The Public-Private Paradox of Acrostics in Golden Age Literary Studies

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A Brief Introduction to Acrostics

Acrostics are lines of poetry in which select letters, most often initial letters, are read vertically to form words or phrases, usually the names of people that are sometimes followed by a type of descriptor. The acrostic that most Hispanists will recall is the one that reads "El bachjler Fernando de Roias acabó la Comedia de Calysto y Melybea. E fve nascjdo en la Pvebla de Montalván," found in the preliminary "El autor a un su amigo" section of *Celestina* (DeVries, 70). Students and scholars of more modern poems will occasionally come upon an acrostic written by one of their favorite authors, perhaps Federico García Lorca (509-510) or Nicolás Guillén (302), often devoid of context that would explain why the trick was employed at all. Therein lies the paradox of the acrostic in Hispanic Studies overall and in Golden Age Studies in particular. It is a technique that is both well-known and ignored, both erudite and simplistic, both very public and completely obscure, sometimes completely hidden. It is a bit like a magic trick: after it has been explained, it loses its luster and ends up as little more than a boring curiosity, the dullest form of paradox. And yet acrostics remain a persistent literary technique with eternal appeal. They have been employed across a range of languages over thousands of years, all the way from the Hebrew Bible (Van der Spuy) to a love letter by Edgard Allan Poe (387-391). This paper will look at the paradox(es) of acrostics found in Spanish poems from the 1500s and 1600s. I will argue that it is the public-private duality of the technique that lies at the heart of its paradoxical nature. The critical and analytical conundra that acrostics present through their dual public-private nature are multifaceted and have unintended consequences that deepen the technique's underlying inscrutability. This study will explore some of these facets through a metacritical analysis and ultimately conclude that acrostics are capable of hiding as much as they reveal to readers across all time periods.

Acrostics as Public Displays of Communication

While acrostics are meant to be hidden from view, at least at first glance, there are occasions when the acrostic is fully announced and signaled in print. By "occasion" we are literally speaking of a special moment in time that is announced as such. The best examples in Golden Age poetry are works meant to celebrate a famous figure on a famous date, typically a birthday, anniversary or death. We find many such cases in *certámenes* or *justa poéticas* that became very popular in the Spanish-speaking world during the first half of the seventeenth century. In her study on the subject, Osuna Rodríguez (2010) lists dozens of occasions between 1605 and 1650, five of which name acrostics amongst the categories of competitive poetry. Figures 1 and 2 below show an announcement for a *justa poética* to celebrate the birthday of Saint Teresa in 1618. The broadsheet is packed with information, but the relevant part in close-up (figure 2) specifically requests "un soneto Acróstico, en cuyas catorze letras iniciales se lean estos santos nombres: S A N T I A G O, T E R E S A." The rewards are as clear as the requirements. The winner not only "celebrará con mas gallardía la hermandad destos dos gloriosos santos en el patrocinio de España," but also

> lleuará por premio vnas medias de seda encarnada de valor de seys ducados : el segundo, vna sortija de oro con vn diamante : el tercero, vn rico bolso de ambar borado de oro fino" (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 4011, fol. 288v).

The general announcement for the competition also contains a series of strict rules ("leyes") for the requested poems, with some especially aimed at the acrostic sonnet. The poems must

be new and fit the subject matter. Poets writing in Castilian will lose if they repeat either consonant or asonant rhymes, and Latin entries will lose if they miss the proper syllable count. Aside from providing anonymized copies of the poems for judging, poets of an acrostic sonnet in particular must have a copy made for public posting, with big initial letters that are easy to read vertically "para que se logre mas el artificio del soneto" (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms 4011, fol. 288v). Hence there can be no doubt that the acrostics are meant for public consumption in the fullest sense. The prizes too are not just material rewards but also very public displays of the winning poets' success in the competition. Bright crimson stockings, a sparkling diamond ring, or a gold-embroidered and very fragrant bag of ambergris: all would call plenty of attention to the poet, who must have been happy to declare the origin of their prize. But the public, obvious and reiterated display of acrostics at the time also presents us modern researchers with the first of many layers of the private-public paradox. To my knowledge, we do not have access to the identity of the participants, let alone winners, in this particular competition; and the poems themselves have not been uncovered by any researchers.

A simple but insufficient explanation of this paradox is that we are dealing with "ephemera," that the recoverability of occasional acrostics may be inversely proportional to how public and celebratory there were. The flourish of visual poetic technique is meant to impress a crowd of spectators in the moment, not readers from long after the event. But this assumption would be incorrect. Most scholars working on acrostics from Golden Age Spain repeatedly use the term "ephemera" to describe this type of celebratory poetry that includes acrostics, glosses, hieroglyphs, words for emblems, etc., written for special occasions (Matilla Rodríguez, 308). But there is also a group of scholars who (for one case, at least) "prefer the term 'commemorative literature,' for the event itself, or versions there of, enjoyed a textual afterlife (in pamphlets)" (Cano Echevarría et. al., 32). This "textual afterlife" complicates the private-public duality of acrostics, since the recorded celebratory poetry can be read in the privacy of one's own home in a mass-produced, printed format. The funeral honors for the death of Queen Isabel de Borbón in 1644 not only consisted of lavish performative displays throughout the Spanish Empire, but also produced printed commemorative literature that was anything but ephemeral.

Certámenes poéticos played a considerable role in the *exequias*, and acrostics in either Latin or Castilian appeared amongst the competitive categories to mark the event (Osuna Rodríguez, 364). At this point in Spain's literary history, acrostics appear to have become so commonplace in funerary and celebratory contexts that some poets produced them spontaneously and without requirement. For example, the *Exequias funerales que celebro la muy insigne y real Vniuersidad de Valladolid a la memoria de la Reyna Ysabel de Borbon* simply request a sonnet, without further requirements. Specifically, "El tercer assumpto Castellano pidio vn soneto que ponderasse el aver muerto la Reyna nuestra señora de garrotillo, auiendo librado de tantos ahogos al Reyno" (Vázquez Esparza [printer], fols. 49r-49v). Nevertheless, two of the eight contestants wrote acrostics. We can see how the *licenciado* Don Pedro de Sanmillán spelled out "Y S A B E L D E B O R B O N" (Figure 3). The other acrostic-maker was Don Antonio Osorio de Mayorga (Figure 4), described as "en sus años niño," who produced a triple acrostic –technically speaking, an acrostic-mesotic combination– within a single sonnet, With three vertical lines, he spelled out "F E L I P E E L Q V A R T O" with the first letter, "I S A B E L D E B O R B O N" with letters hovering around the fifth syllable, and "B A L T A S A R C A R L O S" to start the ninth syllable (fols. 52r-52v). The overall *certamen* attracted so many contestants that, when awarding prizes,

> fue necessario criar otros de nueuo: y aun se quedaron algunos poemas sin premio, aunque justisisimamente le merecieron, porque le lleuaron otros mejores: pero con hazerlos leer los juezes, dieron a los autores la gloria de auerle merecido: que el merecer

> el premio, es verdaderamente alabança: y el lleuarle muchas vezes, es solamente dicha de no concurrir otro que lo merezca mas. (fol. 24r)

The talk of "dar a los autores la gloria" was not hollow. It directly referred to the extremely public and immediate way in which the *certamen* was announced and then carried out.

> Publicose vn certamen poetico, que se pondra despues, en que se dio a los discuros bastantes assumptos que llorar; multipicando crecidos premios, para despertar con esse cebo los ingenios, que suelen dormirse al sentir por desuelarse solamente en especular. El cartel del cetamen se puso en publico, fijandoles sobre vn paño de terciopelo, y damasco negro vn dia en las puertas de la Vniversidad, y conistorio, y el siguiente en las de la Real Chancilleria. (fol. 5 r)

The participation of Spain's thriving print industry evokes the very modern use of the word "publicar," or as the *Diccionario de Autoridades* defines "publicar un libro," "Phrase que vale darle a la Imprenta para el publico, que todo le puedan leer."

The demand for literary keepsakes was so great that an outcry could arise if a follow-up printed account was not provided. This was the case (Figure 5) of the commemorative literature produced for Queen Isabel's funeral honors at the University of Salamanca. This particular printed "Certamen Poético" was published specifically "por acallar las quexas de los que no pudieron, quando se publico la vez primera, alcanzar el certamen" and with the aim of awarding poets with "nuevos aplausos." The contest was themed around the idea of a funerary-literary "museo" divided amongst the Muses, with acrostic epitaphs in Greek or Latin (none were requested in Castilian) fell under the patronage of Thalia, Muse of Comedy. The rules state that each poem "no exceda ocho disticos, o vn acrostico de quatro, que empiezen con las letras del nombre ISABELLA" (Lançina y Ulloa, 63). Of the nine entries, seven were acrostics, three of which were entered for competition. The winner was Don Juan de Solórzano who, like Don Antonio Osorio de Mayorga at Valladolid, produced a triple acrostic. This time it was in Latin and repeated the word "I S A B E L L A" thrice vertically across the poem (Figure 6). Despite such public opportunities for literary renown, the glory sought by these two poets came through their political careers, not their literary ones. If we assumed that the named Don Juan de Solórzano is the same person as Don Juan de Solórzano Pereira, he would be best known for producing a seminal work of imperial law, *Politica Indiana* (1648). This was the Spanish version of his two volumes of lawbooks in Latin, *De Indiarum Iure* (1629 and 1639). Solórzano would have written his winning acrostic for Queen Isabel in the same year that he retired as a jurist in 1644. While not returning to acrostics, he did return to produce something more literary in a book of 100 emblems, first in Latin (1653) and then translated posthumously into Spanish in 1658 (Mirow, 244). These works are full of verses, but none of them –whether in Latin or Spanish – appear to be acrostics. Looking back wiht historic hindsight, Solórzano's poetic crowning glory in Spanish from 1644 was truly singular and occasional. It is also paradoxical, because it might seem ephemeral but is actually quite fixed and the provides the most robust evidence today of the jurist's poetic prowess.

How can we be sure that Solórzano's acrostic poem is also his most significant? Rodríguez Moniño (1966) provides plenty of evidence that the scholar and poet read all sorts of literature, but can only provide one example of him writing poetry, and a partial one at that. These are two lines quoted in the *Silva Sexta* of Lope´s *Laurel de Apolo,* celebrating the birth of Felipe IV. It is another example of occasional poetry, and this one is lost to time unlike the acrostic. Regarding the *wunderkind* Don Antonio Osorio de Mayorga who wrote for the same occasion as Solórzano's, he too found his fortune in politics as attested in his 1690 *relación* titled *Festiva aclamación que a la venida de la Reyna Nuestra Señora, celebro en en sv real transito a la muy noble, my leal, y antiquísima Ciudad de Astorga, donde descansó su*

Magestad dos días, y dos noches. He gives himself the full titles of "Capitán y Sargento Mayor" as well as "Señor de la Torre, y Solar de los Mayorgas y de la Villa de Barrio de Magaz, Alcaide de la Fortaleza, y Regidor más antiguo de la Ciudad; y Coregidor actual en ella." Amongst all the celebratory songs reproduced in the *relación*, whether *coplas* or a *romance*, none are acrostics. Neither did Don Antonio attempt to include any poems of his own to frame his account. It would therefore appear that his fame as a poet was reduced to his appearance in the 1644 funeral literature, like that of Don Juan de Solórzano Pereira. The most permanent evidence of his abilities as a poet are paradoxically produced through a medium that most modern critics call "ephemeral."

Fame and recognition are relative things. Two measures are the simple availability and preservation of a poet's work nearly four hundred years after it was written. The paradox of supposedly "ephemeral" or "occasional" poetry is that something destined for a single specific moment in time may be the only link left for future generations. I would argue that acrostics are the maximum representation of this paradox because they are exceedingly rare in the overall poetic landscape, but become quite common in a context that provides an opportunity for "occasional" poets to leave their mark in the printed record. We must also recognize that a poet's "occasional" nature can be due to certain marginalizing forces like gender discrimination. Hence we find acrostifying poets amongst women whom Nieves Baranda (2007) calls "las deterradas del Parnaso," some of whom have escaped the notice of Baranda herself. Thanks to the Bibliografía de Escritoras Española online project (www.bieses.net), we have ready access to females authors who, were it not for a single acrostic, who have been completely lost to history. A poet noted by Baranda also found in the BIESES project is Jusepa Luisa Chaves, who wrote a funerary acrostic sonnet (Figure 7) in *Fama posthuma a la vida y muerte del Doctor Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio* (Pérez de Montalbán), which spells out "F R E I L O P E D E V E G A." There is at least one other female acrostifying female poet exiled from Mount Parnassus, missed by Baranda but noted by the BIESES project. It is Doña Juana María Vázquez, published in the poetic funeral honors held in Logroño (Jiménez de Enciso, 139, cited on https://www.bieses.net) for Queen Isabel de Borbón's death. For this event Vázquez wrote an acrostic *epitafio* in sonnet form per the requirements for the *certamen*, spelling out "I S A B E L D E B O R B O N." I can find no other works by these "desterradas," which is not to say they do not exist. Rather, it highlights the paradox of the "occasional" acrostic, a supposedly fleeting form that nevertheless offers solid links to a marginalized group's artistic production.

Acrostics as Either Works of Frivolity or Virtuosity

The gendering of acrostic poems as a genre in Golden Spain touches on yet another paradox. The technique is at once a sign of a poet's ingenuity and prowess, employed on the most serious occasions. But also it is not really serious poetry, instead rather playful, even bordering on frivolous. Much has been written by modern critics on the significance of visual poetry (Cózar; Infantes de Miguel), of which Golden Age acrostics are a sub-set. But what did contemporary commentators or potential poetic gatekeepers say on the subject? Like their modern counterparts, critics from the Golden Age tend to focus on categorization without much commentary on the level of ingenuity required. The most important proponent and student of visual poetry in Spanish from the Early Modern period was Juan Díaz Rengifo (his brother's name and pseudonym for Diego García Rengifo) (Cózar, 270; Pérez Pascual, 569). It was only in 1703 when Rengifo's "refundidor" José Vicens included acrostics with the example of "soneto acróstico" in his first re-edition of the critic's treatise *Arte poética española* (106). Vicens still only offers it as an example without anything more than an explanation of its structure. Finding more extensive commentary on the art of acrostic-writing requires looking adjacent to Spain, to Portuguese analogues. What one discovers is revealing and eventually returns us to the very gendered ingenuity-frivolity paradox. In his own translated and corrected edition of João Baptista Lavanha's *Nobiliario del conde de Barcelos don Pedro hijo del rey*

don Dionis de Portugal, the Portuguese poet and humanist writer Manuel de Faria e Sousa included an *elogio* by the Carmelite friar Juan Félix Girón. Meant to praise, the *elogio* also ranked Sousa's 45 books in order of "dignidades." As an example of ingenious poetry, it is significant that the collection of poems titled *Fuente de Aganipe* (1644-1646) is ranked 42 and described thusly by Sousa's supporter:

> Contiene una Centuria de Sonetos, i otros Poemas varios, todos de invenciones ingeniosas, como Acrosticos, Esdruxulos, Ecos, Centones; Soneto; que uno son dos, I tres, i quatro; i cosas semejantes, que no ay para que explicarlas. Obras al fin de paciente Ingenio, aunque de poca importancia, como suelen ser todas las de tales artificios. (Lavanha [before page numbers start]).

Girón's *elogio* inadvertently reinforces the paradoxical nature of acrostics produced for public consumption. They are both meant to celebrate the poet´s ingenuity and by extension glorify their subject matter. In the end, however, they are of "poca importancia." One wonders if Girón's would have felt the same way were he called upon to write an acrostic for the funeral of a Queen. How would he have reconciled this paradox, that a work meant to glorify royalty was ultimately employed a method of "poca importancia"?

The ingenuity-frivolity paradox says much about the *certámenes* as a venue for female writers and female artistic merit. One weighty opinion comes from Sousa himself, who commented upon none other than his nation's foremost poet, Luís de Camões. In the 1685 edition of Camões's *Rimas varias*, Sousa has strong opinions about a sonnet containing both an acrostic and a mesotic, which in two vertical rows spell out the phrase (Figure 8): "V O S O C O M O C A T J V O M V I A L T A S E N H OR A":

> Este Soneto no es de mucha importancia, más de en quanto no se sustenta mal con la dificultad a que el Poeta se ató de quererle dividir en dos partes, y dexir con las primeras letras dellas, esto Vosso como cativo, muy alta senhora. Ni yo creo que el P. [poeta] hizo esto para sí, antes a ruego de algún Enamorado a quien parecería gran cosa el encajar la friolera deste requiebro por este modo, no ignorando que las mugeres son muy amigas de invenciones (Camões, 261-262).

The implication here is that an acrostic with a love theme is little more than a decorative frame with a special appeal to women who lack sufficient depth of aesthetic appreciation. Sousa goes on explain that acrostics are tests of ingenuity, not in simply doing them, but in producing a good poem within the restrictions they create. "Lo que se debe dezir es que a los hombres grandes no conviene publicar semejantes poemas si no salen muy perfetos: pero no ay quien pueda consigo" (263). The implication is that, overall, both major and minor poets cannot resist the temptation of writing an acrostic, even if it will most likely lead to poor poetry. It also implies that females are not amongst the "grandes hombres" who ought to try.

What starts as a dry discourse on acrostics in Sousa's edition of *Rimas varias* eventually turns immensely personal and demonstrates how public-private and ingenuity-frivolity paradoxes inherent in the technique can combine to touch a very raw nerve. Sousa is evidently very proud to have joined the poets who wrote funerary poetry for Queen Isabel de Borbón in 1644, poets like those we have cited above. Sousa produced two poems for the occasion, but he does not correctly remember the details of his own works, perhaps betraying a deep ambivalence about their worth. This implication rises to the surface when he writes:

> El primer Poema ['200 estancias de Sextas Rimas' con el nombre de I S A B E L'] destos tres se imprimió luego; y assi como le aplaudieron muchos le murmuraron otros tantos.

> Yo de aplausos y murmuraciones hize siempre igual estimaciones, que es hazer ninguna: porque ni ellos me alteran, ni ellas me perturban. (263)

But what started as ambivalence turns to resentment as Sousa explains that writing a long acrostic is no mean feat, especially compared to a single sonnet that asks for no repetition in the vertical lines. Suddenly, the backbiting about poor acrostics that Sousa had offhandedly dismissed beforehand ends up provoking him to launch a tirade against his critics. He cites the "defectos" that his detractors signaled, namely forcing some words ("palabras no admitidas") and repeating others ("palabras repetidas"). He concedes the first offense, but the accusations of the second one drive Sousa into a rage.

> Pues ven acá, ignorante, entiende que si supieras algo no te embarazarás en essas motas, y tuvieras que admirar en lo que se ve logrado en un Poema largo sugeto a tal prision. Ven acá, barbaro, donde asta oy has visto obra alguna sin defectos, aun de las que caminan por lo llano! (263)

If one considers that the entire commentary of *Rimas varias* was motivated by rage against the shortcomings of his scholarly predecessor Manuel Correa —Sousa writes "me llené de colera" in the prologue—, then his angered defense of his own acrostics should come as no surprise. But the paradoxes, or opportunities for hypocrisy, remain. It is easy for Sousa to dismiss a rather ingenious double acrostic by the Portuguese national poet Camões because that poem is for a private occasion and to satisfy the whims of a woman in love. But when the acrostic is Sousa's own, written for a broad public audience and in honor of a recently deceased Queen, then the act of nit-picking the acrostic's faults belongs to backbiting "bárbaros" and "ignorantes." The seriousness or frivolity of an acrostic can turn upon the most sudden and arbitrary of pretexts.

Acrostics as Private Displays of Communication: Hiding Authorship

Given the different paradoxes and contradictions above, it should come as no surprise that "private" acrostics can be as contradictory or paradoxical as the public ones. By "private" I mean poems destined for a very reduced audience, even a readership of one, as opposed to an audience of many, as exemplified by *certámenes* and *justas poéticas*. The latter case of acrostics could not be more public as when a public announcement explicitly asks for the technique to be used for a public display, and public prizes are given for the best completions of this task. By my definition, private acrostics make no such announcements and are meant to be discovered by the reader. To cite from the start of this study, we can recall the classic example of a private acrostic by Fernando de Rojas, hiding his authorship found in the verses near the prologue of *Celestina*. Why did Rojas hide his authorship in plain sight? Therein lies another public-private paradox inherent in the acrostic, and the attempts to resolve it seem endless. This is true even when the possibilities are narrowed down, such as concentrating on the supposition that Rojas meant for his name to be detected by a select group of readers. Kenneth Brown has gone so far as to argue that if one reads the acrostic as if "estuviera escrito en lengua hebrea," then it reveals a hidden "mensaje judaico" containing "el credo judío, donde consta el nombre de Dios, *Adonay*, tal como en muchísimos poemas con acróstico en hebreo" (Brown 70). Leaving aside another endless debate, that of Rojas's Jewishness, or even his *converso* status (Pérez López, 286), it seems unlikely that this private acrostic could have been kept a secret for long. As Cózar writes,

> El caso de Fernando de Rojas en *La Celestina*, *La Tragicomedia de Lisandro y Roselía* de Sancho de Muñón, *El retablo de la vida de Cristo* de Juan de Padilla, la *Tragedia Policiana* de Sebastián Fernández, entre otras obras están en la línea del acróstico de autor. Nos resulta difícil creer que en estos casos pudiera pasar desapercibidos

> para un lector incluso no muy avezado, sobre todo cuando se encuentran precedentes en todos los siglos anteriores, tanto en la cultura latina y hebrea como castellana. (Cózar 1991, 317)

Thus, regarding the matter of Hebrew precedents alone, the acrostic in *Celestina* could be meant to establish a private link between author and group of hidden *conversos*, or simply be destined for the random "lector avezado" of indeterminate religious ancestry.

The paradox of a literary technique that is both meant to remain hidden and begs to be discovered takes many forms; but the question of motives remains difficult to push aside when attempting a preliminary analysis. Some scholars openly declare an awareness of the stereotypical causes or anonymity through acrostics and are quick to dismiss hidden motives when they appear to be unjustified. In his doctoral dissertation on Fray Luis de Escobar's *Las quatrocientas respuestas a otras tantas preguntas*, a work first published in 1526, José A. Sánchez Paso (7) attributes the authorship-inside-acrostic strategy to a mere literary game of shadows played for its own sake without ulterior motive. "El oscurantismo de quererse escudar constantemente con el epíteto de 'autor no nombrado' no guarda ningún trasfondo judaizante ni de ocultamiento prevenido de su identidad. Forma parte, sin más, de un juego que se descubre en el interior de la obra" (Sánchez Paso, 10). The acrostic that is repeated in Escobar's work is a variation of "F R A Y L V Y S D E S C O B A R H Y Z O" with different additions, and takes on different levels of difficulty. It appears in the "prólogo," which is curiously placed at the end of the book. In the form of an "Invocación," it contains the addition of "E S T A L E T A N Y A." This leads up to a final horizontal line, excluded from the acrostic but completing it, that reads "Toda segun la verdad" (Figure 9). The 1545 editions that I have been able to access (Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdoba and Zaragoza: Jorge Coci) offer no guidance on reading the acrostic, but the 1550 edition from Valladolid uncovers the secret by prefacing the verses with the following instructions: "Lee las primeras letras destas quatro coplas, y de la postrera copla es postrer renglón" (Escobar 1550, folio. CXXXV [*verso*]). This editorial intervention, the spoiling of the secret, is a widespread phenomenon that we examine more closely below, but Fray Luis de Escobar is perhaps unique in that he reveals his own secrets through acrostics. These are of an editorial, not personal nature, namely his plans for how many "respuestas" the final version of his work will contain. Sánchez Paso (167-171) has done painstaking work in comparing editions to demonstrate that some acrostics containing a count of "respuestas" have been altered slightly in different editions over time. These modifications by Escobar add an extra layer to his "game of shadows" and would have eliminated any doubt that he was the author since he was secretly sharing his own design plans for the book. Unfortunately, this was a paradoxical high-risk-high-reward grasp at fame, since it was only modern scholars who finally recognized the correct attribution. As Sánchez Paso writes (172), "El empeño del fraile en sostener la intención de los acrósticos como única valedora de su autoría de la obra habría, como vemos, de costarle caro." Determining the motives for hiding authorship within an acrostic will always be an act of biographical speculation that is complicated by the private-public paradox. Identities embedded in acrostics are both hidden and in plain view. Another paradoxical element is that the acrostic is both a highly controlled technique but also completely at the mercy of editors and readers who can choose to reveal the author's identity to the world. The private becomes public in the blink of an eye, and this phenomenon leads to further paradoxical layers. An author may precisely intend to keep their identity secret for what they imagine is a rather limited period of time. As in the case of Fray Luis de Escobar, it only took five years between major editions for an editor to intervene and spoil the secret. This may have been the intention of the author, a sort of delayed release of information, another act of control, but the control was never truly in the author's hands. Escobar's work received a long-lasting erroneous attribution, and the planned delay for truly public recognition lasted centuries, not years (Sánchez Paso 137).

The public-private paradox of the acrostic related to authorship can occur on a lesser scale as well. Unintended delays in attribution can not only result in a sort of retrospective humiliation of a Golden Age poet, but also highlight how confounding the technique can be for modern scholars and editors. Such was the case of Pedro de Padilla, a late sixteenth-century poet, mostly overlooked today but very popular in his time (2008, 9). In his 1582 *Églogas pastoriles [juntamente con ellas algunos sonetos]* he includes an acrostic in his "Soneto XI" spelling out "P E D R O D E P A D I LL A" from lines two to fourteen (folios 241v-242r; Figure 10). The additional joke is that the first word of the first line is "cifra," providing the hint that there is a type of cipher (the acrostic) in the poem. Since the poem is in a collection with its authorship clearly announced, there is no element of a cover-up. And yet, such is the strangeness of the public-private paradox that the sonnet continued to be mis-attributed to Quevedo, despite the name of the author literally staring modern editors and scholars in the face. Fortunately, these appear to have been in the minority. Antonio Carreira (102) sums up the situation:

> *Cifra de cuanta gloria y bien espera*. Soneto impreso en *Las tres Musas últimas castellanas*, de Quevedo, y rechazado por Astrana Marín (*Verso*, Madrid 1932, pp . 1479-80), "que no da ninguna razón," según apostilla Blecua (ed. 1963, p. 379), quien lo admite sin reparos en la ed. de 1969 (no. 361), como Manual Durán en su breve antología de Quevedo (Madrid, 1978). Por esta vez, si embargo, el olfato de Astrana ha funcionado bien. El poema aparece ya en las *Eglogas pastoriles de Pedro de Padilla y juntamente con ellas algunos sonetos del mismo auctor* (Sevilla: Andrea Pescioni, 1582), ff . 241v-242r, y ha escapado a las pesquisas de J. G. Fucilla.

Good detective work to be sure, and part of a greater effort to combat the common appropriation of "minor poets" for the further glorification of poets like Góngora, Villamediana or Quevedo (Alonso Veloso, 271). What is curious however, is that detecting acrostics does not appear to have been a part of any such project of authentication. This is another facet of the private-public paradox. Padilla, a "minor" poet, has received such little overall attention that his penchant for acrostics has also been missed in the process. Consequently, the originally playful and relatively open declarations of authorship scattered in his poems have inadvertently become completely buried signs of attribution that even the most dedicated scholars have failed to discover.

Acrostics as Privates Displays of Communication: Hiding the Object of One's Affection

Hiding a name in cases of authorship is not the only technique that can provide a false sense of control. Obscuring the object of one's affection through an acrostic can suffer the same fate at the hands of editors, whereby a message meant for a select audience ends up broadcast to every single reader, once the method is uncovered and explicitly indicated. Being exposed this way could apparently lead authors and editors attempting to undo possible damage to reputation, using questionably effective tactics. In such an effort, the private-public paradox could suddenly intersect with the frivolity-ingenuity paradox in a way that emphasized the fruitlessness of trying to control the reception of a quasi-secret message. For a good example of this, we return to Pedro de Padilla. The 1580 edition of his *Thesoro de varias poesías* contains two sonnets with acrostics (Figures 11 and 12), one spelling out "D O N A S A N C H A B E L L A" (folio. 132r-v) and the other "I N E S D E M H N J A R A Ç" (1580, folio. 369v-370r). The spelling of "M H N J A R A Ç," meant to be the family name "Monjaraz," occurs because the "H" for what should be "Onra" has been corrected and the silent "h" added. In the 1580 edition, the editor, or perhaps the author himself, intervenes in both examples, writing the phrase "Lleva este soneto el nombre de vna dma en las primeras letras" after the first acrostic sonnet and "Lleva este soneto vn nombre de vna dama en las primeras letras" after the second.

But in the 1587 edition, things have changed. The first sonnet has retained its identifying information, but the second one has that information removed. The only thing that follows the latter poem for Inés de Monjaraz is the line "Fin de Sonetos." This makes it abundantly clear that neither the author nor the editor has any intention of revealing the secret name in this later edition.

Why this change? As with the scholars studying the cases of authorship for Rojas and Escobar cited above, it is tempting to speculate upon motives tied to biography. In the case of Padilla, we know that "en 1585 dejó sus amores terrenales para hacerse carmelita" (Labrador Herraiz and DiFranco 2008, 18). His religious devotion did not prevent him from re-publishing his love poetry, but it may have impelled him to keep one of his loves more secret, namely his love for Inés de Monjaraz. Of course, the usefulness of this tactic is quite dubious when one considers that the revelation of "primeras letras" for "Doña Sancha Bella" remained intact. Even readers with little imagination could have taken a moment or two to search for acrostics in the remaining sonnets and thus easily discovered the one that had been retrospectively hidden. The ingenuity of the sonnet and the name of the lady that were on public display in the 1580 edition cannot be suppressed. The private-public and the ingenuity-frivolity paradoxes of the acrostic combine to create a work that started out as a semi-public joke from a non-Carmelite poet in love, but which ends up immortalized in print as a semi-private lesson on discretion from a sober man of the cloth. Perhaps this is the motivation, a sort of meta-joke. Perhaps Padilla had too much pride to expurgate the sonnet from his collection's second edition, but he did not want his pride to be taken as arrogance that might undermine his personal image of religious devotion post-1585. Padilla's —or his editor's— half-hearted cover-up could be read as an intentional cautionary tale about including sonnets with private messages in a very public medium. The difficulty in resolving the public-private paradox of an acrostic to one's advantage may have been the very point he was wishing to make. It could be a possible warning to other poets who might later regret their careless use of such a technique. The omitted key to the acrostic could also be a sign that either the poet or the editor was making at least a minimal effort to protect the reputation of Inés de Monjaraz. One can at least detect a bit of discretion, at least an aversion to complete arrogance regarding the original celebration of his lady's "extremos de bellezas celestiales" (folio 369v).

Who was Inés de Monjaraz and what was her relationship to Pedro de Padilla?

The public-private paradox can be particularly frustrating to scholars who wish to find a biographical basis in a poet's artistic production. Nevertheless, it does not stop us (yes, I include myself) from trying to solve the mystery. After spending hours researching scanned archival documents and printed books available online, the most likely candidate for Padilla's object of affection in 1610 is a "viuda muger que fui [sic] de Alonso de rivadeneyera Vezino y Regidor que fue de la ciudad de Vallid, residente en presente en esta corte" (Archivo General de Simancas, PTR [Patronato Real], LEG[ajo] 36, 8). Rita Goldberg's article "Nuevos Datos Sobre El Poeta don Gabriel de Henao Monjaraz" contains much useful information on Inés's family, but there is no mention of any connection to Pedro de Padilla. Nor can I find any connection mentioned anywhere else, whether in documents or scholarly articles. My only remaining option was to look for further clues in Padilla's own writings and I found only but a tiny scrap. In his *Cancionero* published in 1583, Padilla includes a letter in verse that consoles his friend who has lost his "dama" to a marriage with a Scottish Count (Padilla 1584, fol. 226v). The lady is called "Celia," which matches the pseudonyms for a pair of "pastoras," Celia and Silena, named repeatedly in another, unpublished, *Cancionero* (2007). Padilla ends his letter explaining that he will leave for Valladolid the next day so that he and his friend can speak more about the matter. The Inés de Monjaraz that I have found named in documents was firmly based in Valladolid, owning houses there. It is therefore possible that she is the "Silena" to match Padilla's friend's "Celia," even while Padilla addressed unpublished love poetry to both "pastoras." If acrostics are any measure of favor, then Padilla did seem to lean towards Silena,

since he emphasized his connection in an unpublished sonnet with the first line "De mi Silena, el ser, la gallardía" and containing the acrostic "D E S Y L E N A P A D Y LL A" (2007, 123). If "Silena" is as connected to Valladolid as "Celia," then it increases the chances that the openly declared Inés de Monjaraz is the one based in Valladolid too. Beyond this, however, the trail grows cold, and there is not much more that we can say at the moment. It is another wrinkle in the private-public paradox. We have very public evidence of an amorous connection between the poet and the object of his affection in Valladolid; but their actual private lives remain hidden from us. This may have been Padilla's intention, to flirt with notoriety but never cross the line into real indiscretion. In this way, the acrostics he left behind tease both early-modern and modern readers alike.

Acrostics as a Private Display of Communication: The Game Remains Afoot

There are undoubtedly Golden Age acrostics still out there in the vast literary landscape, waiting to be discovered. Because their paradoxical and contradictory nature spawn more problems than they resolve, their detection is only the beginning. Again we recall the case of the long-since-discovered late-Medieval acrostic of Fernando de Rojas. We may never get to the bottom of the mystery of why the acrostic was employed, but the search for meaning will continue because: who doesn't like playing literary detective? The hidden messages are out there, but how do we find them? The most obvious place to search for acrostics is in anonymous works of literature that contain some sort of verse, especially as part of an introduction or prologue. That is how Rojas's and Fray Luis de Escobar's examples were located. Genre is no restriction, as attested by a charming anecdote recounted by the great nineteenth-century book collector Don Pedro Salvá y Mallen. When he was a fifteen-year-old, he read the 1547 Toledo edition of *Palmerín de Inglaterra* and had the feeling that his father, also a bibliophile, had gone down a false path of attribution by naming Miguel de Ferrer as the author.

> Leyendo y releyendo, brujuleando y dando tortura a cada frase, dióme la feliz idea de examinar si las siguientes octavas, que se hallan en los preliminares del tomo primero, podrían encerrar algún acróstico, á pesar de que solo llevan letra mayúscula al principio de cada una de ellas, y efectivamente se verá que arrojan uno que dice: *Luis Hurtado autor, al lector da salud.* (Salvá y Mallen 1872, Vol. 2, 86)

One can see the acrostic in all its glory in Figure 13 below. Mystery solved, right? Not quite. In the introduction to his 2006 edition of *Palmerín de Inglaterra*, Aurelio Vargas Díaz-Toledo exhaustively details the continued debate about authorship that raged throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. He concludes that the "autor" Luis Hurtado [de Toledo] was most likely a translator of the work, which was originally written in Portuguese by Francisco de Morais (XVI-XVII). But for every question that can be answered regarding an private acrostic made public, several more questions crop up. After all his research, Vargas Díaz-Toledo is still forced to ask,

> ¿cuáles fueron las relaciones que pudieron existir entre el traductor y Portugal? ¿Cómo llegó hasta sus manos el libro de Francisco de Moraes? ¿Se lo proporcionaría alguna dama portuguesa de las muchas que acompañaron a la emperatriz Isabel a la corte toledana tras su boda con Carlos V? ¿Era conocido el Palmerín en medios cultos toledanos? (Morais, XVI-XVII).

In this way, the public-private paradox of authors hiding their identity in plain view persists, confounding scholars many centuries after their initial publication.

There is some consolation in knowing that the discovery of an acrostic is often the beginning of a mystery, not its resolution, especially when new tools for detection are available.

With the combined availability of electronic versions of Golden Age texts and fairly easy-to-use computing techniques, we do not have to resort to previous time-consuming methods. Finding an acrostic still requires considerable effort, "leyendo y releyendo, brujuleando y dando tortura a cada frase," to borrow from Salvá y Mallen, but now we can let a computer program do most of the work. One method I have employed is to write a short script in the Python programming language that carries out the following instructions in sequence: 1) Load a corpus of poems into memory; 2) Load a list of Spanish names into memory; 3) Produce a string of characters composed of all of the first letters of each line of verse from the corpus of poems; 4) Produce a list of "sub-strings" of a certain length, drawn from the main string of characters; 5) Compare each acrostic "sub-string" from the corpus with the list of names to see if there is a match or a close match. Thanks to Python's modular format, I can determine close matches by importing the FuzzyWuzzy library, which employs Levenshtein distances (https://pypi.org/project/fuzzywuzzy/). If the source of the verse corpus is faulty, or if my program produces incomplete sub-strings, there is still the possibility of capturing a hidden name. This occurred in the case of the Pedro de Padilla sonnet cited above, the one containing his own name but often misattributed to Quevedo. Because the sonnet is available in a 1582 Padilla edition with clear attribution, the matter is settled, but to my knowledge the acrostic itself has not been noted by any scholars other than myself. I found the acrostic before I was aware of Padilla's penchant for that technique, using my computer script to search the technique within the "Corpus of Spanish Golden-Age Sonnets / Corpus de Sonetos del Siglo de Oro" created by Borja Navarro Colorado and available on the website GitHub (https://github.com/bncolorado/CorpusSonetosSigloDeOro). The corpus was found to contain the string "P E D R A" which is a close match to "P E D R O." Had an exact match been required to yield a result, then the name would not have been detected. The sonnet from the corpus in question yielded "Pedra" because it corresponds to the verses

> por premio de su fe y de su tormento,
> el que para adorar tu pensamiento
> de sí se olvidará hasta que muera,
> reforma tu aspereza brava y fiera
> a oír lo menos del dolor que siento:

Compare the last verse to that found in Figure 10 for the sonnet "Cifra de cuanta gloria…," and one can see that "oír lo menos…" has been suffered the addition of an "a," thus changing the acrostic from "Pedro" to "Pedra." This occurs in the first published instance of the mis-attribution to Quevedo in *Las tres musas últimas castellanas* from 1670 (Figure 13). Perhaps the editor's "correction" is why the acrostic remained undetected by scholarship over so many centuries. However much we may wish to differentiate ourselves from computers, we scholars have been precise to the point of over-correction, consequently missing a message hidden in plain sight.

The use of "fuzzy logic" is a very helpful element in computer-aided searches for acrostics. Another example that I believe has yet to be published is the name "D O N A M A R I A D U A R T E," found in a sonnet by Gutierre de Cetina with the first verses "Del más subido ardor, del más precioso" (Figure 15). The poem was never printed during Cetina's time and modern editions use the version from a manuscript contained within the personal library of Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino y and María Brey, now integrated with that of the Real Academia Española (Cetina, 225). Begoña López Bueno´s meticulous edition of Cetina's sonnets makes no mention of the acrostic. A few years later, María Amelia Fernández Rodríguez took a close look at the poem, but also seems to have missed completely the hidden name. Comparing techniques of narrativization in two sonnets and the sestet within, she writes,

> Lo mismo ocurre en el soneto 146 *Del más subido ardor, del más precioso*. Un esquema narrativo de corte sintomático aparece en los cuartetos, sin embargo en los tercetos el poeta se dirige a un espectador ficticio para luego dirigir la voz cambiante al amor. El desplazamiento apelativo es un fenómeno habitual en este tipo de apelación más cercana por su naturaleza temática al síntoma que a la apelación a la Dama o al Confidente, aunque, como ya hemos señalado para Cetina, observación generalizable a otros autores, la apelación al poeta mismo adopta con frecuencia las tendencias constructivas operantes en los otros dos tipos de apelación. (56)

Nowhere is it mentioned that the "apelación" has a name attached it to, specifically "Doña María Duarte." At the same time, would it matter if all the world knew that the acrostic existed? Would it matter if the private manuscript message were made entirely public? Even if we try to hunt down the facts of the mater, the questions remain difficult to answer, such is the paradoxical nature of acrostics. We know that a certain Francisco Duarte played a very important role in furthering Cetina's career in Italy (Cetina, 22), but I have not been able to determine if there is a connection to any María Duarte. A catalogue for the Archivo General de Simancas lists letters from a certain "Doña María Duarte, viuda de Diego de Santa Cruz" in the early 1550's to a certain "contador" named Francisco de Laguna (Cuartas Rivero, 34-35). Cetina's Patron was also a "contador," so it is always possible that Laguna and his widow moved in the same circles, but more genealogical research is required to seek any further clarification on the matter. In cases like these, what is private remains private, and the private-public paradox will play no role until we can also determine the amount of circulation for the sonnet in manuscript form. It is always possible that Cetina wanted to create a situation similar to that planned by Edgar Allan Poe nearly three hundred years later. Poe's diagonal (moving forward one letter per line) "valentine" to Frances Sargent Osgood in 1846, was first sent to a party where its recipient was probably identified, thus making it public for a reduced audience. Poe's poem was eventually printed, perhaps without his knowledge, a week after, although his intent was always that it should eventually reach a larger audience (Mabbott, 386-387). Perhaps Guiterre de Cetina had intended the same, that his manuscript draft first be read by a select few, starting with Doña María Duarte. The poem might have been eventually destined for a printer, but we will probably never know for sure. Such is the private-public paradox whereby acrostics may give the appearance of messaging controlled by the author, while the poem's fate is ultimately determined by editors and printers further down the line.

Conclusion and the Curious Case of María de Mendoza

The first Golden Age acrostic that I ever detected with an aid of a computer was "M A R Y A D E M E N D O Ç A," found in a manuscript sonnet attributed to Juan de Tassis, Second Count of Villamediana (Figure 16). As with the case of Gutierre de Cetina stated above, it is remarkable that the hidden name appears to have remained entirely undetected in the 100 years since its first publication. It is especially remarkable when one considers that the Count of Villamediana is a heavily studied poet, not just in Golden Age scholarly circles, but also in a much wider context. I suspect that the main reason for the acrostics persistent secrecy is a simple change of letter, similar to the case of Pedro de Padilla´s hidden authorship in which his name was changed from "Pedro" to "Pedra" in early mis-attributions to Quevedo. A year after Mele and Bonilla first published the Villamediana sonnet with many others by the poet in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* in 1925, a version with modernized spelling appeared in a review of their work in *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo* (344-345). No mention of the acrostic is made there. Then eighteen years later, Luis Rosales Camacho re-published it in book form the first time (as far as I can tell) in his 1944 collection *Poesías de Juan de Tasis, Conde de Villamediana.* That version also has a modernized spelling, but also includes the change of the fourth line from the manuscript's "ymaginaria luz del pensamiento"

to “la imaginaria luz del pensamiento” (50). The modernized spelling has changed the *cedilla* starting the thirteenth line into a “C.” Hence, the manuscript acrostic has been changed from “M A R Y A D E M E N D O Ç A” to “M A R L A D E M E N D O C A.” On the one hand, the change is not drastic, but on the other, it is sufficient to throw off modern readers and might explain why it went undetected. Thankfully, my computer script had loaded the somewhat uncommon name “Marla” into its list, and thus called my attention to it. Perhaps if the name “Marla” had been more common in Spain in the 1940’s, at least on scholar dedicated to Villamediana would have noticed it. Rosales showed great dedication to the life and works of the poet, using his entry speech to the Real Academia Española from 1964 on the subject, but makes no mention of any María de Mendoza (Rosales 1964).

The famed *Generación del 27* poet Gerardo Diego was so enamored of Villamedianas’s love sonnet that he wrote an entire book of poetry inspired by it. Diego’s 1961 *Glosa a Villamediana* contains no introduction, no notes, no explanation for any poem. It simply starts with a the modernized “Marla” version of Villamediana’s poem titling it “Soneto,” followed by fourteen sonnets that gloss each line of the original in order. These all comprise section “I” and are followed by sections “II,” “III” and “IV,” which contain poems of different verse structures, some of them sonnets but all unrelated to the Villamediana original. It is very surprising that Gerardo, himself an expert poet and not averse to acrostics (López Castro, 31) would have missed it, especially after splitting the sonnet into fourteen glosses, looking at each line with meticulous attention. Despite the improbability of oblivious to the hidden name, this is exactly what appears to have occurred.

One could blame the lack of attention on lack of anticipation, but what occurs when an author himself pays special attention to the technique in the Second Count of Villamediana? In 2022, Adrián Besné published a historical crime-procedural novel titled *El acróstico: una aproximación de Villamediana*. I eagerly read the book, thinking that Besné might be the perfect person to have discovered the “M A R Y A D E M E N D O Ç A” acrostic before I. Instead, the acrostic in the novel is one of Besné’s own devising, supposedly written by the Count and which reads “P O R M I M U E R T E V A N.” There is no indication in the novel that the author was aware of any acrostics already attributed to the Count. I am no novelist, but from a Golden Age acrostic sonnet perspective, it seems like it would have been more historically accurate, and even more suspenseful, if Besné’s made-up sonnet had revealed a name. The suspense of the whodunnit could have been maintained even had the name been revealed, thanks to the public-private paradox. The name could have been like “María de Mendoza,” fairly common and therefore not clearly pointing the finger at a single individual. The name could have been incomplete, like Pedro de Padilla’s “Doña Sancha Bella,” leaving various possibilities. The name need not even reveal the killer in Besné’s novel, instead perhaps pointing to the person who knows the identify of the antagonist. If we have learned anything from studying names hidden in plain sight inside Golden Age sonnets, it is that the mystery is far from over once the initial discovery is made. Just as there is no consensus on Fernando de Rojas’s motives for weakly obscuring his identity, so too could a historical novel take advantage of this sort of ambiguity rooted in the public-private paradox. The more that is known, the more that it is made public, the less clarity there is on the motives behind writing the acrostic. In other words, it seems like Besné may have missed a trick for his novel. At the same time, he is far from alone in missing not just acrostics themselves, but the complexity and contradictory nature of their creation, publication, obfuscation, discovery and neglect. Much work remains to be done, if not to resolve the public-private paradox of Golden Age acrostics, then at least to explore further the depths of their meaning in context.

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D·D. Q. IACOBO ET TERESAE HISP. PATRONIS D. D. Q.

Nudipedum Carmelo nanas, Granatâque magnas
Virgo TERESA, datis dextris, quia nuper eteros
Suscipit Hebræo populos cum Marte iuuandos;
Duplicis Hesperiæ vulgant certamina cygnis;
Et sua pro meritis decernunt munera dignis;

Ergo viri ingenuis, claris, iuuenéque, senéque
Dulcisoni gemino nuncupate celebrate PATRONOS,
QVOS sibi deuotis animis Hispania legit,
QVOS pones arbitrum belli, pacisque reliquit,
QVOS vocat ingenuans pariter IACOBE, TERESA.

Propugnet gladio IACOBE, & lance TERESA.
Hostis, & nullis esperia Hesperia.
Delicet Elias ter flammas imbuit patris
Gloriosæ, flammas exprgo TERESA parit.

IVSTA POETICA, EN EL CONVENTO REAL DE LOS SANTOS MARTIRES DE LA CIVDAD DE GRANADA· DIA DE LA GLORIOSA VIRGEN SANTA TERESA FVNDADORA DEL CARMELO RENOVADO A 15. DE OCTVBRE.

ENTRE las Diosas, que la superstitiosa Gentilidad veneró, edificando templos, y consagrando altares, fue vna, y muy celebrada, aquella a quien por estar persuadidos, que presidia en las guerras, y que tenia en su mano el buen sucesso de las batallas, llamaron los Latinos Bellona, o Duellona, que todo es vno, y quiere dezir la guerrera. Los Griegos le dierõ por nombre Enyo, que como el furnuto escriue, significa la que cãe inspira corage y animo en los combatientes. I lamose tambien entre Latinos Virtus, que vale tanto como la misma fortaleza. Y vno de los renombres que le atribuyeron, fue el de Threa Virago, la varonil Threa. Dizen auer sido hermana de Marte Dios tambien mismo de las batallas, y pintauanla finalmente con vna hacha de fuego en la mano, como a su hermano Marte con la espada desnuda. Todo esto acumula Lilio Giraldo Ferrariense en el Syntagma decimo, donde en confirmacion del nombre de Threa trae aquellos versos de Ausonio: *Bella horrida Martis / Odrysij. Thresque virginis arma retractat.* Todo lo dicho parece que simbolica, y artificiosamẽte se dixo de nuestra Illustrissima Española, y gran reformadora del Carmelo, a quien, por dexarse atras con gran interualo las preczas y victorias de los mas vallentes y esclarecidos varones, meritissimamente podremos llamar. Bellona a lo diuino, fuerte guerrera, y la fortaleza misma. Pues todo el pueblo Christiano con vn mismo espiritu y voz de Dios, generalmente confiessa, que en esta virgen varonil hallo Christo celestial Esposo en la tierra aquella muger fuerte, rarissima en el mundo, que celebra Salomon en los Prouerbios. Llamase de propio nombre TERESA: y dese santo nõbre parece sincopado y diminuto el de Threa, que Bellona fuuoque al tanto parece, que nos esta dando a entender, que toda la grandeza decoracion, las valentias y hazañas, que los ingenios humanos fingieron en Threa, son vna cosa diminuida y menguada, si se haze comparacion con el robusto coraçon, el animo inuencible, y las nunca bien encarecidas proezas de la bienauenturada Virgen santa TERESA. Y para que en todo cobuengan la figura y lo figurado; si Threa fue hermana de Marte, y venerada por presidio y amparo en las batallas; el año passado de mil y seyscientos y diez y siete a veyntiquatro dias del mes de Octubre, estando juntos en Cortes los Reynos de Castilla, de comun acuerdo que recebida santa TERESA por su patrona y parte principal, y coadjutora del Apostol SANTIAGO, y por el consiguiente patrona, defensora, y capitana de toda España, y singular defensora contra la fiera sacrilega secta Mahometana, y finalmente defensora contra todos los enemigos de la Fee Catholica, y nombre Español. Y assi verdaderamente Español, nuestro illustrissimo padre y patron el mismo Apostol SANTIAGO la reconoce por hermana, y se hermana con ella en el patrocinio y amparo de estos Reynos. Ni dize menos bien en mano de TERESA la hacha, que en la de Threa; siendo hija legitima y heredera del espiritu, zelo y eficacia de su gran padre el Prophera Elias, del qual dize el Ecclesiastico capit. 48. *Surrexit Elias quasi ignis, & verbum ipsius quasi face ardebat.* Y el mismo santo Prophera pudo baxar fuego del Cielo contra los enemigos de Dios y suyos, como se escriue 3. Reg. 18. & 4. Reg. 1. por lo qual dixo tambien el Ecclesiastico en el lugar citado: *Dixerit de calo ignem &c.* Lo mismo se ha de esperar de la nueua patrona, no solo por ser hija de padre, sino tambien por auerle prometido el Hijo de Dios, que le ha de conceder quanto le pidiere. Y a la verdad ya se le ha començado a luzir a España, quan valida y poderosa patrona tiene para con Dios en los muchos prosperos sucessos, que en materia de guerra la han illustrado ogaño en los quales parece que nuestra TERESA entra tomando la posseision de su nueuo oficio, y dando muestras de lo mucho que ha de hazer en adelante, y de quanto le quadra el nombre de Enyo, que como dicho queda, quiere dezir, la que infunde, é inspira animo en los que pelean. De aqui entenderemos, quan bien decendida quedara España entre Marte y Threa con la espada de SANTIAGO, y con el fuego de TERESA; pues ambos parece que estan amenazando a sangre y fuego a los enemigos de la Fee Catholica, y nombre Español. Considerada atentamente esta tan grandiosa y nueua, y lo mucho que la Magestad del Rey don Felipe nuestro señor le ha aplaudido, escriuiendo a los Prelados y Cabildos Ecclesiasticos y seglares destos Reynos, que por esta causa hagan demostraciones de regozijo, de lo qual se ha originado la presente fiesta, le parecio a nuestra sagrada Religion sujeto digno de ser encomendado a las delicadas plumas, y sonoras vozes de los cisnes Latinos y Castellanos, a los quales propone la presente justa. Y aunque el principal premio de su deuoto trabajo ha de ser la poderosa intercesion destos dos gloriosos patrones de España, para que a los precios que en este cartel se ofrece el piadoso afecto de algunas personas deuotas de la santa aspiren con mas confiança de la palabra, de que no jutaran poesias de este Conuento de los santos Martires, ni de otro alguno de nuestra Religion.

PRIMER CERTAMEN.

1 PIde vn soneto Acrostico, en cuyas catorze letras iniciales se lean estos santos nombres: SANTIAGO, TERESA. El que cumpliendo con esta condicion celebrare con mas gallardia la hermandad destos dos gloriosos santos en el patrocinio de España, llcuará por premio vnas medias de seda encarnada de valor de seys ducados; el segundo, vna sortija de oro con vn diamante: el tercero, vn rico bolsso de ambar bordado de oro fino.

2 Del que mas descansadamente glosare esta redondilla:

ESPAÑA DE MADRE SALE,
PORQVE EN PIADOSA CONTIENDA
AV PADRE QVE LA DEFIENDA,
Y MADRE QVE LA REGALE.

sera el premio vn corte de jubon de tela de plata azul, rasa extraordinaria del segundo vna sortija de oro con vn Ametiste, del tercero, vn par de guantes de ambar.

3 ENtre los grandes fauores que hizo el Hijo de Dios a la gloriosa virgen santa TERESA, vno fue muy singular, el que la misma santa cuenta en las adiciones de su vida, conuiene a saber, que auiendole desposado consigo el mismo Señor, dandole su mano derecha, le dixo entre otros regalos: *Mi honra es tuya, y la tuya mia.* El que mas diestramente cantare en seys octauas, quan bien ha desempeñado Christo su palabra, dandose ésta priessa a honrar a su esposa por tantos, y tan extraordinarios caminos, hasta ponerla vltimamẽte al lado de su querido Apostol SANTIAGO, se le señala por premio vn riquissimo bolsso de ambar bordado de oro fino, y vn par de guãtes de ambar: Al 2. vna sortija de oro con vn diamãte: Al tercero vn muy vistoso relicario.

4 GVstana tanto el Redemptor del mundo del lado de su dulce esposa santa TERESA, que huuo tiempo, en que por espacio de dos años sentia la santa Virgen a su lado derecho, como se escriue en el capitulo 27. de su vida. El que aludiẽdo a tan gran fauor, se congratulare en seys decimas masconceptuosamente con el Apostol SANTIAGO, de que tenga a su lado a la que el Hijo de Dios honraua tan de ordinario con el suyo, llcuará por premio vnas medias finissimas de seda azul: El segundo vn par de guantes de ambar: El tercero vna disciplina muy extraordinaria de oro y plata fina, y seda.

5 EScriue nuestra santa Madre en el capitulo 39. de su vida, que apareciendole Christo nuestro Señor, le prometio, que no le pediria cosa que no se le concediesse. El que en vn romãce de veynte coplas cantare con mas elegancia y pensamiẽtos la buena dicha de España, en tener tan poderosa patrona para cõ Dios, pues supuesta su Real palabra se le deuen, como de justicia, quantas mercedes le demandare, sera laureado con vn muy vistoso valo de plata: El segundo con vn par de guantes de ambar: El tercero con vn vistoso relicario.

6 FVndó el Apostol Santiago la fee Catholica en España, y en toda ella fundó nuestra santa madre juntamente con su fagrada Religion la perfecion Euangelica. A el que en veynte y quatro versos heroicos celebrare con mas sublime character las peregrinaciones, trabajos y sudores que a estos gloriosos patrones de España costarõ tan grandes empresas, cõpitando y cercando las heroicas proezas de los dos, se le prometé en premio vna arquita de plata de martillo con reliquias: Al segundo vn par de guantes de ambar: Al 3. dos cucharas de plata cõ cabos de coral.

7 SOn las armas de nuestro vallente patron vna espada tinta en sangre de enemigos sobre el coraçon sean las de nuestra Seraphica patrona vn coraçon atrauessado cõ vn dardo de oro encendido por mano de vn Seraphin. A el que en vn Decastiche elegiaco dispusiere mejor este pensamiento, y afuer de buen epigramma le diere mas consequente clausula, sele dara por premio vn muy hermoso relicario: Al segundo, dos varas y media de muy rico cambray: Al tercero quatro cucharas de macar.

8 CAnta la Iglesia de España, que el Apostol Santiago fue visto con espada desnuda, destrosando los Moros: *Equitque & ense decernuus, &c.* y no ay cosa mas experimentada en la historia y escritos de nuestra santa madre, que ser la misma santa vn fuego vivo, que donde quiera prende, y incanta llama. El que a propusito de ser estos dos santos patrones de España ofreciere mas mysteriosa hieroglyphica, que sea este mote: *el fuego y fuego*; con los versos Castellanos, ó Latinos, que pareciere mas a proposito, alcançara otro corte de jubon de tela de plata azul: El segundo vn muy curioso relicario: El tercero vn par de guantes de ambar.

9 AL fin se canta la gloria, y se suelen dar las gracias; y porque a las inmortales, que nuestra fagrada Religion deue a la Magestad del Catholico Rey don Felipe nuestro señor se pueda en alguna manera satisfazer, se ha reseruado de proposito para este lugar vn genero de metro proporcionado con tan gran sujeto. Al que en vna cancion Real de seys estancias de a catorze con su contenilla dicre mas copiosamente de parte de nuestra fagrada Religion, y de toda España las gracias a su Magestad por el piadoso zelo é infatigable cuydado, con que ha procurado siempre promouer y acrecentar la honra de nuestra santa madre, y especialmente por lo mucho que ha aplaudido, al ser patrona de España despues de el Apostol Santiago, se le propone en premio vn reloj de pecho de valor de diez ducados: Al segundo vnas memorias de oro con vn diamante fino: Al tercero vn par de guantes de ambar de valor de tres ducados, y del mismo valor son todos los pares de guãtes de ambar, q se ha prometido arriba.

LEYES.

I. Sean las poesias nueuas y acomodadas al sujeto.

II. En las Castellanas pierda el premio el q repitiere cõsonantes, ó asonantes: y en las Latinas el q no guardare la castidad de las sílabas.

III. No baste ser las mejores, si no son dignas.

IIII. Dense de cada poesia tres traslados, vno en papel y letra ordinaria sin firma, para los señores jueces. Otro con el principio del poema y firma del autor cerrado y sellado, para que se haga el juyzio mas desapassionadamente: El tercero, en pliego de marca mayor escrito de letra grande y buena (que de otra manera no sera admitido) para poner en publico. Y aduiertase q las catorze letras iniciales del soneto en estos papeles mayores, sean muy grãdes y ordenadas entre si, de suerte que se lean de arriba abaxo para que se logre mas el artificio del soneto.

V. Entreguense estos papeles al padre Fr. Francisco de san Ioseph en el Conuento de los santos Martires, a lo mas largo a 4. de Octubre.

IVEZES.

EL señor don Luys de Guzman y Vazquez Gentilhombre de la boca del Magestad, Capitan de hombres de armas de las guardas de Castilla, y Alcalde mayor de sacas del Reyno de Murcia, y Corregidor de Granada por su Magestad.

El señor don Francisco Mesia Arias Cauallero del Habito de Calatraua, señor de las villas de Villanueua Mesia, y Balazote.

El señor don Antonio Alnarez de Bohorques Cauallero del Habito de Santiago, Alguazil mayor de la Inquisicion, señor de las villas de Caparacena, Veas, la Puerta alta, y Cenes.

El señor Doctor don Carlos de Mendoça y Valdiuia Chantre desta santa Iglesia.

El señor Doctor Luys de Batuia Capellan del Rey nuestro señor en su Real Capilla desta ciudad.

El señor Maestro Bartolome de Alcaraz Clauijo Beneficiado de la Iglesia parrochial de san Ilefonso.

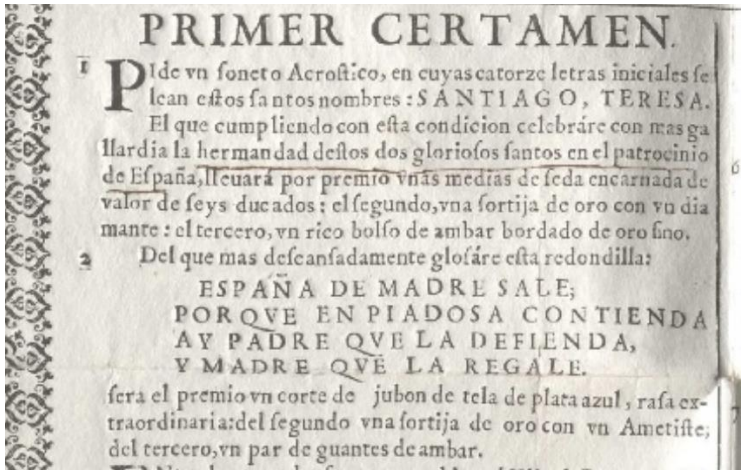
El Padre Fr. Alonso de la madre de Dios Prior del Conuento de los santos Martires de Carmelitas Descalços.

El Padre Fr. Gaspar de S. Maria predicador del dicho Orden,

DARANSE LOS PREMIOS EN EL CONVENTO DE LOS SS. MARTIRES, VIERNES XII. DE OTVBRE DIA OCTAVO DE LA SANTA, POR LA TARDE.

En Granada, Por Francisco Heylan. Año de M. D C. XVIII.

Figure 1 (Biblioteca Nacional de España Ms 4011, fol. 288v)



PRIMER CERTAMEN.

1 Pide vn soneto Acrostico, en cuyas catorze letras iniciales se lean estos santos nombres: SANTIAGO, TERESA.

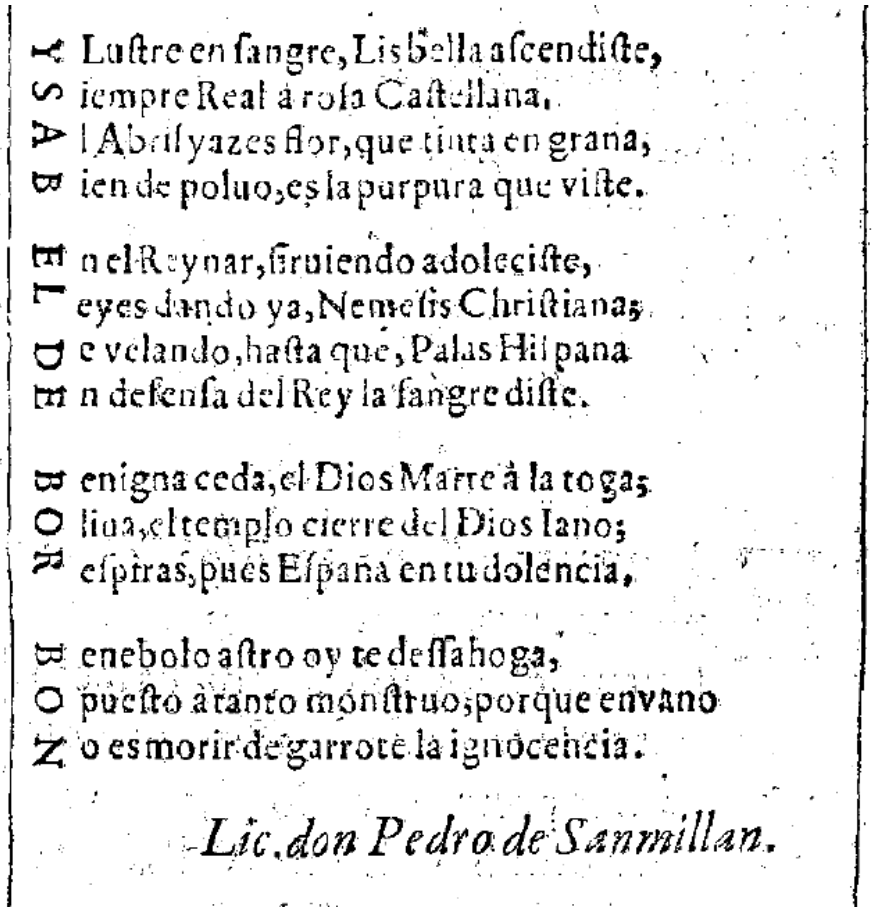
El que cumpliendo con esta condicion celebráre con mas gallardia la hermandad destos dos gloriosos santos en el patrocinio de España, llevará por premio vnas medias de seda encarnada de valor de seys ducados: el segundo, vna sortija de oro con vn diamante: el tercero, vn rico bolso de ambar bordado de oro fino.

2 Del que mas descansadamente glosáre esta redondilla:

ESPAÑA DE MADRE SALE,
PORQVE EN PIADOSA CONTIENDA
AY PADRE QVE LA DEFIENDA,
Y MADRE QVE LA REGALE.

sera el premio vn corte de jubon de tela de plata azul, rasa extraordinaria: del segundo vna sortija de oro con vn Ametiste, del tercero, vn par de guantes de ambar.

Figure 2 (Closeup of Biblioteca Nacional de España Ms 4011, fol. 288v)



I Lustre en sangre, Lis bella ascendiste,
S iempre Real à rosa Castellana,
A l Abril yazes flor, que tinta en grana,
B ien de poluo, es la purpura que viste.

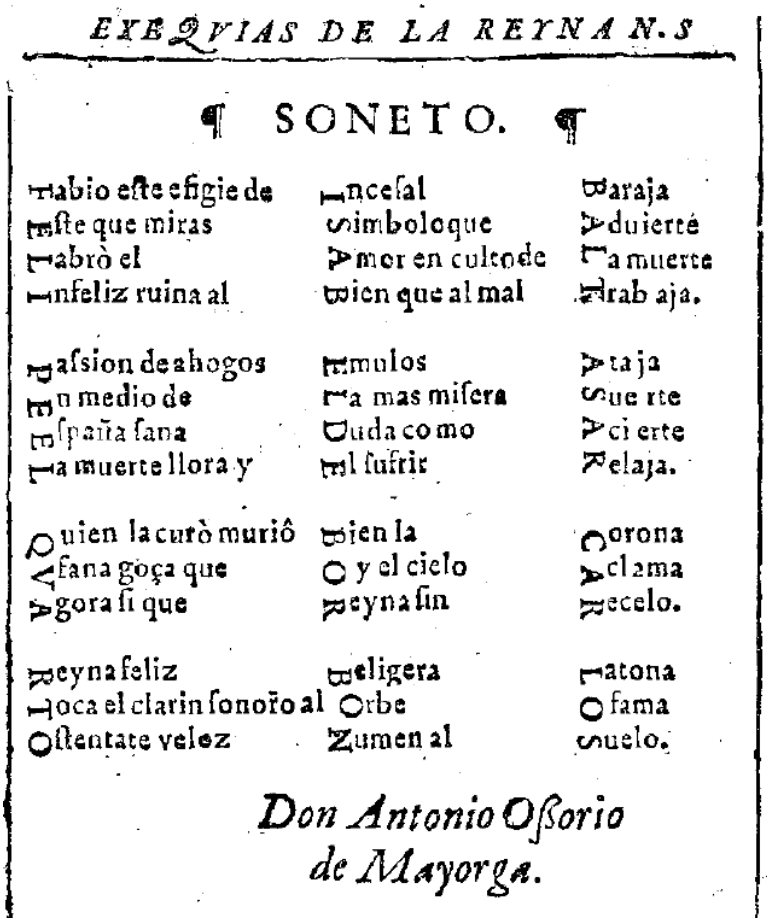
I n el Reynar, siruiendo adolesciste,
S eyes dando ya, Nemesis Christiana;
A e velando, hasta que, Palas Hilpana
B n defensa del Rey la sangre diste.

E nigna ceda, el Dios Marte à la toga;
L iua, el templo cierre del Dios Iano;
D espiras, pues España en tu dolencia,

B ene bolo astro oy te dessahoga,
O puesto à tanto monstruo; porque en vano
N o es morir de garrote la ignocencia.

Lic. don Pedro de Sanmillan.

Figure 3 (Selection of *Exequias funerales que celebro la muy insigne y real Vniuersidad de Valladolid* fol. 52r)



EXEQVIAS DE LA REYNA N.S

¶ SONETO. ¶

Habio eſte efigie de Lnceſal Baraja
Eſte que miras Simboloque Dduierte
Labrò el Amor en culto de La muerte
Infeliz ruina al bien que al mal Drab aja.

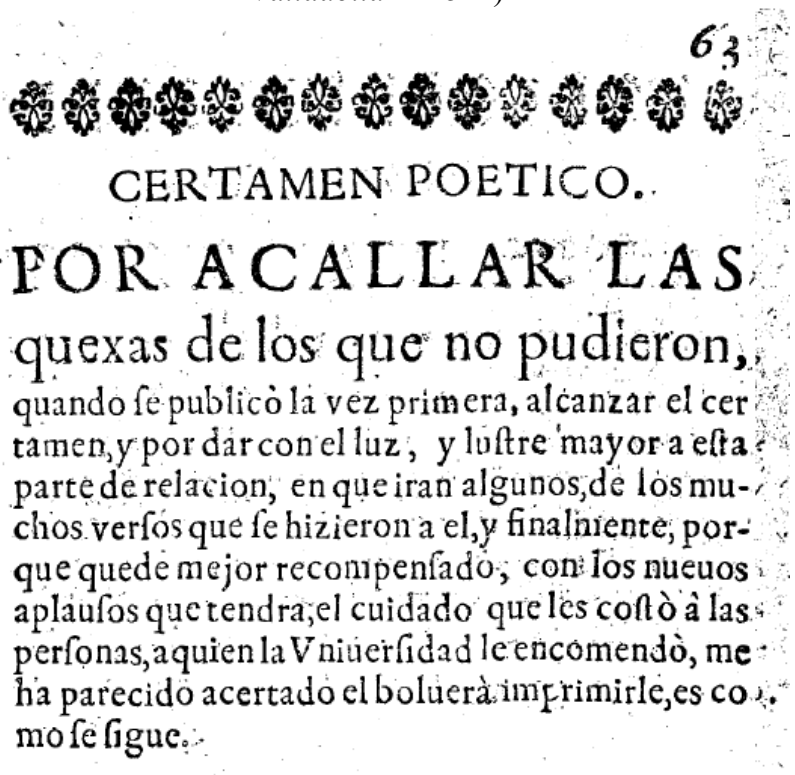
Paſsion de ahogos Emulos Ataja
En medio de La mas miſera Sue rte
Eſpaña ſana Duda como Aci erte
La muerte llora y El ſufrir Relaja.

Quien la curò muriô Bien la Corona
Vfana goça que O y el cielo Aclama
Agora ſi que Reyna ſin Recelo.

Reyna feliz Beligera Latona
Toca el clarin ſonoro al Orbe O fama
Oſtentate velez Zumen al Suelo.

Don Antonio Oſorio de Mayorga.

Figure 4 (Selection of *Exequias funerales que celebro la muy insigne y real Vniuersidad de Valladolid* fol. 52v)

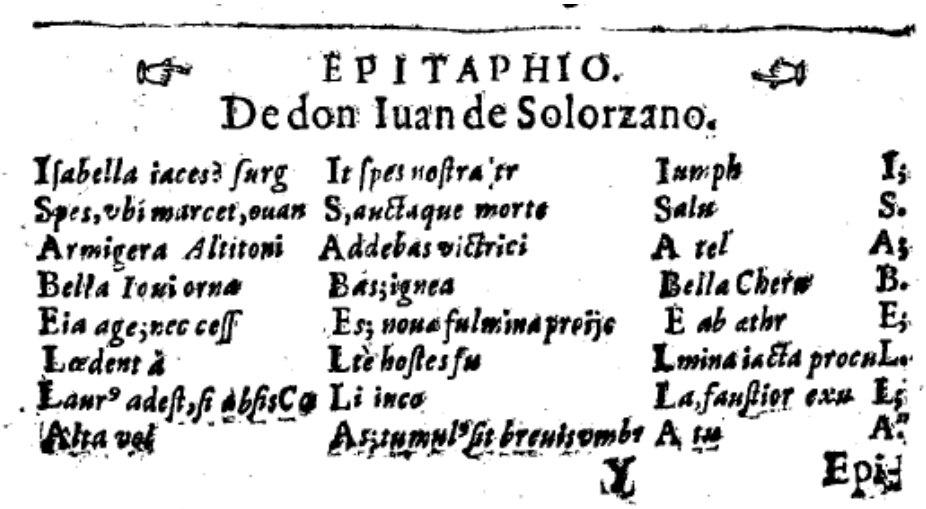


63

CERTAMEN POETICO.

POR ACALLAR LAS quexas de los que no pudieron, quando ſe publicò la vez primera, alcanzar el certamen, y por dar con el luz, y luſtre mayor a eſta parte de relacion, en que iran algunos, de los muchos verſos que ſe hizieron a el, y finalmente, porque quede mejor recompenſado, con los nueuos aplauſos que tendra, el cuidado que les coſtò à las perſonas, a quien la Vniuerſidad le encomendò, me ha parecido acertado el boluerà imprimirle, es como ſe ſigue.

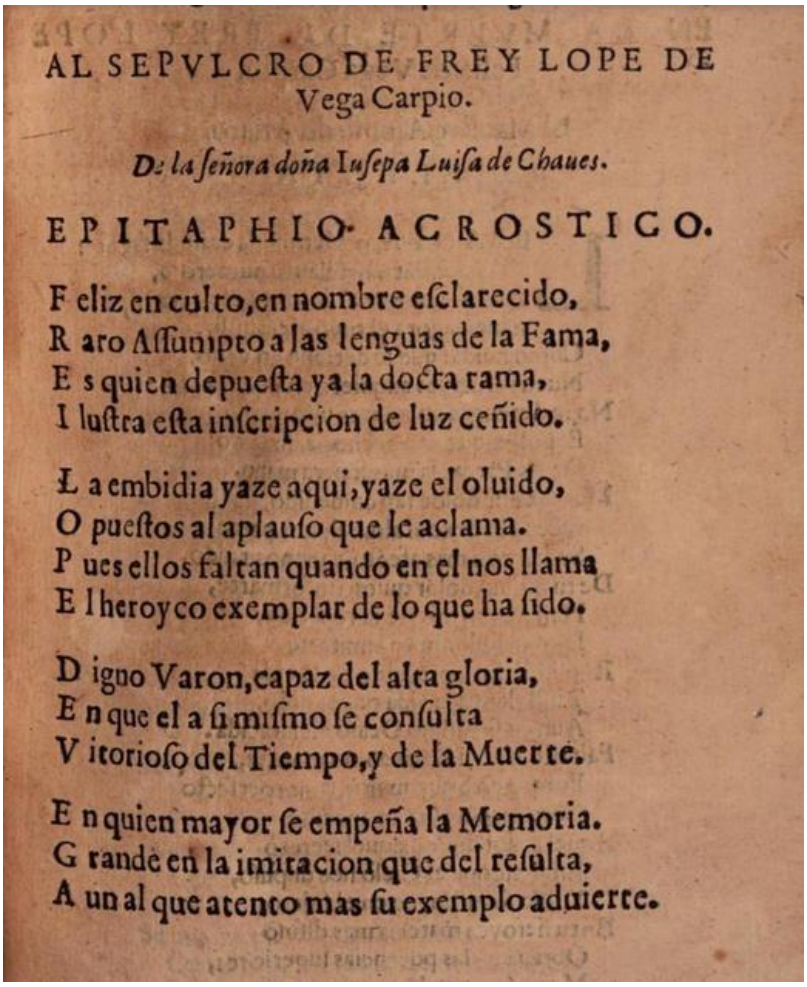
Figure 5 (Lançina y Ulloa, 63)



EPITAPHIO.
De don Iuan de Solorzano.

Iſabella iaces? ſurg / It ſpes noſtra 'tr / Iumph I;
Spes, vbi marcet, ouan / S, auctaque morte / Salu S.
Armigera Altitoni / Addebas victrici / A tel A;
Bella Ioui orna / Bas; ignea / Bella Cheru B.
Eia age; nec ceſſ / Es; noua fulmina preſſe / E ab æthr E;
Lædent à / Ltè hoſtes fu / Lmina iacta procu L.
Laur⁹ adeſt, ſi abſis C / Li inco / La, fauſtior exu L;
Alta vel / As; tumul⁹ ſit breui ſombr / A tu A.

Figure 6 (Lançina y Ulloa 1655, 83)



AL SEPVLCRO DE FREY LOPE DE Vega Carpio.

De la ſeñora doña Iuſepa Luiſa de Chaues.

EPITAPHIO ACROSTICO.

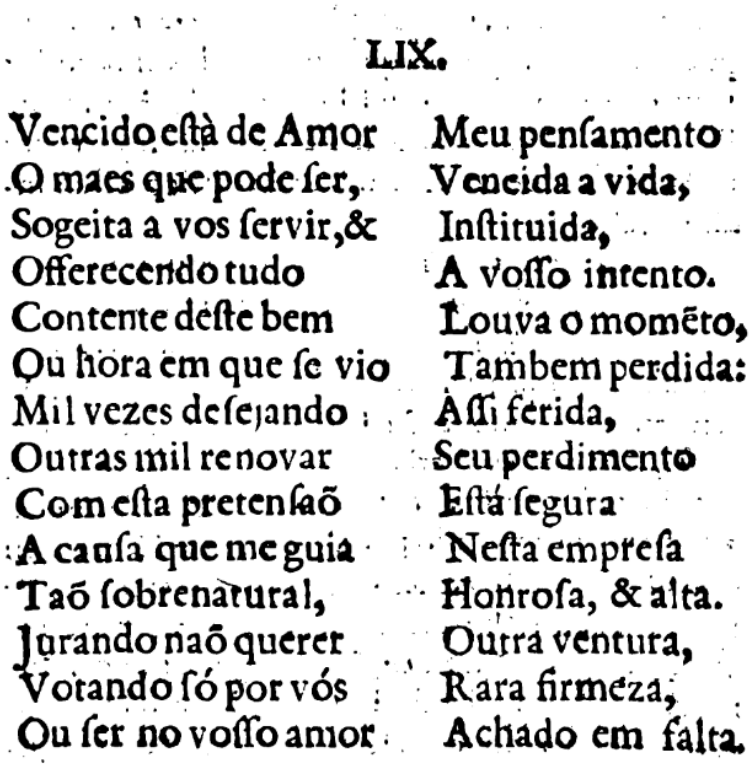
F eliz en culto, en nombre eſclarecido,
R aro Aſſumpto a las lenguas de la Fama,
E s quien depueſta ya la docta rama,
I luſtra eſta inſcripcion de luz ceñido.

L a embidia yaze aqui, yaze el oluido,
O pueſtos al aplauſo que le aclama.
P ues ellos faltan quando en el nos llama
E l heroyco exemplar de lo que ha ſido.

D igno Varon, capaz del alta gloria,
E n que el a ſi miſmo ſe conſulta
V itorioſo del Tiempo, y de la Muerte.

E n quien mayor ſe empeña la Memoria.
G rande en la imitacion que del reſulta,
A un al que atento mas ſu exemplo aduierte.

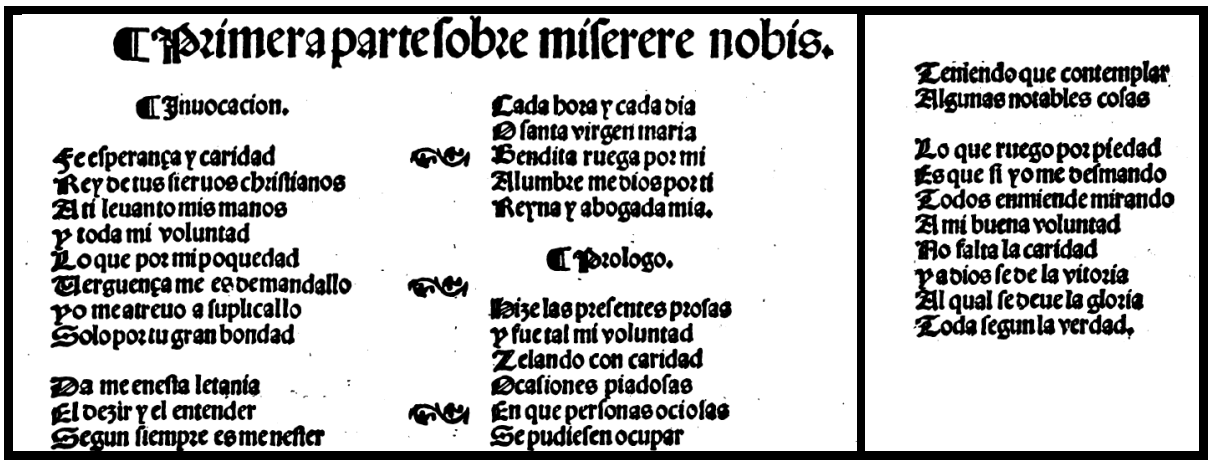
Figure 7 (Pérez de Montalbán 1636, fol. 93r)



LIX.

Vencido està de Amor — Meu penſamento
O mais que pode ſer, — Vencida a vida,
Sogeita a vos ſervir,& — Inſtituida,
Offerecendo tudo — A voſſo intento.
Contente deſte bem — Louva o momẽto,
Ou hora em que ſe vio — Tambem perdida:
Mil vezes deſejando — Aſſi ferida,
Outras mil renovar — Seu perdimento
Com eſta pretenſaõ — Eſtá ſegura
A cauſa que me guia — Neſta empreſa
Taõ ſobrenatural, — Honroſa, & alta.
Jurando naõ querer — Outra ventura,
Votando ſó por vós — Rara firmeza,
Ou ſer no voſſo amor — Achado em falta.

Figure 8 (Sousa 1685, 261-262)



Primera parte ſobre miſerere nobis.

Jnuocacion.

Fe eſperança y caridad
Rey de tus ſieruos chriſtianos
A ti leuanto mis manos
y toda mi voluntad
Lo que por mi poquedad
Verguença me es demandallo
yo me atreuo a ſuplicallo
Solo por tu gran bondad

Da me eneſta letanía
El dezir y el entender
Segun ſiempre es menester

Cada hora y cada dia
O ſanta virgen maria
Bendita ruega por mi
Alumbre me dios por ti
Reyna y abogada mia.

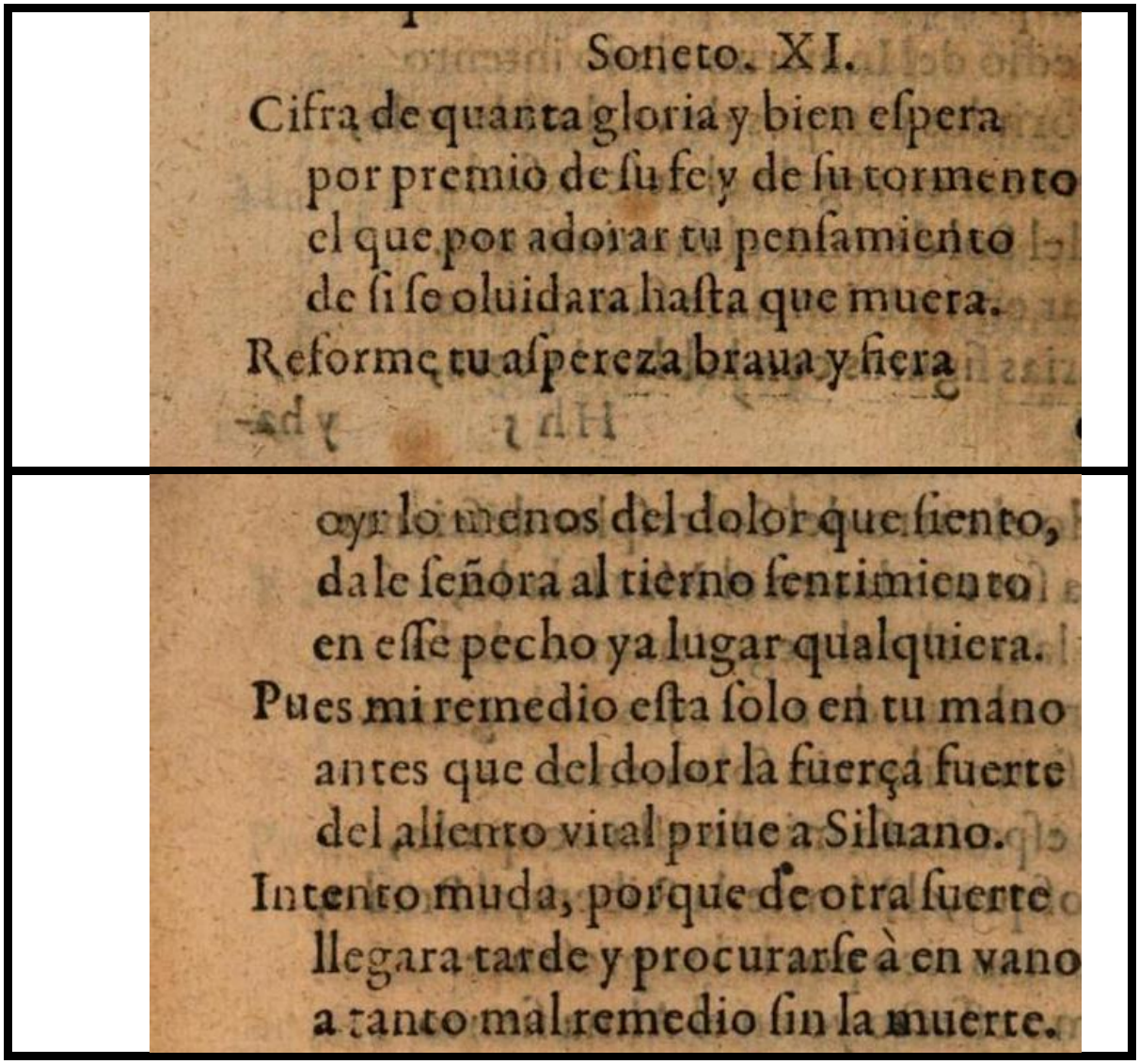
Prologo.

Hize las preſentes proſas
y fue tal mi voluntad
Zelando con caridad
Ocaſiones piadoſas
En que perſonas ociosas
Se pudieſen ocupar

Temiendo que contemplar
Algunas notables coſas

Lo que ruego por piedad
Es que ſi yo me deſmando
Todos enmiende mirando
A mi buena voluntad
Pio falta la caridad
y a dios ſe de la vitoria
Al qual ſe deue la gloria
Toda ſegun la verdad.

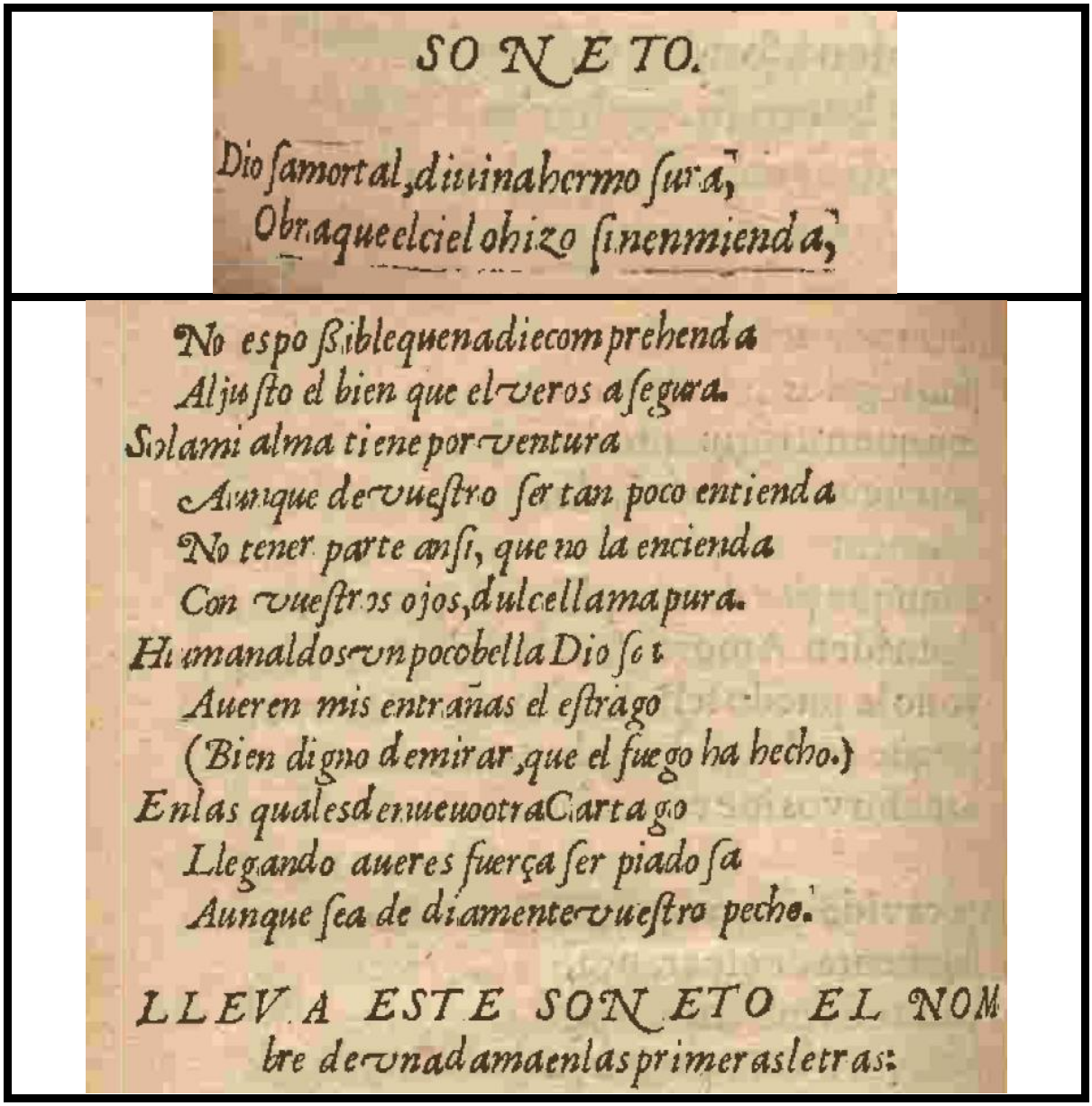
Figure 9 (Escobar 1545, folios. CLXXXVII-r and v)



Soneto. XI.

Cifra de quanta gloria y bien eſpera
por premio de ſu fe y de ſu tormento
el que por adorar tu penſamiento
de ſi ſe oluidara haſta que muera.
Reforme tu aſpereza braua y fiera
oyr lo menos del dolor que ſiento,
dale ſeñora al tierno ſentimiento
en eſſe pecho ya lugar qualquiera.
Pues mi remedio eſta ſolo en tu mano
antes que del dolor la fuerça fuerte
del aliento vital priue a Siluano.
Intento muda, porque de otra ſuerte
llegara tarde y procurarſe à en vano
a tanto mal remedio ſin la muerte.

Figure 10 (Padilla 1582)

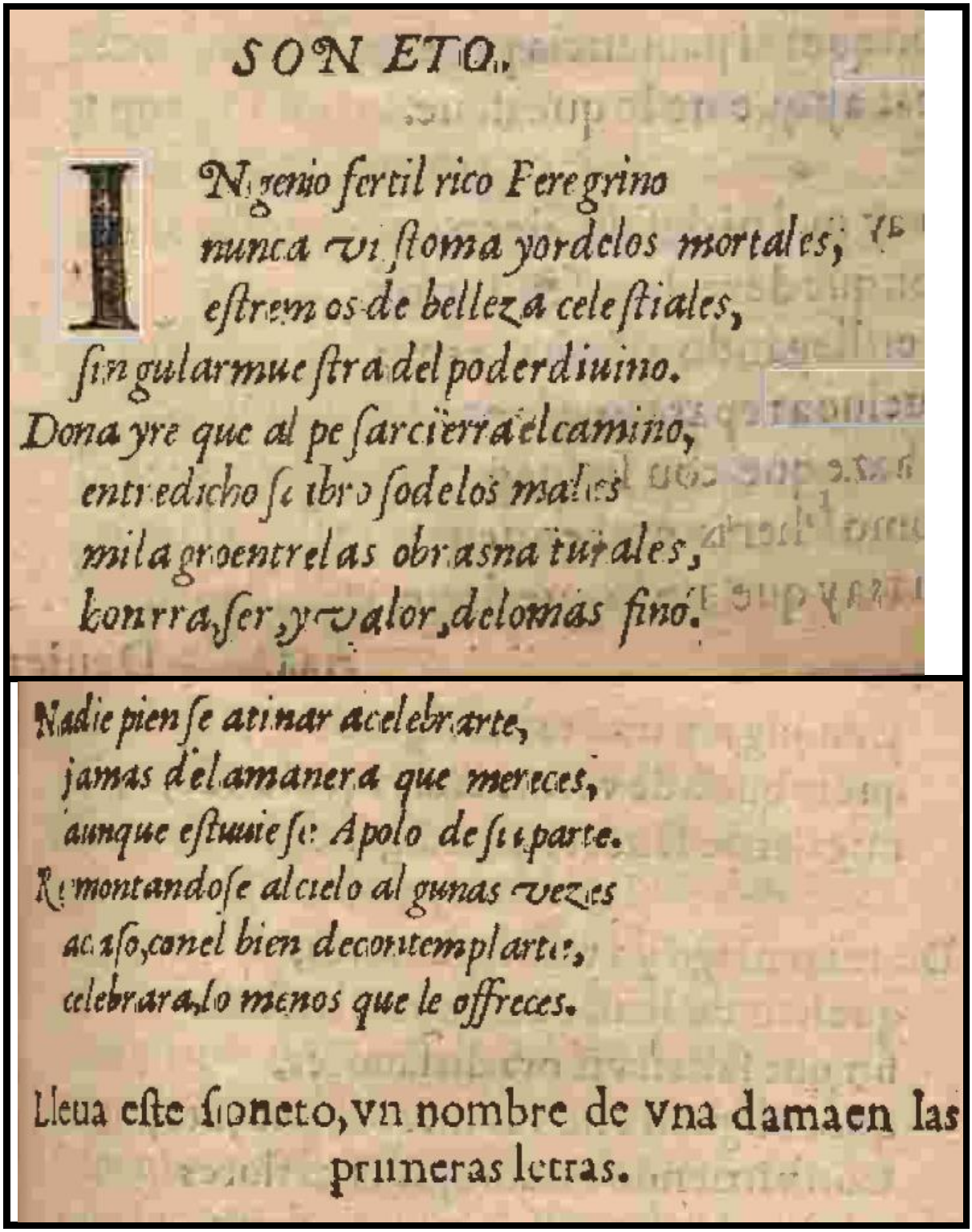


SONETO.

Dio ſamortal, diuinahermoſura,
Obraqueelcielohizo ſinenmienda,
No espoſſiblequenadiecomprehenda
Aljuſto el bien que el ⁊eros aſegura.
Solami alma tiene por ⁊entura
Aunque de ⁊ueſtro ſer tan poco entienda
No tener parte anſi, que no la encienda
Con ⁊ueſtros ojos, dulcellama pura.
Humanaldos ⁊un pocobella Dioſa
Aueren mis entrañas el eſtrago
(Bien digno demirar, que el fuego ha hecho.)
Enlas qualesdenueuootraCartago
Llegando aueres fuerça ſer piadoſa
Aunque ſea de diamente ⁊ueſtro pecho.

LLEVA ESTE SONETO EL NOM
bre de ⁊unadamaenlasprimeraſletras:

Figure 11 (Padilla 1580, folio. 132r-v)



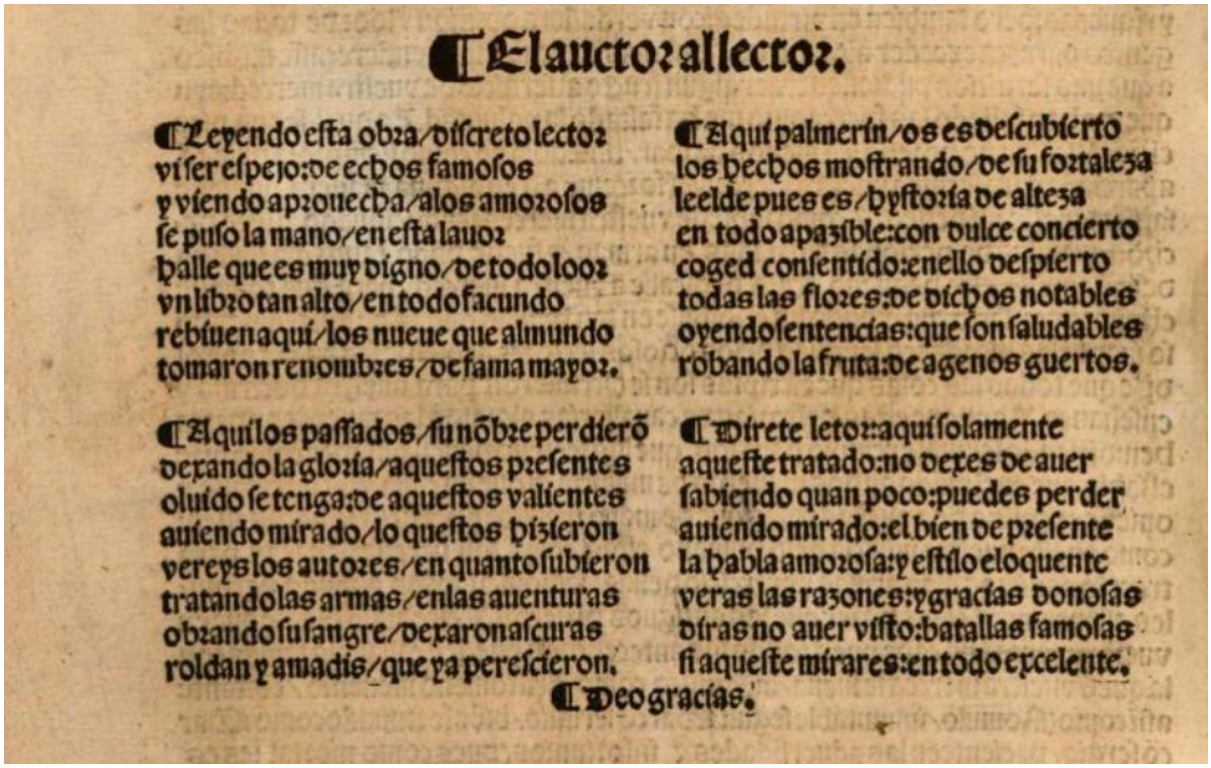
SONETO.

INgenio fertil rico Peregrino
nunca vi ſtoma yordelos mortales,
eſtremos de belleza celeſtiales,
ſingular muestra del poder diuino.
Donayre que al peſar cierra el camino,
entredicho ſe libro ſodelos males
milagro entre las obras naturales,
konrra ſer, y valor, delomas fino.

Nadie pienſe atinar acelebrarte,
jamas delamanera que mereces,
aunque eſtuuieſe Apolo de ſu parte.
Remontandoſe alcielo algunas vezes
acaſo, conel bien decontemplarte,
celebrara, lo menos que le offreces.

Lleua eſte ſoneto, vn nombre de vna damaen las primeras letras.

Figure 12 (Padilla 1580, folios. 369v-370r).



El auctor a lector.

Leyendo esta obra/discreto lector
ver ser espejo: de echos famosos
y viendo aprouecha/a los amorosos
se puso la mano/en esta lauor
halle que es muy digno/de todo loor
vn libro tan alto/en todo facundo
rebiuen aquí/los nueue que al mundo
tomaron renombres/de fama mayor.

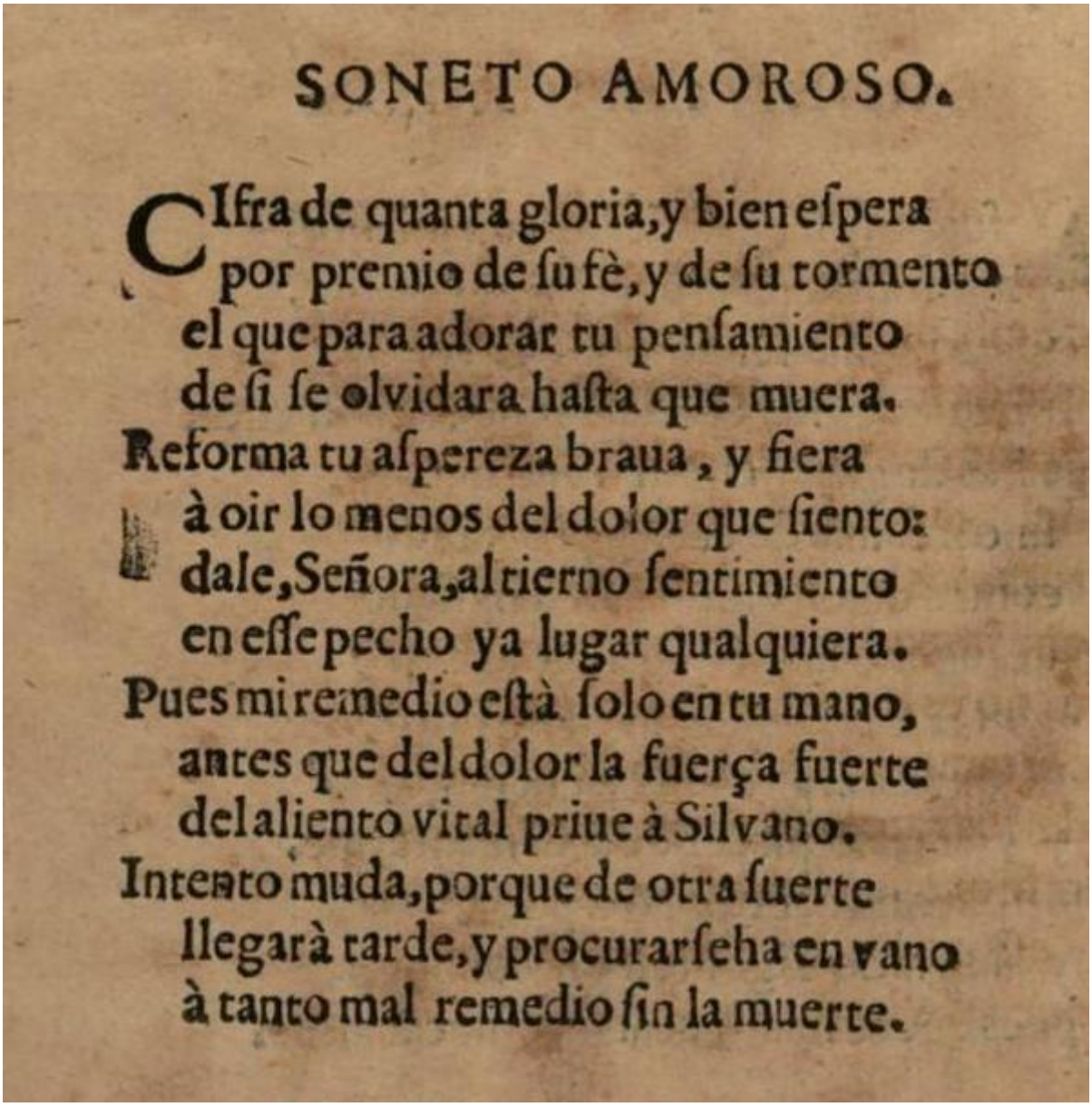
Aquí los passados/su nõbre perdierõ
dexando la gloria/aquestos presentes
oluido se tenga: de aquestos valientes
auiendo mirado/lo questos hizieron
vereys los autores/en quanto subieron
tratando las armas/en las auenturas
obrando su sangre/dexaron escuras
roldan y amadis/que ya perescieron.

Aquí palmerin/os es descubierto
los hechos mostrando/de su fortaleza
leelde pues es/hystoria de alteza
en todo apazible: con dulce concierto
coged consentido: en ello despierto
todas las flores: de dichos notables
oyendo sentencias: que son saludables
robando la fruta: de agenos guertos.

Direte leto: aquí solamente
aqueste tratado: no dexes de auer
sabiendo quan poco: puedes perder
auiendo mirado: el bien de presente
la habla amorosa: y estilo eloquente
veras las razones: y gracias donosas
diras no auer visto: batallas famosas
si aqueste mirares: en todo excelente.

Deo gracias.

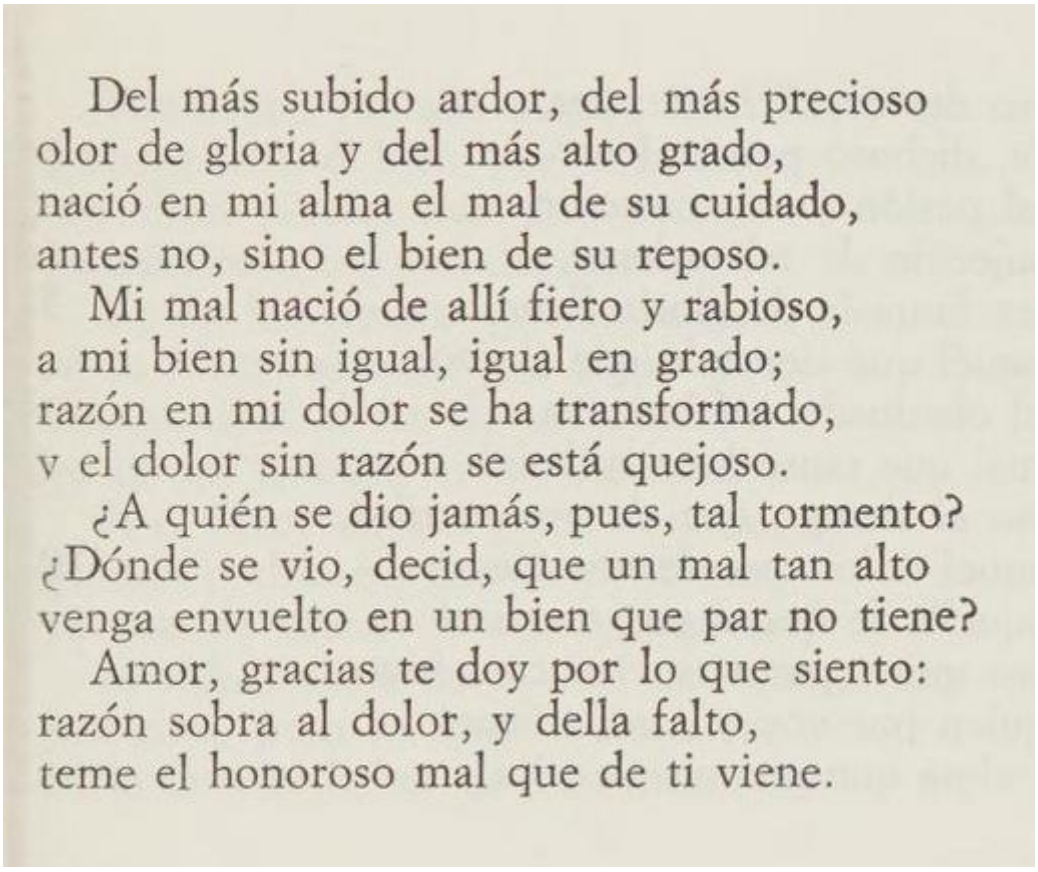
Figure 13 (*Palmerín de Inglaterra* 1547, *prólogo*).



SONETO AMOROSO.

CIfra de quanta gloria,y bien eſpera
por premio de ſu fè,y de ſu tormento
el que para adorar tu penſamiento
de ſi ſe olvidara haſta que muera.
Reforma tu aſpereza braua, y fiera
à oir lo menos del dolor que ſiento:
dale,Señora,al tierno ſentimiento
en eſſe pecho ya lugar qualquiera.
Pues mi remedio eſtà ſolo en tu mano,
antes que del dolor la fuerça fuerte
del aliento vital priue à Silvano.
Intento muda,porque de otra ſuerte
llegarà tarde,y procurarſeha en vano
à tanto mal remedio ſin la muerte.

Figure 14 (Quevedo 1670, 34)



Del más subido ardor, del más precioso
olor de gloria y del más alto grado,
nació en mi alma el mal de su cuidado,
antes no, sino el bien de su reposo.
Mi mal nació de allí fiero y rabioso,
a mi bien sin igual, igual en grado;
razón en mi dolor se ha transformado,
y el dolor sin razón se está quejoso.
¿A quién se dio jamás, pues, tal tormento?
¿Dónde se vio, decid, que un mal tan alto
venga envuelto en un bien que par no tiene?
Amor, gracias te doy por lo que siento:
razón sobra al dolor, y della falto,
teme el honoroso mal que de ti viene.

Figure 15 (Cetina 1981, 225)

Milagros en quien sólo están de asiento
alta deidad y ser esclareçido:
resplandeçiente norte que a seguido
ymaginaria luz del pensamiento,
a cuyo libre y bario mouimiento
del viuir y morir se tiene oluido:
éxtasis puro del mejor sentido:
misteriosa razón del sentimiento:
executiua luz que al punto ciega:
noble crédito al alma más perdida,
donde son premios muertes y despoxos:
Oriente a quien nunca (la) noche llega:
¡çierta muerte hallara en Vos mi vida,
a ser morir, morir por esos ojos!

Figure 16 (Mele, Bonilla and San Martín 1925, Part II, 200)