

ROSEMARY AND THYME IN LOPE DE VEGA'S "CUANDO LAS SECAS ENCINAS"

Alexander J. McNair
The University of Wisconsin-Parkside

When Ophelia reappears in *Hamlet* 4.5 she is speaking nonsense and handing out flowers: "There's rosemary, that's for remembrance. Pray, love, remember." Scholars remind us that Ophelia, "recalling the flowers' symbolic significance," passes them out to her brother Laertes, to Claudius, and to Gertrude not quite so haphazardly as her "madness" might require (Greenblatt 1734 n.9; Jenkins 536). Commentators disagree on exactly what the symbolic significance of a flower might be or even to whom a particular flower is offered in this context. Stephen Greenblatt, for example, in his notes to this scene conjectures that the "rue" to be worn "with a difference" goes to Claudius (1734 n.1,9) while most scholars assume it is for Gertrude (Jenkins 538). Does rue imply repentance, is it to be identified principally with the "property of abating carnal lust" (Jenkins 539-40), or is it simply a "memento of the untimely death of Polonius" (Powell 18)? There is no reason why Shakespeare should not appeal to all of these possible meanings and others that we can never hope to recover. Rather than a right or wrong sense, then, there is clearly a network of possible meanings that the scene conjures with the mention of flowers. Shakespeare's Spanish contemporary Lope de Vega takes advantage of this connotative web as well, though the early modern medicinal and symbolic properties of the flowers and herbs he employs are largely lost on a post-industrial reading community.¹ Lope criticism, however, has not seen the kind of debate—over specific flowers or herbs and their possible meanings within poetic contexts—which seems to provide so many explanatory notes in modern editions of Shakespeare. The exception to this critical blind spot is recent research on the plants in the Valencian garden of Lope's well-known ballad "Hortelano era Belardo." Carmen Riera Guilera comments "No estamos en ningún jardín espiritual, de los que tanto gustaron los medievales, sino en un jardín terrenal, no paradisíaco, cuyas flores y frutos han sido plantados obedeciendo más a la farmacopea que a la estética" (215).²

As Arthur Terry reminds us, the language used as raw material of Renaissance poetry is "filtered through a mass of preconceptions which differ considerably from those of a modern reader and which often

seem remote from poetry itself" (35). This "mass of preconceptions" is known by different names to scholars of early modern poetry: for Thomas M. Greene, it is a "unique semiotic matrix" pertaining to a specific "*mundus significans*" (20); for Roger Moore, borrowing from the study of semantics and referring more specifically to a word's relationship with other words, it is an "associative field" (57). Whatever we choose to call this intricate "network of associations" (Moore 57), recognizing the web of connotations, often contradictory though never mutually exclusive, within which a word will resonate is one of the keys to understanding how poets charge their poems with meaning.³ The purpose of this study is to understand the plant lore and possible associations that would have accompanied the use of rosemary and thyme in verse 29 of Lope's ballad "Cuando las secas encinas."⁴ Neither rosemary nor thyme are mentioned in "Hortelano era Belardo," but clearly a similar associative field surrounds them. That simple verse—"Los romeros y tomillos"—in its particular poetic context conjures a whole network of herbal/floral lore, contributing to the sensual and intellectual texture of the poem as it unfurls.

1. *Botanical knowledge in the Renaissance*

Botany, per se, did not exist in the Renaissance.⁵ Since Linnaeus it has become increasingly difficult to imagine the preconceptions that a Renaissance reader or writer might have had about plants. Linnaeus's system of botanical description is rigorous and consistent; for each plant he lists the constituent parts in table form with a description of each part which is devoid of anything but the physical characteristics that allow him to distinguish the plant from other species.⁶ His *Genera plantarum* of 1754 has additional—though sparse—observations sprinkled throughout as well, but they are limited to comments about plant anatomy not covered by the generic taxonomic descriptions of the table, especially in comparing species to one another. About rosemary, for example, his only observation apart from the taxonomic description is "Ad SALVIAS proxime accedit, distinguendus staminibus minime bifurcatis" (14; Closely resembling SALVIAS, distinguished by stamen with less forking).⁷ Observations on thyme, to cite the other plant under consideration in this study, are limited to noting anatomical differences among types of the same species: "Thymus T. stamina brevissima sunt. Serpyllum T. differt a thymo caulibus lignosis, minus duris, humilioribus" (257; Thyme type, the stamen are very short. Serpillum type, differs from generic thyme with a woody stem, softer and more moist). As Foucault notes in describing the aftermath of the epistemological shift that took place in the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries, post-Linnaean biological knowledge is transmitted "stripped of all commentary, of all enveloping language, creatures present themselves one beside another, their surfaces visible, grouped according to their common features, and thus already virtually analysed, and bearers of nothing but their own individual names" (131). The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century naturalists razed the monuments of tradition, textual authority, and superstition, burying the ruins beneath a layer of terminologically precise catalogues and taxonomies.⁸ This makes recovering the rich semiotic matrix available to the Renaissance poet more of a challenge for the modern scholar, not unlike an archaeological excavation.

So what do plants mean to mankind in early modern Europe? And where does knowledge of plants come from in the Renaissance? While many of the popular beliefs about plants and their uses have been lost, a good many were preserved in illustrated herbals which were extremely popular in the first two centuries of printing and lacked the rigor of Linnaean taxonomy.⁹ Yet Renaissance writers were by no means limited to popular culture for their knowledge. As Paul Julian Smith has pointed out, "The space of poetry thus opens out on that of other disciplines, such as the natural sciences. The sonnet is not the closed, aesthetic and experiential artefact of the New Critic; it is at once effect and instrument of a potentially boundless culture of erudition" (12). And there was a rich textual tradition on which writers could draw: Dioscorides' *De materia medica* and Pliny's *Historia naturalis* enjoyed enormous authority in medieval scholarly circles, an authority that remained in large part unquestioned as humanist scholarship and advances in printing made these works more universally available in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁰ The Renaissance approach to the study of plants was in fact closer in spirit to Dioscorides and Pliny, writing 1,500 years before, than Linnaeus, writing 150 years after, was to the Renaissance. As one historian of science has noted, "The fundamental reason for studying plants, according to Medieval and Renaissance herbals, was to learn their medicinal properties" (Reeds 520), which of course was the principal goal of Dioscorides and one to which the encyclopedic Pliny devoted a great deal of attention as well: "Not even the woods and the wilder face of nature are without medicines, for there is no place where the holy mother of all things did not distribute remedies for the healing of mankind . . . hence sprang the art of medicine. Such things alone had nature decreed should be our remedies, provided everywhere, easy to discover and costing nothing—the things in fact that support our life" (7: 3-5).¹¹ To their sources in Pliny and Dioscorides the early printed herbals added local

lore and legend, anything with which the plant would have been associated. In Foucault's words:

to write the history of a plant or an animal [in the Renaissance] was as much a matter of describing its elements or organs as of describing the resemblances that could be found in it, the virtues that it was thought to possess, the legends and stories with which it had been involved, its place in heraldry, the medicaments that were concocted from its substance, the foods it provided, what the ancients recorded of it, and what travellers might have said of it. The history of a living being was that being itself, within the whole semantic network that connected it to the world. (129)

We turn, then, to the task of reconstructing that "semantic network" that, for a Renaissance poet, connected rosemary and thyme to the world. In order to do so I will draw from literary sources at times but principally from Pliny, Dioscorides, and some of the herbal literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

2. Rosemary

Pliny tells us in book 17 of his *Natural History* that Rosemary does not have seed (5: 69), but in book 24 writes that there are actually two kinds rosemary: "one is barren, and the other has a stalk and a resinous seed," which he claims "neutralizes poisons, . . . promotes perspiration, dispels colic, and produces a rich supply of milk" (7: 73). The roots, juices, and leaves also have medicinal properties according to Pliny; in different combinations with ingredients such as wine, vinegar, honey, and pepper; these parts of the plant were said to have cured everything from respiratory problems to uterine trouble. The seed, for example, could induce menstrual flow when given with wine and pepper while the root could help in the production of breast milk.¹² Pliny also claims that bees make honey with the pollen of rosemary flowers, which one of Luis de Góngora's *romancillos* confirms in the Spanish context:

Las flores del romero,
niña Isabel,
hoy son flores azules,
mañana serán miel.¹³

This is a seemingly trivial use of the plant that will become more important as we discuss thyme and the poetic context in which Lope uses it (see below; also Pliny 3: 452-59).

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries rosemary branches were apparently burned indoors "as a preventative against the Black death" (Le Strange 215) and the herb "was the chief ingredient in Hungary water, named after Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, whose paralysis it is said to have cured in the thirteenth century" (Powell 121). Dioscorides claims rosemary "hath a warming facultie" and can be used to cure jaundice when taken with water before exercise (321). In addition, rosemary was thought "to invigorate the nervous system, and to strengthen memory" (Powell 121). John Gerard's *Herbal* of 1597 relates in book 3 that Rosemary "comforteth the braine, the memorie, the inward senses," which might explain why it was valued as a funeral flower; Gerard claims that "it is also good especially the flowers thereof for al infirmities of the head and braine, proceeding of a colde and moist cause; for they drie the braine, quicken the senses and memory, and strengtheneth the sinewie parts."¹⁴ Richard Bancke's 1525 *Herbal* claims that rosemary restores appetites and that boiling and drinking the flowers in "fayre water . . . is much worthe against all manner of evils in the body."¹⁵

A variety of rosemary was used as a deterrent to moths in Spain and so Gerard would write that "the people of Granade, Montpelier, and of the Kingdome of Valentia, do use it in their presses and wardrobes, whereupon they call it *Guardalobo*" (f.1110), though he notes that the common Spanish word is *romero*. Rosemary was known as a medicinal herb in Spain as well; Sebastián de Covarrubias writes that "de sus hojas y de sus flores y de su azeyte se han hecho grandes experiencias" (914). Cervantes has a goatherd apply a plaster of masticated rosemary to cure Don Quijote's ear: "tomando algunas hojas de romero, de mucho que por allí había, las mascó y las mezcló con un poco de sal, y aplicándoselas a la oreja, se la vendó muy bien, asegurándole que no había menester otra medicina, y así fue la verdad" (1.12.161).¹⁶ However, when mixed with wine, oil, and salt in the knight's recipe for the Balsam of Fierabrás, Cervantes seems more convinced of the herb's purgative and sudorific properties than of the restorative. Known side-effects of the "salutífero bálsamo" include "un sudor copiosísimo," "ansias y bascas," "trasudores y desmayos," and in certain constitutions a propensity to "desaguarse por entrambas canales" with a great deal of "priesa" (1.17.209-11). Cervantes, incidently, in the very next chapter reveals Don Quijote as a reader of Andrés de Laguna's translation of Dioscorides's *De Materia Medica*: "tomara yo ahora más aína un cuartal de pan, o una hogaza y dos cabezas de sardinas arenques, que cuantas yerbas describe Dioscórides, aunque fuera el ilustrado por el doctor Laguna" (1.18.226).¹⁷

3. *Thyme*

Thyme has many medicinal uses similar to those of rosemary. According to Pliny, thyme is helpful for respiratory, menstrual, and digestive problems. Some of the more notable uses that Pliny records are remarkably similar to those of rosemary: “taken in vinegar and honey” thyme was used “in cases of aberration of the mind and melancholy.”¹⁸ Thyme seems to have been important for reproductive medicine “if the embryo in the womb be dead, thyme boiled down in water to one third proves useful” (Pliny 6: 273). Dioscorides, after a brief anatomical description in which he states that thyme “grows chiefly in rocky and barren places,” also specifies the medicinal use of the herb in respiratory and reproductive contexts, claiming that a “decoction of it with honey doth help ye Orthopnoeici [inability to breathe except in an upright position] & ye asthmaticall, & it expells ye worms and ye menstrea, & ye Embrya, and ye Secondines [afterbirth]” (379).¹⁹

Gerard lists *serpol* as the Spanish equivalent of the word thyme, apparently unaware of the more common word *tomillo* (Martín Alonso’s encyclopedic dictionary lists *serpol* as one type of *tomillo*), but also notes that Pliny sometimes calls it *laurio* (f457). While, anatomically, the laurel and the *laurio* could not be more different, phonetically speaking, they are similar enough to command our attention in a poetic context. Perhaps we can assume that the poet would expect an erudite audience to associate *tomillo* with the Latin *laurio* and, phonetically, to the Romance *lauro*, which would in turn lead to association with Apollo’s Daphne, Petrarch’s Laura, and ultimately the poet’s laurel.²⁰ Indeed, it is possible that Lope plays off of this etymological irony when in 1634 he writes a burlesque dedicatory sonnet for his *Rimas humanas y divinas de Tomé de Burguillos*, ending with the following tercet: “viva vuesa merced, señor Burguillos, / que más quiere aceitunas que laureles, / y siempre se corona de tomillos.”²¹

Thyme was thought by the Greeks to have restorative and preservative properties (Powell 126) and Pliny notes that thyme and vinegar can “return [cheeses] to their original fresh flavor. It is recorded that Zoroastes in the desert lived for twenty years on cheese that had been so treated as not to be affected by age” (3: 585). However, much of thyme’s symbolic value comes from its close association with bees and honey production. Claire Powell claims, for example, that “in medieval days ladies embroidered for their knights scarves with a design of a bee humming round a sprig of thyme, a double symbol of activity” (126). Gerard cites Vergil’s second eclogue in which Thestylis pounds “garlic and wild thyme for a fragrant brew” (v. 11), referring

to the herb's culinary or medicinal significance, but thyme was so closely associated with bees that Vergil himself, when he wants to emphasize the permanence of the praise he imparts with his song in the fifth eclogue, employs the expression "while bees pasture on thyme" (v. 79).²² Pliny lists thyme among the plants that should be cultivated "for the sake of bees" (6: 213), claiming in another passage that thyme blossoms provide "outstanding material for the [comb's] cells" (3: 455) and that "honey made from thyme is thought most suitable for the eyes and for ulcers—it is of a gold colour and has an extremely agreeable taste [. . .]. Honey from thyme does not condense, and when touched sends out very thin threads, which is the first proof of goodness" (3: 457), perhaps—by virtue of color—strengthening, for Lope, thyme's association with Petrarch's *Laura/lauro/l'auro* and Garcilaso's "los cabellos qu'el oro escurecían" (sonnet XIII, v. 4) or the "cabello, qu'en la vena / del oro se escogió" (sonnet XXIII, vv. 5-6).²³ This seems especially suggestive when we remember that "the apian analogy" used to describe literary imitation had already, by Lope's time, "become a humanist cliché" (Greene 98). The image of thyme as an emblem for restoration, activity, fertility, perhaps even permanence is augmented by Pliny's assertion that honey made when thyme and grape-vines blossom at the solstice is known for "its sweetness and potency for recalling mortals' ills from death . . . equal to that of the nectar of the gods" (3: 455), owing to the position of Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury in the sky.

4. "Los romeros y tomillos"

Lope, then, when he writes a verse as simple as "Los romeros y tomillos" does much more than add a few strokes in his painting of a verbal landscape or simply accumulate "sensaciones sinestéticas y pictóricas" (Carreño 182) as a modern poet might.²⁴ As Antonio Carreño has noted, Lope does not make frequent use of pathetic fallacy in his portrayal of nature, and in "Cuando las secas encinas" nature is "neutra, impasible ante las penas del pastor" (220). Yet, for Lope, rosemary and thyme have more than just biological significance or sensorial presence; they imply much more than an eighteenth-century botanical description can communicate. Having surveyed some of the associations upon which a Renaissance poet might have drawn, I turn to the specific poetic context in question to determine how this network of associations might have been employed.

"Cuando las secas encinas" is one of a number of pastoral ballads composed by Lope in the 1580s and 1590s and pertains to the "ciclo de Belardo y Belisa" (Carreño 171), though Belardo, one of Lope's favorite

pseudonyms, is replaced here by the poetic name Albano.²⁵ Chronologically speaking, the ballad's date of composition can be more precisely located in the spring of 1596, more than a year after the death of Lope's first wife Isabel de Urbina, tempting the critics to cite the ballad as another example of Lope's ability to transform experience/sentiment into art effortlessly.²⁶ Alan Trueblood has claimed that "the persistence and ease with which private experience becomes the substance of Lope's art and the providential existence of an unusual mass of significant documentation of his private life mean that the biographical approach should be capable of providing the nerve centers of his *poiesis*" (*Experience* 4); however, this biographical approach—though masterfully managed by Trueblood himself—has its limitations and too often leads to uncritical platitudes about a poem's sentiments, as if they were communicated without the mitigation of poetic convention.²⁷ Terry notes that "biographical criticism has often done Lope a disservice by attempting to draw the links [between life and poetry] too tight, thus emphasizing the man at the expense of the conscious artist" (95). Clearly, then, our task is to explore the conscious art of this "bello" (Zamora Vicente 59), "magnífico" (Montesinos 226), "hermoso y patético romance" (Castro and Rennert 99), in which the associative field delimited above plays no small part.

The ballad is in fact artfully wrought. Eighty-eight lines long with assonant rhyme (á-o) that lends it a certain foreboding gravity from the second verse on, the poem is separated into three sections. Each section is punctuated by an *estribillo*, a quatrain of hendecasyllabic verses:

cuando el pastor Albano suspirando
 con lágrimas así dice llorando:
 "todo se alegra, mi Belisa, ahora,
 solo tu Albano se entristece y llora"

The *estribillo* provides the basics: the protagonists, their attitudes, the temporal and spatial coordinates, and the central irony of the poem. The shepherd Albano, sighing and crying, apostrophizes an absent Belisa (Albano is "solo") while nature itself seems to rejoice in an emphatic present ("todo se alegra . . . ahora"). As if to heighten the way in which springtime's present happiness is perceived as a poignant intrusion on Albano's grief, the *estribillo* rhymes "ahora" with "llora," immediately after the couplet that rhymes "suspirando" with "llorando." The main idea, as expressed in the *estribillo*, is moving if somewhat melodramatic, so it remains for the octosyllabic verses to develop this main idea from different angles and to demonstrate that

so much pathos is appropriate and not bathetic. In terms of the poem's basic form, Lope is an exacting architect: each of the first two octosyllabic sections is twenty-four verses long, the last (for reasons that will be explained later) is twenty-eight. I will comment each section in turn.

Cuando las secas encinas,
 álamos y robles altos,
 los secos ramillos visten
 de verdes hojas y ramos;
 y las fructíferas plantas
 con mil pimpollos preñados
 brotando fragantes flores
 hacen de lo verde blanco,
 para pagar el tributo
 al bajo suelo, ordinario
 natural de la influencia
 qu'el cielo les da cada año;
 y secas las yerbezuelas
 de los secretos contrarios
 por naturales efectos
 al ser primero tornando,
 de cuyos verdes renuevos
 nacen mil colores varios
 de miles distintas flores
 que esmaltan los verdes prados;
 los lechales cabritillos
 y los corderos balando
 corren a las alcaceles
 ya comiendo, ya jugando . . . (vv. 1-24)

The first section of "Cuando las secas encinas" presents nature coming to life, a world that is either pregnant or giving birth. The backdrop for the psychological drama that is the ballad's emotional/moral soul is that time of year in which things dry give way to things green; the adjective *seco* is used three times in this opening passage, all before verse 14, while the color *verde* is repeated in four different contexts (vv. 4, 8, 17, 20). The opposition of present fertility to past sterility occurs in the first sixteen verses ("secas encinas . . . secos ramillos" are now overtaken by "verdes hojas y ramos"; once "secas las yerbezuelas", they are now returning to their original green state), after which point the rebirth is complete and images of pregnancy (the phonetic reminiscence of *encinta* with "encinas," v. 1; "fructíferas plantas . . . mil pimpollos preñados," vv. 5-6) are replaced by images of birth/new life ("verdes renuevos . . . nacen mil colores . . . lechales cabritillos

. . . corderos balando . . . ya comiendo, ya jugando," vv. 17-24). The most prominent features on the landscape, the trees, are named in the first two verses ("encinas . . . álamos . . . robles"), but the rest of the "plantas," "flores," and "yerbezuelas" of this section are generic. In fact, of all the thousands of sprouts and buds, the thousands of different flowers that adorn the meadows (and the poet insists on the "thousands": "*mil* pimpollos . . . brotando fragantes flores . . . *mil* colores varios / de *miles* distintas flores"), Lope chooses—I believe significantly—only to name rosemary and thyme in this poem.

This initial section, with its emphasis on natural/biological processes (see "natural" in v. 11; "por naturales efectos" in v. 15) has prepared a specific associative network for the approaching "los romeros y tomillos." Both rosemary and thyme are associated with reproduction, as we have seen, in their medicinal uses and even in their anatomy. It is worth noting that Pliny believed one of the varieties of rosemary to be "barren" (7: 73) and a variety of thyme has a seed that is "imperceptible to sight" (6: 201), an ironic contrast to the fertility of this first section of the ballad, and perhaps, if the poet and his audience were familiar with the Doctrine of Signatures, even a physical foreshadowing of the emotional barrenness of the poem's end.²⁸ The "yerbezuelas / de los secretos contrarios" might bring to mind for the reader the medicinal uses of herbs, which in the case of rosemary and thyme have reproductive applications: rosemary "produces a rich supply of milk", is given "with wine and pepper for uterine trouble", but also, like thyme, induces menstrual flow, while thyme itself was thought to assist in cases of miscarriage and swollen testicles. An interesting insight into how the poem was read in Lope's day may be provided by an editorial decision made in the *Romancero general* of 1604 where "contrarios" is rendered as "contrarias" (2: 36), a reading which made sense also for the printer Antonio de Sancha in the 1770s (17: 464). While most modern editors emend the passage to read "contrarios," maintaining the "á-o" rhyme and agreeing with "secretos" (e.g. Sainz de Robles 2: 295; Carreño)—and it seems unlikely that Lope would have so whimsically flouted the already established assonance for this one verse without good cause—the simple fact that some early readers of the ballad would have expected Lope to make "contrarias" agree with "yerbezuelas" is a fortuitous window into the early modern imagination, for which [imagination] the herbs are either harmful in their secret uses (poisonous) or somehow opposed to their own secrets or medicinal uses because they are still "secas." In this latter case—the interpretation allowed for by an eighteenth-century reading, following what was in all probability originally a compositor's error in the *Romancero general*, *oncena parte* of 1604—the potential medicinal

in addition to the biological properties of these "yerbezuelas" seem naturally to be on the mind of the reader as he or she approaches the next section, as the herbs themselves are returning to their original and useful existence as medicinal plants: "por naturales efectos / al ser primero tornando" (vv. 15-16).

Los romeros y tomillos,
 de cuyos floridos ramos
 las fecundas abejas
 sacan licor dulce y claro;
 y con mucha abundancia,
 su labor melificando
 hinchen el panal nativo
 de poleo tierno y blanco,
 de cuyos preñados huevos
 los hijuelos palpitando
 salen por gracia divina
 a poblar ajenos vasos;
 las laboriosas hormigas
 de sus provistos palacios
 seguras salen a ver
 el tiempo sereno y claro,
 y los demás animales,
 aves, peces, yerba o campo
 desechando la tristeza
 todos se alegran ufanos,
 previniste, tiempo alegre;²⁹
 mas triste el pastor Albano,
 a su querida Belisa
 dice, el sepulcro mirando . . . (vv. 29-52)

The second section of the poem extends the imagery of fertile abundance and new birth or re-birth: "floridos ramos . . . fecundas abejas . . . mucha abundancia . . . preñados huevos . . . hijuelos palpitando . . . provistos ("proveídos" in Sancha and the *Romancero general*) palacios." Nature has come alive and to the fertility of the first section Lope adds images of sweetness, purity, industry, and concord. The pollen is "tierno y blanco" (v.36), the bees take "licor dulce y claro" (v. 32), their "labor" is described as "melificando" (v. 34), the ants are "laboriosas" (v. 41) and at the same time safe, "seguras" (v. 43) in their work because the weather is "sereno y claro" (v. 44). Indeed, "tiempo alegre" (v. 49) has seen to it that all of the animals are sloughing off the sadness of winter's long night and that "todos se alegran ufanos" (v. 48) to underscore the cosmic irony of Lope's "triste el pastor Albano / a su querida Belisa / dice, el sepulcro mirando" (vv.

50-52). It is at this point that we understand the appropriateness of Albano's sadness in the face of so much life and happiness. His is not the frivolous weeping of the scorned lover so common to the pastoral tradition; the lover whom Albano apostrophizes is in the grave, where she will remain even as the world around them experiences almost complete rejuvenation. The funereal connotation of rosemary along with the herb's association with remembrance and fidelity between lovers (see note 17) now strengthens nature's unwitting complicity in the shepherd's pain, deepening the melancholy of Albano's lyric voice, even though (or precisely because?) rosemary flowers are supposed to "comfort the heart and make it merry" or "quicken the spirits and make them more lively" and are supposed to help with "infirmities of the head and braine, proceeding of a colde and moist cause" as Gerard assures. The "licor dulce y claro" that the bees take from thyme blossoms to make honey and from which nourishment their "hijuelos palpitando / salen por gracia divina" (vv. 38-39) is reminiscent of that honey, described by Pliny, whose "sweetness and potency for recalling mortals' ills from death is equal to that of the nectar of the gods"; yet it is, perhaps, only a bitter reminder that there is no remedy for Belisa, that nothing is able to bring her back from death—at least in a biological sense.

If Belisa is to be resurrected it will only be symbolically in the verse itself, which Lope, following humanist ideas about the immortality of the written word, assures us in other contexts is a desirable goal.³⁰ Lope, as many Renaissance poets do, claims for himself the power to bestow eternity upon his beloved through poetry; in the following verses, for example, Lope has Camila Lucinda claim that she is to be immortalized because of the verses of her lover:

¡O clara luz de amor que el yelo inflama!
 su curso el tiempo en estos versos mida;
 sirvan de paralelos a su llama.
 Por ellos corra mi memoria asida,
 que si vive mi nombre con tu fama,
 del alma igualará la inmortal vida.³¹

The bees offer some clue here, for as Ignacio Navarrete, following Greene, notes: "Borrowing from Cicero, Petrarch advises an imitator to be like a bee, tasting from various flowers but transforming the nectar into a honey all its own" (10). Lope offers "miles distintas flores" (v. 19), but only rosemary and thyme attract the attention of the bees in this poem, the nectar "dulce y claro" giving life to their "hijuelos" and being transformed into honey ("melificando"). What kind of honey,

or rather, to use the apian model for literary imitation, what kind of poem are we to expect if it is nourished by rosemary and thyme? Thyme and rosemary are both important for easing "cases of aberration of the mind" and for "brightening vision." Pliny suggests that epileptics "sleep on soft thyme" and Bancke's herbal records that rosemary leaves can deliver one "of all evill dremes." Thyme can act as a preservative for cheese, while rosemary can do the same for wine in addition to helping preserve clothes and books from moths. Perhaps Lope's poem seeks to act as a preservative, or to soothe and console. As the bees transform nectar into honey, so Lope transforms the memory of Belisa and the balance of nature into a poem that is sweet yet potent, like that honey that is "equal to . . . the nectar of the gods," able to bring her back momentarily and preserve her memory eternally.

In the ballad's final section, the reader witnesses Albano as he speaks in apostrophe to his departed spouse:

Belisa, señora mía,
 hoy se cumple justo un año
 que de tu temprana muerte
 gusté aquel potaje amargo.
 Un año te serví enferma,
 ¡ojalá fueran mil años,
 que así enferma te quisiera,
 contino aguardando el pago!
 Sólo yo te acompañé
 cuando todos te dejaron,
 porque te quise en la vida
 y muerta te adoro y amo;
 y sabe el cielo piadoso
 a quien fiel testigo hago,
 si te querrá también muerta
 quien viva te quiso tanto.
 Dejásteme en tu cabaña
 por guarda de tu rebaño,
 con aquella dulce prenda
 que me dejaste del parto;
 que por ser hechura tuya
 me consolaba algún tanto
 cuando en su divino rostro
 contemplaba tu retrato;
 pero duróme tan poco
 que el cielo por mis pecados
 quiso que también siguiese
 muerta tus divinos pasos. (vv. 57-84)

The lyric “yo” tells his addressee that it has been a year since her death and then compares Belisa’s death to a “potaje amargo” that he has tasted. Once again images of the herbs’ medicinal uses come to mind: rosemary as a purgative, for example, but also a stimulant for memory; or thyme with vinegar and honey to relieve melancholy. The poet wishes that the year he nursed the sick Belisa could have been a thousand and, thus, his faithfulness also reminds us that rosemary, perhaps because it stimulates memory and wards off evil dreams, is a symbol of lovers’ fidelity. When we come to find out that Belisa’s death was more than likely the result of complications following child-birth, the cosmic irony of nature’s rebirth becomes apparent. The birth of the child is the death of the mother, and the subsequent death of the child is a negation of the fertility images expressed in the first two sections. Here the fragility of nature’s rebirth—like the “darling buds of May” in Shakespeare’s sonnet 18—, only hinted at so far, is fully realized.

While thyme blossoms transformed into honey at the solstice have power to resuscitate the dead, according to Pliny, the child whom Belisa leaves behind, the “dulce prenda”—echoing Garcilaso’s sonnet X—provides a brief resurrection of another sort. The child is a picture, a portrait, an image or reflection of the deceased according to Renaissance tropes.³² But this “retrato” of her mother’s beauty is a consolation short-lived for the poet (“duróme tan poco”), for the child is soon to follow her mother’s “divinos pasos” in death; a fact which we only understand in the last four verses of the section. This is significant because of the opinion of some scholars about the poetic unity of the ballad. Using mostly biographical criteria, María Goyri de Menéndez Pidal determined that the ballad could not be a single unified work and that this final 28-line section was actually a different ballad altogether (95-96). Moreover, the first two sections do not have the emotional punch of this last section; the ballad as published is “frío y retórico en un principio, íntimo y sentimental después” according to Julián Moreiro Prieto (78). I would argue, however, that critics have misinterpreted the tone of the entire ballad precisely because of a failure to perceive the nuances provided by Renaissance herbal knowledge. Rosemary and thyme are not simply part of the physical landscape; they are part of the emotional landscape of the poem as crafted by Lope. This opinion is in fact substantiated by the ballad’s more formal aspects. When we look and listen closely, we find the neat four verse syntactical units used to construct the artistic ballads of the 1580s and 1590s (as much a musical as a rhetorical recourse; Palomo 47) consistently flouted in the first two sections, the periods overflowing, the pace quickening—a reflection of spring’s fertility and unchecked

growth. By contrast, the final twenty-eight line section that closes the ballad religiously imposes syntactic closure every four verses, creating a slower, more deliberate pace. And when the listener expects closure at the end of the twenty-fourth verse of the section, a poetic and emotional closure that would leave the lyric voice with the consolation of his wife's semblance in his young daughter's "divino rostro," the poet confounds his audience with an extra quatrain and the unexpected death of the young child.

Marsha S. Collins, assessing criticism of Lope's poetry, has noted that "the emphasis still lies on Lope's vitality and emotional power rather than his craftsmanship" (108). The current study is an important contribution to a corrective trend in the study of Lope's poetry that privileges the poem and what Collins calls "the rational, controlled aspect of Lope's creative process" (109) instead of the poet's biographical (emotional) peripeties.³³ This does not mean, however, that the work should be read completely de-contextualized. As this study demonstrates, knowledge about the physical, medicinal, and symbolic properties of rosemary and thyme contributes positively to our understanding of the "Cuando las secas encinas" ballad. This context heightens our awareness of the emotional state that Lope constructs for his lyric persona, enriching our appreciation of the technical skill, the conscious craftsmanship involved in building intense emotion into the verses themselves. The range of feelings and poetic effects that Lope has created in this poem and has sought to elicit from his audience is more or less the range implied by rosemary and thyme: fertility and barrenness, purgation and preservation, fidelity and activity, invigoration and comfort, sweetness and acerbity, death and resurrection.

Notes

¹Examples of Lope's awareness of the properties, medicinal and symbolic, of herbs can be found throughout his oeuvre. Verses 9-11 of *Rimas* Sonnet 2 ask "¿Qué yerbas del olvido ha dado el gusto / a la razón que sin hacer su oficio, / quiere contra razón satisfacelle?"; and in the first tercet of sonnet 189 of the same collection—one of the famous "manso" sonnets—he tells his beloved bellwether "Paced la anacardina porque os vuelva / de ese cruel y interesable sueño, / y no bebáis del agua del olvido" (I cite Carreño's most recent edition for Lope's poetry wherever possible; exceptions are noted).

²See also Teijeiro Fuentes's comprehensive study of this ballad's plants and the folklore that accompanied them.

³Bakhtin has this to say about the relationship between the word and the object to which it refers: "Indeed, any concrete discourse (utterance) finds the object at which it was directed already as it were overlain with

qualifications, open to dispute, charged with value, already enveloped in an obscuring mist—or, on the contrary, by the “light” of alien words that have already been spoken about it. It is entangled, shot through with shared thoughts, points of view, alien value judgments and accents. The word, directed toward its object, enters a dialogically agitated and tension filled environment of alien words, value judgments and accents, weaves in and out of complex interrelationships, merges with some, recoils from others, intersects with yet a third group: and all this may crucially shape discourse, may leave a trace in all its semantic layers, may complicate its expression and influence its entire stylistic profile” (276). Bakhtin focuses mainly on novelistic discourse and the languages and ideologies that shape discourse, but lyric poetry also fully realizes a type of “tension filled environment” into which every word inserts itself at the moment of utterance.

⁴One of the most anthologized of Lope’s ballads, it first appeared in print in the *Romancero general* (oncena parte, 1604), was collected and attributed to Lope by Francisco Cerdá y Rico in the eighteenth century. He states “En el *Romancero general* . . . se hallan algunos romances, cuyos contextos inducen a sospechar probablemente sean de Lope de Vega, por haver éste usado el nombre de Belardo por el suyo, y el de Belisa por el de su muger Doña Isabel de Urbina” (17: 405). For more on attribution, see Millé y Giménez 448-52; see also González Palencia’s introduction to the *Romancero general* xxxvi-xxxviii. Carreño’s edition of the ballad (*Rimas* 67-70) is the only one that can be considered critical (see also his notes on the ballad in *Poesía selecta* 201-04).

⁵Even the term “botany” did not have any currency until much later; Isidore of Seville “seems to have been the first to list the word *botanicum*, a word which did not readily establish itself before the eighteenth century” (Stearn, *Botanical Latin* 23).

⁶In the *Genera plantarum* those categories into which he divides the table for each plant are *calycis, corollae, staminum, pistilli, pericarpium, semen, receptaculum*. In his methodological introduction Linnaeus uses the genitive singular or plural, apparently to show that a classification follows, though abbreviations are used in the tables themselves. On the genitive case in botanical treatises, see Stearn (*Botanical Latin* 65-66).

⁷All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

⁸Foucault notes that this greater precision is the result of “undertaking a meticulous examination of things themselves for the first time, and then of transcribing what it [history] has gathered in smooth, neutralized, and faithful words” (131). Underscoring this gulf that is created by such a transformation is the difference in the way that language itself is used; as Stearn notes, “botanical Latin owes its present utility, together with its divergence from classical and medieval Latin, largely to Linnaeus. Pliny the Elder, resurrected in the year 1601, would probably have understood without great difficulty the plant descriptions [. . .]. Transferred to the nineteenth century he would have found unintelligible or have grossly misunderstood the detailed and technically excellent descriptions” (*Botanical Latin* 15).

⁹The standard reference on the early printed herbals is Arber. On the popularity of herbals, Frank J. Anderson claims that "their production is intimately related to the history of printing itself. Herbal works, because they were of considerable interest to the wealthy physicians and merchants, tended to be prime candidates for publication" (4). Regarding their lack of rigor in comparison to Linnaeus and Tournefort: "The herbalists, out of whose need to distinguish and name plants with exactness botany [*sic*] grew up as an ancillary of medicine, associated these names with particular species or genera by means of oral instruction and by illustrations rather than by formal descriptions; indeed botany lacked an adequate terminology for making such descriptions until the 17th and 18th centuries" (Stearn, "Notes" vi-vii; see also Sumner 24-31). The cross-contamination of herbal literature (which generally had as its base one or more classical authorities) and popular beliefs was inevitable: "After the fall of the Roman Empire, the progress of medicine in the west was seriously affected and before long the use of these herbal preparations and remedies became obscured in myth and superstition" (Le Strange xiii). For a more general discussion on the difficulty of recovering popular culture in the early modern period, see Burke 65-87.

¹⁰On the influence of Dioscorides and Pliny since antiquity, see discussion in Arber 8-12. Anderson notes that the *De materia medica* was the "single most influential herbal ever written. For over 1,500 years it was the final authority on pharmacy, and retained that position even as late as the nineteenth century in Turkey and Spain" (3; see also Le Strange xii-xiii; Sumner 20). For more on the publication history of the *De materia medica*, see Anderson 7-15; on its scientific value, Riddle. Pliny was influential throughout the middle ages as a reference; for example: "The Spanish encyclopaedist Isidorus Hispalensis (A.D. 560-636) of Seville, whose *Origines sive Etymologiae Libri* is a valuable store of early medieval words relating to all branches of learning, agriculture among them, has but 74 terms which may be interpreted as botanical . . . and most of these are derived from Pliny" (Stearn, *Botanical Latin* 22-23). Jerry Stannard notes that the "encyclopedic tradition . . . found its mainstay in his writings," but that "With the reaction to classical science, beginning in the late fifteenth century, his fortunes suffered an eclipse" (420). "He [Pliny] was, in short, writing as a man of letters, not as a scientist using technical terms with restricted and well defined meanings. Hence, although Pliny's work is the supreme work in classical Latin about plants, it supplies the raw material for a botanical terminology, and no more" (Stearn, *Botanical Latin* 22; see also Arber 12). His waning reputation as a scientific authority notwithstanding, Pliny's availability through printed editions secured his popularity among Renaissance men of letters: "Pliny's *Historia naturalis* was a favorite work of Italian humanists from the early fifteenth century on" (Reeds 523). On the importance of Pliny as a source of herbal lore for the Renaissance, see Anderson 16-22. Pliny's work was of course widely disseminated for its importance in a number of different fields of knowledge; on Pliny's importance to art history in the Renaissance, for example, see Barkan 66-67 *et passim*. For notes on Pliny in the early history of printing, see Jardine who states that a lavishly decorated

edition of the *Historia naturalis* was desirable for “its financial rather than its intellectual worth” (147).

¹¹I cite the Loeb edition and translation of Pliny’s *Historia naturalis* by volume and page number. On this prominence of plant study for medicinal purposes from antiquity through the Renaissance, see Foucault 129; and more specifically as regards the privileging of Dioscorides to the more systematic writings on the study of plants of other authors in antiquity such as Theophrastus, see Anderson 8; Arber 8-12; Sumner 15-38. For passages of Dioscorides, I will cite the seventeenth-century English translation of John Goodyear. In all the passages cited I gloss unfamiliar medical terminology in brackets.

¹²“A local application of the fresh root heals wounds, prolapsus of the anus, condylomata [wart-like growth near the anus or external genitalia], and haemorrhoids. The juice both of the shrub and of the root cures jaundice and such conditions as call for cleansing. It sharpens the eyesight. The seed is given in drink for chronic complaints of the chest and with wine and pepper for uterine trouble; it is an emmenagogue [medicine that induces menstrual flow], and with darnel meal is applied locally for gout; an application also clears away freckles and is used when a calorific or sudorific is called for, also for sprains; milk is increased when it, and when the root, is taken with wine. The herb itself is applied with vinegar to scrofulous sores, and with honey is good for a cough” (7: 73).

¹³Poem 425 in D. Alonso and Blecua.

¹⁴Gerard continues: “Distilled water of the flowers of Rosemarie being drunke at morning and euening first and last, taketh away the stench of the mouth and breth, and maketh it very sweete, if there be added thereto, to steep or infuse for certaine daies, a few Cloues, Mace, Cinnamon, & a little Annisede. The Arabians and other Phisitions succeeding [Serapio and Dioscorides], do write, that Rosemarie comforteth the braine, the memorie, the inward senses, and restoreth speech vnto them that are possessed with the dumbe paulsie, especially the conserue made of the flowers and sugar, or any other way confected with sugar, being taken euery day fasting. The Arabians, as Serapio witnesseth, give these properties to Rosemarie: it heateth, say they, is of subtile partes, is good for the cold rheume which falleth from the braine, driueth away windiness, prouoketh vrine, and openeth the stoppings of the liver and mill . . . the wine boyled with Rosemarie, and taken of women troubled with the mother, or the whites, it helpeth them, the rather if they fast three or fower howers after. The floures made up into plates with Sugar after the manner of Sugar Roset and eaten, comfort the heart, and make it merry, quicken the spirits, and make them more lively. The oyle of Rosemarie chimically drawn, comforteth the cold, weake and feeble braine in most wonderfull manner” (ff. 1110-1111).

¹⁵Qtd. in Le Strange 215. Bancke continues: “Take the flowers thereof and make powder thereof and binde it to thy right arme in a linnen cloath and it shall make thee lighte and merrie. Take the flowers and put them in thy chest among thy clothes or among thy Bookes and Mothes shall not destroy them. Boyle the leaves in white wine and washe thy face therewith and thy browes and thou shalt have a faire face. Also put the leaves under thy bedde

and thou shalt be delivered of all evill dremes. Take the leaves and put them into wine and it shall keepe the Wine from all sourness and evill savours" (qtd. in Le Strange 215-16).

¹⁶References are to part, chapter and page number.

¹⁷Apart from the purely medicinal uses of the herb, we do have allusion to the more symbolic qualities of this plant in Renaissance literature. Rosemary, "sometimes called the funeral flower" as mentioned above (Powell 121), has mostly funereal connotations in Shakespeare, though he lived for a while near Gerard's garden and would have been familiar with the medicinal uses (Woodward xiv). In addition to the example from *Hamlet* already cited, it also appears in *Romeo and Juliet*: "stick your rosemary / On this fair corpse" (see Dent 103-04). Nevertheless, rosemary "was also considered an emblem of fidelity between lovers and so was worn at weddings" (Powell 121), a fact which appropriately complicates the use of the herb in both of the Shakespearean contexts mentioned.

¹⁸Pliny's most comprehensive section on thyme reads as follows: "Thyme ought to be gathered while it is in blossom, and to be dried in the shade . . . both kind [of thyme] are supposed to be very beneficial for brightening vision, whether taken as food or used in medicines, also for a chronic cough, to ease expectoration when used as an electuary with vinegar and salt, to prevent the blood congealing when taken with honey, to relieve, applied externally with mustard, chronic catarrh of the throat, and also complaints of the stomach and bowels. They [thyme blossoms] should be used in moderation, since they are heating and because of this property they are astringent to the bowels; should these become ulcerated, a denarius of thyme should be added to a sextarius of vinegar and honey, and the same for pain in the side, or between the shoulder blades, or in the chest. They cure troubles of the hypochondria, taken in vinegar and honey, which draught is also given in cases of aberration of the mind and melancholy. Thyme is also administered to epileptics, who when attacked by a fit are retrieved by its smell. It is said too that epileptics should sleep on soft thyme. It is good also for asthma, difficulty breathing, and delayed menstruation; or if the embryo in the womb be dead, thyme boiled down in water to one third proves useful, as thyme moreover does to men also, if taken with honey and vinegar, for flatulence, for swellings of the belly or testes, or for maddening pain in the bladder. An application in wine removes tumours and inflammations, and in vinegar callosities and warts" (6: 271-73).

¹⁹Gerard lists as its "vertues" the following: "It bringeth downe the deired sicknes, prouoketh vrine, applied in bathes and fomentations it procureth sweate: being boiled in wine, it helpeth the ague, it easeth the strangurie, it staieth the hicket, it breaketh the stones in the bladder, it helpeth the Lvthargie, frensie, and madness, and staieth the vomiting of blood. Wilde Time boiled in wine and drunke, is good against the wambling and gripings of the bellie, ruptures, conuulsions, and inflammations of the liuer. It helpeth against the bitings of any venemous beast, either taken in drinke, or outwardly applied" (f. 457).

²⁰On the *lauro/Laura/l'aura/l'auro* associations and the connection between the transformation of Daphne and the poet's laurel in Petrarch, see Durling

26-33. On Garcilaso's incorporation of similar transformative processes, especially in his Apollo-Daphne sonnet, see Cruz 78-89. The importance of the Garcilaso-Petrarch reference will become more apparent later in this study.

²¹I cite this poem from Blecua's edition (1336) as it is not included in Carreño's.

²²Verses cited in the Fowler translation. Herrera, employed thyme in the exact same way: "Mientras[s] el tomillo verde, su cuidado, / la aueja ouiere amado, / la cigarra el roçío, / serás tú dolor mío" (302); Kossoff believes this to be an imitation of the Vergilian Eclogue V, pointing to the presence in both poetic contexts of thyme, bees, cicadas, and dew (47; 328).

²³See note 20 above.

²⁴Yet even in a modern poem as tied to the landscape and its sensations as Antonio Machado's "A orillas del Duero" (a poem which Alan Trueblood summarizes so well as moving "from spatial to temporal coordinates, from a sweeping visual panorama to a long view of history" [28]), the reader suspects that "las hierbas montaraces de fuerte olor—romero, tomillo, salvia, espliego" (vv. 10-11) acquire more symbolic, perhaps mystical, importance in their poetic context.

²⁵"Un total de veintiocho romances están dedicados a Filis; en contraste, sólo una docena a Belisa" (Carreño 141).

²⁶On the date of Isabel de Urbina's death as well as the poem's date of composition, see Castro and Rennert 99-100; Goyri 89-102. Carreño states that "La mayoría de los romances a Belisa revelan sentimientos de culpa, arrepentimiento y dolor por su muerte. Y el setenta por ciento fueron escritos después de la muerte de la fiel esposa" (141). Zamora Vicente cites "Cuando las secas encinas" as an example of the release of feelings associated with the direct conversion of Isabel's death into poetry: "El episodio de Isabel-Belisa pasa rápidamente a ser poesía. Parece que, una vez escrito, depurado el fluir de su experiencia, nada quedase en pie para Lope. Cuando en el primer aniversario de la muerte, Lope la recuerda, lo hace en un bello romance" (59). Montesinos claims that "Lope supo de propia experiencia que todos los amores son diferentes; el que le inspiró Belisa fue muy distinto de la pasión tormentosa que concibiera por Filis [Elena Osorio], y el romance 'Cuando las secas encinas' refleja un complejo de emociones que ésta no hubiera sabido inspirarle" (142).

²⁷For more on the way in which Lope filters personal experience through poetic convention or "borrowed words" (Gaylord's term), see Gaylord, Smith 75-77, Terry 94-121. Also important for understanding Lope's skill as "artificer" or craftsman, striking a better balance between Lope's life and poetic creation, are the studies of Erdman, Collins, Grieve.

²⁸The Doctrine of Signatures held that the "Creator had marked out a path for mankind in the treatment of disease and injury by placing a sign or hint on those natural products, mostly plants, which would be useful in healing them" (Anderson 197). Generally speaking, according to the doctrine a plant or plant part that resembled a human body part could be used to treat illnesses that affected that body part. For more on the popularity of the Doctrine of Signatures in the middle ages and the Renaissance, see Anderson 197-99, Sumner 21-23, Le Strange xvii.

²⁹I punctuate with a semi-colon at the end of this verse following Sancha and the *Romancero general* rather than Carreño, who punctuates here with a comma. I feel there is almost a full stop at the end of this line, setting the following verse apart; "mas triste el pastor . . ." ought to be as grammatically distant as it is emotionally distant from "tiempo alegre." Moreover, "previniste" is a transitive verb here and, "tiempo alegre" being the subject, the object can only be the "demás animales" of verse 45.

³⁰Vasari claimed that "as far as fame and reputation are concerned the written word is more enduring and influential than anything else" (qtd. in Kerrigan and Braden 20). Lope tells Lucinda in *Rimas*, sonnet 133, that "La pluma y lengua respondiéndolo a coros / quieren al cielo subiros, / . . . / mis versos, mis suspiros / de olvido y tiempo vivirán seguros" (vv. 9-14). On this sonnet and the poet's desire to immortalize his love and poetry, see Mascia (61-64) and Carreño (*Rimas* 295n).

³¹This sonnet, which does not appear in the Carreño edition, is cited from the Pedraza Jiménez edition of Lope's *Rimas* (1.183). Lope attributed it to Camila Lucinda, using the poem as a dedicatory sonnet to the Seville, 1604 *Rimas*, though he most certainly penned it himself. Cf. Shakespeare's "Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?" sonnet: "But thy eternal summer shall not fade . . . / Nor shall Death brag thou wand'rest in his shade / When in eternal lines to time thou grow'st. / So long as men can breathe or eyes can see, / So long lives this, and this gives life to thee" (vv. 9, 11-14). Or perhaps the very next sonnet in the sequence, "Devouring Time, blunt thou the lion's paws," which ends with the couplet "Yet do thy worst, old Time: despite thy wrong, / My love shall in my verse ever live young." I follow Vendler's modernized orthography here for Shakespeare's sonnets.

³²Shakespeare's procreative sonnets come to mind: "as the ripper should by time decease, / His tender heir might bear his memory" (sonnet 1); "Die single, and thine image dies with thee" (sonnet 3); "every private widow may keep, / By children's eyes, her husbands shape in mind" (sonnet 9); "Make thee another self . . . / That beauty still may live" (sonnet 10); "Thou shouldst print more, not let that copy die" (sonnet 11); "Against this coming end you should prepare, / And your sweet semblance to some other give" (sonnet 13); "you must live drawn by your own sweet skill" (sonnet 16).

³³For bibliographical references regarding this corrective trend, see note 27.

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