse the notable Fable of the Atlantick Iland, which was continued by Plato. And truly euen Plato whoso euer well considereth, shall finde that in the body of his worke though the inside [ & ] strength were Philosophie, the skin as it were and beautie, depended most of Poetrie. For all stands vpon Dialogues, wherein hee faines many honest Burgesses of Athens speak of such matters, that if they had bene set on the Racke, they would neuer have confessed them: besides his Poeticall describing the circumstances of their meetings, as the well ordering of a

[2v] Deffensa de

parecer al mundo sino debaxo de la mascara  
de los poetas. Assi Thales, Empedocles y Parme--  
nides cantaron su natural filosofia en uersos  
tambien Pythagoras y Phoçilides sus consejos  
morales; Tirteo ny mas ny menos en cosas de guer--  
ra.<sup>1</sup> y Solon en cosas de Policia, o antes ellos siendo  
poetas exercitaron su uena deleytosa en estos  
puntos de las mas altas sciencias que antes de ellos  
fueron escondidos<sup>2</sup> al mundo. por que auer sido  
el Sauio Solon directamente poeta<sup>3</sup> es manifiesto  
hauiendo escripto en uerso aquella notable famu--  
la de la Isla Atlantica, la qual se continuó des--  
pues por Platon. y uerdaderamente el mismo  
Platon qualquiera que bien le considera, hallara  
que en el Cuerpo de su obra aunque lo interior  
y el uigor fuesse filosofia, la tez (como decir) y  
la hermosura depende<sup>5</sup> principalmente de la Poesia.  
por que todo esta sobre dialogos en que finge muchos  
honrados çiudadanos de Athenas hablar de tales  
cosas, las quales aunque se les diesse tormento Iamas  
confessarian: allende del su poetico descriuir las cir--  
cunstançias de Iuntarse; como el bien ordenar

un

---

1 So did Tirteus in warre matters  
2 laie hidden  
3 For, that wise Solon was directly a Post  
4 the  
5 depended

banquet, the delicacie of a walke, with enterlacing  
 meere Tales, as Gyges Ring and others, which, who  
 knowes not to bee flowers of Poetrie, did neuer  
 walke into Appelles Garden. And euen Historiogra-  
phers, although their lippes sound of things done,  
 and veritie be written in their foreheads, haue bene  
 glad to borrow both fashion and perchance weight  
 of the Poets. So Herodotus entituled his Historie, by  
 the name of the nine Muses, and both he and all the  
 rest that followed him, either stole, or vsurped of  
 Poetrie, their passionate describing of passions, the  
 many particularities of battels which no man could  
 affirme, or if that be denied me, long Orations put  
 in the mouthes of great Kings and Captains, which  
 it is certaine they neuer pronounced. So that truly  
 neither Philosopher, nor Historiographer, could at the  
 first haue entered into the gates of popular iudge-  
 ments, if they had not taken a great pasport of Poe-  
 trie,

[4]

[1r]

Poesia

un banquete; la delicadeza de un paseo; con entretexer meros cuentos, como el anillo de Giges y otros, lo qual quien no sabe ser flores de la poesia nunca se fue a pasear dentro del Iardin de Apollo. y los mismos historiadores, sy bien sus labios suenan de cosas hechas y la uerdad esta escrita en sus frentes, se holgaron de tomar prestado entrambos la forma y quiza el peso delos poetas. Assi Herodoto intitulo su historia, del nombre delas nueues Musas; y tanto el como todos los de mas que le han seguido o hurtaron, o usuraron dela poesia el su apassionado descriuir las passiones, las muchas particularidades de battallas que nadie pudo afirmar; y si esto se me niegue, las largas oraçiones puestas en boca de los grandes Reyes y Capitanes, las quales cierto es que nunca las pronunçiaron ellos. de manera que uerdaderamẽte my filosofos ny historiadores pudieron al principio entrar dentro delas puertas del Iuizio popular sy no uieran tomado un grande passaporte de la Poesia.

Cap. 4 Que entre todas las naçiones

tambiẽ agora adonde no florescen las

letras cõ todo esso tienen a los poetas en

--- grande estima-

which in all nations at this day where learning flourisheth not, is plaine to be seene: in all which, they haue some feeling of Poetry. In Turkey, besides their lawgiuing Diuines, they haue no other writers but Poets. In our neighbour Countrey Ireland where truly learning goes verie bare, yet are their Poets held in a deuout reuerence. Euen among the most barbarous and simple Indians, where no writing is, yet haue they their Poets who make [ & ] sing songs which they call Arentos,<sup>1</sup> both of their Auncestors deeds, and praises of their Gods. A sufficient probability, that if euer learning come among them, it must be by hauing their hard dull wittes softened and sharpened with the sweete delights of Poetrie, for vntill they finde a pleasure in the exercise<sup>2</sup> of the minde, great promises of much knowledge, wil litte persuade them that know not the frutes of knowledge. In Wales, the true remnant of the auncient Brittons, as there are good authorities to

---

1 Areytos  
2 exercises



[4v]

## Deffensa de

Comprueba esta uerdad lo que en todas las naçio-  
 nes oy dia, adonde no floresçen las letras se uee  
 claramente: en todas las quales tienen algun senti-  
 miento dela poesia. en Turquia, fuera de sus legisladores  
 theologos,<sup>1</sup> no tienen otros escriptores sino poetas. en  
 nuestra auezindada tierra Irlanda adonde a la  
 uerdad las letras uan muy escasas, todauia a  
 sus poetas se les tiene una<sup>2</sup> deuota reuerençia. Y  
 mas que esso, entre los muy barbaros y simples  
 Indianos adonde no se escriue todauia tienen sus  
 poetas que hazen y cantan sonetos,<sup>3</sup> que ellos llaman  
 Arentos, assi de las hasañas de sus antepassados  
 como delas alauanças de sus Dioses. Probabilidad  
 bastante que si en algun tiempo ha de auer letras y  
 doctrina entre ellos es fuerça que sea por hauer te-  
 nido sus duros y entorpecidos ingenios ablandados y  
 aguzados con los suaues deleytes dela poesia; porque  
 hasta que hallen plazer en el exerciçio del entendimi-  
 ento, las grandes promessas del mucho sauer, poco  
 persuadiran esso, a los que no conosçen los frutos  
 dela sciencia. En Vallia el uerdadero residuo de  
 los antiguos Britanos como ay buenas authorities  
 para

- 
- 1 lawgiuing Diuines  
 2 in a  
 3 song

shew, the

long time they had Poets which they called Bardes:  
 so thorow all the cōquests of Romans, Saxons, Danes,  
 and Normans, some of whom, did seeke to ruine all  
 memory of learning from among them, yet do their  
 Poets euen to this day last: so as it is not more nota-  
 ble in the soone beginning, then in long continu-  
 ing. But since the Authors of most of our Sciences,  
 were the Romanes, and before them the Greekes, let vs [5]  
 a little stand vpon their authorities, but euen so farre  
 as to see what names they haue giue vnto this now  
 scorned skill. Among the Romanes a Poet was called  
Vates, which is as much as a diuiner, foreseeer, or  
 Prophet, as by his conioyned words Vaticinium,  
 and Vaticinari, is manifest, so heauenly a title did  
 that excellent people bestowe vpon this hart-ra-  
 uishing knowledge, and so farre

[5r]

Poesia

para mostrar el mucho tiempo que han tenido  
 poetas, los quales ellos llaman Bardes, assi por  
 todas las conquistas de los Romanos, Saxones,  
 Danos, y Normandos, algunos de los quales han in-  
 tentado ally de deshazer y quitar toda memoria  
 de la doctrina y lengua<sup>1</sup> con todo esso hasta oy dia  
 duran sus poetas de suerte que no es mas notable  
 en el començar temprano, que en el mucho durar

Cap. 5 que los Romanos dieron  
a los Poetas el celestial titulo y  
nombre de Vates

Mas pues que los authores de las mas sciencias  
 nuestras han sido los Romanos y antes de ellos  
 los Griegos, estemonos un poco sobre sus authori-  
 dades de ellos, tan solo, hasta uer que nombres  
 dieron a esta arte agora escarnescida. entre los  
 Romanos, el poeta se llamo VATES, que quie-  
 re dezir agorero, quien anteué y adiuina, o pro-  
 feta, como por sus ajustadas palabras Vaticini-  
nium y Vaticinari es manifesto; tan  
 celestial titulo dieron aquella excelente gente  
 a esta sciencia robadora de coraçones y tanto

---

1 did seek to ruine all memory of learning from among them

were they carried into the admiration thereof, that they thought in the chanceable hitting vpon any of such verses, great foretokens of their following fortunes, were placed, whereupon grew the word of Sartes Vergilianae, when by suddaine opening Virgils booke, they lighted vpon some verse of his, as it is reported by many,<sup>1</sup> whereof the Histories of the Emperours liues are full. As of Albinus the Governour of our Iland, who in his childhood met with this verse Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis: and in his age performed it, although<sup>2</sup> it were a verie vaine and godlesse superstition, as also it was, to thinke spirits were commaunded by such verses, whereupon this word Charmes deriued of Carmina, cometh: so yet serueth it to shew the great reuerence those wittes were held in, and altogether not without ground, since both by the Oracles of Delphos and Sybillas propheties, were wholly deliuered in verses, for that same exquisite obseruing of number and measure

---

1 they lighted vpon any verse of hys making

2 which, although

[5v]

Deffensa de

fueron lleuados en admiracion de ella, que pensaron consistir en el topar a caso con algunos tales uersos, grandes señales de su uenidera suerte. sobre que nascio aquella<sup>1</sup> palabra de sortes virgilianae quando por el repentino abrir del libro de Virgilio cayan sobre algun tal uerso suyo. como se dize por muchos, de que son llenas las historias de las uidas de los Imperadores como de Ilbino el Governador de nuestra Isla, el qual en su niñez topò con este uerso:

Arma amens capio, nec sat roñis in Armis

y siendo de edad<sup>2</sup> lo cumplio, si bien fue una muy uana y impia superstición, como tambien lo fue el pensar que los espiritus se mandaron y obedecian a tales uersos,<sup>3</sup> sobre que uiene esta palabra Inglesa charmes, dirivado de carmina:

assi con todo esso sirue para mostrar la grande reuerencia en que se tenian estos ingenios, y no de todo sin fundamento, pues assi los oraculos de Delphos, como las profecias de las Sýbillas totalmente se dieron en uersos; porque aquella esquisita obseruacion misma de numer y medida

de

---

1 the

2 in his age

3 spirits were commaunded by such verses

in the words,

and that high flying libertie of conceit proper to the Poet, did seeme to haue some diuine force in it. And may not I presume a little farther, to shewe the reasonablenesse of this word Vatis, and say that the [6] holy Dauids Psalms are a diuine Poeme? If I do, I shal not do it without the testimony of great learned me both auncient and moderne. But euen the name of Psalmes wil speak for me, which being interpreted, is nothing but Songs: then that it is fully written in meeter as all learned Hebritians agree, although the rules be not yet fully found. Lastly and principally, his handling his prophecie, which is meerly Poetical. For what else is the awaking his musical Instruments, the often and free chaunging of persons, his notable Prosopopeias, whē he maketh you as it were see God comming in his maiestie, his telling of the beasts, ioyfulnessse, and hils leaping, but a heauenly poesie

[6r]

## Poesia

de palabras y aquel alto uolante libertad de  
 conceptos,<sup>1</sup> proprio a los poetas,<sup>2</sup> paresçia tener en  
 sy alguna fuerça diuina. y no puedo yo pre--  
 sumir Ir un poco mas adelante, para mostrar  
 la razon de esta palabra, VAtes, y decir q  
 los Santos Salmos de David<sup>3</sup> son una poema  
 diuina? Sy lo hago, no lo hare sin el testimonio  
 de grandes letrados, assi antiguos como moder  
 nos. mas el mismo nombre de Salmos habla--  
 por my, que siendo interpretado, no es otra  
 cosa que cantos: despues que son cumplidamen--  
 te escriptos en metro, como todos los doctos hebre--  
 os en ello concordan, sy bien las reglas no son  
 aun de todo punto halladas. ultimamente y  
 prinçipalmente el modo que trata de su profe  
 çia, que es mero poetico. pues que otra cosa es  
 el dispertar sus instrumentos musicos, el frequẽ--  
 te y libre mudar de personas, sus notables  
 prosopopeias, quando os haze como sy fuera  
 uer a dios ueniendo en su Magestad, su  
 contar del alegria delos animales y el saltar  
 delas montañas, sino una poesia celestial,

---

1 conceit

2 Poet

3 and say that the holy Dauids Psalms

wherin almost he sheweth himselfe a passionate louer of that vnspeakable and euerlasting bewtie, to be seene by the eyes of the mind, onely cleared by faith? But truly now hauing named him, I feare I seeme to prophane that holy name, applying it to Poetry, which is among vs throwne downe to so ridiculous an estimation. But they that with quiet iudgements wil looke a litle deeper into it, shal find the end [ & ] working of it such, as being rightly applied, deserueth not to be scourged out of the Church of God. But now let vs see how the Greekes haue named it,<sup>1</sup> and how they deened of it. The Greekes named him [ ποιητήν ],<sup>2</sup> which name, hath as the most excellent,<sup>3</sup> gone through other languages, it cometh of this word

- 
- 1 the Greekes named it
  - 2 the Greeks called him a poet
  - 3 thorough



[6v]

Deffensa de

en que casi se muestra a si mismo un apassionado enamorado de aquella inefable y eterna hermosura, a ser uista solamente con los oios del alma, aclarados y purificados por la fee. mas en uerdad agora auiedo nòbrado a el, temo que no paresco profanar<sup>1</sup> aquel santo nombre aplicandolo ala poesia, la qual entre nos otros esta abatida a tan ridicula estima. pero los que con luizio sossegado quieren mirar ù poco mas hondo en ella, hallaran el fin y la operacion de ella ser tales, que siendo a derechas aplicada, no meresce ser açotada fuera del tẽmplo de Dios.

Cap. 6. que los Griegos dieron  
a los poetas el excellente nomb-  
re de ποιητην que quie-  
re decir hasedor

Veamos pues agora como los Griegos la nombraron y qual la usaron. los Griegos llamaronle ποιητην qual nombre como el mas excellente ha passado por otras lenguas. uiene de esta palabra

---

1 I feare I seeme to prophane

[Ποιητῆς] which is to make: wherein I know not whether by luck or wisdom, we Englishmen haue met with the Greekes in calling him a Maker. Which name, how high and incomparable a title it is, I had rather were knowne by marking the scope [7] of other sciences, thē by any partial allegatiō. There is no Art deliuered vnto mankind that hath not the workes of nature for his principall obiect, without which they could not consist, and on which they so depend, as they become Actors [ & ] Plaiers, as it were of what nature will haue set forth. So doth the Astronomer looke vpon the starres, and by that he seeth set downen what order nature hath taken therein. So doth the Geometritian [ & ] Arithmititian, in their diuers sorts of quantities. So doth the Musitians in times tell you, which by nature agree, which not. The natural Philosopher thereon hath his name, and the (morrall Philosopher standeth vpon the naturall vertues, vices, or <sup>l</sup> passions of man: and follow nature saith he therein, and thou shalt not erre. The Lawier saith what

[7r]

## Poesia

Πουλις que es, hazer, en que no se qual, sy  
 por suerte, o por sabiduria, nosotros Ingleses he-  
 mos conuenido con los Griegos en llamarle hase  
 dor. el qual nombre quan alto y incomparable  
 titulo es, mas quisiera que fuesse conoscido por  
 obseruar los limites delas otras sciencias, que  
 por alguna parcial alegacion. no ay arte nin-  
 guna dada al genero humano que no tiene las  
 obras de la naturaleza por su obieto principal, sin  
 que, no pudieran consistir, y sobre que depienden  
 tanto que uienen a ser actores y farsantes, como  
 si lo fueran, delo que naturaleza quiere publicar.<sup>1</sup>  
 assi el Astronomo mira las Estrellas, y por lo que  
 uee trata de la orden que naturaleza ha tomado  
 en ello. assi haze el Geometrico y Arishmetico  
 en sus diuersas suertes de Cantidades. assi el Mu-  
 sico en los tonos,<sup>2</sup> os dice quales naturalmente  
 concuerdan, quales no. El Filosofo natural de  
 esso tiene su nombre y el moral Filosofo esta  
 sobre las naturales uirtudes, uicios y passiones  
 del hombre: y seguid la naturaleza en ello (Dize  
 el) y no andareis errado. el legista dize lo que

---

1 as it were of what nature will haue set forth.

2 times

men haue determined. The Historian, what men haue done. The Gramarian, speaketh onely of the rules of speech, and the Rhetoritian and Logitian, considering what is nature wil soonest procure, and perswade thereon, giue artificiall rules, which still are compassed within the circle of a question, according to the proposed matter. The Phisitian wayeth the nature of mans bodie, [ & ] the nature of things helpfull, or hurtfull vnto it. And the Metaphisicke though it be in the second [ & ] abstract Notions, and therefore be counted supernaturall, yet doth hee indeed build vpon the depth of nature. Only the Poet disdeining to be tied to any such subiectiō, lifted vp with the vigor of his own inuention, doth grow in effect into an other nature: in making things either better than nature bringeth foorth, or quite a new, formes such as neuer were in nature: as the Heroes, [8] Demigods, Cyclops, Chymeras, Furies, and such like; as he goeth hand in hand

[7v]

Deffensa de

por hombres esta deçidido y determinado. el Historiador lo que hombres han hecho. el Gramatico habla<sup>1</sup> sobre las reglas de hablar. y el Retorico y Logico considerando lo que en naturaleza mas presto prueua y persuade sobre esso da reglas artificiales que siempre son incluidas dentro del circulo de una question, segun la propuesta materia. el Medico ua ponderando la naturaleza del cuerpo humano, y la naturaleza de las cosas que lo ayudan y dañan. y el Metafisico, aunque esta en las segundas y abstractas noçiones, y por esso es temido por sobre natural, todavia de ueras el fabrica sobre la hondura dela naturaleza. solo el Poeta desdeñando de ser atado a alguna tal sufeçion, eleuado con el uigor de su propria inuencion, cresce en efeto en una otra naturaleza, haziendo cosas o meiores que la naturaleza las cria, ó formando todo de nueuo tales cosas que nunca han sido in Rerum natura:<sup>2</sup>

como los Heroes, los Semidioses, Ciclopes, Chymeras, Furias y tales; de modo que ua mano

a mano

1 onely

2 in nature

with nature, not enclosed

within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely  
 raunging<sup>1</sup> within the Zodiack of his owne wit. Nature  
 neuer set foorth the earth in so rich Tapistry as  
 diuerse Poets haue done, neither with so pleasant  
 riuers,<sup>2</sup> fruitfull trees, sweete smelling flowers, nor  
 whatsoeuer els may make the too much loued earth  
 more louely: her world is brasen, the Poets only de-  
 liuer a golden. But let those things alone and goe to  
 man, for whom as the other things are, so it seemeth  
 in him her vttermost comming<sup>3</sup> is imploied: [ & ] know  
 whether she haue brought foorth so true a louer as  
Theagenes, so constant a friend as Pylades, so valiant a  
 man as Orlando, so right a Prince as Xenophons Cyrus,  
 so excellent a man euery way as Virgils Aeneas. Nei-  
 ther let this be iestingly cõceiued, bicause the works  
 of the one be the essencially, the other in imitation or fi-  
 ction: for euerie vnderstanding,<sup>4</sup> knoweth the skill  
 of each Artificer standeth in that Idea, or fore conceit  
 of the worke,

- 
- 1 freely ranging onely  
 2 with pleasant riuers  
 3 cunning  
 4 for any understanding

[8r]

Poesia.

a mano con la naturaleza no incluso dentro del estrecho poder de sus dones, sino libremente andando dentro del Zodiaco de su proprio ingenio. la naturaleza nunca mostróla tierra con tan ricos tapices como lo han hecho diuersos Poetas, ny con rios tan agradables, arboles fructuosos, Flores odoriferos, ny con qualquier otra cosa que puede hazer la demasiado bien amada tierra ser mas amable.

su mundo es de bronze, solamente los poetas lo dan dorado. mas dexemos a estas cosas, y uamos al

hombre, por quien como las otras son, <sup>1</sup> assi parece que en el, su extremo artificio <sup>2</sup> esta empleado:

y saued sy ha produzido tan uerdadero enamorado como Theagenes, tan constante amigo como

Pilades, hombre tan ualeroso como Orlando,

Principe tan recto como el Ciro de Xenofonte, y un

baron por todas partes <sup>3</sup> tan excelente como el Enea

de Virgilio. ny se entienda esto burlando, por que

las obras de la una son essenciales, y dela otra

en Imitacion y ficcion: <sup>4</sup> pues cada entendimiento

sabe, que el arte de qualquier artifice esta en

la <sup>5</sup> Idea, o concepto que tiene antes dela obra: <sup>6</sup>

y

- 
- 1 as the other things are
  - 2 coming
  - 3 euery way
  - 4 or
  - 5 that
  - 6 or fore conceit of the worke

and not in the worke it selfe. And that the Poet hath that Idea, is manifest, by deliuering them forth in such excellencie as he had imagined them: which deliuering forth, also is not wholly imaginatiue, as we are wont to say by thẽ that build Castles in the aire: but so farre substancially it worketh, not onely to make a Cyrus, which had bene but a particular excellency as nature might haue done, but to bestow a Cyrus, vpon the world to make many Cyrusses, if they will learne aright, why and how that maker made him. Neither let it be deemed too fawcy a comparison, to ballance the highest point of mans wit, with the efficacie of nature: but rather giue right honor to the heauenly maker of that maker, who hauing made man to his owne likeness, set him beyond and ouer all the workes of that second nature, which in nothing he sheweth so much as in Poetry; when with the force of a diuine breath, he bringeth things forth surpassing<sup>1</sup> her doings: with no small arguments

[9]

---

1 forth far surpassing



[8v]

Deffensa de

y no en la misma obra. y que el Poeta tiene aquellas ideas<sup>1</sup> se manifiesta, por el mostrarlas en tanta excelencia como las auia imaginado: qual mostrar tambien no es del todo imaginatiuo, como se suele decir por los que hazen castillos en el ayre, si no hasta tanto sustancialmente obra, no solo de hazer un Ciro, que esso no seria sino una excelencia particular como pudiera hazer la naturaleza, mas en dar un Ciro al mando para hazer muchos Gyros, sy quieren aprender a derechas porque y como aquel HAsedor le hizo. ny se piense ser una comparacion demasiado presumptuosa y arrogante el balançar el mas alto punto del ingenio humano con la eficacia dela naturaleza, sino antes de se la deuida honra al diuino Criador de aquel HAsedor, que haziendo al hombre a su semeiança, le hiso exceder y sobrestar a todas las obras de aquella segunda naturaleza: lo qual en nada lo muestra tanto como en la Poesia, quando por la fuerza de un aliento diuino produçe cosas que sobrepuian a las que ella hace; con no poco argu

mento

---

1 that Idea

to the incredulous of that first  
accursed fall of Adam, since our erected wit maketh  
vs know what perfectiō is, and yet our infected wil  
keepeth vs fro reaching vnto it. But these argumēts  
will by few be vnderstood, and by fewer graunted:  
thus much I hope wil be giuen me, that the Greeks  
with some probability of reason, gaue him the name  
about all names of learning. Now let vs goe to a  
more ordinarie opening of him, that the truth may  
be the more palpable: and so I hope though we get  
not so vnmatched a praise as the Etimologie of his  
names

[9r]

Poesia

argumento<sup>1</sup> para contra los incredulos de aquel--  
 la primera maldita cayda de Adan. pues  
 nuestro leuantado entendimiento nos haze  
 saber que cosa es perfection y no obstante esto  
 muestra uoluntad inficionada nos detiene  
 para no alcançarla. pero pocos entenderan  
 estos argumentos y menos seran los que los con--  
 cederan: esto tanto espero que me sera congedi  
 do, que los Griegos con alguna probabilidad de  
 raçon le dio el nombre al Poeta sobre todos  
 los nombres de doctrina.

Cap. 7. De la descripcion  
de la Poesia segun Ari-  
stoteles y de los tres gene-  
ros de poetas y qual de ellos  
se puede llamar el uerda--  
dero poeta

Agora uamos a un mas ordinario modo  
 de mostrarlo, para que la uerdad sea mas  
 palpable; y assi espero, sy bien no alcan--  
 çamos una alabança tan sin compara--  
 çion, como la etimologia de sus nombres

---

1 arguments

will graunt, yet his verie description which no man will denie, shall not iustly be barred from a principall commendation. Poesie therefore, is an Art of Imitation: for so Aristotle termeth it in the word [μιμνησις], that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth to speake Metaphorically. A speaking Picture, with this end to teach and delight. Of this haue bene three generall kindes,<sup>1</sup> the chiefe both in antiquitie and excellencie, were they that did imitate the vncōceiueable excellencies of God. Such were Dauid in his Psalmes, Salomon in his song of songs, in his Ecclesiastes and Prouerbes. Moses and Deborah, in their Hymnes, and the wryter of Iobe: Which beside other, the learned Emanuell, [10] Tremelius, and F. Iunius,<sup>2</sup> doo entitle the Poeticall part of the scripture: against these none will speake that hath the holie Ghost in due holie reuerence. In this kind, though in a full wrong diuinitie, were Orpheus, Amphion, Homer in his himnes, and manie other both Greeke and

---

1 three seueral Kindes

2 and Franciscus Iunius

[9v]

## Deffensa de

otorga, todauia, su misma discripcion qual  
 nadie niegare, no sera iustamente deuedada  
 de tener un loor principal. la Poesia pues,  
 es una arte de imitacion: por que assi Ari  
 stoteles la llama en esta palabra Mimesis  
 (esto es) un representar, contrahaser o figurar  
 fuera, para hablar por metaphora, un retrato  
 que habla afin de enseñar y deleytar. de esto  
 auido tres suertes generales, el principal de--  
 llos assi en antiguedad como en excelencia<sup>1</sup>  
 fueron los que imitaron las incomprehensi--  
 bles excellencias de Dios, tales fueron, David  
 en sus Salmos, Salamon en su Cantico Gan  
 ticorum, en ecclesiastes y prouerbios; Moysen  
 y Debora en sus hymnos y el escritor de Iob.  
 la qual parte muchos hombres doctos intitula<sup>2</sup>  
 la parte poetica dela sagrada escriptura.<sup>3</sup> Con-  
 tra estos nadie hablara quien tiene la deui--  
 da Santa reuerencia al espiritu santo. En este  
 genero aunque en una theologia todo erronea  
 fueron Orpheo, Amphion, Homero en sus  
 hymnos, y muchos otros assi Griegos como

Romanos

---

1 the chiefe bothe in antiquitie and excellencie

2 Iobe: which beside other, the learned Emanuel,  
Tremelius, and F. Iunius, do entitle

3 of the scripture

Romanes. And this Poesie must be vsed by whosoever will follow S. Paulus<sup>1</sup> counsaile; in singing Psalmes when they are mery, and I knowe is vsed with the frute of comfort by some, when in sorrowfull panges of their death bringing simes, they finde the consolation of the neuer leauing goodnes. The second kinde, is of them that deale with matters Philosophicall, either morall as Tirteus, Phocilides, Cato; or naturall, as Lucretius, and Virgils Georgikes; or Astronomicall as Manilius and Pontanus; or Historicall as Lucan: which who mislike the fault, is in their iudgement quite out of tast, [&] not in the sweet food of sweetly vttered knowledge. But bicause this second sort is wrapped within the folde of the proposed subiect, and takes not the free course<sup>2</sup> of his own inuentiõ, whether they properly bee Poets or no, let Gramarians dispute; and goe to the third indeed right Poets, of whom chiefly this question ariseth: betwixt whom and these second, is such a kinde of difference, as betwixt the

---

1 follow S. James

2 the course

[10r]

## Poesia

Romanos. y de esta poesia se ha de usar quien quiere seguir el consejo de San Pablo en cantar psalmos quando son alegres, y se que se usa cõ fruto de consuelo por algunos, quando en las dolorosas uascas de sus mortiferos pecados, hallan consolacion de la nunca perescadera bondad. el segundo genero es de los que tratan en materia filosofica, o que sea moral como Tirtço, Phocilides, Caton; o que sea natural como Lucreçio, los Georgicos de Virgilio; o astronomical como Manilio y Pontano; o historial como Lucano: lo qual a quien no agrada la culpa es de sus Iuzios del todo estragados y no del dulce manjar dela sciencia dulçemente espressa. mas por que este segundo genero esta enbuelto dentro de los pliegues del propuesto suleto, y no toma el libre curso de su inuencion propria, si propriamente son poetas o no, disputenlo los Gramaticos. Y uamos al terçero que cierto son Poetas uerdaderos, de quienes massimamẽte nasce esta question: entre los quales y estos segundos ay tal diferençia, como entre los mas

meaner sort of Painters, who counterfeyt onely such faces as are set before them, and the more excelent, who hauing no law but wit, bestow that in colours vpon you, which is fittest for the eye to see, as the constant, though lamenting looke of Lucretia, when shee punished in her selfe anothers faulte: wherein hee painteth not Lucretia whom he neuer saw, but painteth the outward bewty of such a vertue. For these third be they which most properly do imitate to teach [ & ] delight: and to imitate, borrow nothing of what is, hath bin, or shall be, but range onely reined with learned discretion, into the diuine consideration of what may be and should be. These be they that as the first and most noble sort, may iustly be termed Vates: so these are waited on in the excellentest languages and best vnderstādings, with the fore described name of Poets. For these indeed do meerly make to imitate, and imitate

[11]



[10v]

Deffensa de

baxos pintores que imitan solamente tales caras quales se les pone adelante, y los mas excelentes que no teniendo otra ley que el entendimiento, os da el retrato tal y con tales colores, como mas cumple y mejor parece ala vista, como el fixo aunque lastimoso mirar de Lucreçia quando castigó en sy misma el delito de otro: en que no pinta a Lucreçia a quien nunca vio, sino la hermosura exterior dela uirtud. Porque estos terceros son los que mas propriamente imitan para enseñar y deleytar: y para imitar no toman nada prestado de lo que es, ha sido, o sera, sino andan a rienda suelta, gouernados con docta descreçion a la diuina consideracion delo que pudo ser<sup>1</sup> y deue ser. Estos son aquellos que como los primeros y mas nobles se pueden iustamente llamar Vates, y aduinos,<sup>2</sup> assi a estos en los mas excelentes lenguages y mas buenos ingenios quadra el ya descripto nombre de poeta. por que estos cierto hazen meramente para imitar y imitan

assi

---

1 what may be

2 may iustly be termed Vates

both to delight [ & ] teach, and delight to moue  
 men to take that goodnesse in hand, which without  
 delight they would flie as from a stranger; and teach  
 to make them know that goodnesse wherunto they  
 are moued: which being the noblest scope to which  
 erer any learning was directed, yet want there not  
 idle tongues to barke at them. These be subdivided  
 into sundry more speciall denominations. The most  
 notable be the Heroick, Lyrick, Tragick, Comick, Saty-  
rick, Iambick, Elegiack, Pastorall, and certaine others:  
 some of these being teamed according to the mat-  
 ter theydeale with, some by the sort<sup>1</sup> of verse they li-  
 ked best to write in, for indeed

---

1 sorts

[11r]

Poesia

assi para deleytar como para enseñar, y  
 deleytan para mouer a los hombres para  
 emprender aquella bondad. dela qual sin el  
 deleyte huyarian como de un forastero;<sup>1</sup> y en se-  
 ñan para haserles conosçer aquella bondad  
 a que son mouidos: lo qual, siendo la mas noble  
 mira a que lamas fue endereçada alguna  
 doctrina, todauia no faltan lenguas ociosas  
 que les ladran

Cap. 8 otra diuision de  
los generos de Poetas, y que  
el Versificar no es dela essen-  
cia, sino un ornamento de

— la Poesia—

Estos se reparten otra uez en diuersas  
 y mas particulares denominaciones. los  
 mas notables son los Heroicos, Liricos, Tra-  
 gicos, Comicos, Satiricos, Iambicos, Elegiacos,  
 Pastorales y algunos otros;<sup>2</sup> algunos de estos sien-  
 do llamados<sup>3</sup> conforme a la materia de que  
 tratan, algunos por el genero del uerso en que  
 gustaron de escriuir;<sup>4</sup> por que uerdaderam<sup>te</sup>

---

1 which without delight they would flee as from a stranger  
 2 certain others  
 3 rearmed  
 4 they liked best to write in

the greatest part of

Poets, haue apparelled their poeticall inuentions, in that numbrous kind of writing which is called vers. Indeed but apparelled verse: being but an ornament and no cause to Poetrie, since there haue bene many most excellent Poets that neuer versefied, and now swarme many versefiers that need neuer answeere to the name of Poets. For Xenophon who did imitate so excellently as to giue vs effigiem iusti imperii, the [1:2] pourtraiture of a iust Empyre vnder the name of Cyrus, as Cicero saith of him made therein an absolute heroicall Poeme. So did Heliodorus, in his sugred inuention of that picture of loue in Theagenes [ & ] Chariclea, and yet both these wrote<sup>1</sup> in prose, which I speake to shew, that it is not ryming and versing that maketh a Poet, (no more then a long gown maketh an Aduocate, who though he pleaded in Armour, should be

---

1 writ

[11v]

Deffensa de

la mayor parte de los poetas han uestido a sus inuenciones poeticas de aquella numerosa manera de escriuir que se llama uerso; de ueras solamente las han uestido, no siendo el uerso sino solo un ornamento y no causa ninguna dela Poesia,<sup>1</sup> pues han sido muchos muy Excelentes poetas que nunca han uersificado, y agora enxambran muchos uersificadores que no tienen menester responder Iamas al nombre de Poeta.<sup>2</sup> Porque Xenophon quien tan excelentemente imito como a darnos Effigiẽ Iusti imperii el retrato de un Iusto Imperio, debaxo del nombre de Cyro. como Ciceron diçe de el, hizo en ello una poema absolutamente heroyca. assi hizo Heliodoro en su açucarada inuencion de aquel retrato de amor en Theagenes y Chariclea, y todauia estos ambos a dos escriuieron en prosa: lo qual digo para mostrar que no es el trouar<sup>3</sup> uer sificar que haze al Poeta no mas que una toga ò ropa larga<sup>4</sup> haze al auogado (el qual aunque auogasse armado se llamaria<sup>5</sup> auogado

---

1 and no cause to Poetrie

2 Poets

3 and

4 a long gown

5 should be

an Aduocat and no souldier) but it is that  
faining notable images of vertues, vices, or what els,  
with that delightful teaching, which must be the  
right describing note to know a Poet by. Although  
indeed the Senate of Poets hath chosen verse as their  
fittest raiment: meaning as in matter, they passed all  
in all, so in maner, to go beyond them: not speaking  
table talke fashion, or like men in a dreame, words  
as they chanceably fall from the mouth, but peasing  
each sillable of eache word by iust proportion, ac-  
cording to the dignitie of the subiect. Now therefore  
it shal not be amisse, first to way this latter sort of po-  
etrie by his workes, and then by his parts, and if in

[12r]

Poesia

auogado y no soldado) sino aquel fingir nota  
bles imagines de uirtudes, uicios o de qualquier  
otra cosa con aquel deleytoso enseñar, que por  
fuerça ha de ser la uerdadera nota que descr-  
iue por donde se conosce el poeta. sy bien uerda-  
deramente el senado delos poetas han<sup>1</sup> elegido  
al uerso como a su mas apto ataulo y ornato:  
entendiendo como en la materia passauan a todo  
en todo, assi en el modo de passarlos: no hablãdo  
como en la mesa se suele o como hombres en sue-  
ños, palabras como a caso caen dela boca, sino  
pesando<sup>2</sup> cada silaba de cada palabra por una  
iusta proporçion, conforme ala dignidad del  
sugeto.

Cap. 9 del genero de los  
uerdaderos poetas y que  
el ultimo fin de todas las  
sciencias es la aççion y  
obra uirtuosa

Agora pues no sera malo, primero de  
considerar este postrer genero de poetas<sup>3</sup> por  
sus obras y despues por sus partes; y si en

---

1 hath  
2 peasing  
3 poetrie

neither of these Anatomies hee be condemnable, I hope we shall obtaine a more fauourable sentence. This purifying of wit, this enriching of memorie, enabling of iudgement, and enlarging of conceit, which commonly we cal learning, vnder what name so euer it come forth, or to what immediate end soeuer it be directed, the finall end is, to lead and draw vs to as high a perfection, as our degenerate soules made worse by their clay-lodgings,<sup>1</sup> can be capable of. This according to the inclination of man, bred many formed impressions. For some that thought [13] this felicity principally to be gotten by knowledge, and no knowledge to be so high or heauenly,<sup>3</sup> as acquaintance with the stars; gaue thēselues to Astro-nomie: others perswading thēselues to be Demygods, if they knew the causes of things, became naturall and supernaturall Philosophers. Some an admirable delight drew to Musicke; and some the certaintie of demonstration to the Mathematicks:

---

1 clayey lodgings

2 high and heavenly



[12v]

Deffensa de

ninguna de estas anotomias no sera de condenarse,<sup>1</sup> espero que regebiremos una mas favorable sentençia. Este purificar del entendimiento, este enriqueçer de la memoria, el habilitar del Iuicio, el ensanchar delos conceptos,<sup>2</sup> que comunemente llamamos doct<sup>y</sup>ina, debaxo de qualquier nombre sale, o a qualquier fin inmediato se endereça, el ultimo fin es el guiar y tirarnos a tan alta perfeçion, como nuestras degeneradas almas peoradas por sus posadas de barro pueden ser capaçes. Esto conforme ala inclinacion del hombre erio muchas formadas impresiones: por que algunos que pensaron que esta felicidad se alcançaua principalmēte por la Sciencia. y que ninguna sciencia era tan alta y celestial como el conosciendo delas estrellas, dieronse a la astrologia:<sup>3</sup> otros persuadiendose de ser Semidioses, sy supiesen las causas delas cosas han uenido a ser filosofos naturales y metafisicos:<sup>4</sup> a algunos un admirable deleyte les tyro a la musica: y a otros la certesa delas demostraçiones, a la mathematica:

mas

---

1 hee be condemnable

2 and enlarging of conceit

3 Astronomie

4 naturall and supernaturall Philosophers

but all one and  
 other hauing this scope to know, [ & ] by knowledge  
 to lift vp the minde from the dungeon of the bodie,  
 to the enjoying his owne diuine essence. But when  
 by the ballance of experience it was found, that the  
Astronomer, looking to the stars might fall in<sup>1</sup> a ditch,  
 that the inquiring Philosopher might be blind in him  
 self, [ & ] the Mathematician, might draw forth a straight  
 line with a crooked hart. Then lo did prooffe, the o-  
 uerruler of opinions make manifest, that all these are  
 but seruing sciences; which as they haue a<sup>2</sup> priuate  
 end in themselues, so yet are they all directed to the  
 highest end of the mistresse knowledg<sup>e</sup> by y Greeks  
 [ἀρχιτεκτονική],<sup>3</sup> which stands as I thinke, in the knowledge  
 of a mans selfe, in the Ethike and Politique conside-  
 ration, with the end of well doing, and not of well  
 knowing onely. Euen as the Sadlers next ende is to  
 make a good Saddle, but his further<sup>4</sup> ende, to serue a  
 nobler facultie, which is

- 
- 1 into  
 2 haue each a  
 3 by Greeks called Architectonike  
 4 farther

[13r]

Poesia

mas todos, los unos y los otros teniendo esta mira<sup>1</sup>  
 de Sauer y por el Sauer de leuantar el alma  
 de este calabozo del cuerpo al gozar de su propria  
 essencia diuina. mas empero quando por la ba-  
 lança dela experiència se hallo que el Astrono-  
 mo mirando a las estrellas pudiera caer en un  
 fosso; y que el inquisidor filosofo pudiera ser cie-  
 go en sy mismo; y que el mathematico pudiera  
 tirar fuera una linea derecha con un coraçon  
 tuerto: entonçes e aquí la prueua, el sobrestan-  
 te delas opiniones ha manifestado que todas  
 estas no son sino sciencias seruidoras, las qua-  
 les como tienen un fin proprio para sy. assi to-  
 dauia son endereçadas al mas alto fin y scien-  
 cia señora, llamada por los Griegos Architec-  
 tonica.<sup>2</sup> la qual esta como yo pienso en  
 conoscar se el hombre asy mismo en la ethica  
 y politica consideraçion con el fin del bienha-  
 zer y no solamente de bien sauer. Iusto como  
 el fin proximo del sillero es de hazer una bue-  
 na silla, pero su fin mas remoto es para ser-  
 uir a una fâcultad mas noble, que es la

---

1 scope

2 of the mistress knowledge by y Greeks [ἀρχιτεχνικῆ]

horsemanship, so the horse-  
 mans to souldiery: and the souldier not only to haue  
 the skill, but to performe the practise of a souldier.  
 So that the ending end of all earthly learning, being  
 vertuous action, those skils that most serue to bring  
 forth that, haue a most iust title to be Princes ouer al  
 the rest: wherin if we cā shew, the Poet is worthy to [14]  
 haue it before any other competitors: among whō  
 principally to challenge it, step<sup>1</sup> forth the moral Phi-  
losophers, whom me thinkes I see comming towards  
 me, with a sullain grauitie, as though they could not  
 abide vice by day-light, rudely cloathed, for to wit-  
 nesse outwardly their contempt of outward things,  
 with books in their hands

---

1 the Poets noblenes by setting before his other  
 Competitors, among whom as principall challengers step

[13v]

Deffensa de

caualleria: assi el hombre de a cauallo, a la soldadesca; y el soldado no solo para saber sino tambien para hazer el exercicio de soldado: de manera que el ultimo fin de toda doctrina de este mundo siendo la accion y obra uirtuosa,<sup>1</sup> las sciencias que mas siruen para engendrar esto, tienen un iustissimo titulo de ser principes sobre todas las demas: en lo qual, sy podemos mostrarlo, el poeta meresce de tener este titulo antes de qualesquier otros competidores

Cap. 10. que el filosofo

moral engendra la accion

uirtuosa solo por preceptos

os y el Historiador solo

--- por exemplos ---

Entre los quales principalmente para pretenderlo sale fuera el moral filosofo, al qual me paresce, que ueo uenir hasia my con una grauedad pertinaz. como sino pudiesse suffrir el uicio en la luz del dia, toscamente uestido, para atestiguar esteriormente su menos precio de cosas exteriores, con libros en sus manos

---

1 being vertuous action

against glorie, whereto

they set their names: sophisticatedly speaking against subtilitie, and angry with any man in whom they see the foule fault of anger. These men casting larges as they go of definitions, diuitions, and distinctions, with a scornful interrogatiue, do soberly aske, whether it be possible to find any path so ready to lead a man to vertue, as that which teacheth what vertue is, [¶] teacheth it not only by deliuering forth his verie being, his causes and effects, but also by making knowne his enemie vice, which must be destroyed, and his combersome seruant passion, which must be mastered: by shewing the generalities that contains it, and the specialties that are deriued from it. Lastly by plaine setting downe, how it extends it selfe out of the limits of a mans owne little world, to the gouernment of families, and mainteining of publike societies. The Historian scarcely gives leisure to the Moralist to say so much, but that he loaden with old Mouse-eaten Records, authorising

[11r]

Poesia

contra la gloria, a los quales ponen sus nombres, sofisticadamente hablando contra la subtileza y ay-  
 rados con qualquier hombre en que ueen el feo  
 uicio de la Ira. estos hombres hechando como uan  
 unas largas dedifiniciones, diuisiones y distinctio-  
 nes con una pregunta llena de escarnio sobria-  
 mente preguntan, si es possible hallar alguna senda  
 tan desembaraçada para guyar al hombre ala  
 uirtud, como aquella que enseña que cosa es la  
 uirtud, y la enseña no solo con mostrar su propria  
 essencia, sus causas y efectos, syno tambien con  
 dar a conoscer su enemigo y contrario el uicio<sup>1</sup> que  
 es menester sea destruido, y su molesto criado la  
 passion, conuiene sea uençida, mostrando las gene-  
 ralidades que la contienen<sup>2</sup> y las particularidades  
 que de ella se deduçen y salen.<sup>3</sup> Vltimamente con  
 mostrar claramente como se estiende fuera de los  
 limites del microcosmo del mismo hombre<sup>4</sup> para el  
 gouerno de familias y para mantener amistades  
 y conuersacion publica.<sup>5</sup> el Historiador a penas  
 da lugar<sup>6</sup> al moralista para deçir tanto, si no  
 le carga con registros uieios ratonados, authorizan-

---

1 his enemy vice

2 contains

3 that are deriued from it

4 of a mans owne little world

5 and mainteining of publike societies

6 leisure

himselfe for the

most part vpon other Histories, whose greatest authorities are built vpon the notable foundation  
Heresay,<sup>1</sup> hauing much ado to accord differing writers, [&] to pick truth out of partiality: better acquainted with a 1000. yeres ago, thē with the present age, and yet better knowing how this world goes, then [15] how his own wit runnes, curious for Antiquities, and inquisitiue of Nouelties, a wonder to yong folkes, and a Tyrant in table talke; denieth in a great chafe, that any man for teaching of vertue, and vertues actions, is comparable to him. I am Testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuncia vetustatis.<sup>2</sup> The Philosopher saith he, teacheth a disputatiue vertue, but I do an actiue. His vertue is excellent in the dangerlesse Academy of Plato: but mine sheweth forth her honourable face in the battailes of Marathon, Pharsalia, Poictiers, and Agincourt. Hee teacheth vertue by certaine abstract considerations: but I onely bid you follow

1 foundation of Heare-say

2 I am Lux vitae, Temporum magistra, Vita memoriae, Nuncia vetustatis, [&] c.



[14v]

Deffensa de

dose por la mayor parte sobre otras historias, cuya mayor authoridad esta fundada sobre el notable fundamento del, auerse oydo,<sup>1</sup> teniendo mucho q̄ haser para concordar las diferencias delos escriptores y para coger la uerdad fuera dela parcialidad; teniendo mas conosciados las cien<sup>2</sup> años atras que a esta era presente. y todauia meior conosciendo como ua este mundo, que como corre su proprio entendimiento; curioso por antiguedades y muy inquisidor de nouedades; la marauilla delos moços y un Tyrano en la platica de sobremesa; niega con grande cholera que alguno por enseñar la uirtud y las açiones uirtuosas se a de comparar con el. iam testis temporum, lux ueritatis, uita memoriae, magistra uitae, munçia uetustatis. El filosofo diçe el, enseña una uirtud disputatiua, mas yo una actiua. su uirtud de el es excelente en la academia<sup>3</sup> de Platon, mas la mia nuestra su cara honrada en las batallas de Marathon, Pharsalia, Poictiers y Agincourt. El ensena la uirtud por ciertas consideraçiones abstractas, mas yo solo os mando

seguir

---

1 Heresay  
 2 1000  
 3 dangerless Academy

the footing of them that  
 haue gone before you. Old aged experience, goeth  
 beyond the fine witted Philosopher: but I giue the  
 experience of many ages. Lastly, if he make the song  
 Booke, I put the learners hand to the Lute, and if he  
 be the guide, I am the light. Then would he alleage  
 you innumerable examples, confirming storie by  
 stories,<sup>1</sup> how much the wisest Senators and Princes,  
 haue been directed by the credit of Historie, as Bru-  
tus, Alphonsus of Aragon, (and who not if need be.)  
 At length, the long line of their disputation makes a  
 point in this, that the one giueth the precept, [ & ] the  
 other the example. Now whom shall we find, since  
 the question standeth for the highest forme in the  
 schoole of learning to be moderator? Truly as mee  
 seemeth, the Poet, and if not a moderator euen the  
 man that ought to carry the title from them both:  
 [ & ] much more from all other seruing sciences.

---

1 conferring storie by storie

[15r]

Poesia

seguir las pisadas de aquellos que os han ido adelante. la enueñecida experiencia haze uentala al muy ingenioso filosofo, mas yo doy la experiencia de muchos siglos. finalmente sy el haze el libro de cantar, yo pongo la mano del discipulo al laud, y si el es la guya, yo soy la luz. entonces el os alegria innumerables exemplos, confirmando historia por historias. quanto los mas sauos senadores y Principes han sido guyados y encaminados<sup>1</sup> por el credito de la historia como Bruto, D. Alfonso de Aragõ, (y quien no, sy es menester). Alfin la larga linea de sus disputas haze punto en esto, que el uno da el precepto y el otro el exemplo. Agora a quien hallaremos, pues la question esta por el mas alto grado en la escuela de la doctrina para ser el moderador? cierto a my parescer, el poeta, y sino el moderador la misma persona que deue llevar el titulo de ambos a dos y mucho mas de todas las demas sciencias seruidoras y subordinadas<sup>2</sup>

Cap. 11. que el poeta engendra la accion uirtuosa por preceptos y exemplos y por esso deue ser preferido alas de mas sciencias

---

1 haue been directed

2 serving sciences

Ther-

fore compare we the Poet with the Historian, with the morall Philosopher: and if hee goe beyond them both, no other humane skill can match him. For as for the diuine, with all reuerence it is euer to be excepted, not onely for hauing his scope as far beyond any of these, as Eternitie exceedeth a moment: but euen for passing ech of these in themselues. And for the Lawier, though Ius be the daughter of Iustice, the chiefe of vertues, yet because he seeks to make men good, rather formidine paenae,<sup>1</sup> then virtutis amore: or to say righter, doth not endeour to make men good, but that their euill hurt not others, hauing no care so he be a good citizen, how bad a man he be. Therefore as our wickednes maketh him necessarie, and necessitie maketh him honorable, so is he not in the deepest truth to stand in ranck with these, who al endeour to take naughtinesse away, and plant goodnesse euen in the secretest cabinet of our soules: and these foure are all than any way deale in the consideration of

---

1 formidine poenae

[15v]

Deffensa de

Comparemos pues para este fin<sup>1</sup> el poeta con el hy  
 storiador y con el Filósofo moral; sy el auentaia  
 a entrambos ninguna otra sciencia humana le puede  
 igualar. porque quanto al theologo con toda reueren-  
 cia siempre se ha de exceptuar no solo por tener sus  
 limites auentaiaando tanto a estos quanto la eterni-  
 dad excede el momento, sino tambien por llevar uen-  
 taia a cada una de estas mismas. Quanto al legista  
 aunque ius, es la hiia de Iusticia la mas prin-  
 cipal de las uirtudes; todauia por que el quiere  
 hazer los hombres buenos mas presto Formidine  
Ponae, que Virtutis Amore, o por meior dezir no  
 forceia para hazer los hombres buenos, si no, que  
 su maldad no haga daño a otros, no cuydando otra  
 cosa si no que sea buen ciudadano por mas mal hõ-  
 bre que sea. por esso como nuestra malignidad haze  
 que el sea neçessario, y la neçessidad le haze homroso,  
 assi uerissimamente el no deue de estar en la hilera  
 de estos, los quales todos se forceian para quitar la  
 maldad y plantar la bondad en la mas secreta  
 arquilla de nuestras almas: y estos quatro son todos  
 los que por alguna uia tratan en la consideracion de

los

---

1 therefore

mens manners, which being the supreme knowledge, they that best breed it, deserue the best commendation. The Philosopher therefore, and the Historian, are they which would win the goale, the one by precept, the other by example: but both, not hauing both, doe both halt. For the Philosopher setting downe with thornie arguments, the bare rule, is so hard of vtterance, and so mistie to be conceiued, that one that hath no other guide but him, shall wade in him till he be old, before he shall finde sufficient cause to be honest. For his knowledge standeth so vpon the abstract and <sup>e</sup>generall, that happie is that man who may vnderstand him, and more happie, that can apply what he doth vnderstand. On the other side, the Historian wanting the precept, is so tied, not to what should be, but to what is, to the particular truth of things, and not to the general reason of things, that his example draweth no necessarie consequence, and therefore a lesse fruitfull doctrine. Now doth the peerlesse Poet performe both, for whatsoeuer the Philosopher saith should be done he gives a

[16r]

Poesia

los costumbres y criança de los hombres,<sup>1</sup> lo qual sien-  
do el supremo sauer, quien mejor lo engendra me-  
resçe maã alabança. El filosofo pues y el historiador  
son los que quisieran llevar la palma, el uno por  
preceptos y el otro por exemplos:<sup>2</sup> mas entrambos  
no teniendo lo uno y lo otro todos dos coxean. por-  
que el filosofo poniendo con argumentos espinosos  
las reglas sensillas, es tan duro en declararse y tan  
escuro para ser entendido que quien no tiene otra  
guya que el, podra uadear en tal pielago<sup>3</sup> hasta  
enuieçerse antes de hallar bastante causa para  
ser en uirtud perfeto.<sup>4</sup> por que esta<sup>5</sup> sciencia esta  
tan sobre el abstracto y general que dichoso aquel  
quien la entiende y mas dichoso quien puede apli-  
car lo que entiende. De la otra parte el historiador,  
faltandole los preceptos<sup>6</sup> esta tan atado, no a lo que  
deue ser sino a lo que es, a la uerdad particular  
y no ala raçon general delas cosas,<sup>7</sup> que su exemplo  
no trae consigo una consequençia necessaria y  
por esso es sciencia menos fructuosa. Agora el poeta  
sin par, cumple lo uno y lo otro: por que todo lo  
que el filosofo diçe que se deue hazer, el da una

---

1 mens manners  
2 examples  
3 shall wade in him  
4 honest  
5 his  
6 precept  
7 to the particular truth of things, and not to the general  
reason of things

perfect picture of it by some one, by who he presupposeth it was done, so as he coupleth the general notion with the particular example. A perfect picture I say, for hee yeeldeth to the powers of the minde an image of that whereof the Philosopher bestoweth but a wordish description, which doth neither strike, pearce, nor possesse, the sight of the soule so much, as that other doth. For as in outward things to a man that had neuer seene an Elephant, or a Rinoceros, who should tell him most exquisitely all their shape, cullour,<sup>1</sup> bignesse, and particular marks, or of a gorgeous pallace an Architecture, who declaring<sup>2</sup> the full bewties, might well make the hearer able to repeat as it were by roat all he had heard, yet should neuer satisfie his inward conceit, with being witnessse to itselife of a true liuely knowledge: but the same mā, as soon as he might see those beasts wel painted, or that house<sup>3</sup> wel in modall, should straightwaies grow without need of any descrip-

---

1 theyr shapes, cullour  
 2 the Architecture, with declaring  
 3 or the house



[16v]

Deffensa de

perfeta pintura de ello por alguno, por quien el  
presupone auerse hecho, de modo que el Iunta  
la notion o precepto general con el exemplo particu-  
lar. Vna perfeta pintura (digo) por que el en-  
trega alas potencias del alma una imagen de  
aquello de que el filosofo no otorgo sino una descrip-  
cion uerbal y de palabra,<sup>1</sup> que ny hiere, ny penetra  
ny posee la uista del alma tanto como el otro. por  
que como en cosas exteriores a un hombre que nunca  
uiera uisto al elefante ny al Rhinoceronte,<sup>2</sup> quiẽ  
le dixera esquisitamente todas las faiciones, bulto,  
color, tamaño y señales particulares de ellos,<sup>3</sup> o de  
la Architectura de un sumptuoso palacio,<sup>4</sup> quien  
declarando la cumplida hermosura de ello,<sup>5</sup> bien  
pudiera haser que el que le escuchara pudiesse  
repetir, como si fuera de coraçon todo lo que auia  
oydo, todauia nunca satisfaria a su interior  
concepto con ser a si mismo testigo de tener de ellos  
un uerdadero y uiuo conosçimiento.<sup>6</sup> mas el mis-  
mo hombre, quanto presto pudiera uer una de  
aquellas bestias bien pintada,<sup>7</sup> o aquella casa bien  
en modelo, luego sin tener menester alguna descrip-  
cion

- 
- 1 a wordish description
  - 2 an Elephant, or a Rinoceros
  - 3 all their shape, cullour, bignesse, and particular marks
  - 4 or of a gorgeous pallace an Architecture
  - 5 who declaring the full bewties
  - 6 a true liuely knowledge
  - 7 those beasts well painted

tion, to a iu

dicial comprehending of them, so no doubt the Phi-  
losopher with his learned definitions, be it of vertues  
 or vices, matters of publike policy or priuat govern-  
 ment, replenisheth the memorie with many infalli-  
 ble grounds of wisdom, which notwithstanding lie  
 darke before the imaginatiue and iudging power, if  
 they be not illuminated or figured forth by the spea- [18]  
 king picture of Poesie. Tully taketh much paines, and  
 many times not without Poeticall helpes to make vs  
 know the force, loue of our country hath in vs. Let  
 vs but heare old Anchices, speaking in the midst of  
 Troies flames, or see Vlisses in the fulnesse of all Ca-  
lipsoes delightes, bewaile his absence from barraine  
 and beggerly Ithecae.<sup>1</sup> Anger the Stoickes said,<sup>2</sup> was a  
 short madnesse: let but Sophocles bring you Aiax on  
 a stage, killing or whipping sheepe and oxen, thin-  
 king them the Army of Greekes, with their Chief-  
 taines Agamemnon, and Menelaus: and tell me if you  
 haue not a more familiar insight into Anger, then  
 finding

---

1 Ithaca  
 2 the Stoicks say  
 3 killing and whipping

[17r]

## Poesia

cion, vendria en<sup>1</sup> un Iuisial comprehender de ellos.  
 assi (sin duda) el filosofo con sus doctos difinitiones,  
 sean de uirtudes o de uicios, cosas de policia publi-  
 ca o de gouerno priuado, hinche a la memoria  
 con muchos infalibles fundamentos de sauiduria,  
 los quales todavia se hechan en escuridad ade-  
 lante de la imaginatiua y Iusgatiua potencia, si  
 no esten iluminados y al claro figurados por el  
 hablante retrato dela poesia. Tullio toma grand-  
 trabajo y muchas uezes no sin ayudas poeticas,  
 para hazernos conoscer<sup>la</sup> la fuerça que en nosotros  
 tiene el amor dela patria: oygamos solamente  
 al viejo Anchises hablando en medio delas llamas  
 de Troya, o ueamos a Vlisses en la abundancia de-  
 los deleytes de Calipsoe lamentar por ser absente  
 dela esteril y mendiga Ithaca. la Ira (dixeron  
 los Stoycos) era un furor breue, Sophocles tray-  
 ga si quiere sobre el tablado a Ajax matando o  
 açorando ouellas y bueyes, pensandolos de ser el  
 armado de los Griegos con sus generalles Agamenon  
 y Menelao: y digame sy no tiene un mas fami-  
 liar conocimiento dela ira que no en hallando

in the schoolemen his Genus and Difference.

See whether wisdom and temperance in Vlisses and Dionedes, valure in Achilles, friendship in Nisus and Eurialus, euen to an ignorant man carry not an apparant shining: and contrarily, the remorse of conscience in Oedibus; the soone repenting pride in Agamemnon<sup>1</sup>; the selfe deuouring crueltie in his father Atreus; the violence of ambition in the two Theban brothers; the sower sweetnesse of reuenge in Medea; and to fall lower, the Terentian Gnato, and our Chawcers Pander so exprest, that we now vse their names, to signifie their Trades: And finally, all vertues, vices, and passions, so in their owne naturall states, laide to the view, that we seeme not to heare of them, but clearly to see through them. But euen in the most excellent determination of goodnesse, what Philosophers counsaile can so readily direct a Prince, as the feined Cirus in Xenophon, or a vertuous man in all fortunes: as Aeneas in Virgill, or a whole Common-wealth, as the Way [19]  
of

---

1. pride of Agamemnon

[17v]

Deffensa de

con los hombres de escuela a su Genus y Diffe-  
 rençia. mire sy la sanduria y la temporãcia  
 en Ulisses y Diomedes, el ualor en Achilles, la ami-  
 stad en Nyso y Erialo a un ignorante mismo  
 no trae un manifiesto resplandor: y al contrario  
 el remordimiento en Oedipo; la bien presto arre-  
 pentida superbia en Agamenon; la crueldad  
 tragadora de sy misma en Atreo; la uiolencia de  
 la ambiçion en los dos Thebanos hermanos; la amarga  
 dulçurã dela uengança en Medea; y para caer  
 mas baIo, el Gnato Terençiano y el alcahuete de  
 nuestro Chauçero tan bien espressados, que agora  
 usamos de sus nombres para significar sus offiçios.  
 y finalmente todas las uirtudes, uiçios y passiones  
 tan al uiuo puestos adelante delos oIos, que no parese  
 que los oygamos sino claramente penetrar los con  
 la uista. mas tambien en la mas excelente deter-  
 minaçion de la bondad, que conseIo de filsofo  
 puede tan presto derigir a un principe como el fin-  
 gido Ciro en Xenophonte? o aun hombre uirtuo-  
 so en qualquiera fortuna como el Eneas de Vergilio?  
 o a una republica entera como la uia del Eutopia  
 de

Sir Thomas Moores Eutopia. I say the Way, because where Sir Thomas Moore erred, it was the fault of the man and not of the Poet: for that Way of patterning a Common-wealth, was most absolute though hee perchaunce hath not so absolutely performed it. For the question is, whether the fained Image of Poetrie,<sup>1</sup> or the regular instruction of Philosophie, hath the more force in teaching? Wherein if the Philosophers haue more rightly shewed themselues Philosophers then the Poets, haue attained to the high toppe of their profession (as in truth Mediocribus esse poetis non Dii, non homines, non concessere columnae,) it is ( I say againe) not the fault of the Art, but that by fewe men that Art can be accomplished. Certainly euen our Saviour Christ could as well haue giuen the morall common places of vncharitableness and humbleness, as the diuine narration of Diues and Lazarus, or of disobedience and mercy, as that heauenly discourse of the lost childe and the gracious Father, but that his through searching wisdom, knew the estate of Diues burning

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1 Poesie  
2 obtained

[18r]

## Poesia

de Thomas Moro. digo, la uia, por que donde eró el Thomas moro fue la culpa del hombre y no del poeta: por que aquella uia de haser dechado de una republica fue muy absoluta, aunque quiga el no la cumplio tan absolutamente. por que la question es. sy la fingida imagen dela poesia, ó la regular instruccion del filosofo, tiene mas fuerça para enseñar. en lo qual, sy los filosofos se han mostrado mas adrechos filosofos, que los poetas han llegado al mas alto colmo de su profession (como en uerdad mediocribus esse poetis, non dix non homines, non concessere columnae) esto es ( otra uez lo digo) no la culpa del arte, sy no que muy pocos pueden cumplidamente alcançar la perfeccion de aquella arte. Certo nuestro Salvador Iesu Xpo<sup>1</sup> tan bien pudo dar los comunes lugares morales de la sin Charidad y dela humildad como dio lo diuina enarraçion de Diues et Lazarus, del Aico y de Lazaro;<sup>2</sup> y<sup>3</sup> dela disobediencia y misericordia, como dio aquel celestial discurso del hijo prodigo y padre piadoso:<sup>4</sup> sino que su todo sabidora sabiduria supo que el estado del rico<sup>5</sup> quemando en el

---

1 our Saviour Christ

2 as the diuine narration of Diues and Lazarus

3 or

4 gracious

5 of Diues

hell, and of Lazarus in<sup>1</sup> Abrahams bosome, would more constantly as it were, inhabit both the memorie and iudgement. Truly for my selfe (mee seemes) I see before mine<sup>2</sup> eyes, the lost childes disdainful prodigalitie, turned to enuy a Swines dinner: which by the learned Diuines are thought not Historical acts, but instructing Parables. For conclusion, I say the Philosopher teacheth, but he teacheth obscurely, so as the learned onely can vnderstand him, that is to say, he teacheth them that are already taught. But the Poet is the food for the tendrest stomacks, the Poet [20] is indeed, the right popular Philosopher. Whereof Esops Tale giue good prooffe, whose prettie Allegories stealing vnder the formall Tales of beastes, makes<sup>3</sup> many more beastly then beastes: begin to hear the sound of vertue from those dumbe speakers.

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1 Lazarus being in

2 my

3 make

4 these



[18v]

Deffensa de

infierno y de lazaro en el seno de Abraham, mas constantemente, como fuera, moraria assi en la memoria como en el Iussio delos hombres. uerdaderamente quanto a my, ueo (me paresçe) adelante de mis oïos la desdeñosa prodigalidad del perdido hijo buelta a tener inuidia a la comida de un cochino: los quales por los doctos Theologos no se piensan de ser actos historicos sino parabolos que enstruyen. Para concluir, digo, el filosofo enseña, mas enseña oscuramente, tal que solos los doctos le pueden entender, que quiere decir enseña a los que ya son enseñados. mas los Poetas<sup>1</sup> son el manjar delos mas tiernos estomagos, el poeta çierto, es el uerdadero popular filosofo, de lo qual las fabulas de Esopo dan una buena prueua, cuyas bonitas alegorias fiendo hurtadamente debaïo delos formales cuentos de bestias, hase á muchos mas bestiales que las bestias, començar de oyr el son de la uirtud por estos animales mudos

Cap. 12. se responde a algunas

raçones que se pueden alegar

en fauor del historiador--

---

1 the Poet

But

now may it be alleadged, that if this imagining of matters be so fit for the imagination, then must the Historian needs surpasse, who brings you images of true matters, such as indeed were done, and not such as fantastically or falsly may be suggested to haue bin done. Truly Aristotle himselfe in his discourse of Poesie, plainly determineth this questiō, saying, that Poesie, is [φιλοσοφωτερων], and [σπουδασιότερων], that is to say,

[ it is more

Philosophicall and more then History. His reason is, because Poesie dealeth with [καθολυ], that is to say, with the vniuersall consideration, and the Historie with [καθ'ἑκαστον], the particular. Now saith he, the vniuersall wayes what is fit to be said or done, either in likelihood or necessitie, which the Poesie considereth in his imposed names: and the particular onely marketh whether Alcibiades did or suffered this or that. Thus farre Aristotle. Which reason of his, as all his is most full of reason For indeed if the questiō were, whether it were better to haue a particular act truly or falsly set downe, there is no doubt which is to be chosen, no

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1 more studiously than history

[19r]

Poesia

Mas agora se puede alegar que si esto imaginar  
 de cosas sea tan apto para la imaginacion. enton-  
 ces por fuerça el historiador ha de sobrepujar. el qual  
 trae las imagines de cosas uerdaderas. quales uerda-  
 deramente se han hecho y no quales fantastica, ó  
 falsamente se pueden presuponer auerse hecho. Cier-  
 to Aristoteles mismo en su discurso de la poesia, lla-  
 namente ha resuelto esta question, en decir que la  
 poesia es Philosophoteron y Spoudaioteron.  
 que quiere decir, es mas filosofical y mas que histo-  
 ria. su raçon de el es por que la poesia trata de Ca-  
tholou, esto es, dela consideracion uniuersal y la  
 historia de Cathecaston la particular. agora dice  
 el, las uias uniuersales<sup>1</sup> que cosa se deue decir o haser,  
 en aparençia o en necessidad lo qual el poeta con-  
 sidera en sus nombres postisos, y el particular solo  
 aduierte sy Alcibiades hiso ó padescio esto o esto  
 otro<sup>2</sup> hasta aqui Aristoteles. la qual raçon suya  
 de el, como todo lo suyo, es muy llena de raçon.  
 por que cierto sy la question fuesse qual fuera meior  
 un acto particular de ser uerdadera ó falsamente  
 declarada,<sup>3</sup> no se duda qual se auia de escoier no

---

1 the uniuersall wayes

2 this or that

3 whether it were better to haue a particular act truly or  
 falsly set downe

more then whether you had rather haue  
Vespacians Picture right as he was, or at the Painters  
 pleasure nothing resembling. But if the question be  
 for your owne vse and learning, whether it be bet-  
 ter to haue it set downe as it should be, or as it was;  
 then certainly is more doctrinable, the fained Cyrus  
 in Xenophon, then the true Cyrus in Iustin: and the [21]  
 fained Aeneas in Virgill, then the right Aeneas in Da-  
res Phrigius: as to a Ladie that desired to fashion her  
 countenance to the best grace: a Painter shuld more  
 benefite her to pourtrait a most sweete face, wri-  
 ting Canidia vppon it, then to paint Canidia as shee  
 was, who Horace sweareth was full ill faouered.<sup>1</sup> If  
 the Poet do his part aright, he wil shew you in Tan-  
talus Atreus, and such like, nothing that is not to  
 be shunned: in Cyrus, Aeneas, Vlisses, each thing  
 to be followed: where the <sup>H</sup>istorian bound to tell  
 things as things were, cannot be liberall, without  
 hee will be Poeticall of a perfect patterne, but as in  
Alexander of Scipio himselfe, shew doings, some to  
 be liked, some to be misliked; and

---

1 was foule and ill faouered

[19v]

Deffensa de

mas que sy quisieredes mas presto el retrato de Vaspasiano Iusto como era, que conforme ala uoluntad del pintor, no semeia noble en nada.<sup>1</sup> però sy la question sea por nuestro uso proprio y doctrina, qual sera mejor que sea espressado como deuia de ser, o como fue; entonçes cierto es de mas doctrina el fingido Ciro en Xenophonte, que el uerdadero Ciro en Iustino. y el fingido Eneas en Virgilio, que el uerdadero Eneas en Dares Phrigio: como a una dama que desseara de assimilar su semblante a la mas buena gracia, un pintor la hisiera mas prouecho en haserla un retrato de una cara graciosissima escriuiendo Canidia sobre ello, que en retratar a Canidia como era, la qual Horacio Iura que fue muy fea. y el poeta hase su officio como deus no os mostrara en Tantalo, Atreo, y otros tales, nada que no sea de huyr, en Ciro, Eneas, y Ulisses todo de ser imitado: donde el historiador obligado de contar las cosas como fueron no puede ser liberal si no es poetico, de un perfecto dechado. Sino como en Alexandro y<sup>2</sup> Scipion mismo de mostrar hechos algunos que agradan, otros que disagradan; y

entonçes

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1 Vespacians Picture right as he was, or at the Painters pleasure nothing resembling

2 or

then how wil you

discerne what to follow, but by your own discretiō  
 which you had without reading Q. Curtius. And  
 whereas a man may say, though in vniuersall consi-  
 deration of doctrine, the Poet preuaileth, yet that the  
 Historie in his saying such a thing was done, doth  
 warrant a man more in that he shall follow. The an-  
 swere is manifest, that if he stand vpon that was, as  
 if he should argue, because it rained yesterday, ther-  
 fore it should raine to day, then indeede hath it  
 some aduantage to a grosse conceit. But if hee  
 knewe an example onely enformes a coniectured  
 likelihood, and so gee by reason, the Poet doth so  
 farre exceed him as hee is to frame his example  
 to that which is most reasonable, be it in warlike,  
 politike, or priuate matters, where the Historian in  
 his bare, was, hath many times that which we call  
 fortune, to ouerrule the best wisdom. Manie  
 times he must tell euent, whereof he can yeeld no [22]  
 cause, or if he do, it must be

[20r]

Poesia

entonces como podreis hechar de uer, que se ha de imitar, sy no por uuestra propria discrecion la qual haueis temido sin auer leido a Q. Curtio. y adõde se puede decir aunque en la uniuersal consideracion dela doctrina, el Poeta preualesce, todauia la historia en decir tal cosa se hiso, assigura mas a un hombre en lo que ha de seguir. la respuesta es clara, por que sy se esta sobre lo que ha sido, como si quisiera arguir porque ha lluido ahier, por esso deuiera de llouer oy, entonçes sy ua decir la uerdad tiene alguna uentaia para con un hombre grossero y de tosko entendimento.<sup>1</sup> mas si el sabe que un exemplo informa<sup>2</sup> una semeianza conlaturada, y assy se uaya con la rason, el poeta le lleua tanta uentaia, quanto ha de fabricar y formar<sup>3</sup> su exemplo con lo que esta mas llegado a la rason, sea en cosas militares, politicas ó priuadas, adonde el historiador en su sensillo (ha sido) tiene muchas uezes lo que llamamos la fortuna para enseñorear a la mejor sabiduria. muchas uezes es menester que cuente acaescimientos, de que no se sabra dar la causa, y si lo hase es menester

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1 then indeede hath it some aduantage to a grosse conceit

2 onely enformes

3 hee is to frame

poetically. For that a fained example hath as much force to teach, as a true example (for as for to moue, it is cleare, since the fained may be tuned to the highest key of passion) let vs take one example wherein an Historian and a Poet did concurre.<sup>1</sup> Herodotus and Iustin doth both testifie, that Zopirus, King Darius faithfull seruant, seeing his maister long resisted by the rebellious Babilonians, fained himselfe in extreame disgrace of his King, for verifying of which, he caused his owne nose and eares to be cut off, and so flying to the Babylonians was receiued, and for his knowne valure so farre creadited, that hee did finde meanes to deliuer them ouer to Darius. Much like matter doth Livy record of Tarquinius, and his sonne. Xenophon excellently faineth such an other Strata-geme, performed by Abradates in Cyrus behalfe. Now would I faine knowe, if occasion be presented vnto you, to serue your Prince by such an honest dissimulation, why you do not as well learne it of Xenophons fiction, as of the others verities: and truly so much the better, as you shall saue your nose by the

---

1 wherein a Poet and a Historian do concur



[20v]

## Deffensa de

que sea poeticamente. para esto un exemplo fingido tiene tanta fuerza para enseñar, como el uerdadero (por que quanto al mouer, esta claro, pues el fingido puede ser torçido a la mas alta clauilla dela passion). tomemos un exemplo<sup>1</sup> en que concurrieron el historiador y el poeta. Herodoto y Iustino entrambos atestiguan, que Zopiro el fiel criado de Dario, uiendo que resistieron mucho tiempo a su amo los rebeldes de Babilonia, se fingio ser en la extrema disgracia de Su Rey, y por uerificar esto se hizo cortar á sy mismo las narizes y las oreias, y assy huyendo a los Babilonios fue de ellos receuido, y por su conosciado ualor tan acreditado, que halló modo<sup>2</sup> de entregarlos a Dario. muy semejante cosa escriue Liuius de Tarquinio y su hijo. Xenophonte excelentemente fingio<sup>3</sup> otra tal estratagemas que hizo Abradates, por parte de Ciro. agora desseava sauer si se os offreciesse la ocasion de seruir a uestro Rey por tal dissimulacion honesta, porque no selo aprendreis tanto bien dela fiction de Xenophonte. como dela uerdad delos otros: y cierto tanto mejor que uendreis a saluar las narizes con la

mercançia

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1 For that a fained example hath as much force to teach, as a true example (for as for to moue, it is cleare, since the fained may be tuned to the highest key of passion) let us take one example

2 means

3 faineth

bargaine. For Abradates did not counterfeyt so farre. So then the best of the Historian is subject to the Poet, for whatsoever action or faction, whatsoever counsaile, pollicie, or warre, stratageme, the Historian is bounde to recite, that may the Poet if hee list with his imitation make his owne; bewtifying it both for further teaching, and more delighting as it please him: hauing all fr̃ Dante his heuẽ to his hell, vnder the authority of his pen. Which if I be asked what Poets haue don so? [23] as I might wel name some, so yet say I,<sup>1</sup> and say again, I speake of the Art and not of the Artificer. Now to that which commonly is attributed to the praise of Historie, in respect of the notable learning, is got by marking the successe, as though therein a man shuld see vertue exalted, [ & ] vice punished: truly that commendation is peculier to Poetrie, and farre off from<sup>2</sup> Historie; for indeed Poetrie euer sets vertue so out in her best cullours, making fortune her well-wayting handmayd, that one must needs

---

1 yet say I

2 farre of from

[21r]                      Deffensa de  
 mercançia,<sup>1</sup> por que la dissimulacion de Abrad-  
 ates no llego a tanto. assi pues lo mejor del  
 historiador esta suieto al poeta por que qual  
 quiera accion ó faccion, qualquier consejo, po-  
 liçia, o ardid de guerra que el historiador esta  
 obligado a recitar, esto puede el poeta si quiere con su  
 imitacion haser suyo; hermosteandolo assi para mas  
 enseñar como para mas deleytar como fuere serui-  
 do: teniendo todo desde el Cielo hasta el infierno de  
 Dante debajo de su pluma. lo qual sy se me pregūte  
 que poetas lo han hecho, como bien pudiera nom-  
 brar algunos, todavia digo y redigo, que hablo  
 de la arte y no del artifice. Agora alo que com-  
 unemente se atribuye al loor dela historia. en  
 respeto dela notable doctrina que se halla en notar  
 el successo delas cosas,<sup>2</sup> como sy en esso el hombre  
 uiesse la uirtud ensalçada y el uicio castigado:  
 cierto esta alabança es particular dela poesia,  
 y lexos dela hystoria; por que deueras la poesia  
 siempre muestra la uirtud assi atauada en sus  
 mejores colores hasiendo a la fortuna ser su muy  
 seruidora criada, que es fuerça que el hombre se

---

1 by the bargaine

2 the successe

be enamoured

of her. Well may you see Vlisses in a storme and in other hard plights, but they are but exercises of patience [ ] magnanimitie, to make thẽ shine the more in the neare following prosperitie. And of the contrary part, if euill men come to the stage, they euer goe out (as the Tragedie writer answered to one that misliked the shew of such persons) so manicled as they litle animate folkes to follow them. But the Historie beeing captiued<sup>1</sup> to the trueth of a foolish world, is many times a terror from well-doing, and an encouragement to vnbrideled wickednes. For see we not valiant Milciades<sup>2</sup> rot in his fetters? The iust Phocion and the accomplished Socrates, put to death like Traytors? The cruell Seuerus, liue prosperously? The excellent Seuerus miserably murthered? Sylla and Marius dying in their beds? Pompey and Cicero slain then when they wold haue thought exile a happinesse? See we not vertuous Cato driuen to kill himselfe, and Rebell Caesar so aduanced, that his name yet after

---

1 the Historian beeing captiued

2 Miltiades

[21v]

Deffensa de

enamore de ella. bien podreis uer a Vlisses en una tempestad y otros duros trances, mas no son sino exercicios de su paciencia y magnanimidad, para hazerlas reluzir mas en la prosperidad que luego despues le siguió. Y al contrario sy los hombres malos uienen en el tablado, siempre salen fuera (como el tragico respondió a uno, a quien disagrado la muestra de tales personajes) tan maniatados que poco animo dan alas gentes de seguir y imitarlos. mas la hystoria siendo captiuada a la uerdad del loco mundo muchas ueces es un terror al bien haser, y da animo ala disenfrenada maldad. por que no uemos al ualeroso Milçiades pudrir en sus esposas? al Iusto Phoçion, y al cumplido Socrates hechos morir como traydores? al cruel Seuerno uiuir en prosperidad? Al excelēte seuero miserablemente muerto a trayçion?<sup>1</sup> a Silla y Mario muriendo en sus camas? a Pompeio y Ciceron matados entonçes, quando tendriã al distierro por felicidad?<sup>2</sup> no uemos al uirtuoso Caton forçado de matar a sy mismo, y al rebelde Cesar tan exaltado, que su nombre aun despues de

1616

---

1 miserably murthered

2 when they would haue thought exile a happinesse

1600. yeares lasteth in the highest honor? And marke but euen Caesars owne words of the forenamed Sylla, (who in that onely, did he- [24] nestly to put downe his dishonest Tyrannie) Littoras nesciuit: as if want of learning caused him to doo well. He ment it not by Poetrie, which not content with earthly plagues, deuisseth new punishments in hell for Tyrants: nor yet by Philosophy, which teacheth Occidentos<sup>1</sup> esse, but no doubt by skill in History, for that indeed can afford you<sup>2</sup> Cipselus, Periander, Phalaris, Dionisius, and I know not how many more of the same kennell, that speed well inough in their abhominable iniustice of<sup>3</sup> vsurpation. I conclude therefore that he excelleth historie, not onely in furnishing the minde with knowledge, but in setting it forward to that which deserues to be called and accounted good: which setting forward and mouing to well doing, indeed setteth the Lawrell Crowne vpon the Poets<sup>4</sup> as victorious, not onely of the Historian, but ouer the Philosopher, howsoeuer in teaching it may be questionable.

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1. Occidentos  
 2. your  
 3. or  
 4. Poet

[22r]

Poesia

1616<sup>1</sup> años dura en el mas alto honor? y note solamente las palabras del mismo Caesar del dicho Silla (que en esso solo hizo honestamente en escriuir su dishonesta Tyrania) Literas nesciuit: como sy la falta de letras le hizo haser bien. no lo entendio por la poesia, la qual no se contenta con los castigos de este suelo,<sup>2</sup> mas inuenta nuevas penas y tormentos en el infierno para los Tyranos ny aun por la filosofia, que enseña occidentos esse,<sup>3</sup> mas sin duda lo entendio por la Sciencia delas historias, porque esta ueramente puede dar os Cipselo, Periander, Phalaris,<sup>4</sup> Dionisio, y no se que tantos otros<sup>5</sup> de la misma ralea, que les ha ido assaz bien en su abominable inJusticia dela usurpacion. concluyo pues que auenta la ala historia, no solo en proueer el alma de sciencia, mas tambien en incitarla a lo que mereçe ser llamado y estimado bueno: qual incitar y mouer al bien hazer, realmente pone la corona de laurel en la cauega del Posta como al Victorioso, no solo sobre el historiador sino tambien sobre el filosofo, como quiere que en el enseñar puede hauer question.

---

1 1600

2 which not content with earthly players

3 Occidentos esse

4 Phalaris

5 and I know not how many more

For suppose it be granted, that which I suppose with great reason may be denied, that the Philosopher in respect of his methodical proceeding, teach<sup>1</sup> more perfectly than the Poet, yet do I thinke, that no man is so much [φιλοφιλοσοφος], as to compare the Philosopher in mouing with the Poet. And that mouing is of a higher degree then teaching, it may by this appeare, that it is well nigh both the cause and effect<sup>2</sup> of teaching. For who will be taught, if he be not moued with desire to be taught? And what so much good doth that teaching bring foorth, (I speake still of morall doctrine) as that it moueth one to do that which it doth teach. For as Aristotle saith, it is not [γνοσις], but [πρᾶξις] must be the frute: and how [πρᾶξις] can<sup>3</sup> be without being moued to practise, it is no hard matter to consider. The Philosopher sheweth you the way, hee enformeth you of the parti-

- 
- 1 proceeding, doth teach
  - 2 and the effect
  - 3 can not



[22v]

Deffensa de

Cap. 13 que el poeta sinoenseña mas, alomenos mue-ue mucho mas ala uirtudque el filosofo moral- - -

Mas presuponga que sea dado lo que yo pienso con grande razon puede ser negado, que el filosofo en respeto de su proceder methodico, enseña mas perfectamente que el poeta, todavia pienso que nadie es tanto Philo-Philophos: y amator dela filosofia. como a comparar el filosofo con el poeta en el mouer. y que el mouer es grado mas alto que el enseñar,<sup>1</sup> por esto se puede hechar de uer,<sup>2</sup> que es casy lo uno y lo otro la causa y el efeto del enseñar.<sup>3</sup> por que quien querra ser enseñado, sy no esta mouido con el desseo de ser enseñado? y que tanto bien haze a quel enseñar (hablo siempre dela doctrina moral) como que mueue ala persona a haser lo que enseña. porque como dice Aristoteles, no es Gnosis y speculation si no Praxis, la practica que ha de ser el fructo,<sup>4</sup> y como Praxis puede ser sin ser mouido ala practica, no es cosa dificil de considerar. El filosofo os muestra el camino, os enforma<sup>5</sup> delas particularidades

- 
- 1 And that mouing is of a higher degree than teaching  
 2 it may by this appeare  
 3 that it is well nigh both the cause and effect of teaching  
 4 it is not [ $\gamma\nu\omicron\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ] but [ $\pi\rho\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma$ ] must be the frute  
 5 enformeth

cularities, as well of the tediousnes  
of the way, as of the pleasamt lodging you shall  
haue when your iourney is ended, as of the ma-  
ny by turnings that may diuert you from your way.  
But this is to no man but to him that will reade  
him, and reade him with attentine studious pain-  
fulnesse, which constant desire, whosoever hath in  
him, hath alreadie past halfe the hardnesse of the  
way: and therefore is beholding to the Philoso-  
pher, but for the other halfe. Nay truly learned  
men haue learnedly thought, that where once rea-  
son hath so much ouer-mastered passion, as that  
the minde hath a free desire to doo well, the in-  
ward light each minde hath in it selfe, is as good  
as a Philosophers booke, since<sup>1</sup> in Nature we know  
it is well, to doo well, and what is well, and what  
is euill, although not in the werdes of Art which  
Philosophers bestow vpon vs: for out of naturall  
conceit the Philosophers drew it; but to be moued  
to doo that which wee know, or to be moued  
with desire to know. Hoc opus, hic labor est. Now  
therein of all Sciences I speake still of humane (and  
according to the

---

1 seeing

[23r]

## Poesia

cularidades assi del fastidio del Camino, como del agradable posada que auis de tener despues de acabada la Iornada, como de las muchas sendas de viaderas que os pueden diuertir de uuestro camino, <sup>1</sup> mas esto no es para nadie sino para quien lo quiere leer, y que le lee con atento estudioso trabajo, qual constante desseo quien lo tiene, ya ha pasado la mitad del fastidio del camino, y por esso no esta obligado al filosofo sino por la otra mitad. ansi uerdaderamente hombres doctos doctamente han pensado, que quando una ues la razon aya tanto enseñoreado ala passion, que el alma tiene libre desseo de hazer bien, la luz interior que en sy tiene el entendimiento de cada uno, estan bueno como un libro de filosofo, pues naturalmente sabemos que es bueno el hazer bien, <sup>2</sup> y lo que es bueno y lo que es malo, sy bien no en las palabras y terminos del arte, los quales dan los filosofos: por que de los conceptos naturales los filosofos los han sacado-- mas el ser mouido a hazer lo que sabemos, o ser mouido con desseo de sauer Hoc opus hic labor est. aqui es el trabajo. agora en esso <sup>3</sup> de todas las ciencias (hablo siempre delas humanas y segun el

---

1 that may diuert you from your way

2 since in Nature we know it is well, to doo well

3 to know. Hoc opus hic labor est. Now therin

humane conceit)<sup>1</sup> is our Poet the  
Monarch. For hee doth not onely shew the way,  
but giueth so sweete a prospect into the way, as  
will entice anie man to enter into it: Nay he doth  
as if your iourney should lye through a faire vine-  
yard, at the verie first,<sup>2</sup> giue you a cluster of grapes,  
that full of that taste, you may long to passe fur-  
ther. Hee beginneth not with obscure definiti- [26]  
ons, which must blurre the margent with inter-  
pretations, and loade the memorie with doubt-  
fulnesse: but hee commeth to you with words  
set in delightfull proportion, either accompanied  
with, or prepared for the well enchanting skill of  
Musicke, and with a tale forsooth he commeth vn-  
to you, with a tale, which holdeth children from  
play, and olde men from the Chimney corner; and  
pretending no more, doth intend the winning of the  
minde from wickednes to vertue; euen as the child  
is often brought to take most wholesomethings by  
hiding them in such other as haue a pleasaunt taste:  
which if one should begin to tell them the nature of  
the Alloes or Rhabarbarum.

---

1 conceits  
2 at the first

[23v]

## Deffensa de

concepto humano) nuestro poeta es el Monarcha:  
 por que no solo muestra el camino, mas da tan dulce y agradable prospeto y uista al camino, que prouoca a qualquiera de entrar en el. ansi, hase como si uuestra Iornada estuuiesse por una muy hermosa uina, al principio os da un raçimo de uuas para que lleno de aquel gusto se os antoie de passar mas adelante. no comienza con escuras difiniciones que es menester haser burrones en la margen con la interpretacion, y cargar a la memoria con grandes dudas: <sup>1</sup> mas os uiene con palabras puestas en una deleytosa proporçion. o acompañadas o preparadas por la bien encantadora Sciençia de la musica <sup>2</sup> y con un cuento, por cierto os uiene con un cuento, que detiene a los muchachos del <sup>4</sup>uego, y a los uieios del Canton dela Chimenea; y no pretendiendo mas, propone el ganar la alma de la malignidad para la uirtud; Iusto como el niño se trae a tomar cosas muy saludables, <sup>3</sup> con esconderlas en otras tales que tienen gusto agradable, que sy uno començasse a decirles la naturaleza del Aloes, o Rhabarbarum que  
 auian

---

1 with doubtfulnesse

2 either accompanied with, or prepared for the well enchanting skill of Musicke

3 is often brought to take most wholesome things

they should receiue, wold  
 sooner take their phisick at their eares then at their  
 mouth, so is it in men (most of which, are childish  
 in the best things, til they be cradled in their graues)  
 glad they will be to heare the tales of Hercules, Achil-  
les, Cyrus, Aeneas, and hearing them, must needes  
 heare the right description of wisdome, value,<sup>1</sup> and iu-  
 stice; which if they had bene barely (that is to say  
 Philosophically) set out, they wold sweare they be  
 brought to schoole againe; that imitation whereof  
Poetrie is, hath the most conueniencie to nature of al  
 other: insomuch that as Aristotle saith, those things  
 which in themselues are horrible, as cruel battailes,  
 vnnatural monsters, are made in poeticall imitation,  
 delightfull. Truly I haue knowne men, that euen  
 with reading Amadis de gaule, which God knoweth,  
 wanteth much of a perfect Poesie, haue found their  
 hearts moued to the exercise of courtesie, liberali-  
 tie, and especially courage. Who readeth Aeneas car-  
 rying

---

1 valure

[24r]

## Poesia

auian de tomar, ellos mas presto tomarian su  
 medicina por los oydos que por la boca. assi ua  
 con los hombres (cuya mayor parte niñean  
 en las maiores cosas, hasta que son puestos en la  
 cuna de su sepultura) se holgaran de oyr los  
 cuentos de Hercules, Achilles, Ciro y Eneas, y  
 oyendo los, es fuerça que oygan la uerdadera  
 discripcion de la sabiduria, ualor, y Iustiçia,  
 los quales si fuessen sensillamente (esto es) fi-  
 losoficamente espressados y declarados, Iurarian  
 que los lleuauan a la escuela otra uez. aquella  
 imitation de que es la poesia, tiene la mayor  
 conueniençia con la naturaleza de qualquiera  
 otra: entretanto que, como dice Aristoteles, aquellas  
 cosas que de suyo son horribles como batallas  
 crueles, monstros sin naturaleza, son hechos en  
 la imitation poetica deleitosos. cierto conosco  
 hombres que con el solo leer Amadis de Gaule,  
 que Dios sabe, falta mucho de una perfeta poe-  
 sia, han hallado sus coraçones mouidos al  
 exercicio dela curtesia, liberalidad, y princi-  
 palmente del ualor. quien lee a Eneas lleuãdo

old Anchises on his backe, that wisheth not [27]  
 it were his fortune to performe so excellent an Act?  
 Whom doth not those words of Turnus moue,  
 (the Tale of Turnus hauing planted his image in the  
 imagination) fugientem haec terra videbit? V (queadeone  
mori miserum est? Wher the Philosophers as they think  
 scorne<sup>1</sup> to delight, so must they be content little to  
 moue; sauing wrangling whether Virtus be the  
 chiefe or the onely good; whether the contempla-  
 tiue or the actiue life do excell; which Plato [ & ] Poe-  
tius<sup>2</sup> well knew: and therefore made mistresse Philo-  
sophie verie often borrow the masking raiment of  
Poesie. For euen those hard hearted euill men who  
 thinke vertue a schoole name, and know no other  
 good but indulgere genio, and therefore despise the  
 austere admonitions of the Philosopher, and feele not  
 the inward reason they stand vpon, yet will be conten-  
 ent to be delighted, which is all the good, fellow  
Poet

---

1 they scorne

2 Boethius



[24v]

Deffensa de

al uieIo Anchises a cuestas, que no dessea q̃  
 fuesse su uentura de haser un acto tan excelen-  
 te? a quien no mueuen estas palabras de Turno  
 (el cuento de Turno auiedo ya plantado su  
 retrato en la imaginaçion) Fugientem haec  
terra uidebit? usque adeone mori

miserum est? Adonde los filosofos (como a  
 ellos parece) desdñan y escarnesçen de deley-  
 tar, <sup>1</sup> assi es menester que se contenten de mouer  
 poco; saluo el contrastar sobre sy la uirtud es el  
 prinçipal o el solo bien; qual es meIor la uida  
 contemplatiua o la actiua; lo que Platon y Boecio  
 bien supieron; y por esso hicieron a la seõora Filo-  
 sofia muchas uezes tomar prestado los vestidos  
 de mascara de la poesia. por que los mismos hombres  
 malos de coraçon endureçido, que tienen a la  
 uirtud por palabra de escuela y no conosçen á  
 otro bien que Indulgere genio: y por esso  
 menospreçian la austerá admoniçion del filosofos, <sup>2</sup>  
 y no sienten la raçom intrinsicá sobre que esta: <sup>3</sup>  
 con todo esso se contentaran de ser deleytados,  
 que es todo lo que el buen compañero del poeta  
 paresçe

1 they think scorne to delight

2 of the Philosopher

3 and feele not the inward reason they stand vpon

seemes to promese; and so steale to see the form  
of goodnes, (which seene, they cannot but loue) are  
themselues be aware, as if they tooke a medicine of  
Cheries. Infinit proofes of the staunge effects of  
this Poeticall inuention, might be alleaged: onely  
two shall serue, which are so often remembred, as  
I thinke all men know them. The one of Menemus  
Agrippa, who when the whole people of Rome had  
resolutely diuided themselues from the Senate, with  
apparent shew of vtter ruine, though he were for  
that time an excellent Orator, came not amōg them  
vpon trust either of figuratiue<sup>1</sup> speeches, or cunning  
insinuations, and much lesse with farre fet Maximes  
of Philosophie, which especially if they were Pla  
tonike, they must haue learned Geometrie before [28]  
they could well haue conceiued:

---

1 trust of figuratiue

[25r]

Poesia

parece de prometer, y assi a hurtadillos uan uien-  
do la forma de la bondad ( a la qual uista no  
pueden dexar de amar, antes que ellos mismos  
en ello aduertan, como sy uieran tomado una  
medicina de çeresas

Cap. 14. dos exemplos de los

marauillosos efetos de la

Poesia- - -

Infinitas prueuas delos marauillosos efetos  
de esta inuencion poetica se pudieran alegar,  
dos solo seruiran que tantas ueçes se traen ala  
memoria, que creo todos las saben. la una de  
Menenio Agrippa,<sup>1</sup> el qual quando todo el pue-  
blo romano resolutamente se diuidieron del  
senado con euidente muestra de extrema ruyna,  
aunque fue por aquel tiempo un Excelente orador,  
no uino entre ellos sobre la confiança de un hablar  
figuratiuo o artifiçioso insinuarse y ganarles,<sup>2</sup> y  
mucho menos con las lexos deduçidas maximas  
dela filosofia, las quales particularmente sy fuessen  
Platonicas, seria menester que uiessen aprendido  
la Geometria antes que las pudiessen bien entender

---

1 Menenius Agrippa

2 or cunning insinuations

but forsooth, he

behaueth himselfe like a homely and familiar Poet.  
 He telleth them a tale, that there was a time, when  
 all the parts of the bodie made a mutinous conspira-  
 cie against the belly, which they thought deuoured  
 the fruts of each others labour: they concluded  
 they would let so vnprofitable a spender starue. In  
 the end, to be short, for the tale is notorious, and as  
 notorious that it was a tale, with punishing the bel-  
 ly they plagued themselues; this applied by him,  
 wrought such effect in the people, as I neuer red,  
 that onely<sup>1</sup> words brought fourth: but then so sud-  
 daine and so good an alteration, for vpon reasonable  
 conditions, a perfect reconcilement ensued. The o-  
 ther is of Nathan the Prophet, who when the holie  
Dauid, had so farre forsaken God, as to confirme A-  
 dulterie with murther, when he was to do the ten-  
 drest office of a friend, in laying his owne shame be-  
 fore his eyes; sent by God to call againe so chosen a  
 seruant, how doth he it? but

---

1 euer

[25v]

Defensa de

mas por cierto, el se uuo como un simple y familiar poeta. cuentales un cuento, que aña un tiempo, quando todas las partes del cuerpo hisieron una conIura amotinadora contra la barriga, la qual pensauan que tragaua los fructos delo trabajos de cada una, concluyeron que dexarian a un miembro tan inutil morir de hambre. en fin, para abreuiarlo, (por que el cuento es notorio, y tan notorio es que fue cuento) con castigar a la barriga castigaron a sy mismos; esto por el aplicado, hiso tal efeto en el pueblo, como nunca he leydo que palabras solas ayan produçido sino entonçes, una tan repentina y tan buena alteraçion y mudanza; por que sobre raçonables condiçiones se seguio una perfeta reconciliaçion. la otra es del profeta Nathan, el qual, quando el Santo Daud uuo tanto dexado a Dios, como de confirmar el adulterio con homicidio, estando para hazerle el mas tierno officio de un amigo, en poniendole a su uerguença propria delante de sus oIos; enbiado por dios para llamar otra vez a un tan elegido sieruo, como lo hase? Sinó

con

---

by telling of a man

whose beloued lambe was vngratefully taken from  
his bosome. The Application most diuinely true,  
but the discourse it selfe fained; which made Dauid  
(I speake of the second and instrumental cause) as  
in a glasse see<sup>1</sup> his owne filthinesse, as that heavenly  
Psalme of mercie well testifieth. By these therefore  
examples and reasons, I thinke it may be manifest,  
that the Poet with that same hand of delight, doth  
draw the mind more effectually then any other Art  
doth. And so a conclusion not vnfitly ensue, that as  
vertue is the most excellēt resting place for al world-  
ly learning to make his end of, so Poetry being the [29]  
most familiar to teach it, and most Princely to moue  
towards it, in the most excellent worke, is the most  
excellent workeman. But I am content not onely  
to decipher him by his workes (although workes  
in commendation and dispraise,

---

1 glasse to see

[26r]

Poesia

con contarle de un hombre, cuyo amado corde-  
rillo fue ingratamente lleuado de su seno. la apli-  
cacion muy deuinamente uerdadera, mas el dis-  
curso mismo fingido; lo qual hiso a Daudid (hablo  
de la causa segunda y instrumental) como en  
un espejo uer a su propria fealdad y delito, como  
aquel celestial psalmo del Miserere, bien ate-  
stigua. por estos pues exemplos y razones, pienso  
que puede ser manifiesto, que el poeta con aquella  
misma mano de deleyte, tira el alma con mayor  
eficacia que no hase ninguna otra arte. Y assi  
una conclusion no descordemente sigue; que como  
la uirtud es el mas excelente lugar de reposo para  
toda mundana doctrina de haser de ella su fin,  
assi la poesia siendo la mas familiar para ense-  
ñarla, y la mas principal para mouer hazia ella,  
es el mas excelente artifice.

Cap. 15 dela poema pastoral,

elegiaca, Iambica, satyrica, co-

mica y Tragica - -

Pero me contento no solo de decyfrar la poesia<sup>1</sup> por  
sus obras (aunque las obras en alabança y disloor

---

1 him

must euer hold a

high authoritie) but more narrowly will examine  
his parts, so that (as in a man) though altogether  
may carrie a presence full of maiestie and bewtie,  
perchance in some/<sup>one</sup>defectuous peece we may  
finde blemish:<sup>1</sup> Now in his parts, kindes, or spe-  
cies, as you list to tearme them, it is to be noted,  
that some Poesies haue coupled together two or three  
kinds, as the Tragicall and Comicall,<sup>2</sup> whereupon  
is risen the Tragicomicall, some in the maner<sup>3</sup> haue  
mingled prose and verse, as Sanazara and Boetius;  
some haue mingled matters Heroicall and Pastorall,  
but that cometh all to one in this question, for  
if seuered they be good, the coniunction cannot  
be hurtfull: therefore perchance forgetting some,  
and leauing some as needlesse to be remembered. It  
shall not be amisse, in a word to cite the speciall  
kindes, to see what faults may be found in the right  
vse of them. Is it then the Pastorall Poeme which is  
misliked? (For perchance where the hedge is low-  
est they will soonest leape ouer) is the poore pipe  
disdained, which somtimes

- 
- 1 find a blemish
  - 2 as Tragicall and Comicall
  - 3 some in the like manner



[26v]

Deffensa de

por fuerça siempre han de tener una alta authori-  
dad) sino mas estrechamente quiero examinar  
sus partes, de manera que (como un hombre)<sup>1</sup> sy bien  
todo Iunto puede llevar una presencia llena de ma-  
gestad y hermosura, quiza en alguna defetuesa  
parte podemos hallar falta en el. agora a çerca de  
sus partes, generos, ó species, como las quiero nombrar,  
es de notar, que algunas Poesias han Iuntado dos  
otres generos, como el Tragico y comico, de que ha  
uenido el tragicomico; algunos en el modo han Iun-  
tado la prosa y el uerso, como Sanazaro y Boecio,  
algunos han mesclado cosas heroicas y pastorales; mas  
todo uiene a uno en esta questi on, porque sy sepa-  
rados son buenos, el Iuntarlos no p ede ser dañoso:  
por esso oluidando a algunos y dexando a otros  
como no naçessarios de ser mentados, no sera  
malo en una palabra de citar a los generos par-  
ticulares, para uer que faltas se pueden hallar en  
el uerdadero uso de ellos. Es pues la poema pastoral  
que disagrada? (por que por uentura adonde es  
mas baxo el uallado, por ally mas presto le saltaran)  
la pobre Çamponã sy esta desdeñada, que algunas ueçes

---

1 as in a man

times out of Maelibeus mouth  
 can shew the miserie of people, vnder hard Lords  
 and<sup>1</sup> rauening souldiers? And again by Titerus, what  
 blessednesse is deriued, to them that lie lowest, from  
 the goodnesse of them that sit highest? Sometimes  
 vnder the prettie tales of Woolues and sheepe, can  
 enclude the whole considerations of wrong doing  
 and patience; sometimes shew that contentions<sup>2</sup> for  
 trifles, can get but a trifling victory, wher perchance  
 a man may see, that euen Alexander [&] Darius, when  
 they straued who should be Cocke of this worldes  
 dunghill, the benefit they got, was, that the afterli-  
 uers may say, Haec namini [&] uictum frustra contende-  
re Thirsim. Ex illo Coridon, Coridon est tempore nobis.  
 Or is it the lamenting Elegiack, which in a kinde  
 heart would moue rather pittie then blame, who  
 bewaileth with the great Philosopher Heraclitus,  
 the weaknesse of mankinde, and the wretched-  
 nesse of the world: who surely is to bee praised  
 either for compassionate accompanying iust

---

1 or  
 2 contention

[27r]

## Poesia

ueges fuera de la boca de Melibeo puede mostrar  
 la miseria delas gentes debaxo de duros Señores  
 y de soldados rapaces? y otra uez por Tytiro, que  
 bienauenturança les uiene a los que se hechan mas  
 baxo, dela bondad delos que se assientan mas alto?  
 algunas ueges debaxo de los bonitos cuentos de lobos  
 y ouejas, puede incluir la total consideracion del  
 Injuriar y dela paciencia; algunas ueges muestra  
 que las contenciones por Iuguetes. no pueden alcançar  
 sino la uictoria de Iugete; a donde quiza un hom-  
 bre puede uer, que el mismo Alexandro y Dario  
 quando contrastaron qual auia de ser el gallo del  
 miladar de este mundo, el beneficio que hallaron,  
 fue, que los que despues de ellos uiuen pueden decir  
haec memini et uictum frustra conten  
dere Thirsim. Ex illo coridon cori  
don est tempore nobis. O es el lastimoso  
 elegiaco, que en un coraçon benigno mas presto mo-  
 ueria compassion que culpa? el qual lamenta con  
 el grand filosofo Heraclito, la flaqueza del genero  
 humano y la miseria del mundo: quien cierto es  
 de loar se o por el piadoso acompañar las Iustas

cat-

ses of lamentations, or for rightlie painting out how weake be the passions of wofulnesse? Is it the bitter but wholesome Iambick, who rubbes the galled minde, in making shame the Trumpet of villanie, with bolde and open crying out against naughtinesse? Or the Satirick who Omne vafer victim ridenti tangit amico, who sportingly, neuer leaueth, till <sup>1</sup> he make a man laugh at follie; and at length ashamed, to laugh at himself; which he cannot auoyde, without auoyding the follie? who while Circum præcordia ludit, giueth vs to feele how many headaches a passionate life bringeth vs to? How when all is done, Est Vlubris animus si nos non deficit æquus. No perchance it is the Comick, whom naughtie Play-makers and stage-keepers, haue iustly made odious. To the arguments of abuse, I will after answer, onely thus much now is to be said, that the Comedy is an imitatiõ of the cõmon errors of our life, which he representeth in the

[31]

- 
- 1 vntil
  - 2 argument
  - 3 I will answer after

[27v]

Deffensa de

causas de lamentaciones, o por el debuxar a derechas quan flacas son las passiones dela tri- steça. es el amargo, pero saludable Iambico que friega ala dissollada consciencia en haser la uer- guença ser trompeta de la uillaqueria, con atreui- da y abierta exclamacion contra la maldad? es el Satyrico, el qual Omne uaferr uicium ridenti tangit amico, que en modo de hol- garse nunca acaba hasta haser el hombre reirse de la locura, y al fin tener uerguença de reir de sy mismo; lo qual no puede euitar sin euitar la locura? que mientras Circum praecordia ludit, nos hace sentir, quantos dolores de cabeça nos trae una uida apassionada? como quando todo se acaba. Est ulubris, animus si nos non deficit aequus. no, quiza que es el Comico, a quien, los que hasen malas comedi- as y los malos farsantes con razon han hecho odioso. a los argumentos del abuso yo respondere desp- ues, solamente esto tanto agora se ha de decir, que la comedia es una imitacion delos comunes errores de nuestra uida, los quales ella representa en la

mas

most ridiculous

scornful sort that may be: so as it is impossible that any behelder can be content to be such a one. Now as in Geometrie, the oblique must be knowne as well as the right, and in Arithmetick, the odde as well as the euen, so in the actions of our life, who seeth not the filthinesse of euill, wanteth a great foile to perceiue the bewtie of vertue. This doth the Comaedic handle so in our priuate and domesticall matters, as with hearing it, wee get as it were an experience what is to be looked for of a niggardly Demea, of a craftie Dauus, of a flattering Gnato, of a vain-glorious Thrase: and not onely to know what effects are to be expected, but to know who be such, by the signifying badge giuen them by the Comaedi.

And litle reason hath any man to say, that men learne the euill by seeing it so set out, since as I said before, there is no man liuing, but by the force truth hath in nature, no sooner seeth these men play

[28r]

Poesia

mas ridicula manera y mas llena de escarnio q̃  
puede ser: de modo que es imposible que alguno  
de los miradores se pueda contentar de ser tal.  
agora como en la Geometria, es menester conos-  
ger el obliquo tanto bien como el recto, y en la Ari-  
thmetica, tanto bien nones como pares, assi en las  
dicciones de nuestra uida, quien no uee la fealdad  
del mallo, le falta grand trecho para perceber y  
hechar de uer la hermosura dela uirtud. esto trata  
la comedia de tal manera en nuestras particula-  
res y domesticas cosas que con oyr le hallamos.  
como si fuera, una experiencia delo que se ha de  
esperar de un miserable Damsa, de un astuto Da-  
rio, de un lisongero Gnato, de un una glorioso  
Thraño: y no solo saber que efetos se han de espe-  
rar, mas tambien conosger quienes son tales por  
el blason que los significa. Lo qual les dio<sup>1</sup> el Come-  
dianta. y poca razon tiene alguno para decir, que  
los hombres aprenden el mal por uerlo representa-  
do, pues como dixee antes no ay hombre uiuo, por  
la fuerza que la uerdad tiene en la naturaleza,  
no mas presto uee a estos hombres representar

---

1 giuen them

their parts

but wisheth them in Pistrinum, although perchance  
 the sack of his owne faults lie so behinde his backe,  
 that he seeth not himselfe to dance<sup>1</sup> the same measure:  
 wherto yet nothing can more open his eyes, then to  
 see his owne actions contemptibly set forth. So that  
 the right vse of Comaedia, will I thinke, by no bodie  
 be blamed; and much lesse of the high and excellent  
Tragedie, that openeth the greatest woundes, and  
 sheweth forth the Vlcers that are couered with Tis-  
sus, that maketh Kings feare to be Tyrants, and Ty-  
 rants manifest their tyrannicall humours, that with  
 sturring the affects of Admiration and Comiseration,  
 teacheth the vncertaintie of this world, and vpon  
 how weak foundations gilden roofes are builded:  
 that maketh vs know, Qui scaeptra saeuus duro imperio [32]  
regit, Timet timentes, metus in authorem redit. But  
 how much it can moue, Plutarch yeeldeth a notable  
 testimonie of the abhominable Tyrant Alexander  
Pheraeus, from whose eyes a Tragedie well made and  
 represented, drew abundance of

---

1 himselfe daunce



[28v]

Deffensa de

sus partes, que no los dessea uer moler en el pistrino o molina.<sup>1</sup> sy bien quiza, el Sacco de sus proprias faltas esta tan atras de sus espaldas, que no ueen a sy mismos baylar el mismo bayle: para lo qual toda/ua nada puede tanto abrirles los olos, como uer a sus proprias acciones dispreciadamente representados. de modo que el uerdadero uso dela Comedia (yo pienso) no sera de nadie culpado; y mucho menos de la alta y Excelente tragedia, que discubre las mas grandes heridas, y muestra las llagas que son cubiertas de brocado,<sup>2</sup> que haze a los Reyes temer de ser Tyranos, y a los Tyranos de manifestar sus tyranicos humores, que con mouer los afectos dela admiracion y comiseracion ensena la incertidombre de este mundo, y sobre que flacos fundamentos los techos dorados se fabrican: que nos haze sauer Qui sceptrasaeuus duro imperio regit, timet timentes metus in authorem redit. Pero quanto puede mouer, Plutarcho da un notable testimonio del abominable Tyrano Alexandro Phereo, de cuyos olos una tragedia bien hecha y representada, hiso salir abundancia de

lagrimas

---

1 in Pistrinum

2 Tissue

teares, who with-  
 out all pittie had murthered infinite numbers, and  
 some of his owne blood: so as he that was not asha-  
 med to make matters for Tragedies, yet could not  
 resist the swete violence of a Tragedie. And if it  
 wrought no further good in him it was, that he in  
 despight of himself, withdrew himselfe from hear-  
 kening to that which might mollifie his hardened  
 heart. But it is not the Tragedie they do mislike,  
 for it were too absurd to cast out so excellent a re-  
 presentation of whatsoever is most woorthie to be  
 learned. Is it the Lyricke that moste displeaseth,  
 who with his tuned Lyre and well accorded voice,  
 giueth praise, the reward of vertue, to vertuous  
 acts? who giueth morall preceptes and naturall  
 Problemes, who sometimes<sup>1</sup> raiseth vp

---

1 sometimes

[29r]

Poesia

lagrimas, el qual sin todo genero de piedad, hizo matar a trayçion muchissimos, y entre ellos algunos de su propria sangre: de manera que aquel que no tenia uerguença de dar la materia para tragedias, todavia no pudo resistir a la dulce uiolencia de una tragedia. y sino obro en lo adelante mas bien en el. fue, que el en dispecho de sy mismo, se retiro para no oyr aquello que pudo ablandar su endurescido coraçon. mas no es la tragedia que les disagrada, por que assi seria demassiado disuario, hechar fuera tan Excelente representacion de todo quanto es dignissimo de ser aprendido.

Cap. 16. dela poema lirica y heroica y la conclusion de todo lo que se ha dicho en loor de la Poesia---

Es pues el lirico que da mas disgusto? el qual con su acordada lyra, y bien entonada uoz, da loores (el premio de la uirtud) a los actos uirtuosos, el qual da preceptos morales y problemas naturales, el qual algunas ueçes leuanta

his voyce to

the height of the heauens, in singing the laudes  
of the immortal God? Certainly I must confesse  
mine owne barbarousnesse, I neuer heard the old  
Song of Percy and Duglas, that I found not my  
heart moued more then with a Trumpet; and  
yet is it sung but by some blinde Crowder, with  
no rougher voyce, then rude stile: which being  
so euill apparelled in the dust and Cobwebbes of  
that vnciuill age, what would it worke, trimmed  
in the gorgious eloquence of Pindare? In Hunga-  
rie I haue seene it the manner at all Feastes and o- [33]  
ther such like meetings,<sup>1</sup> to haue songs of their ances-  
tors valure, which that right souldierlike nation,  
think one of the chiefest kindlers of braue courage.  
The incomperable Lacedemonians, did not onelie  
carrie that kinde of Musicke euer with them to the  
field, but euen at home, as such songs were made,  
so were they all content to be singers<sup>2</sup> of them: when  
the lustie men were to tell what

---

1 other such meetings

2 to be the singers

[29v]

## Deffensa de

su uoz a la altura de los Cielos en cantar las la-  
 udes del imortal dios? cierto es menester que  
 confiesse mi propria barbariedad, q̃ Iamas he  
 oydo el Soneto uieIo de Perseo y Douglas, que  
 no he hallado a my coraçon mas mouido que  
 con una trompeta; y aun no se canta sino por  
 algun çiego ministral, ny con uoz mas ronco,  
 que con rudo estilo: lo qual siendo tan mal ue-  
 stido en el poluo y telaraña de aquella bar-  
 bara edad, que obraria sy estuuiesse adornado  
 con la sumptuosa eloquencia de Pindaro? en  
 Hungaria lo he uisto ser custumbre en todas  
 las fiestas y otras t ales Iuntas de regoçio,  
 çuar sonetos del ualor de sus antepassados, lo qual  
 aquella, que es una naççion muy ala soldadesca  
 piensa de ser uno de los mas principales atizado-  
 res para un brauo y bizarro animo.<sup>1</sup> los  
 incomparables Lacedemonios no solo lleuaron  
 aquella suerte de musica consigo al campo,<sup>2</sup> mas  
 tambien en casa como tales sonetos se hazian,  
 assy todos se contentaron de estar los cantando:  
 quando los hombres gallardos auian de contar lo  
 que

---

1 one of the chiefest kindlers of braue courage

2 that kinde of Musicke euer with them to the field

they did, the old men what they had done, and the yoong what they would doo. And where a man may say that Pindare many times praiseth highly Victories of small moment, rather matters<sup>1</sup> of sport then vertue, as it may be answered, it was the fault of the Poet, and not of the Poetrie; so indeed the chiefe fault was, in the time and custome of the Greekes, who set those toys at so high a price, that Phillip of Macedon reckoned a horse-race wonne at Olympus, among his three fearefull felicities. But as the vnimitable Pindare often did, so is that kind most capable and most fit, to awake the thoughts from the sleepe of idlenesse, to embrace honourable enterprises. Their<sup>2</sup> rests the Heroicall, whose verie name I thinke should daunt all backbiters. For by what conceit can a tongue bee directed to speake euill of that which draweth with him<sup>3</sup> no lesse champions then Achilles, Cirus, Aeneas, Turnus, Ti-deus, Rinaldo, who doeth not onely teache and mooue to a truth, but teacheth and mooueth

---

1 matters rather  
2 there  
3 it

[30r]

## Poesia

que harian, los uieios lo que auian hecho, y los moços lo que auian de hazer. y donde un hombre puede decir, que Pindaro muchas uezes altamente alaba uictorias de poco momento, mas presto cosas de passatiempo que de uirtud, como se puede responder que fue la culpa del Poeta y no de la poesia, assy en uerdad la principal culpa fue en el tiempo y costumbre de los griegos, que pusieron a estos Inguetes en tan alto precio, que Phelipe de Macedonia conto a una carrera uencida en Olimpo entre sus tres medrosas felicidades. mas como el Inimitable Pindaro muchas uezes hiso, assi es aquel genero mas ca paz y el mas apto, para despertar los pensamientos del sueño del ocio para abraçar las honradas empresas. Resta el heroyco cuyo nombre solo, me pareçe<sup>s</sup>, deuria de abatir la presumpcion de todos los detractores. pues por que concepto puede ser endereçada una lengua para hablar mal de aquel quien tira y trahe consigo no menores mantenedores que Achilles, Ciro, Eneas, Turno, Tydeo, Rinaldo; quien no solo enseña y mueue a una uerdad, mas enseña y mueue

to

the most high and excellent truth: who maketh magnanimitie and iustice, shine through all mistie fearefulnesse and foggie desires. Who if the saying of Plato and Tully bee true, that who could see vertue, would bee woonderfullie rauished with the loue of her bewtie. This man setteth her out to make her more louely in her holliday apparrell, to the eye of anie that will daine, not to disdain vntill they vnderstand. But if any thing be alreadie said in the defence of sweete Poetrie, all concurreth to the mainteining the Heroicall, which is not onelie a kinde, but the best and most accomplished kindes of Poetrie. For as the Image of each Action stirreth and instructeth the minde, so the loftie Image of such woorthies, moste enflameth the minde with desire to bee woorthie: and enformes with counsaile how to bee woorthie. Onely let Aeneas bee worne in the Tablet of your memorie, how hee gouerneth himselfe in the ruine of his Countrey, in the preserving his olde Father, and carrying away his religious Ceremonies, in obeying Gods Commaunment, to leaue



[30v]

Deffensa de

a la mas alta y Excelente uerdad; quien haze a la magnanimidad y Iusticia reluzir por todos los añublados temores y oscuros desseos. y sy el dicho de Platon y de Tullio es uerdadero, quien pudiera uer la uirtud seria marauillosamente enamorado de ella, este hombre la muestra para hazer la mas amable en su uestido de fiesta, al oïo de qualquiera que sera seruido de no desdenarla hasta entenderla. mas si ya se ha dicho alguna cosa en la defensa de la dulce Poesia, todo concurre para mantener el heroyco, que no solo es un genero, mas el mejor y el mas principal genero de la poesia. porque como la imagen de cada Idea<sup>1</sup> mueue y enseña al entendimiento, assi la atiuua imagen de tales ualores enflama al alma con deseo de ser ualorosa, y la enforma con consejos como ha de ser ualorosa. lleuese solamente Eneas en uuestro librilla de memoria, como se gouierna en la ruyna de su patria, en preseruar a su uieïo padre, y llevar con sigo sus reliosas ceremonias, en obedecer al mandamento de dios con dexar

---

 a Dido

1 Action

Dido, though not onelie all passionate kindnesse, but euen the humane consideration of vertuous gratefulnesse, would haue craued other of him: how in stormes, how in sports, how in warre, how in peace, how a fugitiue, how uictorious, how besieged, how besieging, how to straungers, how to Allies, how to enemies, how to his owne. Lastly, how in his inward selfe, and howe in his outward gouernment, and I thinke in a minde moste<sup>1</sup> preiudiced with a preiudicating humour, Hee will bee founde in excellencie fruitefull. Yea as Horace [35] saith, Melius Chrisippo [ & ] Crantore: but truly I imagine it falleth out with these Poet-whippers, as with some good women who often are sicke, but in faith they cannot tel where. So the name of Poetrie is odious to them, but neither his cause nor effects, neither the summe that containes him nor the particularities descending from him, giue any fast handle to their carping dispraise. Since

---

1 not

[31r]

Poesia

Dido, (aunque no solamente toda apasionada  
 benignidad mas la misma consideracion hu  
 mana de la virtuosa gratitud, otra cosa uuiara  
 requerido de el, como en tempestades, como  
 en holgancas, como en la guerra, como en la paz,  
 como fugitiuo, como uictorioso, como cercado,  
 como cercando, como a estrangeros, como a sus  
 aliados, como a sus enemigos, como a los suyos,  
 finalmente como en sy mismo interiormente,  
 y como en su gouierno exterior, y pienso que en  
 un Animo muy perjudicado con algun humer per-  
 iuisial, sera hallado excelentemente fructuoso sy  
 (como dise Horacio) melius crisippo et  
cantore.<sup>1</sup> pero uerdaderamente imagino que  
 acontece a estos agotadores de poetas, como a al  
 gunas buenas mugeres, que muchas ueges estan  
 infirmas, mas, a la uerdad, no saben adonde tie-  
 nen la infirmitad: assi el nombre de la poesia  
 es a ellos odioso, pero ni su causa ny efectos, ny  
 la summa que la contienen, ni las particula  
 ridades que descenden de ella, no les dá algun fuer-  
 te aydero para sus moteiadores disloores. Agora

---

1 Melius Chrisippo [ & ] Crantore

then Poetrie is of al humane learnings the most ancient, and of most fatherly antiquitie, as from whence other learnings haue taken their beginnings; Since it is so vniuersall, that no learned nation doth despise it, nor<sup>1</sup> barbarous nation is without it; Since both Romane [ & ] Greeke gaue such diuine names vnto it, the one of prophesying, the other of making; and that indeed that name of making is fit for him considering, that where all<sup>2</sup> ether Arts retain themselues within their subiect, and receiue as it were their being from it. The Poet onely, onely bringeth his own stufte, and doth not learn a Conceit out of a matter, but maketh matter for a Conceit. Since neither his description, nor end, containing any euill,<sup>3</sup> the thing described cannot be euill; since his effects be so good as to teach goodnes, and delight<sup>4</sup> the learners of it; since therein (namely in morall doctrine the chiefe of all knowledges ) hee doth not onely farre passe the Historian, but for instructing is well nigh comparable to the Philosopher, for<sup>5</sup> mouing, leaueth him behind him. Since the holy scripture (wherein

---

1 no  
 2 as  
 3 nor his end contayneth any euill  
 4 and to delight  
 5 Philosopher, and for

[31v]

## Deffensa de

pues que la poesia de todas las disciplinas humanas es la mas anciana y de la mas paterna antigüedad como aquella de donde otras disciplinas han tomado su principio. pues es tan uniuersal que ninguna nacion docta la menosprecia, ny barbara esta sin ella, pues los romanos y los griegos le han dado nombres tan diuinos, el uno de profetizar el otro de hazer, y que de ueras aquel nombre de hazer es apto para el, considerando que donde todas las demas artes se retienen dentro de su sujeto y reciben, como si fuera, su ser de ello. solo el poeta trae sus cosas proprias, y no aprende un concepto de la materia, mas hase la materia para un concepto. pues ny su discripçion ny fin no conteniendo algun mal, lo que esta discripto no puede ser malo; pues sus efetos son tan buenos como a enseñar la bondad y deleytar los discipulos con ello; pues en esto (nombradamente en la doctrina moral, la mas principal de todas las doctrinas) no solo excede mucho al historiador, mas para instruir es casy igual al filosofo, para mouer le lleva mucha uentaja. pues la sagrada escriptura (en

que

there is no vncleannesse) hath  
 whole parts in it Poeticall, and that euen our Sauior  
 Christ vouchsafed to vse the flowers of it: since all  
 his kindes are not onely in their vnited formes, but  
 in their seuered dissections fully commendable, I  
 thinke, (and thinke I thinke rightly) the Lawrell  
 Crowne appointed for tryumphant<sup>1</sup> Captaines, doth  
 worthily of all other learnings, honour the Poets tri-  
 umph. But bicause we haue eares as well as toongs,  
 and that the lightest reasons that may be, will seeme  
 to waigh greatly, if nothing be put in the counter-  
 ballance, let vs heare, and as well as we can, ponder  
 what obiections be<sup>2</sup> made against

[36]

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1 tryumphing

2 obiections may bee

[32r]

Poesia

que no ay fealdad ninguna tiene en sy ente-  
ras partes poeticas, y que el mismo nuestro sal-  
uador Christo se siruio usar de sus flores; pues  
todos sus generos no solo en sus formas unidas, mas  
en sus repartidas diuisiones, son muy dignas de  
alabarse, yo pienso (y creo que pienso la uer-  
dad) que la corona de laurel estatuida para  
los capitanes triunfadores, merescidamente de todas las  
demas sciencias honra al triumpho del poeta.

Cap. 17. se propone de respon-

der a los argumentos de mome-

nto que se pretenden auer

contra la poesia y primero

se responde a lo que se dice

contra el mismo

uersificar- - -

Mas agora por que tenemos tambien ore-  
las como lenguas, y que las mas ligeras rraço-  
nes que pueden ser, paresceran de pesar mucho  
sy ninguna cosa se pone en la otra balança para  
contrapesar las, oygamos y ponderemos lo mejor  
que podemos, que objectiones se hazen contra

this Art, which

may be woorthie either of yeelding, or answering.

First truly I note, not onely in these [*Ἰσοκράτους*], Poet-haters, but in all that kind of people who seek a praise, by dispraising others, that they do prodigally sped a great many wandring words in quips and scoffes, carping and taunting at each thing, which by stirring the spleene, may staine the brain from a through beholding the worthinesse of the subiect. Those kind of obiections, as they are full of a verie idle easinesse, since there is nothing of so sacred a maiestie, but that an itching toong may rub it selfe vpon it, so deserue they no other answer, but in steed of laughing at the ieast, to laugh at the ieaster. We know a playing wit can praise the discretion of an Asse, the comfortablenes of being in debt, and the iolly commodities of being sicke of the plague. So of the contrary side, if we will turne Quids verse, Vt lateat vir-



[32v]

Deffensa de

esta arte, las quales puedan ser dignas o de concederse, o de responder a ellas. primeramēte, pues aduerto, no solo en estos misomusoi,<sup>1</sup> que abhorresçen a los poetas, mas en toda aquella que aquella suerte de gentes que buscan sus alabanzas por el menosprecio de otros, que ellos prodigamente gastan grand numero de palabras erradizas en motes y musas, amordazando y apodando a cada cosa, lo qual con mouer el baço, puede impedir el seso, de no aduertir totalmente en la dignidad del suieto. este genero de obiecciones como son llenas de una muy ociosa façilidad (pues no ay nada de tan sacra magstad, que una lengua llena de começon, no puede refregarse sobre ella: assi no merecen otra respuesta, que en lugar de reirse de la burla reirse del burlador. Sabemos que un entendimento holgazan, puede loar a la discrecion de un asno, al consuelo de ser endeudado, y a las loçanas comodidades de ser infirmo de la peste. assi al contrario, si queremos boluer el uerso de ouidio Vt lateat Vir  
tus

---

1 [μυσομυσοι]

tus, proximitate mali, that good lye hid, in nearnesse of the euill. Agrippa will be as mery in shewing the vanitie of Science, as Erasmus was in the commending of folly: neither shal any man or matter, escape some touch of these smiling Raylers. But for Eras-  
mus and Agrippa, they had an other foundation then [37] the superficiall part would promise. Marry these o-  
 ther pleasaunt fault-finders, who will correct the Verbe, before they vnderstand the Nowne, and confute others knowledge, before they confirme their owne, I would haue them onely remember, that scoffing commeth not of wisdom; so as the best title in true English they get with their meriments, is to be called good fooles: for so haue our graue forefathers euer tearmed that humorous kinde of iesters. But that which giueth greatest scope to their scorning humor,<sup>1</sup> is ryming and versing. It is alreadie said ( and as I thinke truly said) it is not ryming

---

1 humors

[33r]

Poesia

tus proximitate mali, que lo bueno  
 se esconda con la uezindad del malo. Agr  
 ippa sera tan alegre en mostrar la uanidad  
 dela sciencia, como lo ha sido Erasmo en ala-  
 bar la locura: ny ningun hombre ny materia  
 podra escapar de no ser tachado de estos que sonrie-  
 ndose amordazan. pero quanto a Erasmo y  
 Agrippa tenian otro fundamento de lo que  
 prometia y mostraua <sup>1</sup> la parte superficial mas  
 estos otros donosos moteadores, que quieren  
 corregir al uerbo antes que entienden el nom-  
 bre, y confutar la sciencia agena antes de  
 confirmar la suya, solo quisiera que ellos  
 se acordassen, que el moffar no uiene de sa-  
 biduria, de modo que el mejor titulo que en  
 buen Ingles alcançan por sus burlas, es de  
 ser llamados buenos locos: pues assy nue-  
 stros graues antepassados siempre llamaron  
 aquella antoxadiza suerte de burlones  
 pero aquello queda mayor trecho a sus  
 humores excarnisadores, es el trobar y  
 uersificarya se ha dicho (y como pienso se  
 ha dicho con uerdad) que no es el trobar

---

1 would promise

and versing that maketh Poesie: One may be a Poet without versing, and a versefier without Poetrie. But yet presuppose it were inseperable, as indeed it seemeth Scalliger iudgeth truly, it were an inseperable commendation. For if Oratio, next to Ratio, Speech next to Reason, be the greatest gift bestowed vpon Mortalite, that cannot bee praiselesse, which doth most polish that blessing of speech; which considereth each word not onely as a man may say by his forcible qualitie, but by his best measured quantity: carrying euen in themselues a Harmonie, without perchance number, measure, order, proportion, be in our time growne odious. But laie aside the iust praise it hath, by being the onely fit speech for Musicke, (Musicke I say the most diuine striker of the senses) Thus much is vndoubtedly true,

[33v]

Deffensa de

y uersificar que haze la poesia: uno puede ser poeta sin uersificar y ser uersifico sin poesia. mas aun, supuesto que fuera inseparable (como uerdaderamente paresce que Scaligero Iusga bien) cierto seria un loor inseparable. por que sy ORatio despues de Ratio, la habla despues de la raçon, es el mayor don que se ha dado a la mortalidad, no puede dexar de ser loable aquello que haze mas polida esta <sup>1</sup> bendiçion de la habla; que considera cada palabra, no solamente (como se puede decir) por su forçosa calidad, si no por su mas bien medida cantidad: lleuando aun en sy mismas una harmonia, saluo que por uentura numero, medida, orden, proporcion, en nuestro tiempo ha uenido a ser odioso. pero dexemos el Iusto loor que tiene, por ser el unico hablar conueniente y adaptado para la musica (la musica digo la que mas diuinamente hiere a los sentidos). esto tanto sin alguna duda es uerdad  
que

---

1 that

that if rea-

ding be foolish without remembering, Memorie being the onely treasure<sup>1</sup> of knowledge, those words which are fittest for memory, are likewise most convenient for knowledge. Now that Verse far exceedeth [38] Prose, in the knitting vp of the memorie, the reason is manifest, the words (besides their delight, which hath a great affinitie to memorie) being so set as one cannot<sup>2</sup> be lost, but the whole woorke failes: which accusing<sup>3</sup> it selfe, calleth the remembrance back to it selfe, and so most strongly confirmeth it. Besides one word, so as it were begetting an other, as be it in rime or measured verse, by the former a mā shall haue a neare gesse to the follower. Lastly euen they that haue saught the Art of memory, haue shewed nothing so apt for it, as a certain roome diuided into many places, well [ & ]thoroughly knowne: Now that hath the verse in effect perfectly, euerie word hauing his natural seat, which seat

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1 treasurer

2 one word cannot

3 accuseth

[34r]

Poesia

que sy la lectura es loca sin la memoria, siendo la memoria el unico tesorero de la sciencia, estas palabras que son mas aptas para la memoria, son tambien las mas conuenientes para la sciencia. agora que el uerso excede mucho a la prosa, en el añudar la memoria, la razon es manifiesta, las palabras (allende de su deleyte que tiene grande afinidad con la memoria, siendo de tal manera puestas, que no se puede perder una sin que falte toda la obra: la qual acusando a sy misma reuoca la memoria en sy, y de esta manera muy fuertemente la confirma. fuera de que una palabra de tal manera, como si fuera, engendrandola otra, sea en metro o en uerso medido, que por la que ua adelante, un hombre tendra un buen tino y conjetura dela que sigue. <sup>1</sup> finalmente, aun aquellos mismos que han enseñado el arte de la memoria, no han mostrado nada tan apto para ella, como una cierta estancia diuidida en muchos lugares muy bien conocidos: agora esto en efeto tiene el uerso perfectamente, cada palabra teniendo su natural asiento lo qual assiêto

---

1 a neare gesse to the follower

must needs make

the word<sup>1</sup> remembred. But what needes more in a thing so knowne to all men. Who is it that euer was scholler<sup>2</sup>, that doth not carry away som verses of Virgil, Horace, or Cato, which in his youth hee learned, and eue to his old age serue him for hourelly lessons;<sup>3</sup> as Percontatorem fugito nam garrulus idem est, Dum tibi quisq; placet credula turba sumas. But<sup>3</sup> the fitnes it hath for memorie, is notably prooued by all deliuerie of Arts, wherein for the most part, from Grammer, to Logick, Mathematickes, Phisick, and the rest, the Rules chiefly necessaie to be borne away, are compiled in verses. So that verse being in it selfe sweet and orderly, and being best for memorie, the onely handle of knowledge, it must be in iest that any man can speak against it.

---

1 words

2 was a scholler

3 lessons? But



[34v]

Deffensa de

por fuerza haze acordar de la palabra.

pero que es menester mas en cosa a todos  
tan conocida? quien es que algun tiempo  
ha sido estudiante que no se acuerde de al-  
gun uerso de Virgilio, Horacio, o Caton lo  
qual aprendio en su mocedad y aun hasta  
su uelez por horas le sirue de lection? <sup>1</sup> como

Percontatorem fugito nam ga-  
rulus idem est. Dum sibi quis  
que placet credula turba sumus.

mas quanto está acomodado para la  
memoria notablemente se prueua por  
todos los tratados<sup>2</sup> de las artes, en los quales  
por la mayor parte, desde la gramatica a  
la logica, mathematica, fisica y las demas,  
las reglas principalmente necessarias para lle-  
uarse en la memoria, son recopiladas en uersos.  
de modo que el uerso siendo de suyo dulce y  
ordenado, y siendo lo mejor para la memo-  
ria el unico asidero dela sciencia, es menester  
que sea burlando y no deueras<sup>3</sup> que  
alguno hable contra ello.

cap:

---

1 for houely lessons  
2 deliuerie  
3 it must be in iest

Now then goe we to the most important  
 imputations laid to the poore Poets, for ought I can  
 yet learne, they are these. First, that there beeing  
 manie other more frutefull knowledges, a man [39]  
 might better spend his time in them, then in this.  
 Secondly, that it is the mother of lyes. Thirdly, that  
 it is the nurse of abuse, infecting vs with many pesti-  
 lent desires, with a Sirens sweetnesse, drawing the  
 minde to the Serpents taile of sinfull fansies;<sup>1</sup> and  
 herein especially Comedies giue the largest field to  
 eare,<sup>2</sup> as Chawcer saith, how both in other nations and  
 in ours, before Poets did soften vs, we were full of  
 courage giuē to martial exercises,

---

1 fancy

2 erre

[35r]

Poesia

Cap. 18. se responde alo que  
se dice que meior pudiera el  
hombre gastar su tiempo  
en otras sciencias mas  
fructuosas que en la - -  
poesia - - -

Agora pues nos uamos a las mas importantes  
 impusiciones y obiectiones que se les imputan  
 y se hazen contra los pobres poetas,<sup>1</sup> por lo que yo  
 pude hasta agora saber son estas. lo primero auiendo  
 muchas otras mas fructuosas sciencias, meior pu-  
 diera el hombre gastar su tiempo en ellas que en  
 esta. lo segundo que es la madre de mentiras. lo  
 terçero, que eš la ama del abuso, infiçionandonos  
 con muchos pestilenciales desseos, con la suauidad  
 de una Sylene tirando el alma a la serpentina  
 cola de nuestras fantasias llenas de pecado. y en  
 esto especialmente las comedias dan el mas ancho ca-  
 mpo al oydo,<sup>2</sup> como dice Chaucero quanto assi en las  
 otras naçiones como en la nuestra, antes que los  
 poetas nos han ablandado, estauamos llenos  
 de corage y ualor dados a excerciçios militares<sup>3</sup>

---

1 the most important imputations laid to the poore Poets

2 eare

3 we were full of courage giuē to martial exarcises

the pillers of man-  
like libertie, and not lulled a sleepe in shadie idlenes,  
with Poets pastimes. And lastly and chiefly, they cry  
out with open<sup>1</sup> mouth as if they had ouershot Robin-  
hood, that Plato banished them out of his Common-  
wealth. Truly this is much, if there be much truth  
in it. First to the first. That a man might better spend  
his time, is a reason indeed; but it doth as they say,  
but petere principium. For if it be, as I affirme, that  
no learning is so good, as that which teacheth and  
moueth to vertue, and that non can both teach and  
moue thereto so much as Poesie, then is the conclu-  
sion manifest; that incke and paper cannot be to a  
more profitable purpose employed. And certainly  
though a man should graunt their first assumption,  
it should follow (mee thinks) very vnwillingly, that  
good is not good, because better is better. But I still  
and vtterly deny,

---

1 with an open

[35v]

## Deffensa de

los pilares de la libertad baronil, y no arullados y adormecidos en la sombrosa ociosidad con los passatiempos de los poetas. ultimamente y principalmente bozean con boca abierta, como si con flechar con el arco uvieron sobrepujado a Robinhood,<sup>1</sup> que Platon los disterro de su republica. cierto mucho es esto sy ay mucha uerdad en ello. primero al primer argumento, que el hombre meior pudiera gastar su tiempo, es una raçon por cierto, mas no hase (como diçen) sino, Petere principium. por que sy es como yo afirmo, que ninguna disciplina es tan buena, como aquella que enseña y mueue ala uirtud, y que ninguna puede assy enseñar como mouer a ella tanto como la poesia, entonces la conclusion es manifiesta, que tinta y papel no pueden ser empleadas a proposito mas prouechoso. Y cierto aun que un hombre concediesse la primera assumption y parte de su argumento<sup>2</sup> sigueria (me paresce) de muy mala gana, que lo bueno no es bueno, por que lo que es meior es meior. mas yo siempre y totalmente niego

auer

---

1 as if they had ouershot Robinhood

2 though a man should graunt their first assumption

that there is sprung out of earth a more fruitfull knowledge. To the second therefore, that they should be the principall lyers, I answere Paradoxically, but truly, I think truly: that of all writers vnder the Sunne, the Poet is the least lyer: and though he wold, as a Poet can scarcely be a lyer. The Astronomer with his cousin the Geometrician, can [40] hardly escape, when they take vpon them to measure the height of the starres. How often thinke you do the Phisitions lie, when they auerre things good for sicknesses, which afterwards send Charon a great number of soules drownd in a potion, before they come to his Ferrie? And no lesse of the rest, which take vpon them to affirme. Now for the Poet, he nothing affirmeth, and therefore neuer lieth: for as I take it, to lie, is to affirme that to bee true, which is false. So as the other Artistes, and especially the Historian, affirming

[36r]

Poesia

auer salido de la tierra una sciencia mas  
fructuosa que la poesia

Cap. 19. se responde a lo que  
se dice que la poesia es la  
madre de mentiras

Al segundo pues argumento que son los pri-  
cipales mentirosos: yo respondo paradoxi-  
camente, mas de ueras pienso, con uerdad, que de to-  
dos los escritores debaxo del sol el poeta es el menos  
mentiroso y aunque quisiera, en quanto y como poeta,  
a penas puede ser mentiroso. El Astronomo con su pri-  
mo el Geometrico dificilmente pueden escapar, quan-  
do se encargan a medir la altura de las estrellas.  
quantas ueces piensas que mienten los medicos qua-  
ndo afirman cosas ser buenas para la infirme-  
dad, que despues embia a Charonte grande nu-  
mero de almas anegadas en una purga antes que  
llegan a su barca. y no es nada menos de los de mas  
que presumen afirmar. Agora quanto al poeta  
no afirma nada y por esso nunca miente: por que  
a my uer, el mentir es afirmar ser aquello uer-  
dad que es falso de manera que los otros arti-  
stas sy especialmente el historiador afirmando

manie things, can in the clowdie  
 knowledge of mankinde, hardly escape from manie  
 lies. But the Poet as I said before, neuer affirmeth, the  
Poet neuer maketh any Circles about your imagina-  
 tiõ, to coniure you to beleue for true, what he wri-  
 teth: he citeth not authorities of other histories, but  
 eũ for his entrie, calleth the sweete Muses to inspire  
 vnto him a good inuention. In troth, not laboring to  
 tel you what is, or is not, but what should, or should  
 not be. And therefore though he recount things not  
 true, yet because he telleth them not for true, he li-  
 eth not: without we will say, that Nathan lied in his  
 speech before alleaged to Dauid, which as a wicked  
 man durst scarce say, so think I none so simple, wold  
 say, that Esope lied, in the tales of his beasts: for who  
 thinketh that Esope wrote it for actually true, were  
 wel worthie to haue his name Cronicled among the  
 beasts he



[36v]

Deffensa de

muchas cosas en la nublada sciencia del genero humano, dificilmente puede escapar de muchas mentiras. mas el poeta como dixes antes, nunca afirma, el poeta nunca haze algunos circulos al deredor de uestra imaginacion, para conlurar os a creer por uerdadero lo que el escriue; no cita las authoridades de otras historias, ny haze mas que Iusto a la entrada y principio,<sup>1</sup> llama a las dulces musas para que le inspiren alguna buena inuencion. en uerdad no trabaja para decir lo que es ó no es, syno lo que deue, o no deue ser. y por esso aunque el cuenta cosas non uerdaderas toda uia por que no las cuenta por uerdaderas, no miente: sy no queremos decir, que Nathan mentio en su para bola y platica antes alegada con Dauid, lo qual como un hombre maligno a penas osaria decir, assi pienso no auer ninguno tan simple que diria que Esopo mentia en los cuentos de sus Bestias: por que quien piensa que Esopo los escriuia por actualmente uerdaderos, seria tambien digno de tener a su nombre registrado en las cronicas entre aquellas bestias de que el

escriue

---

1 but euē for his entrie

writeth of. What childe is there, that coming to a play, and seeing Thebes written in great letters vpon an old doore, both beleue that it is Thebes? If then a man can arriue to the<sup>1</sup> childes age, to know that the Poets persons and dooings are but pictures, what should be, and not stories what haue bin, they will neuer giue the lie to things not Affirmatiuely, but Allegorically and figuratiuely written; and therefore as in historie looking for truth, they may go<sup>2</sup> away full fraught with falshood: So in Poesie, looking but for<sup>3</sup> fiction, they shall vse the narration but as an imaginatiue groundplat<sup>4</sup> of a profitable inuention. But hereto is replied, that the Poets giue names to men they write of, which argueth a conceit of an actuall truth, and so not being true, proueth a falshood. And dooth the Lawier lye, then when vnder the names of Iohn of the Stile, and Iohn of the Nokes,<sup>5</sup> hee putteth his Case? But that is easily answered, their naming of men, is but to make

[41]

---

1 that

2 they go

3 looking for

4 groundplot

5 Iohn a stile and Iohn a noakes

[37r]

## Poesia

escriue, que niño ay, que ueniendo a una co-  
 media y uiendo .Thebes. escripto en letras go-  
 ticas sobre una puerta uieja, cree que es The-  
 bes? sy pues un hombre puede llegar a la edad  
 de un niño, para conoscer que las personas y accio-  
 nes delos poetas no son sino pinturas de lo que de-  
 ue ser, y no historias de lo que ha sido, nunca dis-  
 mentira n̄ dara la mentida a cosas no afirmada--  
 mente sino alegoricamente y figuradamente, escrip--  
 tas. y por esso como en las historias buscando uer--  
 dades, pueden Irse muy fletados y cargados de  
 falsedades: <sup>1</sup> assi en la poesia no buscando sino  
 las fiçiones, usaran de la enarraçion solaman-  
 te como de una imaginada plataforma de una  
 prouechosa inuencion. mas a esto se replica, que  
 los poetas dan nombres a las personas de quien  
 escriuen, lo qual arguye un concepto de una  
 uerdad actual, y assi no siendo uerdad uiene  
 a ser falsedad. y el Iurista sy miente <sup>2</sup> quando  
 debaxo delos nombres de Iuan de Stilo y Iuan de  
 Noques pone su caso? mas aquello facilmente  
 se responde, su nombrar á hombres es para haser

---

1 full fraught with falshood

2 And dooth the Lawier lye

their picture the more liue-

ly, and not to build anie Historie. Painting men, they cannot leaue men namelesse: wee see, wee cannot plaie at Chestes,<sup>1</sup> but that wee must giue names to our Chessemen; and yet mee thinkes he were a verie partiall Champion of truth, that would say wee lyed, for giuing a peece of wood the reuerende title of a Bishop. The Poet nameth Cyrus and Aeneas, no other way, then to shewe what men of their fames, fortunes, and estates, should doo. Their third is, how much it abusethe mens wit, training it to wanton sinfulness, and lustfull loue. For indeed that is the principall if not onely abuse, I can heare alleadged. They say the Comedies rather teach then reprehend amorous cōceits.

---

1 Chesse

[37v]

Deffensa de

su retrato mas uiuo y no para fabricar alguna historia. pintãdo hombres no les pueden dexar sin nombres: uemos que no podemos lugar al axe<sup>1</sup> drez<sup>1</sup> sin que nos sea menester dar nombres a los trebalos; y todauia me paresçe que seria un muy parçial mantenedor de la uerdad quien nos dismenteria por dar a una pieçecuela de leño<sup>2</sup> el grandioso titulo de Rey. el poeta nombra a Ciro y Eneas por ninguna otra uia que para mostrar lo que hombres de su fama, fortuna, y estado de ellos, deurian de hazer.

Cap. 20. se responde a lo que  
se dice que la poesia abusa  
a los ingenios de los hombres,  
criandolos a loçanos peca  
dos y amores lasciuos

Su tercero argumento es, quanto abusa a los ingenios de los hombres criandolos para loçanos pecados y amores lasciuos. por que en uerdad este es el principal, si no es el unico abuso, que puedo oyr alegado. ellos dicen que las comedias antes enseñan que no reprehenden a los conceptos  
amorosos

---

1 chestes  
 2 wood

They say the Lirick is larded with passionat  
Sonets, the Elegiack weeps the want of his mistresse,  
and that euen to the Heroical, Cupid hath ambitiously  
climed. Alas Loue, I would thou couldest as wel de- [42]  
fend thy selfe, as thou canst offend others: I would  
those on whom thou doest attend, could either put  
thee away, or yeeld good reason why they keepe  
thee. But grant loue of bewtie to be a beastly fault,  
although it be verie hard, since onely man and no  
beast hath that gift to discerne bewtie, graunt that  
louely name of loue to deserue all hatefull repro-  
chers, although euen some of my maisters the Philo-  
sophers spent a good deale of their Lampoyle in set-  
ting foorth the excellencie of it, graunt I say, what  
they will haue graunted, that not onely loue, but  
lust, but vanitie, but if they list scurrilitie, possesse  
manie leaues of the Poetes bookes, yet thinke I,  
when this is graunted, they will finde their sen-  
tence may with good manners put the last words  
foremost;

[38r]

Poesia

amorosos, ellos dicen que el Lyrico esta lardeado con sonetos apasionados, el Elegiaco llora la ausencia de su Dama, y que al mismo heroico, Cupido ambiciosamente ha subido. Ay amor, deseara que pudieses tanto bien defender a ty mismo, como puedes ofender a otros: oxala aquellos a quien sirues pudiesen o despedirte o dar buena raçon por que te tienen mas demos, que el amor dela hermosura sea una bestial falta, si bien esto es muy duro y defícil,<sup>1</sup> pues solo el hombre y no bestia ninguna tiene aquel don de discernir y conocer ala hermosura;<sup>2</sup> demos que aquel amable nombre del amor meresce todas las reprehensiones odiosas, sy bien los mismos mis señores filosofos han gastado buena parte del oleo de sus lamparas en mostrar la excelencia de ello; demos (digo) lo que ellos quieren que sea dado que no solo el amor mas la la sciua y loçania, la uanidad, y si quieren la uellaqueria,<sup>3</sup> poseen muchos hoios<sup>4</sup> en los libros delos poetas, con todo esso pienso yo quando esto se conçe de, hallaran que se sentancia pueda cõ buen comedimiento poner las postreras palabras primer  
y

---

1 although it be verie hard

2 no beast hath that gift to descerne bewtie

3 that not onely loue, but lust, but vanitie, but if they list scurrilitie

4 leaues

and not say, that Poetrie abuseth mans wit, but that mans wit abuseth Poetrie. For I will not denie, but that mans wit may make Poesie, which should be [φωτιστικη], which some learned haue defined figuring foorth good things to be [φωτιστικη], which doth contrariwise infect the fancie with vnwoorthie objects, as the Painter should giue to the eye either some excellent perspectiue, or some fine Picture fit for building or fortification, or containing in it some notable example, as Abraham sacrificing his sonne Isaack, Iudith killing Holofernes, Dauid fighting with Golias, may leaue those, and please an ill pleased eye with wanton shewes of beter hiddẽ matters. But what, shal the abuse of a thing, make the right vse odious? Nay truly though I yeeld, that Poesie may not onely be abused, but that being abused by the reason of his sweete



[38v]

Deffensa de

y no deçir que la poesia abusa al ingenio del  
 hombre, sino que el ingenio del hombre abusa  
 la poesia. por que no negare yo, que el inge-  
 nio del hombre puede hazer una poesia que  
 deuria ser ricastice, lo qual algunos letrados  
 han difinido ser figurar cosas pfetas  
 y buenas,<sup>1</sup> para ser. Phantastice. que es  
 al contrario, inficionar a la fantasia con in-  
 dignos y malos obietos.<sup>2</sup> como el pintor que de-  
 uiera presentar<sup>3</sup> a los oïos alguna excelente per-  
 spectiua, o alguna linda pintura acomodada  
 para fabricar o fortificar, o conteniendo en  
 sy algun notable exemplo, como Abraham sa-  
 crificando a su hijo Isaac, Iudith matando á  
 Holofernes; Daud combatiendo con Goliath, pue-  
 de dexar a todo esto,<sup>4</sup> y agradar a unos oïos  
 de mal gusto<sup>5</sup> con muestras loçanas de unas  
 cosas que mejor estarian escondidas. mas que?  
 el abuso de una cosa sy ha de hazer odioso  
 el uerdadero uso de ello?<sup>6</sup> no cierto; aunque  
 concedo que la poesia no puede ser abusada,  
 mas que siendo abusaria,<sup>7</sup> a causa de su dulce  
incantadora

- 
- 1 good things  
 2 with unwoorthie obiects  
 3 as the Painter should giue  
 4 may leaue those  
 5 an ill pleased eye  
 6 But what, shall the abuse of a thing, make the right vse  
 odious?  
 7 but that being abused

charming

force, it can do more hurt then anie other armie of words: yet shall it be so farre from concluding, that the abuse should giue reproach to the abused, that cōtrariwise, it is a good reason, that whatsoeuer being abused, doth most harme, being rightly vsed (and vpon the right vse, ech thing receiues his title<sup>1</sup>) doth most good. Do we not see skill<sup>2</sup> of Phisicke the best ramper<sup>3</sup> to our often assaulted bodies, being abused, teach poyson the most violent destroyer? Doth not knowledge of Law, whose end is, to euen [ & ] right all things, being abused, grow the crooked fosterer of horrible iniuries? Doth not (to go to the highest) Gods word abused, breede heresie, and his name abused, become blasphemie? Truly a Needle cannot do much hurt, and as truly (with leaue of Ladies be it spoken) it cannot do much good. With a sword thou maist kill thy Father, and with a sword thou maist defende thy Prince and Countrey: so that,

---

1 each thing conceiueth his title

2 see the skill

3 rampire

[39r]

## Poesia

incantadora fuerça puede hazer mas daño  
 que algun otro exercito de palabras,<sup>1</sup> todavia  
 aun sera tan lexos de concluyr<sup>2</sup> que el abuso auisa  
 de dar reprehension al abusado, que al con-  
 trario es buena raçon que qualquiera cosa sien-  
 do abusada haze mas daño, siendo a derechas  
 y rectamente usada<sup>3</sup> (y del derecho y recto  
 uso<sup>4</sup> cada cosa recibe su titulo) haze mas bien. no  
 vemos la sciencia de la medicina, el mayor repa-  
 ro<sup>5</sup> de nuestros cuerpos muchas ueçes assaltados,  
 siendo abusada enseña la ponçon el mas uiolente  
 distruidor? la sciencia de las leyes cuyo fin es  
 rectificar y ajustar todas las cosas, siendo abusada, no  
 uiene a ser el auieso abrigo de horribles inlurias?  
 siendo abusada (para Ir a lo mas alto) la pa-  
 labra de Dios, no engendra la heregia, y su diui-  
 no nombre abusado no uiene a ser blasfemia?  
 Cierto una agüa no puede hazer mucho daño  
 y tan cierto es (con licençia de las damas se diga)  
 que no puede hazer mucho bien. con una espada  
 puedas matar a tu padre y con una espada  
 puedas defender á tu Rey y patria. de modo

---

1 then anie other armie of words  
 2 yet shall it be so farre from concluding.  
 3 being rightly vsed  
 4 and upon the right vse  
 5 ramper

as in

their calling Poets, fathers<sup>1</sup> of lies, they said<sup>2</sup> nothing,  
 so in this/<sup>their</sup>argument of abuse, they procure the  
 commendation. They alledge herewith, that before  
Poets began to be in price, our Nation had<sup>3</sup> set their  
 hearts delight vpon action, and not imagination,<sup>4</sup>  
 rather doing things worthie to be written, the writ-  
 ting things fit to be done. What that before time  
 was, I think scarcely Spinx can tell: since no mem-  
 rie is so ancient, that hath not<sup>5</sup> the precedens of Poe-  
trie. And certain it is, that in our plainest homelines,  
 yet neuer was the Albion Nation without

---

1 Poets the Fathers

2 say

3 hath

4 not vpon imagination

5 that hath

[39v]

## Deffensa

que como en su llamar a los poetas padres de mentiras no dixeran nada, assy en su argumento del abuso prueuan su alabança.

Cap. 21. se responde a lo que se dice que antes que los poetas començaron a ser estimados los hombres no eran tan floxos y tenian todo su deleyte en hazer cosas dignas de escribirse y no en escriuir cosas dignas de hazerse - - -

Alegan tambien que antes que los poetas començaron a preçiarse, nuestra naçion tenian puesto el deleyte de sus coraçones sobre la accion y no sobre la imaginaçion, mas presto haciendo cosas dignas de escribirse que escriuiendo cosas dignas de haserse. qual fue aquel tiempo antes,<sup>1</sup> pienso que apenas Sphinx lo sabra deçir, pues no ay memoria tan antigua, de que la poesia no tiene procedençia.<sup>2</sup> Y çierto es que en nuestra mas llana simplicidad, aun nunca fue<sup>3</sup> la naçion de Albion sin.

la

---

1 What that before time was  
2 that hath not the precedens of Poetrie  
3 yet neuer was

Poetrie.

Marry this Argument, though it be leuiled<sup>1</sup> against [44 ]  
Poetrie, yet is it indeed a chain-shot against all learning or bookishnes, as they commonly terme it. Of such mind were certaine Gothes, of whom it is written, that hauing in the spoile of a famous Cittie, taken a faire Librarie, one hangman belike fit to execute the frutes of their wits, who had murdered a great number of bodies, woulde haue set fire in<sup>1</sup> it. No said an other verie grauely, take heed what you do, for while they are busie about those<sup>2</sup> toyes, wee shall with more leisure conquere their Countries. This indeed is the ordinarie doctrine of ignorance, and many words sometimes I haue heard spent in it: but bicause this reason is generally against al learning, as wel as Poetrie, or rather all learning but Poetrie, because it were too large a digression to handle it, or<sup>3</sup> at least too superfluous, since it is manifest that all government of

---

1 on

2 these

3 handle, or

[Lor]

## Poesia

la poesia. Pero este argumento sy bien e sta asse-  
 stado<sup>1</sup> contra la poesia, todavia de ueras es un ti-  
 ro de balas encadenadas contra toda doctrina,  
 y el mucho darse el hombre a leer o estudiar en  
 sus libros.<sup>2</sup> de tal animo fueron algunos Godos de  
 quienes se escriue, que auendosi hallado en el Sac-  
 co de una famosa Çiudad una hermosa libreria,  
 un uerdugo, parece que fue, hombre adaptado  
 para executar todo mal pensamiento, cuya  
 ualentia exercitaua en muchos cuerpos muer-  
 tos)<sup>3</sup> quiso pegar fuego en ella. no, dixo un otro<sup>4</sup>  
 muy mesurado, mire lo que hazes, por que mien-  
 tras ellos estan ocupados en estas niñerias, nos  
 otros tendremos mas lugar<sup>5</sup> para conquistar su  
 patria.<sup>6</sup> esto uerdaderamente es la doctrina de  
 la ignorancia, y he oydo muchas ueces gastarse  
 muchas palabras en ello: mas por que esta raxon  
 es generalmente contra toda doctrina tambien  
 como contra la poesia,<sup>7</sup> o antes contra toda doctri-  
 na sy no es la poesia, pues seria una digression  
 muy larga de tratar de ello,<sup>8</sup> o alomenos muy su-  
 perflua, siendo manifiesto que todo el gouierno de la

---

1 though it be leuiled

2 against all learning or bookishness

3 one hangaman belike fit to execute the frutes of their wits,  
 who had murthered a great number of bodies

4 an other

5 leisure

6 their Countries

7 as wel as Poetrie

8 because it were too large a digression  
 to handle it

action is to be gotten by know-  
ledge, and knowledge best, by gathering manie  
knowledges, which is reading; I onely with Horace  
to him that is of that opinion, Iubio stultum esse liben-  
ter: for as for Poetrie it selfe, it is the freest from this  
objection, for Poetrie is the Companion of Camps.<sup>1</sup>  
I dare vndertake, Orlando Furioso, or honest king Ar-  
thure, will neuer displease a souldier: but the quid-  
ditie of Ens [ & ] Prima materia, will hardly agree with  
a Corcelet. And therefore as I said in the beginning,  
euen Turkes and Tartars, are delighted with Poets.  
Homer a Creeke, flourished, before Greece flourished:  
and if to a slight coniecture, a coniecture may bee  
apposed,<sup>2</sup> truly it may seem, that as by him their lear-  
ned mē tooke almost their first light of knowledge,  
so their actiue men, receiued their first motions of  
courage. Onely Alexanders example may serue,  
who by Plutarche is accounted of such vertue, that  
fortune was not his guide, but his footstool,

[45]

---

1 companion of the Campes.

2 opposed



[40v]

Deffensa de

action se ha de hallar por la sciencia, y la sciencia bienissime,<sup>1</sup> por colegir muchas sciencias, que es leyendo; yo solamente con Horacio, al que es de tal opinion, Iubeo stultum esse libenter.

por que quanto ala poesia misma, es la mas libre de esta obiection de todas, pues que la poesia es la compañera delos campos.<sup>2</sup> Yo me oso de encargar que Orlando furioso, ny el honesto Rey Arthuro, nunca disgustara al soldado: mas la quiddidad de Ens y Materia prima, dificilmente se concordara con el cosselete. y

por esso como dixen al principio, los mismos Turcos y tartaros se deleytan con la poesia. Homero el Griego florescia antes que florescia la Grecia: y si a una no fundada coniectura otra coniectura se puede oponer,<sup>3</sup> en uerdad puede parescer, que como por el, sus hombres doctos tomaron casi su primera luz dela sciencia, assi por el, sus hombres actiuos han recebido sus primeros mouimientos<sup>4</sup> de ualor. Solo el exemplo de Alexandro bastara, el qual de Plutarcho es tenido de tal uirtud, que la fortuna no fue su guya si no su peana,  
cuyos

---

1 and Knowledge best  
2 Camps  
3 apposed  
4 motions

whose Acts speake for him though Plutarche did not: indeede the Phaenix of warlike Princes. This Alexander, left his Schoolemaister liuing Aristotle behinde him, but tooke dead Homer with him. Hee put the Philosopher Callisthenes to death for his seeming philosophicall, indeed mutinous stubborneesse,<sup>1</sup> but the chiefe thing hee was euer heard<sup>1</sup> to wish for, was, that Homer had bene aliue. Hee well founde hee receiued more brauerie of minde by the paterne of Achilles, then by hearing the definition of fortitude. And therefore if Cato misliked Fuluius for carrying Ennius with him to the field, It may be answered, that if Cato misliked it, the Noble Fuluius liked it, or else he had not done it; for it was not the excellent Cato Vticensis, whose authoritie I would much more haue reuerenced: But it was the former, in truth a bitter punisher of faultes, but else a man that had neuer sacrificed to the Graces. Hee misliked and cried out against<sup>3</sup> all Greeke learning, and yet being foure score<sup>4</sup> yeares olde beganne to learne

---

1 he euer was heard

2 neuer wel sacrificed

3 upon

4 eighty

[41r]

## Poesia

cuyos hechos hablan por el aunque no lo dixera Plutarcho de ueras, el Phoenix de los principes belicosos. este Alexandro dexo a su ayo Aristoteles uiuo de tras de sy, mas lleuò a Homero muerto consigo. hizo morir al filosofo Calistenes por su aparente filosofica que a la uerdad era amotinadora pertinacia,<sup>1</sup> però la cosa principal que siempre se le oyo dessear, fue, que estuuiesse uiuo Homero. el bien hallo que recebia mas bisarria<sup>2</sup> de animo por el dechado de Achilles, que por oyr la difinicion de la fortaleza. y por esso sy a Caton disgusto Fuluius por auer lleuado a Ennio consigo en campaña, se puede responder, que si esto disgusto a Caton, el noble Fuluius gusto de ello, de otra manera no lo uiera hecho. porque no fue el Excelente Caton uticensis cuya authoridad yo uiera mucho mas reuerenciado: però fue el primero, cierto un amargo castigador de faltas, mas fuera de esso un hombre<sup>3</sup> que nunca auia sacrificado alas gracias postica.<sup>4</sup> el aborreçia y bozeaua contra toda la doctrina de Grecia, y con todo esso siendo de la edad de sessenta años<sup>5</sup> començo a pren-

---

1 for his seeming Philosophicall, indeed mutinous stubbornnesse  
 2 brauerie  
 3 but else a man  
 4 to the Graces  
 5 and yet being foure score yeares olde

it, be-

like fearing that Pluto vnderstood not Latine. Indeed the Romane lawes allowed no person to bee carried to the warres, but hee that was in the soldiers Role. And therefore though Cato misliked his vnmustred person, he misliked not his worke. And if hee had, Scipio Nasica (iudged by common consent the best Romane) loued him: both the other Scipio brothers, who had by their vertues no lesse surnames then of Asia and Affricke, so loued him, that they caused his bodie to be buried in their Sepulture. So as Catoes authoritie<sup>1</sup> being but against his person, and that answered with so farre greater then himselfe, is herein of no validitie.

[46]

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1 So as Cato his authoritie

[14v]

Defensa de

der la,<sup>1</sup> como sy temiera que Pluton no entendia latin. uerdaderamente las leyes delos Romanos no aprouaron ny aceptaron<sup>2</sup> a persona ninguna de ser lleuada a la Guerra sino aquel que era escripto en el Cathalogo de los soldados. Y por esso sy a Caton desagradaua su persona de el por no hauer passado muestra, le agradaron sus obras y quando no, Scipion Nasica (Iusgado por comun consentimiento el optimo Romano ) le queria bien: entrambos los otros dos Scipiones hermanos, a quienes por su uirtud se les dieron por sobrenombres no menos que de Asia y de Africa, tanto bien le quarian, que hizieron enterrar a su cuerpo en su propria sepultura. de manera que la authoridad de Caton no siendo sí no contra su persona, y a ello auriendose respuesto con otra authoridad mucho mayor que de el,<sup>3</sup> en esto no es nada ualida.

Cap: 22. se responde a lo que se  
dize que Platon desterro a los poetas  
de su republica y se conclue que no  
solo Platon sino muchos otros muy  
famosos en letras y armas les han esti-  
mado muchissimo

---

1 learne  
 2 allowed  
 3 and that answered with so farre greater then himselfe

But

now indeede my burthen is great, that<sup>1</sup> Plato his name is laide vppon mee, whom I must confesse of all Philosophers, I haue euer esteemed most worthie of reuerence; and with good reason,<sup>2</sup> since of all Philosophers hee is the most Poeticall: yet if hee will defile the fountaine out of which his flowing streames haue proceeded, let vs boldly examine with what reasons hee did it. First truly a man might maliciously object, that Plato being a Philosopher, was a naturall enemy of Poets. For indeede after the Philosophers had picked out of the sweete misteries of Poetrie, the right discerning true points of knowledge: they foorthwith putting it in methode, and making a Schoole Art of that which the Poets did onely teach by a diuine delightfulness, beginning to spurne at their guides, like vngratefull Prentices, were not content to set vp shop for themselves, but sought by all meanes to discredit their maisters,

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1 now Plato

2 with great reason

[42r]

Poesia

Mas agora en uerdad el peso es grande, pues me cargan con el nombre de Platon, a quien, es menester que lo confiesse, he estimado siempre de todos los filosofos ser el mas digno de reuerencia, y cõ buena raçon, pues de todos los filosofos es el mas poetico. con todo esso, sy el quiere contaminar la fuente de donde sus fecundos arroyos<sup>1</sup> proceden, es bien que examinemos con que raçones lo ha hecho. lo primero uerdaderamente un hombre pudiere maliçiosamente oponer, que Platon siendo filosofo fue enemigo natural delos Poetas. por que ala uerdad despues que los filosofos uuieron cogido de los dulces misterios de la poesia, los uerdaderos y elegantisimos puntos para deçernir y conoscer a derechas la sciencia,<sup>2</sup> ellos luego poniendolo en methodo, y haciendo una arte de escuela de lo que los poetas solamente enseñaron por un deleyte diuino, començando de tirar çoces<sup>3</sup> a sus guyas, como ingratos aprendizes, no se contentaron de poner tienda para sy mismos, mas buscaron portodas maneras de desacreditar, a sus amos y maestros que fueron los poetas:<sup>4</sup> mas

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1 flowing streames

2 the right discerning true points of Knowledge

3 spurne

4 but sought by all meanes to discredit their maisters

which by the force of delight being barred them, the lesse they could ouerthrow them, the more they hated them, For indeed they found for Homer, seuen Cities straue who should haue him for their Cittizen, where many Cities banished Philosophers, as not fit members to liue among them. For onely repeating certaine of Euripides verses, many Atheniens had their liues saued of the Siracusans, where<sup>1</sup> the Atheniens, themselues thought many Philosophers vnworthie to liue. Certaine Poets, as Simonides, and Pindarus, had so preuailed with Hiero the first, that of a Tyrant they made him a iust King: where Plato could do so little with Dionisius, that he himselfe of a Philosopher, was made a slaue. But who should do thus, I confesse should requite the obiections made against Poets, with like cauilations against Philosophers: as likewise one should do, that should bid one read Phaedrus or Simposium in Plato, or the discourse of loue in Plutarch, and see whether any Poet do authoritie abhomin-

[47]

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1 when



[42v]

Deffensa de

esto por la fuerça del deleyte siendoles uedado,  
 quanto menos les pudieron uencer y disbaratar  
 tanto mas dieron en aborreçerlos.<sup>1</sup> Forque de  
 ueras hallaron que por Homero, siete ciudades  
 contrastaron qual le hauian de tener por ciuda-  
 dano, adnde muchas Ciudades desterraron a los  
 filosofos, como a miembros no idoneos de uiuir  
 entre ellos. por el solo repetir ciertos uersos de Eu-  
 ripides, los Siracusanos saluaron la uida a  
 muchos Athenienses, donde los mismos Athe-  
 nienses pensaron a muchos filosofos ser indignos  
 de uiuir. Algunos poetas, como Simonedes y Pindaro,  
 tanto han preualescido con Hiero el primero, que  
 de un Tyrano le hisieron un Rey Iusto: a donde  
 Platon pudo tan poco con Dionisio que el mismo  
 de filosofo fue hecho esclauo. mas quien lo hisie-  
 ra, confieso que recompensaria las obiecciones  
 hechas contra los poetas, con semejantes calumni-  
 as contra los filosofos: como tambien haria, quiẽ  
 dixera que se leyesse a Phedro o Symposio en  
 Platon, o el discurso delos amores de Plutarcho,  
 y uease, sy algun poeta Authoriza al abomina-  
 ble

---

1 the lesse they could ouerthrow them, the more they hated them

ble filthi-  
 nesse as they doo. Againe, a man might aske, out of  
 what Common-wealth Plato doth banish them, in  
 sooth, thence where he himselfe alloweth commu-  
 nitie of women. So as belike this banishment grew  
 not for effeminate wantonnesse, since little should  
 Poetical Sonnets be hurtful, when a man might haue  
 what woman he listed. But I honor Philosophicall  
 instructions, and blesse the wits which bred them:  
 so as they be not abused, which is likewise stretched  
 to Poetrie. S. Paul himselfe sets a watch-word  
Philosophie, indeed vpon the abuse. So doth Plato  
 vpon the abuse, not vpon Poetrie. Plato found fault  
 that the Poettes of his time, filled the worlde with  
 wrong opinions of the Gods, making light tales of  
 that unspotted essence, and therefore wold not haue  
 the youth depraued with such opinions: heerain  
 may much be said; let this suffice. The Poets did not  
 induce such opinions, but did imitate those opini-  
 ons alreadie induced. For all the Greeke stories can  
 well testifie, that the verie religiõ of that time,

[43r]

Poesia

ble fealdad como lo hazen ellos. otra vez, un hombre pudiera preguntar, de que republica los desterra Platon, por cierto, de aquella adonde el mismo aprueua la comundad de mugeres. de modo que parece que este distierro no nascio por la efeminada loçania, pues poco pudrian dañar los sonetos Poeticos, quando un hombre pudiera auer la muger que quisiera. mas yo reuerençio a las instrucciones filosoficas, y bendigo a los ingenios que los criò, con tal que no sean abusadas, lo qual tambien se estiene de a la Poesia. San Pablo mismo pone un nombre de guardia<sup>1</sup> sobre la filosofia, esto es sobre el abuso. assi haze Platon sobre el abuso y no sobre la poesia. Platon culpaua que los poetas de su tiempo, allenarõ las erroneas opiniones de los dioses, haciendo cuentos liuianos de aquella imaculada essencia; y por esto no queria que la Iuuentud fuesse deprauada con tales opiniones: aqui se puede dezir mucho; esto baste. los poetas no han induzido tales opiniones, si no imitaron a tales opiniones ya induzidas. por que todas las historias Griegas bien pueden atestiguar, que la religion misma de aquel tiempo

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1 a watch-word

stood

vpon many, and many fashioned Gods: Not taught [48]  
 so by Poets, but followed according to their nature  
 of imitation. Who list may read in Plutarch, the dis-  
 courses of Isis and Osiris, of the cause why Oracles  
 ceased, of the diuine providence, [&] see whether the  
 Theology of that nation, stood not vpon such dreams,  
 which the Poets indeede superstitiously obserued.  
 And truly since they had not the light of Christ, did  
 much better in it, then the Philosophers, who shaking  
 off superstition, brought in Atheisme. Plato therefore,  
 whose authoritie, I had much rather iustly cōsture,<sup>1</sup>  
 then vniustly resist: ment not in generall of Poets, in  
 those words of which Iulius Scaliger saith; Qua au-  
thoritate barbari quidam atq; hispidi abuti velint ad poe-  
tas è rep. Exigendos.<sup>2</sup> But only ment to driue out those  
 wrong opinions of the Deities wherof now with-  
 out further law, Christianitie hath

---

1 conster

2 e republica exigendos.

[43v]

Defensa de

estaua sobre muchos y muchas façiones de dioses: no enseñados por los poetas mas seguidos conforme a su natural imitacion.<sup>1</sup> quien quisiera puede leer in Plutarcho los discursos de Isis y Osiris, de las causas por que cessaron los oraculos, de la prouidencia diuina, y uer como la Theologia de aquella nacion estaua fundada sobre tales Sueños, lo qual los poetas gierro supersticiosamente obseruaron. y realmente pues no tenian la lumbré de Christo, hisieron en ello mucho mejor que los filosofos, los quales dishechando de sy la supersticion, induzieron el Atheismo y negamiento de Dios.<sup>2</sup> Platon pues (a cuya authoridad mucho mas quisiera iustamente explicar,<sup>3</sup> que in iustamente resistirla) no entendio en general de los poetas, en aquellas palabras delas q̃les Iulio Scaligero dice, Qua authoritate barbari quidam atq̃ insipidi abuti uelint ad poetas e republica exigendos.<sup>4</sup> mas solamente su intento fue para hechar fuera<sup>5</sup> aquellas opiniones erroneas dela deidad: de la qual Agora sin mas ley la Christianidad ha quitado

---

1 their nature of imitation

2 brought in Atheisme

3 cōsture

4 Qua authoritate barbari quidam atq; hispidi abuti uelint ad poetas e; rep. Exigendos.

5 . But only ment to driue out

taken away all the

hurtful believe, perchance as he thought nourished  
 by then<sup>1</sup> esteemed Poets. And a man need go not fur-  
 ther then to Plato himselfe to knowe his meaning;  
 who in his dialogue called Ion, giueth high, and  
 rightly, diuine commendation vnto<sup>2</sup> Poetrie. So as  
Plato banishing the abuse, not the thing, not bani-  
 shing it, but giuing due honour to<sup>3</sup> it, shall be our  
 Patron, and not our aduersarie. For indeed, I had  
 much rather, since truly I may do it, shew their mi-  
 staking of Plato, vnder whose Lyons skinne, they  
 would make an Aslike braying against Poesie, then  
 go about to ouerthrow his authoritie; whome the  
 wiser a man is, the more iust cause he shall finde to  
 haue in admiration: especially since he attributeth  
 vnto Poesie, more then my selfe do; namely, to be a  
 verie inspiring of a diuine force, farre aboue mans  
 wit, as in the forenamed Dialogue is apparent. Of  
 the other side, who would shew the

[49]

---

1 by the then

2 to

3 vnto

[44r]

Poesia

quitado toda la creença dañosa, quiça como el pensaua, alimentada por aquellos estimados poetas. y un hombre no ha menester Ir mas lexos que al mismo Platon para saber su sentido: el qual en su dialogo llamado Ion. da alta y Iustamente diuina alabança a la poesia. de modo que Platon disterrando el abuso, no la cosa misma, y no la disterrando si no dando la su deuida honra, ha de ser nuestro padron y no nuestro aduersario. por que cierto mucho mas quisiera, pues con uerdad lo puedo hazer, mostrar que Platon aya sido de ellos mal entendido, debaxo de cuyo piel de leon querian hazer un rebusnar de asnos contra la Poesia, que qerer disbaratar y uençer<sup>1</sup> a su authoridad; a quien quanto mas sabio es un hombre tanto mas hallara Iustas causas<sup>2</sup> para tenerle en admiracion: principalmente pues atribuye a la poesia mas que yo mismo; nombradamente, de ser Iusto un inspirar de una fuerza diuina,<sup>3</sup> passando mucho al entendimiento humano, como en el ya dicho dialogo es euidente. de la otra parte quien quisiera mostrar las

---

1 then go about to ouerthrow

2 iust cause

3 to be a verie inspiring of a diuine force

honours haue

bene by the best sort of iudgements graunted them,  
 a whole sea of examples woulde present them-  
 selues; Alexanders, Cassars, Scipios, all fauourers  
 of Poets: Laelius, called the Romane Socrates him-  
 selfe a Poet; so as part of Meautontimoromenon in  
Terence, was supposed to bee made by him. And  
 euen the Greeke Socrates, whome Apollo con-  
 firm'd to bee the onely wise man, is said to haue  
 spent part of his olde time in putting Esopes Fa-  
 bles into verses. And therefore full euill should  
 it become his scholler Plato, to put such words in  
 his maisters mouth against Poets. But what needs<sup>1</sup>  
 more? Aristotles writes the Arte of Poesie, and  
 why, if it should not bee written? Plutarcke tea-  
 cheth the vse to bee gathered of them, and now,  
 if they should not bee reade? And who reades  
Plutarches either Historie or Philosophie, shall finde  
 hee trimmeth both their garments with gardes of  
Poesie. But I list not to defend Poesie with the helpe  
 of his vnderling Historiographie. Let it suffice to  
 haue

---

1 need

2 her



[44v]

## Deffensa de

grandes honras que los mejores Iuisios les ayandado a los poetas, un mar entero de exemplos se le presentaria adelante;<sup>1</sup> Alexandros, Cesares, Scipiones, todos faouescidores delos poetas: Lelius llamado el Romano Socrates, el mismo poeta; de modo que parte de Heauton Time--roumenon<sup>2</sup> en Terencio, se imagino de ser hecho de el. y el mismo Griego Socrates, a quien Apollo confirmo de ser el unico sabio, se dice de hauer gastado parte de su edad uieia<sup>3</sup> en poniendo en uerso las fabulas de Esopo. y por esso muy mal pareceria en su discipulo Platon, de poner tales palabras en la boca de su maestro contra los poetas. Pero que es menester mas? Aristoteles escriue el arte de la poesia, y porque, sy no se deuera escriuir? Plutarcho ensena el uso y fructo que se ha de coger de ellos, y como, sy no se deuera leerlos? y quien lee las historias y la filosofia de Plutarcho, hallara que adorna los uestidos de entrambos con la guarnicion dela poesia. mas no quiero defender la poesia, con el ayuda de su inferior la historiographia. baste hauer  
mostrado

- 
- 1 would present themselues  
2 Heautontimoroumenon  
3 part of his olde time

shewed, it is a fit soyle<sup>1</sup> for praise to dwell vpon: and what dispraise may set vpon it, is either easily ouercome, or transformed into iust commendation. So that since the excellencies of it, may bee so easily and so iustly confirmed, and the lowe creeping obiections so soone trodden downe, it not beeing an Art of lyes, but of true doctrine; not of effoeminatenesse, but of notable stirring of courage; not of abusing mans wit, but of strength thening mans wit; not banished, but honored by Plato;

Let us rather plant more Lawrels for to ingarland the<sup>2</sup> Poets heads (which honor of being Lawreate, as besides them onely triumphant Captaines were, is sufficient authoritie to shewe the price they ought to bee held<sup>3</sup> in) then suffer the ill faouered breath of such wrong speakers once to blow vpon the cleare springs of Possie.

[ 50]

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1 Let it suffice that it is a fit soyle

2 our

3 had

[45r]

Deffensa de

mostrado que es un solar Idoneo, sobre que apo-  
ya y mora la alabança: <sup>1</sup> y qualquier disloor q̃  
se le impone, o es façilmente disbaratado, o transfor-  
mado en Iusto loor. de manera, pues las excelencias  
de ella tan façilmente y Iustamente pueden ser  
confirmadas, y lo uil de sus obiecciones <sup>2</sup> tan presto  
atropellados, no siendo una arte de mentiras, si  
no de uerdadera doctrina; no de hazer effemina  
do, sino de despertar notablemente y eleuar  
el ualor; <sup>3</sup> no de abusar, sino de coroborar y es-  
forçar el entendimento humano; <sup>4</sup> no desterrado, si  
no reuerenciado de Platon: antes plantemos mas  
laureles para poner guynaldas en las cabeças de  
los poetas (qual honra de ser laureados, como fuera  
de ellos solo lo han sido Capitanes triunfadores,  
es bastante authoridad para mostrar el preçio  
en que se auian de tener) que permitir al feo  
y corrupto aliento de tales InIuriadores bahear  
una uez sobre las claras fuentes dela poesia

Cap. 23. que la falta de merito

en los poetas es la causa por que

Inglaterra les es tan dura

madrasta ---

---

1 it is a fit soyle for praise to dwell

2 and the lowe creeping obiections

3 but a notable stirring of courage

4 not of abusing mans wit, but of strength thening mans wit

But since I haue  
runne so long a Carrier in this matter, me thinkes  
before I giue my penne a full stoppe, it shall be  
but a litle more lost time, to enquire why England  
the Mother of excellent mindes should be growne  
so hard a stepmother to Poets, who certainly in  
wit ought to passe all others, since all onely pro-  
ceedes from their wit, beeing indeed makers of  
themselues, not takers of others. How can I but  
exclaime. Musa mihi causas memoria quo immine  
laeso, Sweete Poesie that hath aunciently had Kings,  
Emperours, Senatours, great Captaines, such as  
besides a thousandes others, Dauid, Adrian, So-  
phocles, Germanicus, not onelie to fauour Poets, but  
to bee Poets: and of our nearer times, can present  
for her Patrons, a Robert King of Scicill, the great  
King Fraunces of Fraunce, King Iames of Scotland;  
such Cardinalls as Bembus, and Bibiena; such fa-  
mous Preachers and Teachers, as Beza and Ma-  
lanchthon; so learned Philosophers, as Fracasto-  
rius,

[45v]

Deffensa de

Mas pues he currido tan larga carrera en esta materia, me parece antes de parar del todo a my pluma, no será sino un poco mas tiempo perdido. de inquerer por que Inglaterra la madre de Excelentes ingenios, ha uenido a ser tan dura madrastra para los poetas, los quales cierto en entendimiento deulian de passar a todos los otros, pues todo procede solo de su entendimiento, siendo realmente hazedores de lo suyo y no tomadores delo ageno. como puedo yo dexar de exclamar, Musa mihi causas memora quo numine laeso? la dulce poesia que antiguamente ha tenido Reyes, Emperadores, Senadores, grandes Capitanes, tales fuera de mil otros<sup>1</sup> como Daud, Adriano, Sophocles, Germanico, no solo para faorescer a los poetas, sino de ser poetas: y de nuestros tiempos mas modernos, puede presentar por sus padrones un Roberto Rey de Siçilia, el grand Rey Françisco de Françia, el Rey Iacobo de Escocia: tales Cardenales como Bembo y Bibienna;<sup>2</sup> tan doctos filosofos como Fracastorio y Scaligero

---

1 such as besides a thousandes others  
 2 such Cardinalls as Bembo, and Bibienna; such famous Preachers and Teachers, as Beza and Melanchthon

and Scaliger; so great Orators, as Pontanus,  
 and Muretus; so pearcing wits, as George Bucha-  
nan; so graue Counsaillors, as besides manie,  
 but before all, that Hospitall of Fraunce; then  
 whome I thinke that Realme neuer brought forth [51]  
 a more accomplished iudgement, more firmly buil  
 ded vpon vertue: I say these with numbers of others,  
 not onely to read others Poesies, but to poetise for o-  
 thers reading; that Poesie thus embraced in all other  
 places, should onely finde in our time a hard wel-  
 come in England. I thinke the verie earth laments it,  
 and therefore deckes our soyle with fewer Lawrels  
 then it was accustomed. For heretofore, Poets haue  
 in England also flourished: and which is to be no-  
 ted, euen in those times when the Trumpet of Mars  
 did sound lowdest. And now that an ouer faint qui-  
 etnesse should seeme to strowe the house for Poets.  
 They are almost in as good reputation, as the Moun-  
tebanckes at Venice. Truly

[166]

Poesia

y Scaligero; tan grandes Oratores como Pontano y Moreto; tan penetratiuos ingenios como George Euchannano; tan graues consejeros como fuera de muchos, mas antes de todos, a quel Hospital de Francia, de quien pienso que aquel reyno nunca produjo un Iurisio mas cumplido, mas fuerte y constantemente fabricado sobre la uirtud: Digo estos con grand numero de otros no solo para leer las poesias ajenas, mas para poetizar para la leyenda de otros; que la poesia en esta manera abraçada y estimada en todas las otras partes, hallase solamente en nuestros tiempos en Inglaterra tan mal acogimiento. pienso que la misma terra lo lamenta y por esso adorna a nuestro suelo con menos laureles de lo que solia. por que antes de agora los poetas florecieron tambien en Inglaterra: y lo que es de notar. en aquellos mismos tiempos quando la trompeta de Marte sonaua mas alto. y que agora una demasiado floxa quietud paresca assi arar de sal la casa de los poetas, que esten en menos reputacion que los montebancos de <sup>1</sup>uenecia. Verdaderamente

---

1 And now that an ouer faint quietness should seeme to strowe the house for Poets. They are almost in as good reputation, as the Mountebanckes at Venice.

euen that, as of the one side  
it giueth great praise to Poesie, which like Venus (but  
to better purpose) had rather be troubled in the net  
with Mars, then enjoy the homely quiet of Vulcan.  
So serueth it for a peece of a reasõ, why they are lesse  
gratefull to idle England, which now can scarce en-  
dure the paine of a penne. Vpon this necessarily fol-  
loweth, that base men with seruill wits vndertake it,  
who thinke it inough if they can be rewarded of the  
Printer: and so as Epaminandas is said with the honor  
of his vertue to haue made an Office, by his exerci-  
sing it, which before was contentible, to become  
highly respected: so these men no more but setting  
their names to it, by their own disgracefulnesse, dis-  
grace the most gracefull Poesie. For now as if all the  
Muses were got with childe, to bring forth bastard  
Poets: without any commission, they do passe<sup>1</sup> ouer  
the Bankes

---

1 poste



[46v]

## Deffensa de

esto mismo,<sup>1</sup> como de una parte da grand loor a la poesia, la qual como uemos (mas a meior proposito) antes queria tener el fastidio de ser enredada en una red con Marte, que de gozar de una quietud simple y floxa con Vulcano.<sup>2</sup> assi sirue por alguna parte de raçon en darla causa por que son menos gratos a la ociosa Inglaterra, que agora a penas puede sufrir el trabajo de una pluma de escriuir. de aquy necessariamente sigue, que hombres bajos de entendimiento seruil la emprenden, a los quales les basta sy pueden ser premiados del estamador. y como se diçe de Epaminondas, que con la honra de su uirtud, hizo a un officio, que antes fue en menos preçio, por exercitar lo el, uenir a ser altamente respetado: assi estos hombres no mas que poniendo sus nombres a ella, con su propria disgraçia, disacreditan y affrentan a la mas graçiosa poesia.<sup>3</sup> por que agora como si todas las musas fuessen preñadas, para parir bastardos poetas: sin alguna cõmission curren la poeta sobre las montañas

---

1 euen that

2 the homely quiet of Vulcan

3 by their own disgracefulness, disgrace the most gracefull  
Poesie

of Helicon, till they make the Readers  
 more wearie then Post-horses: while in the meane [52]  
 time, they Queis meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan,  
 are better content to suppress the out-flowings<sup>1</sup> of  
 their wit, then by publishing them, to be accounted  
 Knights of the same order. But I that before euer I  
 durst aspire vnto the dignitie, am admitted into the  
 companie of the Paper-blurrers, do finde the verie  
 true cause of our wanting estimation, is want of de-  
 sert, taking vpon vs to be Poets, in despite of Pallas.  
 Now wherein we want desert, were a thankwoor-  
 this labour to expresse. But if I knew I should haue

---

1 out-flowing

[47r]

Poesia

montañeras de Helicon, hasta que hasen a  
 los lectores mas cansados que cauallos de posta:  
 mientras en el interim, aquellos Queis  
meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan.<sup>1</sup>  
 mas se contentan de abatir y encubrir lo fecun-  
 do que mana fuera de sus entendimientos,<sup>2</sup> que  
 con publicarlo,<sup>3</sup> de ser tenidos por Caualleros dela  
 misma orden y habito.<sup>4</sup> mas yo que antes de  
 atreuerme Iamas de aspirar ala dignidad soy  
 admirado en la compañia delos borradores de  
 papel, hallo que la uerdadera causa de faltarnos  
 la estimacion, es por faltarnos el merescimiẽto,  
 presumiendo de ser poetas en dispecho de  
 Pallas.

Cap. 24. de la arte imitacion  
y exercicio y que el no usar  
de ellos aderechas es la causa  
de faltarse meritos a los poetas  
de Inglaterra -- ---

Mas agora aquello en que nos falta el me-  
 rito, seria trabajo digno de agradescerse  
 el declararlo. sy yo lo supiera me uiera

---

1 they Queis meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan  
 2 are better content to suppress the outflowings  
 of their wit  
 3 then by publishing them  
 4 of the same order

mended my selfe, but as I<sup>1</sup> neuer desired the title, so haue I neglected the meanes to come by it, onely ouer-mastered by some thoughts, I yeelded an inckie tribute vnto them. Marrie they that delight in Poesie it selfe, should seek to know what they do, and how they do: and especially looke themselues in an vnflattering glasse of reason, if they be inclinable vnto it. For Poesie must not be drawne by the eares, it must be gently led, or rather it must lead, which was partly the cause that made the auncient learned affirme, it was a diuine gift [&] no humane skill; since all other knowledges lie readie for anie that haue strength of wit: A Poet no industrie can make, if his owne Genius be not carried into it. And therefore is an<sup>2</sup> old Prouerbe, Orator fit, Poeta nascitur. Yet confesse I alwaies,

---

1 But I as I

2 it is an

[47v]

Deffensa de

emendado a my mismo, mas como nunca  
 he desseado el titulo assy me discuyde del  
 modo de alcançarlo, solo uencido de algu-  
 nos pensamientos, les entregue un tributo de  
 tynta. mas los que se deleytan en la poesia mis-  
 ma deurian querer saber lo que hazen y co-  
 mo lo hazen, especialmente mirar a sy mismos  
 en un espejo de raçon que no adula, sy son  
 inclinables a ello o no. Por que la poesia  
 no se ha de tirar por las oreias, es menester  
 guyarla con blandura, o antes ella deue  
 ser la guya, lo qual parte fue la causa que  
 hizo a los doctos antiguos afirmar qué fue  
 un don de Dios, y no alguna sciencia hu-  
 mana,<sup>1</sup> pues todas las demas sciencias estan  
 aparejadas para todos los que tienen uigor  
 y fuerça de entendimiento: mas que uno  
 sea poeta por ninguna industria se puede  
 hazer, sy por su proprio Genio y natura-  
 leça no sea lleuado a ello.<sup>2</sup> y por esso ay  
 un refran antiguo<sup>3</sup> orator fit, poeta  
nascitur. todauia yo confiesso siempre

---

 que

1 & no humane skill

2 A Poet no industrie can make, if his owne Genius  
 be not carried into it.

3 And therefore is an old Proverbe

that as the fertilest ground must  
 be manured, so must the highest flying wit haue a  
Dedalus to guide him. That Dedalus they say both in  
 this and in other, hath three wings to beare it selfe  
 vp into the aire of due commendation: that is Art,  
 Imitation, and Exercise. But these neither Artifici-  
 all Rules, nor imitative paternes, we much comber [53]  
 our selues withall. Exercise indeed we do, but that  
 verie fore-backwardly; for where we should exer-  
 cise to know, we exercise as hauing knowme: and  
 so is our braine deliuered of much matter, which  
 neuer was begotten by knowledge. For there be-  
 ing two principall parts, Matter to be expressed by  
 words, and words to expresse the matter: In nei-  
 ther, wee vse Art or imitation rightly. Our mat-  
 ter is, Quodlibet, indeed though wrongly perfor-  
 ming, Ouids Verse.

[48r]

## Poesia

que como el mas fertil tereno ha menester ser labrado y cultiuado,<sup>1</sup> assi es menester que el ingenio que uola mas alto, tenga un Dedalo para guyarlo. aquel Dedalo se diçe assi en esto como en otras cosas, de tener tres alas para lleuarle en alto en el ayre de la deuida alabanza: que son Arte, Imitacion, y Excerçio. mas nos otros ny con estas reglas artificiales ny padrones de imitarse, no nos damos mucho fastidio.<sup>2</sup> el Excerçio uerdaderamente hazemos, mas ello muy al reues; por que donde deuiamos exercitarnos para saber, nos exercitamos como si uuieremos ya sabido,<sup>3</sup> y assy nuestro çelebro ha parido mucha materia que nunca fue engendada por Sciencia. por que auiendo dos partes principales, la materia para ser declarada por palabras, y las palabras para declarar la materia: en ninguna de las dos usamos del arte ny de la imitacion aderechas. nuestra materia uerdaderamente es, Quodlibet. aun que malcompliando con el uerso de Ouidio.

---

1 must be manured

2 But these neither Artificiall Rules, nor imitative paternes, we much comber our selues withall.

3 we exercise as hauing Knowne

Quicquid conabor dicere, Ver-  
sus erit: neuer marshalling it into anie<sup>1</sup> assured ranck,  
that almost the Readers cannot tell where to finde  
themselues. Chawcer vndoubtedly did excellent-  
ly in his Troilus and Creseid: of whom trulie I  
knowe not whether to meruaile more, either that  
hee in that mistie time could see so clearly, or that  
wee in this cleare age, goe<sup>2</sup> so stumblingly after  
him. Yet had hee great wants, fit to be forgi-  
uen in so reuerent an Antiquitie.<sup>3</sup> I account the  
Mirroure of Magistrates, meetly furnished of bew-  
tiful partes. And in the Earle of Surreis Lirickes,  
manie things tasting of a Noble birth, and wor-  
thie of a Noble minde. The Sheepheards Kal-  
lender, hath much Poetrie in his Egloges, indeed  
woorthie the readings, if I be not deceiued. That  
same framing of his style to an olde rusticke lan-  
guage, I dare not allow: since neither Theocritus  
in Greeke, Virgill in Latine, nor Sanazara in Ita-  
lian, did affect it. Besides these, I doo not<sup>4</sup>

---

1 an

2 walk

3 reuerent antiquity

4 doe I not



[48v]

Deffensa de

Quicquid conabor dicere uersus erit<sup>1</sup>

Iamas poniendo la en orden en alguna assi-  
gurada hilera,<sup>2</sup> que apenas los lectores saben  
adonde hallarse. Chaucero sin duda hiso Ex-  
celentemente en su Troyló y Cresseida: de  
quien cierto no se qual se ha de marauillar  
mas ó que el, en aquel anublado tiempo pu-  
do uer tan claro, o que nos otros en esta edad  
clara, uamos tanto tropezando tras de el.<sup>3</sup> toda  
uia el tenia muchas faltas, que eran de per-  
donarsele en tan venerable antigüedad. Yo  
estimo al espejo de los magistrados, ser assi ra-  
gonablemente prouenido de hermosas partes.  
y en los lyricos del Conde de Surrey ay muchas  
cosas que saben a un noble linage, y son dignas  
de un animo noble. El calendario de los pastores  
tiene mucha poesia en sus Eglogas, realmente  
(sy yo no me engaño) digna de leerse. aquel  
formar su estilo a un antiguo rustico lenguaie  
no me atreuo de aprouarlo: pues ny Teocrito  
en griego, ny Virgilio en latin, ny Samazaro  
en Italiano, no lo usaron fuera de estos no me

---

 acuerdo

1 Quicquid conabor dicere, Versus erit:

2 neuer marshalling it into anie assured ranck

3 goe so stumblingly after him.

re-

member to haue seene but fewe (to speake boldly) printed, that haue poetically sinnewes in them. For prooffe whereof, let but most of the Verses [54] be put in prose, and then aske the meaning, and it will be found, that one Verse did but beget an other, without ordering at the first, what should be at the last, which becomes a confused masse of words, with a tingling sound of ryme, barely accompanied with reasons.<sup>1</sup> Our Tragicall and Comedies, not without cause cryed out against, observing rules neither of honest civillitie, nor skillfull<sup>2</sup> Poetrie. Excepting Gorboducke, (againe I say of those that I haue seen) which notwithstanding as it is full of stately speeches, and wel sounding phrases, clyming to the height of Seneca his style, and as full of notable morallitie, which it dooth most delightfully teach, and so obtaine the verie ende of Poesie. Yet in truth, it is verie defectious in the circumstaunces, which grieues mee, because it might not remaine as an exact moddell of all Tragicallies. For it is

---

1 reason

2 nor of skillfull

[49r]

## Poesia

acuerdo de auer uisto sino pocas poemas (para hablar osadamente) estampadas, que tienen en sy neruios poeticos. por prueua de esto, pongan se en prosa los mas de los uersos, y despues pidase el sentido, y se hallara que un uerso no hiso si no engendrar al otro, sin ordenar al principio lo que auia de ser al ultimo, lo qual uiene a ser una massa confusa de palabras, con un retintin de metro a secas acompañado con raçon. muchas tragedias y comedias no sin causa se ha esclamado contra ellas, no obseruando reglas ny de la honesta ciuilidad, ny dela docta poesia. saluo a Gorboduque (otra uez digo delas que yo he uisto) la qual no obstante, como esta llena de palabras altiuas,<sup>1</sup> y frases que bien suenan, subiendo al altieuz<sup>2</sup> del estilo de Seneca, assi esta llena de notables moralidades; las quales enseñan con muchissimo deleyte,<sup>3</sup> y de esta manera alcança el uerdadero fin dela poesia. todauia cierto, es muy defetuosa en las circunstancias, lo que me pesa, para que pudiera quedar por un perfecto dechado de Tragedias.<sup>4</sup> por que tiene

---

1 stately speeches

2 height

3 notable moralitie, which it dooth most delightfully teach

4 because it might not remaine as an exact moddell of all Tragidies

faultie both in place and time,  
 the two necessarie Companions of all corporall  
 actions. For where the Stage should alway re-  
 present but one place, and the vttermoste time  
 presupposed in it, should bee both by Aristotles  
 precept, and common reason, but one day; there  
 is both manie dayes and places, inartificially ima-  
 gined. But if it bee so in Gorboducke, howe much  
 more in all the the rest, where you shall haue A-  
sia of the one side, and Affricke of the other, and  
 so manie other vnder Kingdomes, that the Play-  
 er when he comes in, must euer begin with telling  
 where he is, or else the tale will not be conceiued.  
 Now you shall haue three Ladies walke to gather  
 flowers, and then we must belseue the stage to be a  
 gardin. By and by we heare newes of shipwrack in  
 the same place, then we are too blame if we accept  
 it not for a Rock. Vpon the back of that, comes out  
 a hideous monster with fire and smoke, and then the  
 miserable beholders are bound

[55]

[49v]

Deffensa de

errores assi del tiempo como del lugar, los dos  
 compañeros forçosos de todas las aççiones cor-  
 porales. Porque adonde el tablado siempre, no  
 deuiera representar sino solo un lugar, y el ma-  
 yor tiempos<sup>1</sup> presupuesto en ello no deuiera ser,  
 segun el precepto de Aristoteles y la raçon comun,  
 sino solo un dia: ay en ella muchos dias y mu-  
 chos lugares inartifiçiosamente imaginados.  
 Però si es assi en Gorboduque, quanto mas  
 lo sera en todas las demas, donde hallareys  
 a Asia de una parte, y a Africa de la otra,  
 y assi muchos otros reynos debaIo de ellas, que  
 el farsante y actor quando entra,<sup>2</sup> es menester  
 que siempre comiençe con decir el donde esta,  
 de otra manera no se entendera el cuento. lue-  
 go aura tres damas Iendo a passearse para  
 coger flores, y entonçes es menester creer  
 el tablado de ser Iardin, despues oymos de  
 naufragio en el mismo lugar, entonces hazemos  
 mal sy no lo tengamos por un escollo. sobre esso  
 sale un espantoso monstrro con fuego y fumo,  
 y entonçes los miseros miradores son tenidos

---

 a tener

1 time

2 that the Player when he comes in

to take it for a Cause:

while in the mean time two Armies flie in, represented with foure swords [&] bucklers, and the what hard hart will not receiue it for a pitched field. Now of time, they are much more liberall. For ordinarie it is, that two yoong Princes fall in loue, after many trauerses she is got with childe, deliuered of a faire boy: he is lost, groweth a man, falleth in loue, and is readie to get an other childe, and all this in two houres space: which howe absurd it is in sence, euen sence may imagine: and Arte hath taught, and all auncient examples iustified, and at this day the ordinarie players in Italie will not erre in. Yet will some bring in an example of Eunuche in Terence, that conteineth matter of two dayes, yet far short of twentie yeares. True it is, and so was it to by played in two dayes, and so fitted to the time it set fourth. And though Plautus haue in one place done amisse, let vs hit it with him, [&] not misse with him. But they will say, how then

[50r]

Poesia

a tenerlo por una cueua: Quando mientras dos exercitos entran uolando, que se representan con quatro espadas y quatro rodelas, y entonces, que coracon duro no lo tendra por un cam[po] aplazado. Del tiempo pues, son mucho mas liberales. por que es ordinario, dos principes moços se enamoran juntos,<sup>1</sup> despues de muchos atrauießos ella sale preñada, ha parido un hermoso niño: este se pierde, uene a ser hombre, se enamora, y esta aparejado para engendrar un otro niño: y todo esto en el espacio de dos horas: lo qual quan desuaria de sentido es,<sup>2</sup> los mismos sentidos lo pueden imaginar; y el arte lo ha enseñado y todos los exemplos antiguos lo han iustificado, y oy dia los farsantes ordinarios de Italia no harian yerro en ello. pero algunos traeran un exemplo del Eunucho en Terencio, que contiene materia de dos dias (bien que falta mucho de ueynete años.) uerdad es, y assi se hauia de representar en dos dias, y de esta manera accomodada al tiempo se representò. y aun que Plauto en un lugar ha errado,<sup>3</sup> accertemos con el y no erremos con el. mas diran, como pues

---

1 For ordinarie it is, that two young Princes fall in loue,

2 which howe absurd it is in sense

3 And though Plautus have in one place done amisse

shall we set foorth

a storie, which contains both many places, and many times? And do they not know that a Tragidie is tied to the lawes of Poesie and not of Historie: not bounde to follow the storie, but hauing libertie either to faine a quite new matter, or to frame the Historie to the most Tragicall conueniencie. Againe, many things may be told which cannot be shewed:

[56]

if they know the difference betwixt reporting and representing. As for example, I may speake though I am here, of Peru, and in speech digresse from that, to the description of Calecut: But in action, I cannot represent it without Pacolets Horse. And so was the manner the Auncients tooke, by some Nuntius, to recount things done in former time or other place. Lastly, if they will represent an Historie, they must not (as Horace saith) beginne ab ouo, but they must come to the principall poynte of that one action which they will represent. By example this will be



[50v]

Deffensa de

hemos de representar una historia que contiene assi muchos lugares como muchos tiempos? Y no saben que una Tragedia esta atada a las leyes de la poesia y no de la historia; n̄y esta tenuta de seguir la historia, si no tiene libertad o de fingir una materia de todo nueva, o de fabricar la historia a la mas tragica conueniencia. de mas de esto muchas cosas se pueden contar que no se pueden mostrar; s̄y saben la diferencia que ay entre el referir y el representar. como por exemplo, yo puedo hablar aunque estoy aqui del Peru, y hablando haser digression de esto<sup>1</sup> al discripcion del Catecut: mas en açcion no lo puedo representar sin el Cauallo de Pacoleto. Y este fue el modo que tomaron los antiguos, por algun nuncio de recontar cosas hechas en tiempo primero<sup>2</sup> o en otro lugar. Vltimamente si quieren representar una historia, no es menester (como dice Horacio) que comiengan, Abouo, sino es menester que uengan al punto principal de aquella sola açcion que quieren representar.<sup>3</sup> por uno exemplo esto se decla

ra

---

1 that

2 former time

3 Lastly, if they will represent an Historie, they must come to the principall poynte of that one action which they will represent.

best expressed. I haue a storie of yoong Polidorus, deliuered for safeties sake with great riches, by his Father Priamus, to Polminester King of Thrace, in the Troyan warre time. He after some yeares, hearing the ouerthrowe of Priamus, for to make the treasure his owne, murthereth the Childe, the bodie of the Childe is taken vp, Hecuba,<sup>1</sup> shee the same day, findeth a sleight to bee reuenged moste cruelly of the Tyrant. Where now would one of our Tragedie writers begin, but with the deliuerie of the Childe? Then should hee saile ouer into Thrace, and so spende I know not howe many yeares, and trauaile numbers of places. But where dooth Euripides? euen with the finding of the bodie, the rest leauing to be told<sup>2</sup> by the spirite of Polidorus. This needes<sup>3</sup> no further to bee enlarged, the dullest witte may conceiue it.

---

1 vp by Hecuba

2 leauing the rest to be told

3 need

[51r]

Poesia

ra mejor. Tengo una historia del niño Polidoro, entregado para mas seguridad con mucha riqueza de su padre Priamo a Polymnester Rey de Thracia, en tiempo de la guerra de Troya. el despues de algunos años, oyendo ser uencido Priamo, para haser suyo el Thesoro, mata al niño, el cuerpo del niño se halla; Hecuba, aquel proprio dia, halla una maña para uengarse muy cruelmente del tyrano. Adonde agora començeria uno de nuestros Tragediadores, sino con el entregar del niño. entonces, auia de nauegar a Tracia, y assi gastar no se que tantos años, y caminar<sup>1</sup> por grand numero de lugares. mas donde començo Euripides?<sup>2</sup> con el mismo hallar del cuerpo, lo demas dexandolo a contar se por el espiritu y alma de Polidor. esto no ha menester alargarse mas, el mas torpe ingenio lo entendera.

Cap. 25. de muchos otros yerros  
que se cometen en sus comedias  
y tragedias en Inglaterra y también  
en sus liricos de canciones y sonetos.

---

1 trauaile

2 But where dooth Euripides?

But besides these grosse absurdities, howe all their Playes bee neither right Tragedies, nor right Comedies, mingling Kinges and Clownes, not because the matter so carrieth it, but [57] thrust in the Clowne by<sup>1</sup> head and shoulders to play a part in maiesticall matters, with neither decencie nor discretion: so as neither the admiration and Commiseration, nor the right sportfulness is by their mongrell Tragicomedie obtained. I know Apuleius did somewhat so, but that is a thing recounted with space of time, not represented in one moment: and I knowe the Auncients haue one or two examples of Tragicomedies, as Plautus hath Amphitrio. But if we marke them well, wee shall finde that they neuer or verie daintily matche horne Pipes and Funeralls. So falleth it out, that hauing indeed no right Comedie in that Comicall part of our Tragedie, wee haue nothing but scurrillitie vnwoorthie of anie chaste eares, or some extreame shewe of doltishnesse, indeede

---

1 in Clownes by

[51v]

Deffensa de

Pero allende de estos grandes disuarios, todo su representar<sup>1</sup>ny son uerdaderas comedias, ny uerdaderas Tragedias, mesclando Reyes con uillanos, no porque assy lo llena la materia, mas empuxan dentro al uillano para representar<sup>2</sup> una parte en materias de magestad, no por uia decente ny discreta: de manera que ny la admiracion ny comiseracion, y el uerdadero regozilo por su mestisa y bastarda tragicomedia no se alcança. Se que Apuleyo hizo algo assi, mas aquello es recontado con espacio de tiempo,<sup>3</sup> no representado en un momento. Y se que los antiguos tienen uno, o dos exemplos de tragidomedias, como Plauto tiene el Amphitrea.<sup>4</sup> pero si bien les obseruamos hallaremos que nunca o muy pocas ueces Iuntaron Cornamusas y esequias.<sup>5</sup> de esta manera acontese, que no teniendo de ueras ninguna aderechas comedia<sup>6</sup> en aquella parte comica de nuestra tragedia, no tenemos nada sino uellaqueria indigna de todos los oydos castos, o alguna estremada muestra de boueria, uerdaderamente

apta

---

1 howe all their Playes

2 but thrust in the Clowne by head and shoulders to play

3 but that is a thing recounted with space of time

4 Amphitrio

5 that they neuer or verie daintily matche Pipes and Funeralls.

6 that hauing indeed no right Comedie

fit to lift vp a loude laughter and nothing else:  
 where the whole tract of a Comedie should be  
 full of delight, as the Tragedie should bee still  
 maintained in a well raised admiration. But our  
 Comedients thinke there is no delight without  
 laughter, which is verie wrong, for though laugh-  
 ter may come with delight, yet cometh it not  
 of delight, as though delight should be the cause  
 of laughter. But well may one thing breed both  
 together. Nay rather in themselues, they haue as  
 it were a kinde of contrarietie: For delight wee  
 scarcely doo, but in things that haue a conue-  
 niencie to our selues, or to the general nature:  
 Laughter almost euer cometh of thinges moste  
 disproportioned to our selues, and nature. De- [58]  
 light hath a ioy in it either permanent or present.  
 Laughter hath onely a scornfull tickling. For ex-  
 ample, wee are rauished with delight to see a faire  
 woman, and yet are farre from beeing moued  
 to laughter. Wee laugh at

[52r]

Poesia

apta para hazer dar carcañadas de risa y nada mas: adonde toda la traça<sup>1</sup> de la comedia auia de ser llena de deleyte, como la tragedia de ser siempre continuada en una bien crescida admiracion. Pero nuestros comediantes piensan que no ay ningun deleyte sin risa, que es un yerro grande.<sup>2</sup> por que sy bien la risa puede uenir con la dilectacion, todauia no nasce de la delectacion, como sy el deleyte fuera la causa de la risa: pero bien puede una misma cosa engendrar lo uno y lo otro juntos. mas de suyo tienen en sy mismos,<sup>3</sup> como si fuera, una suerte de contrariedad. por que a penas deleytamos sino en cosas que tienen una conueniencia con nosotros mismos o con la naturaleza en general: la risa casi siempre uiene de las cosas mas discomenibles y desproporcionadas a nosotros mismos y ala naturaleza.<sup>4</sup> la delectacion tiene en sy una alegria o permanente o presente: la risa tiene solo unas escarneçidas cosquillas. Por exemplo nos deleytamos muchissimo de uer una hermosa muger y con todo esso somos lexos de ser mouidos a risa. nos reynos de las

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1 tract

2 which is verie wrong

3 Nay rather in themselues

4 Laughter almost ever commeth of thinges most disproportioned to our selues, and nature.

deformed creatures,

wherein certainly wee cannot delight. We delight in good chaunces, wee laugh at mischaunces. We delight to heare the happinesse of our friendes and<sup>1</sup> Countrey, at which hee were wor-  
 thie to be laughed at, that would laugh: we shall contrarily laugh sometimes to finde a matter quite mistaken, and goe downe the hill against the byas, in the mouth of some such men as for the respect of them, one shall be hartily sorie, he<sup>2</sup> cannot chuse but laugh, and so is rather pained, then delighted with laughter. Yet denie I not, but that they may go well together, for as in Alexanders picture well set out, wee delight without laughter, and in twentie made Antiques, wee laugh without delight. So in Hercules, painted with his great beard and furious countenance, in a womans attyrs, spinning, at Omphales commaundement, it breedes both delight and laughter; for the representing of so straunge a power in Loue, procures delight, and the scornefulnesse of the action, stirreth laughter. But

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1 or

2 sorry, yet he



[52v]

## Deffensa de

creaturas feas, en que cierto no nos podemos deleytar. nos deleytamos de los accaescimientos dichosos, nos reymos delos casos desdichados. nos deleytamos de oyr la felicidad de nuestros amigos y patria, de lo ual quien quisiera reyrse, seria digno que de el mismose reyessen.<sup>1</sup> algunas vezes al contrario nos reymos de hallar una cosa de todo mal entendida, y ir costa abaxo al reuez, de la boca de algunos tales hombres por cuyo respeto nos pesara muchissimo, todauia no podremos<sup>2</sup> dexar de reyrnos de ello, y assi la risa antes nos sera pena que deleyte. con todo esso no niego yo, que nose pueden Ir bien Iuntos.<sup>3</sup> por que como en el retratode Alexandro bien pintado nos deleytamos sin risa, y de mil buffoneries y locuras<sup>4</sup> nos reymos sin deleyte: assi Hercules pintado con su grande barba y gesto furioso uestido de muger, hilando al mandamiento de omphale, engendra lo uno y lo otro tanto el deleyte como la risa; por que el representar tan extraño poder del amor procura el deleyte y el escarnio de la accion mueue la risa. mas

digo lo

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1 We delight in good chaunces, we laugh the happinesse of our friendes and Countrey, at which he were worthie to be laughed at, that would laugh:

2 cannot

3 Yet denie I not, but that they may go well together

4 twentie madde Antiques

I speake to this purpose, that all the ende of the Comicall part, bee not vpon such scornefull matters as stirre laughter onelie, but mixe with it, that delightful teaching whiche is the ende of Poesie. And the great faulte euen in that poynt of laughter, [59] and forbidden plainly by Aristotle, is, that they stirre laughter in sinfull things, which are rather execrable than ridiculous: or in miserable, which are rather to be pitied then scorned. For what is it to make folkes gape at a wretched begger, and <sup>1</sup> a beggerly Clowne: or against lawe of hospitalitie, to ieast at straungers, because they speake not English so well as we do? What doo we learne, since it is certaine, Nil habet infaelix paupertas durius in se, Quam quod ridiculos homines facit. But rather a busie louing Courtier, and a <sup>2</sup> hartlesse threatning Thraso; a selfe-wise seeming Schoolemaister, a wry transformed Traueller: these if

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1 or

2 Courtier, a

[53r]

Poesia

digolo a este proposito, que todo el fin de la parte comica, no es sobre tales material llenas de escarnio que mueuen solamente la risa, sino en el mesclar con ella aquel enseñar deleytoso, que es el fin de la poesia. y la grande falta y yerro que ay en aquel mismo punto de la risa, y claramēte uedado por aristoteles, es, que mueuen la risa en cosas de pecado, que son mas presto abominables que ridiculas: o en cosas miserables de que se ha de tener mas presto lastima que de escarnescerlas. pues que cosa es haser la gente estar con la boca abierta en mirar a un miserable pobreton y a un mendigo uillano: o contra la ley dela hospitalidad, burlarse de los forasteros por no hablar Ingles tanto bien como nos otros? que aprendemos? pues es cierto. Nil habet infaelix paupertas durius in se quam quod ridiculos homines facit. mas antes un entremetido enamorado cortesano; un couarde amenazador Thraso; un maestro de escuela asy solo pareciendo sabio;<sup>1</sup> uno que anda por el mundo trasformado al reuez;<sup>2</sup> a estos sy

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1 a self-wise seeming Schoolemaister

2 a wry transformed Traveller

we saw walke in Stage names, which we plaie naturally, therein were delightfull laughter, and teaching delightfulness, as in the other the Tragidies of Buchanan do iustly bring foorth a a diuine admiration. But I haue lauished out too many words of this Play-matter; I do it, because as they are excelling parts of Posie, so is there none so much vsed in England, and none can be more pittifully abused: which like an vnmanerly daughter, shewing a bad education, causeth her mother Poesies honestie to be called in question. Other sort of Poetrie, almost haue we none, but that Lyricall kind of Songs and Sonets; which Lord, if he gaue vs so good mindes, how well it might be employed, and with how heauenly frutes, both priuate and publicke, in singing the praises of the immortall bewtie, the immortall goodnes of that God, who giueth vs hands to write, and wits to conceiue: of

[53v]

Defensa de

les uiessemos passear como personagens en el tablado, lo que representamos naturalmente, en ello seria una risa deleytosa y un deleyte que en seña. como en lo otro, las tragedias del Buchanano Iustamente producen una diuina admiracion. Pero he sido prodigo en gastar palabras demassiadadas en esta materia de representar; lo hago por que, como son excelentes partes de la poesia, assy no ay ninguna tan usado en Inglaterra, y ninguna puede ser mas lastimosamente abusada: la qual como una mal criado hilla mostrando libertades y mala crianca, causa que la honestidad de su madre la poesia se ponga en duda. otra suerte de Poesias casi no tenemos ninguna sino aquel genero de los lyricos de cançiones y sonetos, lo qual (señor) sy nos diesse el animo tanto bueno, que bien pudiera ser empleado y con que celestial fruto,<sup>1</sup> assi priuado como publico, en cantar las laudes dela hermosura imortal, la bondad imortal de aquel Dios, que nos da manos para escriuir, y entendimientos para entender: para

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 lo qual

<sup>1</sup> which Lord, if he gaue vs so good mindes, how well it might be employed, and with heauenly fruites.

which we

might wel want words, but neuer matter, of which  
 we coulede turne our eyes to nothing, but we should [60]  
 euer have new budding occasions. But truly many  
 of such writings as come vnder the banner of vnre-  
 sistable loue, if I were a mistresse, would neuer per-  
 swade mee they were in loue: so coldly they applie  
 firie speeches, as men that had rather redde louers  
 writings, and so caught vp certaine swelling Phra-  
 ses, which hang together like a man that<sup>1</sup> once tolde  
 me the winde was at Northwest and by South, be-  
 cause he would be sure to name winds inough, then  
 that in truth they feele those passions, which easily  
 as I thinke, may be bewraied by that same forcible-  
 nesse or Euergia, (as the Greeks call it of the writer).  
 But let this be a sufficient, though short note, that  
 we misse the right vse of the materiall point of Poesie.

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1 which

[54r]

## Poesia

lo qual bien se nos pudieran faltar las palabras  
mas nunca la materia; pues no pudieramos  
boluer los olos a ninguna cosa de que no se nos  
brotara siempre nueuas ocasiones para ello.  
mas en uerdad muchos de aquellos escriptos  
que uienen debaxo del estandarde del irresisti-  
ble amor, sy yo fuera dama, no me persuadi-  
rian Iamas que estarian enamorados: tan fria-  
mente aplican palabras fogosas, como hombres  
que mas presto ayau leydo escriptos de enamo-  
rados, y assy han cogido çiertas hinchadas fra-  
ses, que de tal modo cuelgan juntas, como una  
vez me dixo un hombre, que el uiento estaua  
tramontano, poniente, y de mediodia,<sup>1</sup> por que  
queria estar seguro de nombrar hartos uientos;  
no que de ueras sienten aquellas passiones, lo qual  
facilmente (como yo pienso) se puede descubrir<sup>2</sup> por  
aquella fuerça misma o energia (como los Grie-  
gos lo llaman) del escriptor. mas baste esta sy bien bre-  
ue aduertença, que nos andamos errados en el  
recto uso del punto importante de la poesia.<sup>3</sup>

Cap. 26. de algunos errores que

de ordin. se cometen en usando mal

de algunas figuras dela diction

1 the winde was at Northwest and by South

2 bewraied

3 But let this be a sufficient, though short note, that we  
misse the right vse of the materiall point of Poesie.

Now for the outside of it, which is words, or ( as I may terme it) Diction, it is euen well worse: so is it that hony-flowing Matrone Eloquence, apparrelled, or rather disguised, in a Courtisanlike painted affectation. One time with so farre fet words, that many seeme<sup>1</sup> monsters, but must seeme straungers to anie poore Englishman: an other time with coursing of a letter, as if they were bound to follow the method of a Dictionary: an other time with figures and flowers, extreemly winter-starued. But I would this fault were onely peculiar to Verseifiers, and had not as large possissiõ among Prose-Printers: and which is to be meruailed among many Schollers, [&] which is to be pitied among some Preachers. Truly I could wish, if at least I might be so bold to wish, in a thing beyond the reach of my capacity, the diligent Imitators of Tully

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1 words, they may seeme



[54v]

## Deffensa de

Agora quanto a la haz y lo exterior dela poesia,<sup>1</sup> que son las palabras, o (como lo puedo llamar)

diction, es aun bien peor: assi esta aquella meli-  
flua y dulcissima matrona la eloquencia uesti-  
da, o antes destracada<sup>2</sup> en una pintada affectaçion  
como cortesana. una uez con palabras tan le-  
xos deduzidas y deriuadas,<sup>3</sup> que muchas pa-  
resçen monstros, y por fuerça han de paréscer  
forasteros a qualquier pobre Ingles: otra uèz  
concurrer una misma letra,<sup>4</sup> como sy fueran obli-  
gados a seguir el methodo de un dictionario:  
otra ues con figuras y flores estremadamente  
marchitas del inuierno. pero quisiera que  
esta culpa fuesse particular solo delos uersifi-  
cos, y no tuiesse tan ampla possession entre los  
estampadores de prosa: y lo que es de mara-  
uillar se, entre muchos hombres de escuela,  
y de que se ha de apiadarse,<sup>5</sup> entre algunos pre-  
dicadores. en uerdad desseara, sy alo menos  
me fuesse licito ser tan atreuido como dessear<sup>6</sup>  
en cosa que tanto passa el alcançe de my ca-  
pacidad, que los diligentes imitadores de Tullio  
y

---

1 Now for the outside of it, which is words  
2 disguised  
3 with so farre fet words  
4 cursing of a letter  
5 is to be pitied  
6 if at least I might be so bold to wish

[&] Demosthenes, most worthie to be imitated, did not so much keepe Nizolian paper bookes, [61] of their figures and phrases, as by attentive translation, as it were, deuoure them whole, and make them wholly theirs. For now they cast Sugar and spice vpon euerie dish that is serued to the table: like those Indians, not content to weare eare-rings at the fit and naturall place of the eares, but they will thrust Jewels through their noses and lippes, because they will be sure to be fine. Tully when he was to driue out Catiline, as it were with a thunderbolt of eloquence, often vseth<sup>1</sup> the<sup>2</sup> figure of repetition, as Viuit [&] vincit, imo insenatum, Venit imo, insenatum venit, [& c]. Indeede enflamed, with a well grounded rage, hee would haue his words (as it were) double out of his mouth, and so do that artificially, which we see men in choller doo, naturally. And we hauing noted the grace of those words, hale them,

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1 vsed  
 2 that  
 3 viuit. Viuit? Imo in Senatum venit

[55r]

Poesia

y Demosthenes, los mas dignos de ser imitados, notando guardassen libros de carta Nizoliana llenos de sus figuras y frases, como por la attention y diligencia en traducirlos,<sup>1</sup> como si fuera, los tragassen enteramente y los hiciessen totalmente suyo. agora hechan azucar y especias sobre cada plato que se pone en la mesa, semejante a estos Indianos, no contentos de traer atracados en el apto y conueniente lugar de sus orejas, mas pasan a sus narizes y labios con Ioyas que traen, por que assi quieren assigurarse de ser finos y galanes.<sup>2</sup> Tullio quando estaua para hechar fuera a Catalina, como si fuera, con un rayo de eloquencia, muchas uezes usa la figura dela repetition, como Viuit et uincit, imo in senatum uenit, imo en senatū uenit, Ec. realmente inflamado con una bien fundadaraabia, queria que sus palabras, como sy fueran, saliesen dobladas de su boca, y assi hazer aquello artificiosamente, que uemos hazer naturalmente los hombres estando en cholera. y nosotros hauiendo notado la gracia de estas palabras las arastramos<sup>3</sup>

---

1 as by attentive translation  
 2 to be fine  
 3 hale

in sometimes to a familiar Epistle, when  
it were too much choller to be chollericke.<sup>1</sup> How  
well store of Similiter Cadences, doth sound with  
the grauitie of the Pulpit, I woulde but inuoke  
Demosthenes soule to tell: who with a rare dain-  
tinesse vseth them. Truly they haue made mee  
thinke of the Sophister, that with too much subtil-  
tie would proue two Egges three, and though he  
might bee counted a Sophister, had none for his  
labour. So these men bringing in such a kinde of  
eloquence, well may they obtaine an opinion of a  
seeming finenesse, but perswade few, which should  
be the ende of their finenesse. Now for similitudes<sup>1</sup>  
incertain Printed discourses, I thinke all Herberists,  
all stories of beasts, foules, and fishes, are rifled vp,  
that they may come in multitudes to wait vpon any  
of our conceits, which certainly is as absurd a surfer  
to the eares as is possible. For the force

[62]

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1 chollerick. Now for similitudes

[55v]

Deffensa de

algunas ueçes para una epistola familiar, quando seria demasiada cholera el ser cholericico. muchedumbre de de Similiter cadentes, quanto bien suenan con la grauedad del pulpito, no quisiera sino inuocar el alma de demosthenes para decirlo, el qual con una rara delicadezza los usa. de ueras me han hecho pensar del Sophistico, que con demasiada subtileza queria prouar que dos uueuos eran tres, y sy bien pudiera ser tenido por Sophistico, no tenia ningun uueuo por su trabajo. assi estos hombres introduçiendo tal suerte de eloquençia, bien pueden alcançar la opinion de una aparente finesa y elegança, mas persuadiran a pocos, que auia de ser el fin de su elegança. Agora quanto a las similitudes, en çiertos discursos estampados, pienso que todos los herbularios, todas las historias de animales, aues, piscados, son saqueadas, para que uengan de Tropel para servir a qualquiera de nuestros conceptos, lo qual çierto es una golosina tan desuariada para los oydos como puede ser. <sup>1</sup> por que la fuerça de una

---

1 which is certainly as absurd a surfer to the eares as is possible

of a simili-

tude not being to proue any thing to a contrary disputer, but onely to explaine to a willing hearer, when that is done, the rest is a moste tedious prattling, rather ouerswaying the memorie from the purpose whereto they were applied, then anie whit enforming the iudgements alreadie either satisfied, or by similitudes not to be satisfied. For my part, I doo not doubt, when Antonius and Crassus, the great forefathers of Cicero in eloquence, the one (as Cicero testifieth of them) pretended not to knowe Art, the other not to set by it, (because with a plaine sensibleness, they might winne credit of popular eares, which credit, is the nearest steppe to perswasion, which perswasion, is the chiefe marke of Oratorie) I do not doubt I say, but that they vsed these knacks verie sparingly, which who doth generally vse, any man may see doth dance to his owne musick, and so to be noted by the audience, more careful to speak

[56r]

Poesia

de una similitud no siendo para prouar algo a uno que disputa lo contrario, sino solamente para aclamar y aclararlo a uno que oye de guena gana, quando esto se ha hecho, todo lo demas es un muy fastidioso charlar, antes sumiendo y disuando ala memoria fuera de aquel proposito a que fue aplicada, que no en algo informado al Iuizio ya satisfecho, o no estando para satisfazerse con similitudes. quanto a m̃y, no dudo quando Antonio y Crasso los grandes antepassados de Ciceron en eloquencia, el uno (como Ciceron atestigua de ellos) pretendio de no saber arte, el otro de no estimarla, (por que con un llano sentido pudiessen ganar credito de los oydos populares, lo qual credito es el passo mas cercano ala persuasion, que es la principal mira dela oratoria) no dudo digo, si no que usaron de estas niñerías muy escassamēte, las quales quien comunemente las usa, qual quier hombre hechara de uer, que bayla al son de su musica, y assi sera notado del auditorio de tener mas cuenta con hablar

curiously then truly.<sup>1</sup> Vn-  
doubtedly (at least to my opinion vndoubtedly) I  
haue found in diuers small learned<sup>2</sup> Courtiers, a more  
sound stile, then in some professors of learning, of  
which I can gesse no other cause, but that the Cour-  
tier following that which by practice he findeth fit-  
test to nature, therin (though he know it not) doth  
according to art, thogh not by art: where the other  
vsing art to shew art and not hide<sup>3</sup> art (as in these ca-  
ses he shuld do) flieth from nature, [&] indeed abuseth  
art. But what? methinks, I deserue to be pouëd for  
straying from Poetrie, to Oratory: but both haue such  
an affinitie [63]

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1 curiously then to speake truly

2 diuers small learned

3 not to hide



[56v]

Deffensa de

cosas curiosas que uerdaderas. Indubitadamente (alomenos a my paresçer indubitadamente) he hallado en diuersos un poco doctos cortesanos <sup>1</sup> un mas sano estilo, que en algunos professors de letras, de lo qual no puedo coniecturar ninguna mayor causa, de que el cortesano siguiendo lo que por practica y esperiençia halla mas acomodado ala naturaleza, en ello (sy bien no lo sabe) haze conforme al arte, aunque no con arte: adonde el otro usando del arte para mostrar arte, y no la escondiendo (como en estos casos deuiera hazer) huye dela naturaleza, y realmente abusa al arte.

Cap. 27 y ultimo de la excelencia de la lengua Inglesa, de dos maneras que ay de uersificar, y la conclusion de este tratado

Mas que? me paresce que meresco ser acorralado por discarear de la poesia ala Oratoria: pero entrambas tienen tal afinidad  
en la

---

1 I haue found in diuers smal learned Courtiers

in the wordish consideratiō, that I think this digression will make my meaning receiue the fuller vnderstanding; which is not to take vpon me to teach Poets how they should do, but only finding my selfe sicke among the rest, to shew some one or two spots of the common infection growne among the most part of writers; that acknowledging our selues somewhat awry, wee may bende to the right vse both of matter and manner. Whereto our language giueth vs great occasion, being indeed capable of any excellent exercising of it. I knowe some will say it is a mingled language: And why not, so much the better, taking the best of both the other? Another will say, it wanteth Grammar. Nay truly it hath that praise that it wants not Grammar; for Grammer it might haue, but it needs it not, being so easie in<sup>1</sup> it selfe, and so voyd of those combersome differences of Cases, Genders, Moods, [&] Tenses, which I thinke was a peece of the Tower of Babilons curse,

[57r]

Poesia

en la consideracion delas palabras. que pienso que esta digression hara que my intento será mas cumplidamente entendido: lo qual no es para presumir de enseñar a los poetas como auian de hazer, sino solamente hallando a my mismo infirmo entre los demas, de mostrar una o dos manchas de la comun infeccion nascida entre la mayor parte de los escriptores; para que reconociendo a nos otros mismos algo errados, nos inclinemos al recto uso assi de la materia como de la manera. a lo qual nuestra lengua inglesa nos da grãde ocasion, siendo uerdaderamente capaz de qualquier excelente exerciçio de ella. se que algunos diran, que es una lengua mesclada: y por que no tanto mejor tomando lo mejor de las otras? otro dira, que careçe de Gramatica. antes çierto tiene aquel loor que no la falta la gramatica; por que Gramatica bien la pudiera auer, mas no la ha menester, siendo tan facil en sy misma, y tan libre de aquellas pesadas differençias de casos, generos, modos, y tiempos, lo qual creo ha sido un pedaço de la maldicion de la Torre de Babilonia

that a man should be put to schoole to learn his mother tongue. But for the vttering sweetly and properly the conceit<sup>1</sup> of the mind, which is the end of speech, that hath it equally with any other tongue in the world. And is perticularly happy in compositions of two or three wordes together, neare the Greeke, farre beyond the Latine, which is one of the greatest bewties can be in a language. Now of versefying, there are two sorts, the one auncient, the other moderne. The auncient marked the quantitie of each sillable, and according to that, framed his verse: The moderne, obseruing onely number, with some regard of the accent; the chiefe life of it standeth in that like sounding of the words, which we call Rime. Whether of these be the more<sup>2</sup> excellent, wold bear many speeches, the ancient no doubt more fit for Musick, both words and time obseruing quantitie, and more fit,

[ 64 ]

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1 conceits

2 most

[57v]

## Deffensa de

para que un hombre uuiesse de ser embiado a la escuela para aprender a su lengua materna. mas para exponer y declarar dulçemente y propriamēte el concepto del entendimiento, que es el fin de la habla, en eso se iguala con qualquier otra lengua en el mundo: y es particularmente dichosa en las composiciones de dos otras palabras Iuntas, açercando se a la Griega mas auentando mucho a la latina, que es una de las mayores lindeças. que puede hauer en una lengua. Agora de uersificar ay dos maneras, la una antigua, la otra moderna: la antigua notaua la cantidad de cada silaba, y conforme a esso componia su uerso: la moderna obseruando solamente el numero, con algun respeto del accento, el principal primor de ella esta en aquella semeiante sonar de las palabras, que llamamos Rithmo o metro.<sup>1</sup> qual de estas dos sea la mas excelente, auria mucho que dezir. la antigua sin duda es mas apta para la musica, assi las palabras como el tiempo obseruando cantidad, y es mas apta para  
expressar

---

1 which we call Rime

liuely to expresse diuers pas-  
sions by the low or loftie sound of the well-wayed  
sillable. The latter likewise with his rime striketh  
a certaine Musicke to the eare: and in fine, since  
it dooth delight, though by an other way, it obtai-  
neth the same purpose, there being in either sweet-  
nesse, and wanting in neither, maiestie. Truly the  
English before any Vulgare<sup>2</sup> language, I know is fit  
for both sorts: for, for the auncient, the Italian is so  
full of Vowels, that it must euer be combred with  
Elisions. The Dutch so of the other side with Conso-  
nants, that they cannot yeeld the sweete slyding, fit  
for a Verse. The French in his whole language, hath  
not one word that hath his accent in the last sillable,  
sauing two, called Antepenultima; and little more  
hath the Spanish, and therefore verie gracelesly may they  
they vse Dactiles. The English is subiect to none of  
these defects. Now for

---

1 and  
2 any other vulgar

[58r]

## Poesia

expressar al uiuo diuersas passiones, por el baxo y altiuo son dela silaba bien ponderada. La mas moderna tambien por su rithmo y metro<sup>1</sup> embia una cierta musica a los oydos; y en fin pues deleyta, aun que por otro camino, ob tiene y alcança el mismo intento, auiendo dulçura en qualquiera y no faltando ma gestad en ninguna de ellas. uerdaderamente, la lengua Inglesa, antes de alguna lengua uulgar, se que es apta para entrambas suertes de poesia. por que para la antigua, la Italiana es tan llena de uocales, que es fuerça seça siempre molestada con las elisiones y syncopas. la Tudesca ni mas ni menos dela otra parte con con sonantes que no puede dar aquel dulce des lizar que conuiene al uerso. El frances en toda su language no tiene una palabra que tiene el accento en la postrera silaba fuera de dos, llamada Ante penultima; y poco mas tiene el español, y por esso muy disgraciadamente pueden usar delos dactilos. el Ingles no esta sugeto a ninguno de estos difetos. agora quãto

---

1 with his rime

Rime,<sup>1</sup> though we doo not  
 obserue quantie, yet wee obserue the Accent verie  
 precisely, which other languages either cannot do,  
 or will not do so absolutely. That Caesura, or brea-  
 thing place in the midst of the Verse, neither Italian  
 nor Spanish haue: the French and we, neuer almost  
 faile off. Lastly, euen the verie Rime it selfe, the Ita-  
lian cannot put it in the last sillable, by the French na-  
 med the Masculine Rime; but still in the next to the  
 last, which the French call the Female; or the next be  
 fore that, which the Italian Sdrucchiola: the example  
 of the former, is Buono, Suono, of the Sdrucchiola, is  
Femina, Semina. The French of the other side, hath  
 both the Male as Bon, Son; and the Female, as Plaise,  
Taise; but the Sdrucchiola he hath not: where the Eng-  
 lish hath all three, as Du, Trew, Father, Rather, Mo-  
tion, Potion, with much more which might be sayd,

[65]

---

1 Nowe for the Ryme



[58v]                      Deffensa de  
al Rithmo y metro,<sup>1</sup> aunque no obseruamos  
la Cantidad, todavia obseruamos el acento  
muy precisamente, lo qual otras lenguas ó no  
pueden, ó no lo quieren hazer tan absoluta-  
mente. la Caesura, o lugar de respirar en el  
medio del uerso, ny el español ny el Italiano  
no lo tienen; al frances y a nosotros casi nun-  
ca nos falta. ultimamente, aun, al mismo Rithmo  
o metro<sup>2</sup> el Italiano no lo puede poner en la  
ultima silaba, lo qual los franceses llaman  
el Rithmo masculino, sino siempre en la pro-  
xima ala postrera, lo qual los franceses llaman  
el femenino, o en la proxima antes de aquella  
lo qual el Italiano llama SDrucciola, es-  
druíulo. el exemplo del primero es Buono, su-  
ono, el esdruíulo es Fémína, Semina,  
el Frances dela otra parte tiene entrambos, el  
masculino, como Bòn, son, y el femenino  
como Pláise, láise, mas al esdruíulo no  
lo tiene. adonde el Ingles tiene todos tres, como  
Dúe, trúe, Fáther, Ráther; mótion  
pótion, y mucho mas que se puede dezir<sup>3</sup>  
sino que

- 
- 1 Now for Rime  
2 euen the verie Rime it selfe  
3 which might be said

but that already I finde the triflings of this discourse<sup>1</sup> is much too much enlarged. So that since the euer-praise woorthie Poesie is full of vertue breeding delightfulness, and voyd of no gift that ought to be in the noble name of learning, since the blames layd against it, are either false or feeble, since the cause why it is not esteemed in England, is the fault of Po-et-apes, not Poets. Since lastly our tongue is most fit to honor Poesie, and to bee honoured by Poesie, I coniure you all that haue had the euill luck to read this inck-wasting toy of mine, euen in the name of the nine Muses, no more to scorne the sacred misteries of Poesie. No more to laugh at the name of Po-ets, as though they were next inheritors to fooles; no more to iest at the reuerent title of a Rimer, but to beleue with Aristotle, that they were the auncient Treasurers of the Grecians diuinitie; to beleue with Bembus, that they were first bringers in of all Ciuilitie;

---

1 but that I finde already the triflingnes of this discourse

[59r]

## Poesia

sino que ya hallo, que las niñerías de este discurso son mucho demasiado alargados. de manera que, pues la siempre loable poesia esta, llena del deleyte que engendra la uirtud y no es uazia ni falta de ningun don que deue ser en el noble nombre de doctrinã; pues las culpas con que la tachan o son falsas o flacas; pues la causa por que no se estima en Inglaterra es culpa delas monas poeticas y no de poetas, pues ultimamente nuestra lengua es la mas apta para honrar la poesia y ser honrada por ella. a todos los que auays tenido la mala suerte de leer este Iuguete mio de tinta perdida os conluro enel mismo nombre delas nueue musas, no mas ya de escarnesqer a los sacros misterios de la poesia; no mas ya de reyros del nombre de los poetas, como si fuessen los mas çercanos herederos de los locos; no mas ya de burlaros del reuerendo titulo del trovador: Sino de creer con Aristoteles que fueron los antiguos tesoreros dela Theologia Griega;<sup>1</sup> de creer con Bembo que fueron lo primeros acarreadores de toda Çiuilidad<sup>2</sup>

---

1 that they were the auncient Treasurers of the Grecians diuinitie  
 2 they were first bringers in of all Ciuilitie

to beleue with Scalliger that no Philoso-  
phers precepts can sooner make you an honest man,  
then the reading of Virgil; to beleue with Clause-  
rus, the Translator of Cornutus, that it pleased the  
heauenly deitie by Hesiod and Homer, vnder the vaile  
of Fables to giue vs all knowledge, Logicke, Rheto-  
ricke, Philosophie; naturall and morall, and Quid non?  
To beleue with me, that there are many misteries  
contained in Poetrie, which of purpose were writ-  
ten darkly, least by prophane wits it should be abu-  
sed: To beleue with Landin, that they are so belo-  
ued of the Gods, that whatsoeuer they write, pro-  
ceeds of a diuine furie. Lastly, to beleue them-  
selues when they tell you they will make you im-  
mortal by their verses. Thus doing, your name shall  
florish in the Printers shops: Thus doing you shal be  
of kin to many a Poeticall Preface. Thus doing, you  
shal be most faire, most rich, most wise, most all: you  
shall dwel vpon Superlatiues. Thus doing,

[66]

[59v]

## Defensa de

de creer con Scaligero que los preceptos de ningun filosofo, os podra hazer mas presto hombres de bien que la lectura de Virgilio; de creer cõ Chaucero<sup>1</sup> el que traduxo a Cornuto, que la celestial deidad fue seruido por Hesiodo y Homero de baxo del uelo dalas fabulas, de darnos todas las Sciencias, Logica, Rethorica, Filosofia natural y moral, y quid non? de creer conmigo que ay muchos misterios contenidos en la poesia, que aposta fueron escriptos oscuramente,<sup>2</sup> para que no fuessen abusados por los entendimientos profanos; de creer cõ Landino que son tan amados de los dioses, que qualquiera cosa que escriuen procede de una furia diuina; ultimamente, de creer a ellos mismos quando os digen que os haran imortales por sus uersos. haziendo esto, uestros nombres<sup>3</sup> floresceran en las tiendas de los estampadores; haziendo esto, sereis emparentados con muchos proemios poeticos; haziendo esto, sereis los mas hermosos, los mas ricos, los mas sabios, lo mas todo,<sup>4</sup> habitareis sobre superlatiuos; haziendo  
esto

---

1 Clauserus

2 which of purpose were written darkly

3 you name

4 most all

though

you be Libertino patre natus, you shall sodeinly grow  
Herculea proles. Si quid mea Carmina possunt. Thus do-  
ing, your soule shall be placed with Dantes Beatrix,  
or Virgils Anchises. But if (fie of such a but) you bee  
borne so neare the dull-making Cataract of Nilus,  
that you cannot heare the Planet-like Musicke of  
Poetrie; if you haue so earth-creeping a mind that it  
cannot lift it selfe vp to looke to the skie of Poetrie,  
or rather by a certaine rusticall disdaine, will become  
such a mome, as to bee a Momus of Poetrie: then  
though I will not wish vnto you the Asses eares of  
Midas, nor to be driuen by a Poets verses as Bubonax  
was, to hang himselfe, nor to be rimed to death as is  
said to be done in Ireland, yet thus much Curse I  
must send you in the behalfe of all Poets, that while  
you liue, you liue in loue, and neuer

[60r]

Poesia

esto, aunque seays libertino patre natus,  
 uendreys de repente a ser, Herculea proles,  
si quid mea carmina possunt; haziendo  
 esto, uestras almas seran colocadas con la  
 Beatriz del Dante, o con el Anthises de Virgilio.  
 Pero (quita de ay tal pero) sy sois nascidos  
 tan cerca del cataracto de Nilo que os aturde  
 de tal manera que no podeis oyr la musica, co  
 mo de planetas, de la poesia,<sup>1</sup> sy teneis a uue-  
 stros animos tan metidos en el suelo que no se  
 pueden leuantar ny alçarse para mirar el  
 cielo dela poesia, o antes por un çierto rusti-  
 co desden quereis uenir a ser tales tantos como  
 el ser unos momos de la poesia:<sup>2</sup> entonçes aun-  
 que no quiero dessearos las oreias asnales  
 de Midas, ny ser forçados con los uersos de  
 algun Poeta, como fue Bubonax. de ahorcar  
 se, ny de ser trobados a muerte con uersos,  
 como se diçe auerse hecho en Irlanda, toda  
 uia esto tanto de maldiction<sup>3</sup> es menester que  
 os embie de parte de todos los poetas, que toda  
 uestra uida esteys enamorados y nunca al-

---

1 that you cannot heare the Planet-like Musicke of Poetrie  
 2 will become such a mome  
 3 thus much Curse

315.

get fauour,  
for lacking skill of a Sonet, and when you  
die, your memorie die from the earth  
for want of an Epitaphs.

FINIS

[67]



[60v]

Deffensa de

canzeys ningun fauor por falta de no saber  
un Soneto, y quando os mirais, que uestras  
memorias mueran de la tierra, por falta de  
un Epitaphio.

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