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The poet as God: Landino's poetics in Spain (from Francesc Alegre to Alfonso de Carvalho)

This paper aims to offer some material on Platonic literary theory in Spain during the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Curiously, an important part of this literary Platonism is not found in poetics but in treatises on mythology or commentaries on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Without doubt this Platonism followed the precedent of Boccaccio's *De genealogia deorum*, but it was also influenced by the Platonism which favoured allegory and had instituted in Florence, with Marsilio Ficino and Cristoforo Landino, a new poetics in which myth played a fundamental role.¹ The most famous formulation of this Platonic poetics based upon myth was made by Cristoforo Landino (1424–1504), who taught poetry and oratory in Florence from 1458 to 1498. His *Comento sopra la Comedia di Dante Alighieri poeta fiorentino* (Florence: Nicolaus Laurentii Alamanus, 30 August 1481), which was the most widely read guide to Dante in the century after the invention of printing, is a Platonic commentary on the most divine of poets preceded by a short theoretical *Proemio* on poetics.² Among the literary theorists of the beginning of the sixteenth century the basic ideas of literary Platonism were spread not, I believe, by the master Ficino, but by Landino, and above all through the *Proemio al Comento dantesco*. Landino's commentary on Virgil (1488), his *Disputationes Camaldulenses* (1481), and his *In Q. Horatii Flacci opera omnia interpretatio* (1482) were undoubtedly read too, but I believe that their importance was less, at least in Spain.

1. God as poet: Landino, Ficino, and J. Badius Ascensius

The idea of 'Deus artifex' is very ancient, being bound up with the concept of nature as God's book. In a classic chapter Curtius traces it from St Augustine's *De*

1. See A. Moss, *Poetry and Fable: Studies in Mythological Narrative in Sixteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984), pp. 13–14, and C. Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, 2 vols (London: Constable, 1970), II, 683–721.
2. In the Appendix I print the *Proemio* from Cristoforo Landino, *Scritti critici e teorici*, ed. Roberto Cardini, 2 vols, I critici italiani 1–2 (Rome: Bulzoni, 1974), I, 142–43 (henceforth *Proemio al Comento dantesco*). On the widespread popularity of Landino's *Comento* see the article by C. Dionisotti in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, ed. U. Bosco, 2nd edn (Rome: 1984), III, s.v. 'Cristoforo Landino'; for his influence on Joachim Du Bellay's *Deffense et illustration de la langue françoise* and on Shaftesbury see R. Cardini, 'Landino e Dante', *Rinascimento*, 30 (1990), 175–190 (177) and J. Lecoq, *L'idéal et la différence: la perception de la personnalité littéraire à la Renaissance* (Geneva: Droz, 1993), pp. 286 and 310–11.

civitate Dei to St Bonaventure.³ However, Landino and the Platonists of the Renaissance added a new slant to the dignification of the poet with the equivalence between God and the poet and their similar capacity of creating out of nothing. As Landino explains in his *Proemio al Commento dantesco*:

Ed e' greci dissono poeta da questo verbo poiein, el quale è in mezzo tra creare che è proprio di Dio quando di niente produce in essere alcuna cosa, et fare che è degli uomini in ciascuna arte, quando di materia e di forma compongono. Imperò che benché il figmento del poeta non sia al tutto di niente, pure si parte dal fare e al creare molto s'appressa. Ed è Idio sommo poeta ed è el mondo suo poema.

The poet's work is God's, and God's activity is that of the poet. This deification of the poet was a new historical notion which reflected the changed role of the humanist and poet in the bourgeois and mercantile society of the Renaissance. At the same time, it cleared the way for the modern concept of creativity and the moral justification of fiction.

Landino's ideas on poetics also found another echo that deserves to be emphasized in the *In Publum Terentium Praenotamenta* (ca 1500) of Josse Badius Ascensius, the printer and humanist active in Lyon around the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth.⁴ This text was widely read in Spain from Torro Naharro to Lope de Vega. Badius's ideas in the chapter 'Quid sit poeta et quantum eius dignitas' follow Landino, dealing also, as does the Florentine, with the four Platonic *furors*, with special attention to the poetical: 'Et is furor est qui diuinis poetis datur, qui perfecto concentu numerorum uersus altisonos raptu in spiritibus edunt' (Terentius, *Comedie*, [n.p.]: S. Balan, 1505, fol. A3r). We also find in Badius the idea that the poet is akin to God and has similar functions to Him, as appears in Landino and as we will find later in Francesco Alegre. But Badius developed the idea more deeply, distinguishing six functions or *officia* of God that the poet also

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3. Augustine, *De ci. Dei* XI, 18: 'Neque enim Deus ullum, non dico angelorum, sed uel hominum crearet, quem malum futurum esse praescisset, nisi pariter nosset quibus et bonorum usibus commodaret, atque ita ordinem saeculorum tanquam pulcherrimum carmen quibusdam antithesis honestaret'. See E. R. Curtius, 'God as Maker', in his *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, tr. Willard R. Trask (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953), pp. 544–46; also Arthur Terry, *Seventeenth-Century Spanish Poetry: The Power of Artifice* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), pp. 87, 269; J. M. Gellrich, *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages: Language Theory, Mythology, and Fiction* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985), chap. 1 and p. 14; and Grahame Castor, *Pléiade Poetics: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Thought and Terminology* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1964), pp. 90–91.
 4. According to Philippe Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des oeuvres de J. Badius Ascensius, imprimeur et humaniste, 1462–1535*, 3 vols (Paris: E. Paul et fils, 1908), I, 140, Badius studied at Ghent and Louvain, and subsequently in Ferrara with Guarino and in Mantua with Beroaldo the Elder. While living in Lyon as corrector for the printer Trechsel, he became a member of Gaguin's circle; his publications began in 1493 with annotations to Terence and the *Syluae morales*, including excerpts from Virgil, Baptista Mantuanus, et al. The first edition of the *Praenotamenta*, according to Renouard (p. 145), appeared about 1500. See Bernard Weinberg, 'Badius Ascensius and the Transmission of Medieval Literary Criticism', *Roman Philology*, 9 (1955), 209–16 (212), and María José Vega, 'Teoría de la comedia e idea de teatro: los *Praenotamenta* terencianos en el siglo XVI', *Epos*, 11 (1995), 243–63.

fulfils. The first coincides with Landino (fol. A4r):

Imitantur ergo sepe poete Deum in hoc, quod non modo materiam gestam exornant sed interdum totam fingunt, sicut Deus non solum per naturam facit ut similia ex similibus procreentur, sed primam materiam omnium rerum ex nihilo fecit. Quocirca apud Grecos eodem uocabulo factor celi et terre et factor poematis appellatur, uide licet poeta. Nam in Symbolo apostolorum, ubi ecclesia nostra canit modo factorem modo creatorem celi et terre, Greci psallunt poetam.⁵

Second, according to Badius, the poet becomes equivalent to God by his capacity for creating harmony out of discordant elements; third, by the beauty that all his creations have; fourth, by his ability to regenerate the sinner; fifth, by his divine control over the future; and sixth, by his capacity for giving eternal life. Badius tells us there are still more similarities, should the pious reader wish to seek them.

The concept of the poet as creator is fundamentally different from the ancient conception of the poet as verse-maker, as Lieberg points out. According to Lieberg it was the Judeo-Christian tradition, not the classical, which provided the basis for the concept of the poet who creates out of nothing. At the heart of this concept is the idea of the poet as God. But Lieberg does not find instances of the idea before the *Poetices libri* of J. C. Scaliger (1561) and the *Discorsi del poema eroico* of Torquato Tasso (1595). In truth it is attested a century before, and we already find it in Landino and Badius.

2. The translation of the *Metamorphoses* by Francesc Alegre

In fifteenth-century Catalonia we find the first conjunction of myth and poetics: it occurs in the commentary or allegorization of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by the consul of Palermo and citizen of Barcelona, Francesc Alegre, printed as *Quinze libres de Transformacions del poeta Ovidi e los quinze libres de allegories e morals exposicions sobre ells* (Barcelona: Pere Miquel, 1494), but probably written before Alegre's departure for Sicily in 1482.⁶ Alegre knew the Italian cultural world, because, among other things,

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5. On the antecedents of 'God as poet' in the Neoplatonism of Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, V, 1, 19–20 see Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, pp. 443–45: 'there is a great similarity between "diuinum opus mundi" and the "poeticum opus", between the "deus opifex" and the "poeta"'. On the Stoic distinction between the 'creare et gignere' of art and the 'ignem artificiosum, magistrum artium reliquarum' of *opifex Natura* in Cicero, *De natura deorum* II, xxii, 57 see Godo Lieberg, *Poeta Creator* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1982), p. 179.
 6. I use the copy in Barcelona, BC 11-7-16; there is another in London, BL IB.52537. For the date of composition see Jaume Turró, 'Officium poetae est fingere. Francesc Alegre i la *Faula de Neptuno i Dyana*', in Lola Badia & Albert Soler (eds), *Intel·lectuals i escriptors a la Baixa Edat Mitjana* (Barcelona: Curial, 1994), pp. 221–41 (224). Alegre's dedication to Juana de Aragón, sister of Fernando II, reads: 'me an empès los trenta libres, qui ab ygal nombre les faules y allegories del libre de *Transformacions del poeta Ovidi* ab los dos pròlechs in passat ordenats, per lo plaer dels vulgars endreçar y donant presentar a vostra senyoria' (fol. A2r; see Turró, *loc. cit.*, p. 225, n. 12). See also Pedro M. Cátedra, *Amor y pedagogía en la Edad Media: estudios de doctrina amorosa y práctica literaria* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1989), pp. 162–72; Martí de Riquer, *L'humanisme català* (Barcelona: Barcino, 1934), pp. 82–87; Lola Badia, 'Per

he was influenced, discreetly but surely, by the Italian translation of the *Metamorphoses* by Giovanni Bonsignori, written ca 1370, and he certainly also knew Boccaccio well, and something of Cristoforo Landino.⁷

The presence of Boccaccio's *De genealogia deorum* is constant in Alegre's allegories. Nor did Alegre hide it; at the very beginning, in the prologue to his commentary, the 'Johan Bocaci de Sertaldo' whom 'vui honra Toscana ab ses invencions' appears to him in a Dantesque dream-vision.⁸ So that no one may doubt the holiness of Boccaccio, the Virgin Mary herself, through her intercessions to God, has the author of the *Decameron* appointed herald and divine emissary to carry Alegre through the world of myth. Boccaccio appears to him, as Virgil did to Dante, to guide and introduce him to many authorities divided and ordered in *esquadres* in Dantesque fashion. Throughout the succeeding commentary each character invoked by Boccaccio, as in the mythological dialogues of Roís of Corella, gives their explanation of the Ovidian myths.

Alegre evidently knew the *De Genealogia deorum* of Boccaccio *ad unguem*, including of course Books XIV and XV, some phrases of which are covertly inlaid in the second prologue, where Alegre states his intention in writing the commentary (see the parallel passages on the opposite page). A few lines later Alegre explains the origin of the term 'fable', quoting at length from *De Genealogia deorum* XIV, 9 and

la presència d'Ovidi a l'Edat Mitjana catalana amb notes sobre les traduccions de les *Heroides* i de les *Metamorfosis* al vulgar', in *Studia in honorem M. de Riquer*, 3 vols (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1986), I, 87-94; and Lola Badia, 'Traduccions al català dels segles XIV-XV i innovació cultural i literària', *Estudi general*, 11 (1991), 31-43.

7. On Bonsignori's *Ovidii Metamorphoseos* (Venice: J. Rubens, 1497) see R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1973), p. 531. For Alegre's indebtedness to him cf. their versions of *Met.* I, 7 'Quem dixere chaos, rudis indigestaque moles' (Bonsignori 1r-v 'el chiamaron chaos e fue una grossa e non compartita compositione' / Alegre 1r 'a qui los antichs anomenaren cahos e era una grossa: e no compartida composició'); *Met.* I, 10-11, 'Nullus adhuc mundo praebebat lumina Titan, Nec noua crescendo reparabat cornua Phoebe' (Bonsignori 1v 'e niuno sole o luce rendeua luce al mondo ne la luna crescendo reempia le sue corna' / Alegre 1r 'negun sol retia lum al món ne la luna crexent reomplia los novells corns'). Alegre himself alludes to previous versions in Italian (Bonsignori?), Castilian, and Catalan ('que les faules d'Ovidi no sol són traduïdes en passat en toscà, mes en castellà, y per ventura en català, d'on se escusa lo treball', fol. 264v), and, clearly defending his own place within this vernacular tradition, offers a justification for repeated translations of the same work: 'Jherònim [...], Leonart Aretí [...], tots se són honrats de haver tralladat coses ya trelladades'; see Lola Badia, 'La legitimació del discurs literari en vulgar segons Ferran Valentí', in Badia & Soler, *Intel·lectuals i escriptors*, pp. 161-84 (163), and R. Copeland 'Translation and Intralingual Reception', in her *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991), pp. 127-50. On the use of Italian versions of classical texts by fifteenth-century Spanish translators see, for example, G. Avenozza & J. I. Pérez Pascual, 'La traducción de Salustio obra de Vasco Ramírez de Guzmán', *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, 41 (1995), 9-26 (18, n. 42) and, on Ovid in particular, L. Carrasco, 'Übersetzungen aus den lateinischen Klassikern im italienischen und spanischen Humanismus' in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bariensis*, pp. 175-82 and 147-48.

8. See the long extract from this prologue in Riquer, *L'humanisme català*, pp. 85-88. On the influence of Boccaccio see Santillana, *Prohemio e Carta*, ed. A. Gómez Moreno (Madrid: PPU, 1990), pp. 96-97, and his *España y la Italia de los humanistas* (Madrid: Gredos, 1994), p. 159.

Alegre, *Transformacions* fol. 136r (ap. Riquer, *Humanisme català*, p. 85)

Dos grans necessitats m'empnyen: la primera, haver en lo començ promès; la segona, lo maliciós rependre dels ignorants, qui sol mirant la escorça judican los poetes per hòmens mentirosos e, reprovant les faules, los tanquen les orelles. Contra aquests me vull yo detenir e clarament mostrar-los com no entenen lo que sots aquest nom han tractat los poetes. E perquè creen molts *poio* grech (d'on derivan *poesis* e *poeta*) significar *fengir*, fan d'ell poca estima; lo qual nom grech vol dir *crear*, segons que és testificat lo article primer de nostra fe en l'esglèsia grega; y aquests noms latins *crear* e *fer* tenen tal differència que *fer* és traure de una altra cosa en ésser, com totes les sciències de propi subiecte traen les regles lurs, e *crear* és de no res traure la cosa en ésser, com fan tots los poetes, component les grans invencions sens alguna doctrina, trobades, o creades en lur subtil entendre. E per ço la poesia és axí definida.

Boccaccio, *De genealogia deorum* XIV, 7, in his *Opere in versi*, ed. P. G. Ricci (Milan: Ricciardi, 1965), p. 944.

Cuius quidem poesis nomen non inde exortum est unde plurimi minus advertenter existimant, scilicet a *poio pois* quod idem sonat quod *finjo fingis*, quin imo a *poetes*, vetustissimum Grecorum vocabulum Latine sonans 'exquisita locutio'.⁹

Landino, *Proemio al Commento dantesco*, p. 142:

Ed e' greci dissono *poeta* da questo verbo *poiein*, el quale è in mezzo tra *creare*, che è proprio di Dio quando di niente produce in essere alcuna cosa, et *fare*, che è degl'uomini in ciascuna arte quando di materia e di forma compongono. Imperò che, benché il figmento del poeta non sia al tutto di niente, pure si parte dal *fare* e al *creare* molto s'appressa. Ed è Idio sommo poeta ed è el mondo suo poema.¹⁰

9. On the Petrarchan source for this passage see G. Martellotti, 'La difesa della poesia nel Boccaccio', in his *Dante e Boccaccio* (Florence: Olschki, 1983), pp. 170–71.
10. This idea of Landino's appeared also in his commentary on Horace's *Ars Poetica* (*Opera*, Venice, 1492–93, fol. 181): 'Facit homo ex materia quicquid facit, Deus ex nihilo creat. At poeta, etsi non omnino ex nihilo aliquid praestet, diuino furore afflatus ea eleganti carmine fingit, ut grandia quaedam et penitus admiranda suis figmentis pene ex nihilo produci uideatur.' See A. Buck, 'Dichtung und Dichter bei Cristoforo Landino', *Romanische Forschungen*, 58–59 (1947), 233–46, and his *Italienische Dichtungslehren vom Mittelalter bis zum Ausgang der Renaissance* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1952), pp. 89–93; E. N. Tigerstedt, 'The Poet as Creator: Origins of a Metaphor', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 20 (1970), 455–88; R. Cardini, *La critica del Landino* (Florence: Sansoni, 1973), pp. 108–09, n. 21; and D. Aguzzi-Barbagli, 'Humanism and Poetics', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, ed. A. Rabil, 3 vols (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), III, 85–169 (94).

distinguishing, like Boccaccio, four types of fables according to their various levels of fictionality and their capacity to conceal a second sense ('amagar altre seny', fol. 136v). For the fourth type of fable Alegre also follows Boccaccio, but adds:

és cosa de dones e hòmens ignorants, e ha degudament entre los antichs perdut lo nom de faulta, nomenant-se *rondalla*, dita a *rodando* perchè rodant del començ a la fi acaba sens donar altre fruyt.

Firmly based on Boccaccio, the consul of Palermo leads us again to conjoin myth and poetic theory. For Alegre, as for Roís de Corella, another great lover of myth, poetry is above all allegory, another sense ('un altre seny'). The truth does not exist by itself: 'lo ver de la hystoria' is always beyond it. And in that sense, classical myth is the most ancient and deepest truth. It is true that Roís de Corella's poetics in his *Lo jut de Paris*, or those of the author of the prologue to Book III of the chivalric romance *Curial e Güelfa*, do not depend on Boccaccio's humanistic poetics.¹¹ In this respect Alegre belonged to the same world, eager for mythology, as Roís or the anonymous author of *Curial e Güelfa*, but he is separated from them by his dependence on a more modern poetics, with better defences against the claims of the troubadour tradition or pure scholasticism.

In the middle of this Boccaccian material, however, Alegre includes some lines absent from his source. In an attempt to delimit the meaning of poetry, Alegre presents the poet as a creator *ex nihilo* comparable to God ('*crear* és de no res traure la cosa en ésser, com fan tots los poetes'). Now, this distinction between creation (*crear*) and making (*fer*) comes from the passage of Landino's *Commento dantesco* cited in the parallel column on the preceding page.¹² The Florentine limits the activity of the poet to something intermediate between *creare* and *fare*, something close to real creation even if 'il figmento del poeta non sia al tutto di niente'. Alegre, though he does not say so explicitly, considers the activity of the poet as that of God the Creator out of nothing, or rather the Creator or *factor* described in 'lo article primer de nostra fe en l'esglèsia grega', the first article of the Nicene Creed, 'I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible' (*factorem caeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium*). This reference to the Creed does not appear, however, in Landino, but in Badius's *Praenotamenta*, as we have seen ('in Symbolo apostolorum, ubi ecclesia nostra canit modo factorem modo creatorem celi et terre, Greci psallunt poetam', fol. A4r; see above at note 5). Chronology precludes us from making Alegre (1494) depend on Badius (ca 1500), nor would it be reasonable to postulate an influence of Alegre on Badius. Consequently, we must suppose either a common intermediate source for the two, or that Badius's text circulated before 1494. There is an annotated edition of

11. J. Pujol, '*Gaya vel gaudiosa, et alio nomine inveniendi sciencia*. les idees sobre la poesia en llengua vulgar als segles XIV i XV', in Badia & Soler, *Intellectuals i escriptors*, pp. 69-94 (91).

12. The translation of ποιέω as 'I make' appeared also in the annotations of Guy Jouvenaux and J. Badius Ascensius to Terence's *Comoediae* (Lyon: J. Trechsel, 1493), fol. A6v: 'Po<t>eta a poieo id est facio dicitur quod carmina faciat'. As we have seen, Badius Ascensius further elaborated on Landino's ideas in his *Praenotamenta* ca 1500.

Terence by Badius in 1493 which does not have the *Praenotamenta*, but perhaps they were present in some other copy of that date.

3. Landino's Platonism in Juan Angel González

Towards 1525 we find traces of Boccaccio and Landino again in one of the first Hispanic texts on Renaissance literary theory, the Valencian Juan Ángel González's *De origine et laudibus poeseos sylua*.¹³

The fact that Juan Ángel knew and used Landino, among other materials, is easily proven by a passage of the *Sylua* on the relationship between rhetoric and poetry. His ideas and the form of expounding them are drawn from the *Proemio al Comento dantesco*:

205 Nec sibi rhetoricam uates desiderat artem,
omnia qui absoluat nil aliunde petens.
Orditur, narrat, partitur, roborat, auget,
confutat, claudit rhetor ubique bonus.

These lines synthesize and translate the following passage of Landino's *Comento dantesco* (pp. 146-47):

Chi non sa quanto di spirito, quanto di splendore, quanto di dignità all'oratore arrechi el poeta? [...] Notate gl'essordii, leggete le narrazioni, enumerate le divisioni, considerate le confermazioni e confutazioni; e finalmente non gl'epilogi, non le conclusioni pretermettete. Intenderete certamente [niente] essere né a captare benivolenza più accomodato, né a narrare più briue e aperto, né a dividere più ornato e perfetto, né a confermare più probabile e efficace, né a confutare più vehemente et aspro, che e' luoghi da' poeti scritti.

With this borrowing in mind, I believe we can demonstrate that various passages of the *Sylua* should be interpreted within Landino's Platonist framework. When González speaks of Orpheus, of holy Amphion, and of the beginnings of poetry, he says that it served to civilize and teach 'Socraticum sophon' (v. 22):

Orphea sic laudant heroica tempora uatem
qui cantu mouit saxea corda suo,
15 qui tigres mulcere lyra, qui uocibus apros,
qui posset fluuios, qui reuocare feras.
Hinc sacer Amphion Thebanas condidit arces,
qui blando flexit pectora dura sono.
Vrbanos faciens homines de agrestibus haec est,
20 quae dedit in socios foedera certa toros;
quae sancto agrestes donauit munere terras,
quae docuit mores Socraticumque sophon,
quae blando eloquio gentes deterruit olim
a uictu foedo concubituque uago.

13. J. F. Alcina, *Juan Ángel González y la 'Sylua de laudibus poeseos' (1525)* (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1978), and my 'Poliziano y los elogios de las letras en España (1500-1540)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 15 (1976), 216-21.

Of course, 'Socraticum sophon' is a metonymy for the Platonic theology taught by Ficino and Landino. More specifically, in Landino's commentary on Horace it is said that Orpheus was the second of the ancient theologians, that he was educated in Egypt with Hermes Trismegistus. That includes him in a line that leads to Plato, the sixth of the ancient theologians, who gave final form to the 'prisca theologia':

Hinc in Aegyptum profectus philosophia ac poetica instructus est, sed in primis Mercurii Trimegisti primi theologi theologia imbutus dicitur. Quapropter secundas priscae theologiae obtinuit partes [...] Aglaophemus, Pythagoras [...], Phylulaus, diuini Platonis magister: haec fuit successio horum sex theologorum. Exordium enim a Trimegisto sumpsit theologia, et a Platone absoluta est.¹⁴

It seems to me reasonable to suppose that when Juan Ángel speaks of the 'Socraticum sophon' he is moving within the orbit of Landino's Platonism.

In the same way, I think that the *Sylva's* passage about the allegorical senses of myth and the sacred value of Virgil's lines (vv. 235–50) draw from the Platonism which governs Landino's approach to Virgil. In his commentary on the Mantuan (1488) and in his *Disputationes Camaldulenses* Landino defends the deep harmony between the poet and St Paul: in his verses and 'poeticis angustiis' Virgil insinuates what Paul says directly or through the words of Dionisius Areopagita, 'qui auditor Pauli fuit'.¹⁵ This, I believe, is the divine sense of the cento of lines from the *Aeneid* quoted by González (vv. 245–48), and this the 'sanctum sophon', the Christian and Platonic sense, because it is also a 'Socraticum sophon' that the Muse expounds:

235 Dissimulem quales pulchro sub cortice sensus
 et quales fructus fabula prisca tegat?
 Quid sibi significet compactis Daedalus alis,
 quid tuus in rapidas, Icare, casus aquas;
 quid iuuenis Phaethon patrios qui perdidit axes,
 quidue Lycaonio saeuia ore lupus,
 240 quid canis infernus Stygias qui territat umbras,
 quid sub Tantaleis Musa recondat aquis?
 Quid? Quod aperta suis exponit sensa figuris
 quae sanctum soleat pandere Musa sophon:

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14. Horace, *Opera [...] cum commentariis Antonii Mancinelli [...] et Christophori Landini* (Venice: 1492/93), fol. 27, Landino's note ad *Carm.* I, 13. The list of *prisci theologi* appears in Marsilio Ficino, *Theologia Platonica*, VI, 1, in his *Opera Omnia* (Basel, 1576), p. 156, on which see M. A. Granada, 'Sobre algunos aspectos de la concordia entre *prisca theologia* y cristianismo en Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico y León Hebreo', *Daimon: Revista de filosofía* [Murcia] 6 (1993), 41–60 (43 and n. 13–14). On Landino's commentary on Horace see A. Iurilli, 'Orazio fra editori, esegeti e bibliofili dal XV al XVIII secolo', in *Orazio e la letteratura italiana: contributi alla storia della fortuna del poeta latino, Atti del Convegno svoltosi a Licenza dal 19 al 23 aprile 1993* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1994), pp. 571–620 (601–03).
15. H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'écriture*, 4 vols (Paris: Aubier, 1964), II.2, 396–97; see also Don Cameron Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore MA: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1970), pp. 135–54; M. Murrin, 'Landino's Virgil', in his *The Allegorical Epic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 27–50; and C. Kallendorf, *In Praise of Aeneas: Virgil and Epideictic Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Hannover: UP of New England, 1989), pp. 129–65.

- 245 'Discite iustitiam, patet atri ianua Ditis';
'stat sua cuique dies', 'omnia plena Iouis'.
'Heu, nihil inuitis fas quemquam fidere diuis!'
'Heu, patimur manes ordine quisque suos!'
250 Hos Maro, si quaeres, cecinit quo numine uersus,
'Est deus in nobis' reddere Musa potest.

The lines and half-lines quoted from the *Aeneid* were specially emphasized in Landino's commentary.¹⁶ For example, of 'stat sua cuique dies' (*Aen.* X, 467) he says: 'Sententia est non solum stoicorum, qui omnia fatis tribuunt, sed etiam omnium grauissimorum philosophorum' (fol. 297v); of 'Heu nihil inuitis fas quemquam fidere diuis' (*Aen.* II, 402) he comments: 'grauissima sententia, nullum enim humanum remedium quicquam ualet aduersus Dei uoluntatem' (fol. 156). Virgil's words are a product of divine inspiration, of the 'Deus' that is everywhere; to Landino this god is Orpheus, equivalent to Jupiter who occupies all that exists. It is in the context of the Platonic interpretation of Virgil that Juan Ángel's ideas and his quotations of the *Aeneid* belong. As Landino says in his *Disputationes Camaldulenses*:

Quin et ipse Maro 'a Ioue principium, Musae, Iouis omnia plena' [*Buc.* III, 60]. Sunt enim omnia plena animo mundi, cum ille ita totus in toto mundo et in qualibet parte totus, ubique uigeant ut nostri animi in suis corpusculis. Hic denique coelum ueluti citharam continens harmoniam efficit ex diuersorum coelorum sonis, quas cum Musas appellent iure Iouis filiae dicuntur esse Musae.¹⁷

With Landino, once again, we find the hermeneutics of poetry bound to that of myth. The Platonism that underlies the Landinian interpretation of Dante and Virgil circulated in the Valencia of the duke of Calabria, and lay behind González's humanistic reflection on poetry in *silva* or *praelectio*.

4. Pedro Sánchez de Viana and Platonism in Valladolid

If we look to Castile we find an important figure in the second half of the sixteenth century in Pedro Sánchez de Viana. In 1589 this physician from Valladolid published another translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* with a bulky volume of *Annotationes* that came to be a handbook of mythology similar to the *Philosophia secreta* of the Andalusian graduate Juan Pérez de Moya, published two years before in 1587. Without doubt Pedro Sánchez intended to clash with Pérez de Moya. Significantly, he never mentions the *Philosophia secreta* except to criticize its mistakes on medicine, and contemptuously alludes to Moya without naming him as 'a modern writer who follows [Landino and Orologgi] in our language' (fol. 84v, on Hermaphroditus):

Esta fábula contiene secreto natural, según Landino, que dize los Phisicos afirman que en la madre de las mugeres ay treze celullas, o apartamientos, las seys a la parte

16. *Vergilius cum comentariis quinque, uidelicet Serui, Landini, Ant. Mancinelli, Donati, Domini* (Venice: Bartolomeus de Zanis de Portesio, 1494), from the copy in Barcelona, BU Inc. 426.

17. C. Landino, *Disputationes Camaldulenses* ([Florence]: Nicolaus Laurentii Alamanus, ca 1481), fol. 112v, cited from the copy in Barcelona, BU Inc. 682.

derecha, y las seys a la yzquierda, y una en medio, y que en las de el lado derecho se engendran machos, y en el otro hembras, y en la de en medio Hermafroditos. Orologio pone siete apartamientos, tres a una parte, y tres a otra y uno en medio; y en lo demás concuerda con Landino. Pero ambos a dos, y con ellos *un moderno que los sigue en nuestra lengua*, se engañaron, y esta opinión ha hecho errar a hombres gravísimos, como prueba evidentemente Carpo: porque la madre sólo tiene dos senos, como se ve anatomizándola, y lo dize Aristóteles y Hipocrates, y tiene ciento cinquenta arterias y otras tantas venas.¹⁸

As was mandatory, Sánchez de Viana included a prologue in defence of poetry and a reflection on hermeneutics and literature. It is curious that the prologue to the *Metamorphoses* constantly proved such an auspicious field for reflections on poetics. The same happened in France; as G. P. Norton points out, one of the most interesting theoretical prologues in French literature is that by Barthélemy Aneau to his translation of the Ovidian poem, *Préparation de voie à la lecture, & intelligence de la Metamorphose d'Ovide, & de tous Poètes fabuleux* (1556).¹⁹ Aneau defends the freedom of interpretation of myths, presenting them as symbols of many meanings that are to be deciphered in a complex interplay of relationships between the narrative art of the poet and the imagination of the reader.

Sánchez de Viana's is not to be considered an original prologue at all. As can be seen in the samples that I give in the appendix, it is almost all translated, with minimal additions, from the poetics in Cristoforo Landino's *Proemio al Commento dantesco*. As for the sources of Sánchez's *Anotaciones*, Consuelo Álvarez has shown that the most important is beyond doubt the mythological handbook of Natale Conti.²⁰ But even though it did not have the same influence as Conti, Landino's *Commento dantesco* is fundamental for the literary ideas that Sánchez offers and is used in a systematic and constant way throughout the *Anotaciones* to illustrate the Ovidian fables (being quoted, for example, twenty-three times in the first hundred pages). And there are reasons for this. Landino's Platonic allegorism was perfectly adapted to the ideas of the doctor-poet Sánchez in his zealous search for an ethical and philosophical base to myth. Besides, Sánchez did not have many models of vernacular commentaries on a classical author apart from the old ones of the fifteenth century. Among the latter he quotes and uses Alfonso de Madrigal el Tostado's commentary on Eusebius of Caesarea; I do not believe that he knew Villena's commentary on the *Aeneid*, or Alegre's on Ovid.

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18. I think that 'un moderno que los sigue' is a clear reference to Pérez de Moya's similar ideas on Hermaphroditus in his *Philosofía secreta*, ed. C. Clavería (Madrid: Castalia, 1995), II, xxiv, p. 286: 'les mostró Hermes que en la matriz de la mujer habia siete senos o recibimientos, tres a la parte izquierda y tres a la derecha, y uno en medio dellos; quando la viril materia recibe en alguno de los tres lugares de la mano derecha, se engendra el varón, y quando en los de la izquierda, se engendra hembra; y quando en el de en medio, dice ser comunicante en ambas naturalezas, llamados hermafroditos'.
19. G. P. Norton, 'French Renaissance Translators and the Dialectic of Myth and History', *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et réforme*, N.S. 5 (1981), 195-97.
20. M. C. Alvarez Morán, 'Las fuentes de P. Sánchez de Viana en sus *Anotaciones sobre los Quince libros de las Transformaciones de Ovidio*', in *I Humanismo y pervivencia*, I, 225-35.

In this context Landino offered an eminent model of a commentary in Romance, and an example to follow in the enrichment and dignification of the vernacular.²¹ The fact that the poet could transfer the cultural wealth of Latin to Romance, as did Leon Battista Alberti, the protagonist of Landino's *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, was probably the source of Sánchez's admiration for the Florentine humanist.²²

Apart from this, Sánchez was attempting something new at that time in the Peninsula by devoting himself to the vulgarization, not merely through a verse translation but above all by means of a commentary, of a classical author, Ovid, whom he converted into poet-philosopher, the transmitter of mythical truths in Castilian for a public of 'romancistas' who liked a new type of erudite poetry. It was the same public as that to which Fernando de Herrera's *Anotaciones a Garcilaso* (1580) were directed, and I think that even Sánchez's title *Annotaciones* refers to the same concept of commentary. Sánchez had links with the Platonic poetics that underlay humanism and which blossomed in Castilian with the generation of Fray Luis de León. Landino's Platonism formed the basis of the poetics of this generation, for whom, as Joseph Perez has written:

la *Odisea*, la *Eneida*, las *Metamorfosis*, no son simples poemas; son verdaderas enciclopedias que encierran un saber universal; son también obras eminentemente morales que enseñan sabiduría a los hombres. La poesía, sobre todo la poesía épica es, como escribía fray Luis de León, algo sagrado; aun cuando adopte el rostro de la fábula, contiene verdades profundas que hay que saber leer detrás de los mitos y las alegorías. Es, pues, verdad y no diversión; hay que tomarla en serio; muestra tanta ciencia como arte.²³

More concretely, Sánchez de Viana's tastes in literature corresponded to those of a poetical group in Valladolid that opposed Fernando de Herrera and his *Anotaciones on Garcilaso*.²⁴ The viewpoint of these poets, as is well known, found its expression in the pseudonymous *Observaciones de Prete Jacopín*, which criticize Herrera precisely for his lack of knowledge of Ovidian allegories ('Observación 36'):

A Ovidio tampoco dexaste de morder, diciendo que no levanta los amores 'a gozos de spiritu'. No devéis aver leído sus *Epístolas*, ni la 'fábula de Biblis', los amores de Ecco, los de Narciso i otros mil de que está lleno.²⁵

21. On Landino and the vernacular see F. Tateo, *La letteratura umanistica oggi* (Palermo: Palumbo, 1976), pp. 62–63, and R. Cardini, "Andare" o "mandare in exercito"? Postilla landiniana (con un excursus su *exercitus* nell' *Amphitrúo* di Plauto e un appendice sulla lingua del Landino), *Interpres*, 6 (1985–86), 51–90.
22. See Cardini, *La crítica del Landino*, pp. 129–30.
23. Joseph Perez, 'Una nueva conciencia', in *Historia de la literatura española*, II: *El siglo XVI*, ed. J. Canavaggio, tr. R. Navarro Durán (Barcelona: Ariel, 1994), pp. 1–35 (34).
24. On the Valladolid group see Antonio Prieto, *La poesía española del siglo XVI*, 2 vols (Madrid: Cátedra, 1987), II, 629–80, and Eugenio Asensio, 'Damasio de Frías y su *Dórida*, diálogo de amor: el italianismo en Valladolid', *NRFH*, 24 (1975), 219–34.
25. See the text and annotation of the *Observaciones* in Bienvenido Morros Mestres, 'Garcilaso en las polémicas literarias del siglo XVI', 2 vols (unpublished PhD thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1990), II, 204, and his *Las polémicas literarias en la España del siglo XVI: a propósito de Fernando de Herrera y Garcilaso* (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1998), 310–11.

If I interpret the expression 'levantar los amores a gozos de espíritu' correctly as a search for the Platonic senses of the erotic myths, the critique is, generally speaking, just. Herrera is not characterized by a fondness for the Platonic and allegorical interpretation of erotic myths such as those of Narcissus, Adonis, and so on which appear in Garcilaso. As a good acolyte of 'Prete Jacopín', when quoting Garcilaso Sánchez de Viana never refers to Herrera's commentary but to that of Sánchez de las Brozas, which was preferred by the Valladolid group. It is true that the *Obras del excelente poeta Garcilasso de la Vega con anotaciones y enmiendas del licenciado Francisco Sánchez, cathedrático de rhetorica* (Salamanca, 1574) do not pay special attention to mythical allegoresis either. One should recall that Sánchez de Viana could have formed a special link with Sánchez de las Brozas, when, as a student in Salamanca from 1562 to 1564, he may have been a pupil of the illustrious master.²⁶

Thus far I have attempted to prove that the incorporation of a translation of Landino's *Proemio al Comento dantesco* at the beginning of Sánchez de Viana's translation and commentary on the *Metamorphoses* is far from fortuitous.

5. Gaspar de Aguilar

Around the time that Sánchez de Viana was writing, we find the same topic attested again in a short speech 'en alabanza de la poesía, aplicándola al nacimiento' read to the Valencian Academia de los Nocturnos between 1591 and 1594 by Gaspar de Aguilar (ca 1560–1623):

que si consideramos la etimología d'este nombre 'poeta', veremos que le conviene a Christo mejor que a otro porque poeta viene de *poietis* [*poie*] en griego, que quiere dezir *hazedor*, porque el poeta es verdaderamente hazedor de los versos que compone; y assí a Christo, qu'es el verdadero hazedor de todas las cosas, le conviene mejor que a todos este nombre de poeta, el qual no solamente se puede llamar poeta, pero se puede llamar verso.²⁷

It seems that the Greek etymology of 'poet' unfetters the recollection, doubtless via Badius Ascensius, of Landino's ideas and the Landinian metaphor: 'God is the supreme poet and the world is his poem'. The shift to Christ is easy, after the 'creator' of Landino, the *hazedor* of the Creed, and the 'factorem caeli et terrae, uisibilium omnium et inuisibilium' alluded to by Francesc Alegre.

6. Luis Alfonso de Carvallo

At the very beginning of Luis Alfonso de Carvallo's *Cisne de Apolo* (1602) we find another appearance of the topic:

26. E. Montero & J. I. Blanco Pérez, 'Traducción y anotaciones a la *Consolación de la Filosofía* de Boecio por el Dr. Pedro Sánchez de Viana', in *Humanitas: in honorem Antonio Fontán* (Madrid: Gredos, 1992), pp. 417–30 (418).

27. *Actas de la Academia de los Nocturnos, I: Sesiones 1–16*, ed. J. L. Canet, E. Rodríguez, & J. L. Sirera (Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1988), p. 320. On Aguilar see pp. 13–14, and A. Porqueras Mayo, *La teoría poética en el Renacimiento y Manierismo españoles* (Barcelona: Puvill, 1986), p. 160.

Porque poeta es nombre griego, es lo mesmo que en latín *factor* y en el español *hacedor* o *criador*, porque viene del verbo griego *po[s]íleo*, que significa *hacer*. Y así donde los latinos tienen en el símbolo de los apóstoles *factorem caeli et terrae*, y los españoles *Criador*, tienen los griegos *Poetam*, que significa lo propio, como en Ascensio habrás leído. Esta es la fuerza y significación del vocablo. Mas su definición da el mismo autor, por estas palabras trasladadas del latín: 'Porque aquél se llama propiamente, que dotado de excelente ingenio y con furor divino incitado, diciendo más altas cosas que con sólo ingenio humano se pueden imaginar, se llega mucho al divino artífice'.

As Carvallo himself indicates, the source is J. Badius Ascensius again, in whose *In Publum Terentium praenotamenta* we read: 'quocirca apud grecos eodem uocabulo factor celi et terre, et factor poematis appellatur, uidelicet poeta' (fol. 3^v), and 'poeta proprie is dicitur qui excellenti ingenio praeditus diuinoque furore concitus et maiora quam que solo humano ingenio excogitari posse uideantur eleganti carmine conscribens ad diuinum artificium proxime accedit' (fol. 2^r).²⁸

Curiously, Carvallo comes back to the same topic in his conclusion on the last page of *Cisne de Apollo*.

Sabrás crió Dios todas las cosas de nada, sólo con su palabra, y con tal orden y concierto las dispuso que ninguna cosa faltase ni sobrase, por lo cual es llamado Criador. Pues el Poeta de lo que nunca fue sucedido hace un argumento y ficción, que parece haber subcedido haciendo algo de lo que era nada, con la orden y disposición que en su lugar dijimos: por lo cual le llaman Criador, que lo propio quiere decir *poeta* en griego.

The base of this last speech is Badius Ascensius and his exposition of the six similarities between the *officia* of God and those of the poet to which I referred above. However, Carvallo primarily emphasizes and expands the fictional character of literature as the function and object of the poet. The emphasis on fictionality implies an incipient break with mimesis as the theoretical basis of literature, though that break was not to be developed until the Romantic period.

7. Juan Caramuel de Lobkowitz

Thereafter, echoes of these ideas appear briefly in the *Panegrico por la poesia* (Montilla, 1627) of Fernando de Vera y Mendoza, and finally in 'Epistola VII' of the *Primus Calamus: Tomus II, Ob oculos exhibens Rhythmicam quae Hispanicis, Italicis, Gallicis, Germanicis, &c. Versus metitur, eosdemque Concentu exornans viam aperit, ut Orientales possint Populi (Hebraei, Arabes, Turcici, Persici, Indici, Sinenses, Iaponici, &c.) conformare aut etiam reformare proprios Numeros* (Sanctum Angelum della Fratta: ex Typographia Episcopali Satrianensi, 1665) of Juan Caramuel de Lobkowitz:

Primus & Summus Poëta, Deus. A Graecis Patribus *Poietes* dicitur: uidelicet in Fidei Symbolo, ubi a Latinis *Creator, Factor, & Conditor*. Vnde vocum abusu & transpositione Poetas suos Veteres vocarunt Deos [...] Sed quod est Poema,

28. Luis Alfonso de Carvallo, *Cisne de Apolo*, ed. Alberto Porqueras Mayo (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1997), p. 76, and Alberto Porqueras Mayo, *Estudios sobre la vida y la obra de Luis Alfonso de Carvallo (1571-1635)* (Oviedo: Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1997).

quæso, quod Poeta hic æternus composuit? Duo reperio: alterum æternum, alterum temporarium. [...] Poema hoc, quod in tempore protulit Deus, est politissimum & ornatissimum, & ideo Græce *Kosmos*, Latine *Mundus*, ab ornatu & perfectione nominatur.²⁹

The text with an exposition of St Augustine's ideas on the world as a poem (*De civitate Dei* XI, 18), filtered through Athanasius Kircher on the equivalence between the celestial spheres and metrics, rhythm, and poetic stanzas.³⁰ It seems that Caramuel uses, directly or indirectly, Badius Ascensius when he refers to the Apostles' Creed ('Fidei Symbolum').³¹ However, the central idea recalls Landino's old phrase, 'et è Idio sommo poeta e è el mondo suo poema'. This lies behind the words of Caramuel: 'Primus & Summus Poëta, Deus [...] Poema hoc, quod in tempore protulit Deus, est [...] Latine *Mundus*'. I do not know if Caramuel had direct access to the *Commento dantesco* with Landino's *Proemio* on poetics, but directly or indirectly his words reflect the ideas of the illustrious Florentine humanist.

As we see, in the seventeenth century the poetic Platonism of Ficino and Landino enjoyed considerable popularity, forming the basis of what Curtius called the *theologische Kunsttheorie* characteristic of the Spanish literature of that period (see note 29). We can trace the topic of the poet as God from Carvallo's *Cisne de Apolo* (1602), the first work on poetic theory of the century, down to Caramuel de Lobkowitz. But we also find a continuous tradition of Platonism in the debates on

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29. I quote from a copy of the *editio secunda* (Campaniae: ex Officina Episcopali, 1668), p. 14, in Madrid, BN R/19941; see the Spanish translation in H. Hernández Nieto, *Ideas literarias de Caramuel: edición crítica, traducción, bibliografía y notas de las Epístolas Preliminares* (Barcelona: PPU, 1992), pp. 222–24, and Porqueras, *La teoría poética en el Manierismo y Barroco*, p. 355. For Vera y Mendoza see the edition in Porqueras, *ibid.*, p. 192: "Y. S. Agustín, que todo es un hermoso epigrama, o soneto, compuesto de diferentes elementos que sirven de consonantes y ligaduras a esta poesía, y que así compuso Dios el mundo en verso [...] con lo cual se tiempla bien el original griego, que (donde el latino dice, *Criador del cielo y tierra*) lee, *Poeta de cielo y tierra*." See also Curtius, "Theological Art-Theory in the Spanish Literature of the Seventeenth century", in his *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, pp. 547–48.
30. See the notes on this passage in Hernández Nieto, *Ideas literarias de Caramuel*, loc. cit. On the harmony of heavens and the *musica poetica* see María J. Vega, *El secreto artificio: Maronolatria y tradición pontaniana en la poética del Renacimiento* (Madrid: CSIC, 1992), pp. 147–59 and her 'La elocuencia y la fábrica celeste', in *Nebrija: Edad Media y Renacimiento*, pp. 512–21. The relationship between the Muses and the heavenly spheres appeared also in Juan de Pineda, *Diálogos de la agricultura cristiana* (Salamanca: Pedro de Aduzca & Diego López, 1589), p. 72: 'la poesía no viene por arte ni por fortuna, sino por don de Dios y de las Musas y aquel Dios es Apolo y las Musas las almas de las esferas del mundo. Porque Júpiter significa el Divino Entendimiento y de éste emana Apolo que es el entendimiento de el Alma del Mundo; y el alma de todo el mundo y las otro ocho almas de las ocho esferas celestiales no son sino las nueve Musas, porque moviendo los cielos hacen melodía musical que repartida en nueve tonos produce las nueve sirenas que cantan a Dios. Apolo se deriva de Júpiter y las musas de Apolo y como Júpiter arrebató con el furor intelectual a Apolo, así Apolo a las Musas y las Musas a los poetas'.
31. See also J. Pellicer de Tovar, *Urna sacra erigida a las inmortales cenizas de Frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio* (Madrid, 1779), p. 270: 'A Dios llama Poeta el simbolo de los Griegos, donde Criador el Credo de los Latinos. Esso significa la voz hacedor de nada en algo' (cited by Hernández Nieto, *Ideas literarias de Caramuel*, p. 222, n. 4).

the style of *Góngora*, in which Góngora's defenders made use of the arguments concerning the independence of inspiration, poetic *furor*, and, naturally, the deification of the poet.³² As in France, Platonism offered tools for affirming and defending *stylistic* individuality.³³

Historians of Spanish poetic theory frequently use terms such as Platonic aesthetic, Christian Platonism, or poetical theology without any clear definition and without indicating which texts transmit the theory. In underlining the influence (direct or indirect) of Cristoforo Landino, my intention has been to throw a little light on this dark area of the history of literary criticism, which deserves further enquiry.

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32. Landino follows Badius Ascensius in the list of authorities on *furor poeticus* given by F. Martínez de Portichuelo in his *Apología en favor de don Luis de Góngora* (1627); see J. Roses, 'La *Apología en favor de don Luis de Góngora* de Francisco Martínez de Portichuelo', *Criticon*, 55 (1992), 91-110 (114), and the same author's *Una poética de la oscuridad: la recepción crítica de las 'Soledades' en el siglo XVII* (London: Tamesis, 1994), p. 119, where Portichuelo's statement in his *Apología*, 'Demostramos con Landino otro pasito más, que [...] pone cuatro causas del divino furor', is clearly based on the *Proemio al Comento dantesco*. (I thank Barry Taylor for sending to me his review of this book.)
33. Lecoq, *Le style et la différence: la perception de la personnalité littéraire à la Renaissance*, pp. 215-370.

1. Pedro Sánchez de Viana, Preface to *Las Transformaciones de Ovidio* (Valladolid: Diego Fernández de Córdoba, 1589), in A. Porqueras Mayo (ed.), *La teoría poética en el Renacimiento y Manierismo españoles* (Barcelona: Puvill, 1986), p. 141:

Y esto movió a Aristóteles a decir que los poetas fuesen antiguamente unos mismos con los teólogos. Y los griegos derivan a este nombre poeta de *poîn* verbo que significa un medio entre *criar*, obra propia de Dios, cuando con su infinito poder produce de nada algo, y *bacer* que es de los hombres, cuando de materia y forma artificial componen alguna cosa. Porque aunque la ficción del poeta no sea creación está muy propincua a ella y muy apartada del hacer. En fin, los poetas imitan al sumo Dios, pues así como el señor dispone su criatura, es a saber, el visible e invisible universo con cuenta, medida y peso, según el sabio, los poetas, con el número de los pies, la medida de las sílabas, breves y largas, y el peso de las sentencias y afectos, componen sus libros. No quiero extenderme más en esta comparación, pero una cosa no pasaré en silencio, que no sin ocasión los antiguos dijeron ser Apolo y las nueve Musas patronos de los poetas, ni otra cosa entienden por Apolo sino el sumo Dios, el cual es único y sin pluralidad, como Macrobio en sus *Saturnales* enseña y el mismo término griego da a entender, sino para mostrar que los poetas están debajo de la tutela y amparo del altísimo Dios dador y padre de la luz, y de los nueve coros de los ángeles, entendidos por las nueve Musas.

2. Cristoforo Landino, *Proemio al Commento dantesco*, in his *Scritti critici e teorici*, ed. R. Cardini (Rome: Bulzoni, 1974), I, 142-43:

Il che, come poco avanti dissi, indusse credo Aristotele a chiamare e' poeti teologi. Ma se con diligenza la natura dell'uno e dell'altro investigheremo, non piccola similitudine troverremo essere tra' l poeta e el profeta. Il perché e' latini vollono che *vates* detto a *vi mentis*, idest da vemenzia e concitazione di mente fussi comune nome all'uno e all'altro; ed e' Greci dissono poeta da questo verbo *poiein*, el quale è in mezo tra creare, che è proprio di Dio quando di niente produce in essere alcuna cosa, e fare, che è degl'uomini in ciascuna arte quando di materia e di forma compongono. Imperò che, benché il figmento del poeta non sia al tutto di niente, pure si parte dal fare e al creare molto s'appressa. Ed è Idio sommo poeta ed è el mondo suo poema. E come Idio dispone la creatura, idest el visibile e invisibile mondo che è sua opera, in numero, misura e peso, onde el propheta: 'Deus omnia facit numero, mensura et pondere'; così el poeta col numero de' piedi, con la misura delle sillabe brevi e lunghe e col pondo delle sentenzie e degl'affetti costituiscono el lor poema. Né mi distenderò molto in questa similitudine, ma arrogerò che non senza cagione dissono gl'antichi Apolline e nove Muse avere la tutela de' poeti. Né altro intendono per Apolline se non el sommo Dio, el quale è unico e senza pluralità, come in greco dinota questo nome Apollo; e Macrobio ne' suoi *Saturnali* volendo dimostrare la singularità divina e confutare la pluralità, tutti e' nomi di diversi iddii e ogni loro potenza riferisce ad Apolline. Sono adunque in tutela d'Apolline e delle nove Muse idest de' nove angelici cori. È el sommo Dio datore e padre della luce, onde ancora è detto Febo; Dio riflette sua luce nello empireo cielo, dal quale primo mobile sono mosse le nove spere e per quello intendiamo Iove e per queste le nove Muse: il perché Virgilio dottamente disse: 'A Ioue principium Musae Iouis omnia plena'. Sono adunque da Dio e' poeti, sono ancora dal primo mobile, idest da Iove, e da tutte le nove spere che sono le Muse, perché da quelle ricevono el divino influxo.

Dolia degustat, subigit iuga ferre iuuentum.
 De flabris quoque de pluuia dulcibus sereno
 Aut luna occasus: aut idem consulit ortus.
 Tractat opus si pura micet, sin atra recedat.
 Aut quinto directa dies: aut medio orbis retula.
 Nec graui cornu: aut triplici sit cula corona.
 Tecta subit metuens hyemis, si rubra coruscet.
 Tum uero expectat uentos: nec fallit eundem.
 Quo boream cornu: quo Cynthia prouocet austrum.
 Consultit & phœbi flammæ: an grandinis augur
 Pallcat: an radus monstrat discordibus imbrem:
 An præ se exoriens nubis agat: an niger orbem
 Circidus extremum claudens: qua rumpitur: acres
 Carceris uolli moneat confurgere flatus.
 Adnotat & cœli faciem: num stella serena
 Acthere lapsa cadat rapidi prænumina cauri.
 Collidat num subita semet caligine obumbrant
 Astra: trahantque hyeme: gemino thauimantias arcu
 Quid ferat: aut curto cum ipe lecat acta giro:
 Et pœne unicolor taurina fronte miatur.
 Nunc præpe oculis: nunc bacchi spectat a fellos.
 Quisq; Noton cernit: quisq; est obuersus ad Arcton.
 Fulgures: tonitrus: insperatq; uellica celo:
 Brumâternâq; diem: & totum læsici alpicit annum.
 Neq; non & nautis ruiturum in carbala nubium
 Angurat: undisq; inuili si fors mare surgit æsoni.
 Castaq; conspergit sale saxa: & littora frangit.
 Tunc & tritico reboant montana fragore.
 Et repetunt siccam mergi: atq; ex æquore clamant.
 Ipsa uolans sublyme auras: æthramq; læssit
 Ardea: colludunt fulice: plauduntq; gregate.
 At læqua lacus alis prestingit birundotus.
 Et summas prope radit aquas: ranecq; coaxant.
 Fulca gradu cornix lento metitur harenas:
 Aut fluium capite: & madida ceruice recepat:
 Crocibus graui pluuiam increpat usq; morantem.
 Clangunt nãpluade uolucres: & perula pennis.
 Nubila conscribunt: inserunt in æquore delphin
 Difflat aquas: latrant coru: uocemq; resorbent.

Ex sole.

Ex aliis.

Ex ausibus.
Piscibus.
Quadrup.
Aliis.

8. Angeli Politiani *Syluæ* (Alcalá de Henares: Arnao Guillén de Brocar, ca 1515). London, British Library 1213.146, fol. A9, with contemporary MS reportationes.

The MS *scholia* in this heavily-annotated copy include Spanish glosses (7 *retusa*: 'obtusa bota', 14 *agat*: 'i. lleve', 34 *lasciua* | *hirundo*: 'burlona | la golõdrina', 35 *coaxant*: 'cantã') as well as literary comments (e.g 33 'i. litore sico', a reference to the source of this line in Virgil, *Georgics* I, 363). From a note on the 'Argumentum' to Poliziano's *Nutricia* (fol. 23^v) it seems that the marginalia were taken down from Nebrija's lectures during his tenure of the chair of poetry and rhetoric at Alcalá de Henares from 1513 until his death in 1522; see Alejandro Coroleu, 'Poliziano at Alcalá, or a Possible Witness to Antonio de Nebrija's Lectures on the *Silvæ*', *Euphrosyne: Revista de Filología Clásica*, Nova Série 26 (1998), 253–60.