

THE TÚMULOS AS POLITICAL EXPRESSION IN QUEVEDO'S POETRY

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The funeral poems or *túmulos*, "inscripciones, exequias y funerales alabanzas de personas ilustres," are assembled in the third section of the *Parnaso*, under the auspices of the Melpomene muse (López Pinciano 109).¹ The majority of these compositions fall under the category of verses of praise, as the *ilustración* heading states. There are also a few others which belong to the class of verses of blame, aimed at the enemies of the realm.

In dealing with Quevedo's *silvas*, Carmen Sigler has demonstrated how the author, in his poems of praise or blame, follows the precepts of the epideictic rhetoric.² Don Francisco, without departing from the conventions of the genre, still manages to exhibit his position apropos the subject about which he writes. He does not stint in his praise of those he genuinely admires. Where, however, his celebration of dignitaries—no matter how powerful—is more a question of compromise or convenience, he allows a discreet glimpse of their shortcomings.

It is my purpose in this work to examine some compositions from this section, to discover the manner in which—within the conventions of the genre—they reveal the author's thoughts about the dignitaries of whom he writes, and his opinion concerning the political circumstances of the Empire.

Throughout his life, Quevedo kept himself involved in the political arena. The vicissitudes of his hazardous existence were always bound by the events of the kingdom. The ups and downs of his fortune ran parallel to his relationship with the statesmen of his day. A strong advocate of the monarchy as the only system of government, his works, both in prose and verse, exalt the image of the sovereign and the servants of the Empire. At the same time, they vilify the enemies of Spain, whether they be rebel subjects, whom he brands traitors, or foreign monarchs, whom he accuses of aggression.³

However, as José Antonio Maravall notes, "Quevedo es un conservador que de cuando en cuando nos dice cosas que no están en el modelo transmitido" (76). He does not limit his criticism, at times virulent, of ministers and other powerful officials. On occasion he even reproaches, although in an indirect manner, the injustices committed by the reigning power. Such is the case in the famous sonnet on the death of his friend and protector, the Duke of Osuna.

Quevedo's long association with Don Pedro Téllez Girón, the great Duke of Osuna, is well known. As of October, 1613, when he entered into his service, his fate was tightly bound to the Duke's destiny. With him, Quevedo witnessed his triumphs as well as his misfortunes, receiving great honors but also suffering great hardships as a result of his loyalty to his friend and master. With the Duke's fall from power in 1620, and despite having left his service the year before, Quevedo experienced the same fate as the other ministers who had served the Duke in Naples. Deprived of royal favor, he was imprisoned in the Torre de Juan Abad for three and a half years.

Neither during the time of the Spanish grandee's misfortune, nor at his death in prison in September of 1624, did Don Francisco forget his benefactor. And it must be pointed out that of the six compositions, five sonnets (215, 223, 242, 243 and 244) and one song, (289) that he dedicates to Osuna, only one—a laudatory sonnet inspired by the portrait of Osuna bearing his arms, painted by Guido Boloñes—was composed during the time in which the Duke was at the height of his power:

Vulcano las forjó, tocólas Midas,
armas en que otra vez a Marte cierra,
rígidas con el precio de la sierra,
y en el rubio metal descoloridas.

Al ademán siguieron las heridas
cuando su brazo estremeció la tierra;
no las prestó el pincel: diolas la guerra;
Flandres las vio sangrientas y temidas.

Por lo que tienen del Girón de Osuna
saben ser apacible los horrores,
y en ellas es carmín la tracia luna.

Fulminan sus semblantes vencedores;
 asistió al Arte en Guido la Fortuna,
 y el lienzo es belicoso en los colores. (215)

In the first stanza, describing the arms of Osuna, the conventional mythological allusions make the Duke the equal of the legendary heroes of Greek-Latin antiquity. Those arms, forged by Vulcan—Hefestos to the Greeks—god of fire and metal, come from the same forge, deep in the bowels of Mount Etna, as did Achilles and Eneas' arms, and Hercules' shield. Although enriched by the golden touch of Midas,⁴ they are as hard as steel, discolored by use, and not afraid to again confront Mars, god of war.⁵

The topic of the "actions" follows, applied here to the hero, according to the epideictic tradition of the *Basilikos logos*, the formal encomium of an emperor.⁶ In the second stanza, with the economy of words that are imposed by the sonnet, one word, "heridas," is enough to denote the Duke's courage. Another, "Flandres," paints a picture of his exploits. The reference to the "Girón de Osuna," the Duke's name, here indicates also his banner or "girón."⁷ One phrase is enough to paint his victories against the Turks: "es carmín la tracia luna,"⁸ and the final verse, "lienzo es belicoso en los colores," completes the warlike tone of the poem.

The impassioned homage of Quevedo to Osuna in both this sonnet and in the famous one dedicated to his memory, "Faltar pudo su patria al gran Osuna," contrasts sharply with, in the words of Dámaso Alonso, "el sonetito pacato a la muerte de Felipe III." Don Dámaso argues: "¿qué decir de Felipe III? Le alaba lo alabable: la piedad. Pero ¿qué ejército había conducido al asalto el insulso rey?" (556-57). The only recourse that remains for the poet is to refer to his actions in a time of peace.⁹ If we compare the sonnet to the Duke's portrait, to those dedicated to the bronze statues of the sovereign (211, 212), the difference is even starker: absent in the latter is any mention of war enterprises. Instead, in the first poem, twice Quevedo refers to the King as "santo," in the second, using a metaphor, he praises him as "virtuoso." Even the horse in the statue, far from tramping the war fields, only wants:

pisar líquidas sendas, que la aurora
 a su paso perfuma, donde Flora
 ostenta varia y fértil hermosura. (212:6-8)

Maravall has pointed out that while the great majority of political essayists of the time thought that the sovereign should not expose himself to the dangers of battle, Quevedo was a rare exception. He advocated the warlike function of the king. According to Maravall, for Quevedo:

El rey ha de pelear delante de los suyos, porque con ello excita el ardor y la fuerza de sus hombres; no basta con pagar a los ejércitos, hay que acompañarlos y Quevedo pone el mayor énfasis en mantener este recuerdo de la edad heroica, en los tiempos de una edad administrativa, estatal. En *La hora de todos* había escrito con insistencia sobre el tema, sosteniendo que "el rey que no asiste a su defensa, disculpa a los que no le asisten, contra razón castiga a quien le imita." (115)

In the *Política de Dios*, in discussing the "ministerio de la guerra," Quevedo affirms that it is not enough that one "mande con las órdenes solas sino quien vaya delante en la guerra y en el peligro" (281); and he adds: "Mas importa que yendo delante, le vean los soldados pelear a él, que no que yendo detras vea pelear él sus soldados, quanto es mas eficaz mandar con el exemplo, que con mandatos" (283). Later on, he again insists: "Mandar ir a la guerra a otros, y si es necesario, no ir quien lo manda, aun en una muger no lo consiente Dios" (285).

Keeping in mind Quevedo's convictions, it is no wonder that in the aforementioned funeral eulogy for Philip III, behind the apparent praise, one is able to note the monarch's absence in front of his troops:

Militó tu virtud en tus legiones;
 vencieron tus ejércitos armados
 igualmente de acero y de oraciones.
 Por reliquia llevaron tus soldados
 tu nombre, y por ejemplo tus acciones,
 y fueron victoriosos y premiados. (238)

Compare that to the composition dedicated to another statue, that of Charles V, in which Quevedo celebrates the Emperor's victories by sea and by land:¹⁰

Las selvas hizo navegar, y el viento
al cáñamo en sus velas respetaba,
cuando, cortés su anhélito tasaba
con la necesidad del movimiento.

Dilató su victoria el vencimiento
por las riberas que el Danubio lava;
cayó Africa ardiente; gimio esclava
la falsa religión en fin sangriento.

Vio Roma en la desorden de su gente,
si no piadosa, ardiente valentía,
y de España el rumor sosegó ausente.

Retiró a Solimán, temor de Hungría,
y por ser retirada más valiente,
se retiró a sí mismo el postrer día. (214)

The admiration for the war enterprises of Charles V, makes Quevedo even justify that which is unjustifiable, the sack of Rome by the imperial troops. Only the King's giving up the throne surpasses—at a spiritual level—the glory obtained in the battlefield. These same sentiments are found in the "Adición" of *Los grandes anales de quince días*. Referring to the Emperor, whom he calls "césar Carlos V, glorioso emperador del mundo," Quevedo says:

...venció los reinos, prendió los reyes, desposeyó los tiranos, justificó los infieles atemorizó los monarcas, y las desórdenes de su ejército saquearon a Roma; y las libertades de Italia fueron despercios de su magnanimidad; y cebado en vencer a todos, se entró por sí mismo (santa ambición de vitoria) para Dios, y estimando más el saber despreciar el mundo que haberle vencido, a triunfar de sus afectos se retiró a Yuste, renunciando las coronas en don Felipe II su hijo... (216a)

The *títulos* of the Duke of Osuna comprise a true summary of his deeds. In condensed form, Quevedo manages to include all of the triumphs of his protector: the Flanders campaigns, the victories against the Turks ("la sangrienta luna"), the scenarios of his grandeur—the Mosselle, the Rhine, the Tagus and the Danube—the witnesses of his naval laurels—the ports of the Orient, Chipre and Greece. Asia, Europe, Africa, three continents which trembled before him, testimonies of his greatness, cry for the iniquitous fate inflicted upon him by his country.

In the most famous of these compositions, the poet even manages, by means of euphemism, to blame the King himself and Olivares, his minister, for the Duke's imprisonment, and for his sad end.¹¹

Faltar pudo su patria al gran Osuna
pero no a su defensa sus hazañas;
diéronle muerte y cárcel las Españas
de quien él hizo esclava la fortuna. (223:1-4)

He repeats this reproach in another composition, where the Duke's exploits and his victorious image as the terror of his enemies stand in sharp contrast with the payment received for his services:

¡Y a tanto vencedor venció un proceso!
De su desdicha su valor se precia:
¡murió en prisión, y muerto estuvo preso! (242:12-14)

Quevedo, who by Olivares' intercession had his banishment revoked barely one and a half years before the death of the Duke, does not hesitate to risk—although in a veiled manner—a criticism of the reigning power. Perhaps the Duke's death made possible what was not allowed during his life: a raised voice in his defense. The King himself, according to Astrana Marín, wrote to Don Juan Téllez Girón, Osuna's son and heir, sending his condolences for the death of his father, "doliéndose por haber perdido tan buen vasallo" (356).

Other heroes for whom Quevedo reserves great praise are the commanders of the Spanish Armies that fought against the Protestants. Addressing Ambrose Spínola, the victor at Breda, who led the Catholic armies in Flanders, he says:

Todo el Palatinado sujetaste
al monarca español, y tu presencia
al furor del hereje fue contraste. (247:9-11)

And regarding Don Fadrique of Toledo, Admiral of the Ocean:

Fueron oprobio al belga y luterano
sus órdenes, sus armas y su gente;

y en su consejo y brazo, felizmente,
venció los hados el monarca hispano. (264:5-8)

In the *túmulo* dedicated to the heroes of Spain, whether they be like Osuna, a warrior, or like Columbus, a discoverer, death takes on the aspect of a tragedy that provokes sorrow and tears, as in the final lines of the sonnets dedicated respectively to Spínola and don Fadrique, two of the Empire's most illustrious soldiers:

En Flandres dijo tu valor tu ausencia,
en Italia tu muerte, y nos dejaste,
Spínola, dolor sin resistencia. (247:12-14)

Esto fue don Fadrique de Toledo.
Hoy nos da, desatado en sombra fría,
llanto a los ojos y al discurso miedo. (264:12-14)

and in the *túmulo* to Columbus:

de miedo que, de lástima, la gente
tanta agua ha de verter con tiernos ojos,
que al mar nos vuelva a entrambos con el llanto. (266:12-14)

In the epitaph to Osuna, grief is expressed by means of the prosopopoeia, when the poet makes the marble speak: "Lágrimas de soldados han deshecho / en mí las resistencias de diamante" (244:5-6).

On the other hand, to those who encounter death while fighting against the Empire, it becomes a providential punishment, as in the *túmulo* dedicated to Gustavo Adolfo, King of Sweden (Blanco 189). In the case of the Swedish monarch, his offense is aggravated by his having fought in defense of the German Protestants which caused Quevedo to brand him "azote permitido del cielo:"

Rayo ardiente del mar helado y frío
y fulminante aborto, tendí el vuelo;
incendio primogénito del yelo.
logré las amenazas de mi brío.

Fatigué de Alemania el grande río;
crecíle, y calenté con sangre el suelo;

azote permitido fui del cielo
 y terror de augusto señorío
 Y bala providente y vengadora
 burlando de mi arnés, defensa vana,
 me trujo negro sueño y postrer hora.
 Y, despojo a venganza soberana
 alma y cuerpo, me llora quien me llora:
 al que los pierde, ¿qué victorias gana? (262)

The last stanza alludes to the fact that the unfortunate King was fatally wounded when his troops had just achieved victory.

In *La hora de todos*, when referring to the rebel dissidents, Quevedo does not spare them the worst insults: "Los alemanes, herejes y protestantes, en quienes son tantas las herejías como los hombres, que se gastan en alimentar la tiranía de los suecos" (159-60). Later on he even accuses them of being "corrompidos de mal francés"—meaning having syphilis—since "no se abstuvieron de los bodegones y burdeles de Francia" (161), alluding to their dealings with Richelieu, who arranged and paid for the intervention of Gustavo Adolfo. And in the *Carta a Luis XIII* Quevedo reproaches the French king "el haber tolerado contra la casa de Austria, cesárea y siempre augusta, ejército formidable de herejes, asistidos del ímpetu del rey de Suecia" (*Obras* 262b).

An exception to the indictment of the enemies of Spain is found in the five compositions dedicated to the King of France Henry IV (257, 258, 259, 275, and 280), who was assassinated by Rebellac on May 14, 1610, while he was preparing to launch an attack against the house of Austria. Perhaps the enormity of the crime had awakened Quevedo's compassion for the royal victim. Let us not forget that, as expressed in *Marco Bruto*, the concept of the sacred character of the monarchy makes him condemn even tyrannicide: "Grave delito es dar muerte a cualquier hombre; mas darla al Rey es maldad execrable, y traición nefanda no sólo poner en él manos, sino hablar de su persona con poca reverencia, o pensar de sus acciones con poco respeto" (*Obras* 154a).

But more probably, as Dámaso Alonso points out, what attracts Quevedo is “la noble gallardía aventurera del gran monarca” (559). Maravall indicates that this attitude is not solely Quevedo’s. It is shared by the writers of the Spanish Baroque, among whom, although a “protonacionalismo” had made great progress, it had not yet reached the extreme of modern nationalism. He adds: “Por eso, el escritor barroco no dejará de hacer el elogio de los valores destacables, conforme a la estimación de la época, de un enemigo de su país.” Among the admirers of Henry IV, he includes Mártir Rizo and Gracián (99). Quevedo continues in this vein when he praises the French king’s boldness in snatching the throne, and his victories on the battlefield:

al mayor rey que vio jamás la Galia
cuya corona la alcanzó su espada,
por hijo de sus obras heredada.
Él dio cuidado a España, miedo a Italia; (280:5-8)

Among the enemies of the Empire, the one who arouses the most intense hatred in Quevedo is Louis XIII’s Minister, Cardinal Richelieu. On June 6, 1635, Louis XIII declared war on Spain. This act was received in the latter with written protests and satires against the cardinal. According to one document published at that time, three persons of rank responded to the manifesto of the French king, one of them, “don Francisco de Quevedo, caballero de Santiago, en una carta al rey con su acostumbrada erudición y agudeza” (*Obras* 258a). Quevedo also wrote a satire, *Visita y anatomía de la cabeza del Eminentísimo Cardenal Armando Richeleu*. He also composed three sonnets against the cardinal, where he condenses the accusations contained in the two writings in prose.¹² In the first of the two sonnets, written in Italian, by means of an ingenious pun, Quevedo transforms the cardinal’s attempt to seize the strategic pass of Rosellón to an incident in a hen house:

Et hor Ruceli, onde procede questo,
che senza il Rosignuolo il Gallo vene,
èt rauco grida, et vol bater le pene
nel nido, che gli a stato mai infesto? (227:5-8)

In *La Rebelión de Barcelona*, a political essay in which he reviles the Catalans for their rebellion, and harshly condemns France's intervention, Quevedo uses the same play on words, gallo=Galos, and declares "rooster" to be the name of the French, "que en latín gallos se llaman" (*Obras* 117).

Quevedo addresses the two other sonnets attacking Richelieu to Louis XIII. In both he reproaches the king for having permitted the cardinal to deprive the queen mother and his own brother of their liberty:

Sabe poner tu púrpura en tus manos
decimotercio rey, con prisión grave,
tu esclarecida madre y tus hermanos. (228:9-11)

In the other sonnet, he reminds the King of the divine command: "y dale al cuarto mandamiento audiencia" (230:8).

The queen mother, Maria of Medici, and her son Gaston, enemies of the cardinal, conspired with the discontented noblemen. For this reason they were both banished from the Court. That prompted them to look for refuge in Flanders under the protection of the Spanish monarch. In the *Carta a Luis XIII*, Quevedo deals with this matter extensively (*Obras* 260b-62a). He justifies there the apparent treachery of the queen mother and reproaches the French king using a quote from Proverbs 19, v. 26: "Quien aflige al padre, y obliga a huir a su madre, es ignominoso y desdichado." He puts the blame on the shoulders of the cardinal: "el obligar a huir a vuestra madre (lo que literalmente sucedió como dice el Espíritu Santo) sea cargo del cardenal, vuestro valido" (*Obras* 261a), and also states: "la fuga no acusaba corona, sino capelo" (*Obras* 261b). The same charges appear in the *Relación sobre las trazas de Francia*,¹³ and in *Visita y anatomía*.¹⁴ In *La hora de todos*, he goes even further: he puts the Cardinal on the same level with Henry IV's assassin: "No sé si le fue más aciago a su padre, Francisco Revellac que a él Richeleu; lo que sé es que entre los dos le han dejado huérfano: aquél sin padre, éste sin madre" (*Obras* 403b-04a).

The virulent attack on Louis XIII's minister, and the insistence on making him responsible for all the calamities of the kingdom, is in line with Quevedo's concept of royal power and the dangers of putting it in the hands of a royal favorite. This subject appears

many times in his political writings and is evident in *Política de Dios*.¹⁵ In chapter XX of the first part, under the heading "El rey ha de llevar tras sí los ministros; no los ministros al rey" (*Obras* 114), he expounds the notion that a minister can make suggestions but it is up to the king to choose: "No quita esto que el rey y el príncipe no sigan al consejo y la advertencia; pero hay gran diferencia entre dar consejo y persuadir consejo. Una cosa es aconsejar, otra *engaitar*" (115). Following this view, Quevedo reproaches the French king and warns him against the cardinal, noting that the politics his minister is following, will bring his realm closer to its ruin:

Sabe, ¡oh rey tres cristiano!, la festiva
púrpura, sediciosa por tus alas,
deshojarte las lises con las balas,
pues cuando te aventura, tanto priva. (228:1-4)

This warning also appears in *La hora de todos*. After enumerating the calamities brought about by France's warlike politics, and alluding to the suffering imposed on its subjects, he adds: "El esfuerzo último se ha de poner en conservar y crecer en su gracia a su privado; éste, que le quita cuanto a sí añade, le disminuye al paso que crece, mientras el vasallo fuere señor de su rey, y el rey vasallo de su criado, aquél será aborrecido por traidor y éste despreciado por vil" (151).

The attack on Louis XIII's minister does not stop there. Richelieu's enemies, Gastón of Orléans in particular, frequently accused the cardinal of wanting to usurp the crown of France. Quevedo echoing Gastón's allegation, writes in the *Carta*:

...vuestros leales súbditos padecen vehemente sospecha de que algún Ministro vuestro conspira a la usurpación de ese muy poderoso, y cristianísimo reino, que tiene vuestra majestad de Dios, y de su espada (todo lo cual confiesa el señor de Nerbes en su libro, diciendo claramente que acusan desta maquinación al eminentísimo cardenal Richeleu, y para excusarle alega razones, que más parecen aparato para el designio que excusa dél, pues le inventa descendencia real). (*Obras* 276b)

One can compare this "usurpación" with the sonnet where he repeats much of the same charge:

Decimotercio rey, esa eminencia
 que tu alteza a sus pies tiene postrada
 querrá ver la ascendencia coronada,
 pues osó coronar la descendencia.

Casamiento, llamó la inteligencia,
 y en él solo se ha visto colorada
 la desvergüenza. Díselo a tu espada,
 y dale al cuarto mandamiento audiencia.

Si te derriba quien a ti se arrima,
 su fábrica en tus ruinas adelanta,
 y en cuanto te aconseja te lastima.

¡Oh muy cristiano rey!, en gloria tanta,
 ya el azote de Dios tienes encima:
 mira que el Cardenal se te levanta. (230)

The accusation of wanting to usurp the royal power is repeated incessantly in *Visita y anatomía* where he writes: "muchos dicen que han visto su cabeza sobre la de Monsieur, hermano del Rey de Francia, otros revoloteando sobre la Corona de Francia" (38); "estaba cierto que la Cabeza y cuello de Cardenal padecía de Morbo Regio que quiere decir enfermedad Real" (40); "con un Capelo era dos Hugos, Hugonote en la religión y Hugo Capelo en el intento de Coronarse" (46); "La Escuela declaró ser por todas sus potencias la enfermedad del cardenal Morbo Regio y que de su Cabeza se deribava a Francia y a toda Europa" (56), etc.

Quevedo pours out his hatred of Cardinal Richelieu with what Dámaso Alonso refers to as a "frase lapidaria": "en él solo se ha visto colorada la desvergüenza" (559). The paring of the term "colorada," which alludes to the color of the cardinal's robes, and "vergüenza," is repeated in other writings. For example, in the *Carta* he writes: "Y aun estoy por persuadirme que la vestidura del eminentísimo cardenal vuestro y de Richeleu se pondrá más colorada con la vergüenza que con la grana" (*Obras* 263a). Similarly, in *La Rebelión de Barcelona*, when dealing with the subject of the conflict with France, for which he blames the cardinal, he adds "sangre" to the metaphor writing: "Guerra es ésta más colorada con la vergüenza que con la sangre" (101).

With the examples presented, I have tried to illustrate how Quevedo, in the *túmulos* and in the epigrammatic poetry, while conforming to the norms of the genre, makes use of the events of the

time—when he so desires it—to express his views. He follows in his poetry a path consistent with his political thought, with the same passion he displays in his prose. This passion and his involvement in the politics of the Empire was to remain with him throughout the years of his imprisonment at San Marcos, and to the end of his life.¹⁶

Notes

¹In his *Philosophia Antigua Poetica*, Alonso López Pinciano makes the distinction between *panegírico*, “los poemas que en alabanza de otro y concurso de gentes eran cantados,” *elegías*, “los que a muerte fueron dichos, mas ya ese nombre de especie de tristeza se hizo género, y significa todo poema luctuoso y triste,” and *epitafio*, “si el muerto había de ser...enterrado” (I, 292-94). In baroque poetry, the epitaph, or “túmulo,” is not intended to be a true sepulchral inscription, but rather it is related to the classic fictitious epitaph, purely commemorative, whose most notable examples can be found in Book 7 of the *Greek Anthology*. The etymology of the Greek term *epigrama*; “inscription,” suggests the brevity and conciseness of the genre. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the word in Spanish designates a brief poem with a closed structure. The epigram frequently has a political, ironic, or simply comic character. All three forms had been extensively used by Quevedo. Sometimes sonnets, mainly funeral ones, are called epigrams. As Blanco points out, in the *Parnaso*, of 75 poems grouped under the title “Elogios, epitafios, túmulos,” 66 are sonnets (1984, 191).

²The most complete exposition of this genre in antiquity is found in Menander’s *Peri epideiktikon* (s. III A.D.). To this type of discourse belong the encomium, the panegyric, the elegy, and the epithalamium. Praise is not limited to living beings but may be applied to places and things such as cities, landscapes, etc.

³Quevedo often expounds the reasons why monarchy is superior to all other systems of government. In *La hora de todos* he states: “Dime, malcontento del bien que Dios te hizo en que nacieses sujeto a príncipe, ¿has considerado cuánto mayor descanso es obedecer a uno solo que a muchos...¿No conoces que nobles y plebeyos transfieren su poder en los reyes y príncipes, donde apartado de la soberbia y poder de los unos, y de la humildad de los otros, compone una cabeza asistida de pacífica y desinteresada majestad?” (205-207). And in his *Marco Bruto*: “peor sujeto está un pueblo a un Senado electivo, que a un príncipe hereditario” (159b).

⁴Mercedes Blanco points out that, while in Quevedo’s ascetic treatises Midas is used as an example of the disastrous consequences of greed, in his poetic works, it is utilized as a periphrastic equivalent of gold (1983, 96).

⁵The *Diccionario de Autoridades* defines: "Cerrar. 'Metaphoricamente. Embestir, acometer un ejército a otro.' Rígido: 'Riguroso, áspero, duro.' Precio: 'Valor o estimación. Sierra: 'Se llama también una hoja de acero.'"

⁶According to the epideictic tradition of the *Basilikos logos*—the imperial oration or encomium of the emperor—the king's actions should be divided into those of times of peace and those of times of war. War actions should be put first, if the subject of praise had distinguished himself in that. Actions of courage should come into consideration first, since courage reveals the imperial qualities of an emperor more than do other virtues. In the treatment of actions of war, it is necessary to describe the places where the war occurred, rivers, harbors, mountains, plains, etc. (Menander 85-87). In the six compositions dedicated to the Duke—as well as in those dedicated to other heroes of Spain—Quevedo adheres to these precepts, highlighting his bravery and painting the scene of his triumphant wars.

⁷"Girón. 'Se llama asimismo al estandarte o guión, cortado de modo que remata en punta,'" and "en el Blasón una figura triangular, a modo de una punta, como si fuera un pedazo de tela cortado en triángulo" (*Auts*). Quevedo also uses this last sense in another of the compositions addressed to Osuna: "i sus golfós, que fueron / teatro a tus hazañas, / aplaudiendo sus sañas / las pirámides tres de tus Xirones, / que hicieron callar en tus pendones / las bárbaras de Exipto" (289, 24-29).

⁸Years later, in *La hora de todos*, Quevedo puts into the mouth of the Turkish emperor an allusion to the deeds of the legendary enemy of the infidels: "don Pedro Girón, duque de Osuna, virrey de Sicilia y Nápoles, siendo terror del mundo, procuró con tan eficaces medios, horrendo en galeras y naves y infantería armada, con su nombre formidable esconder en noche eterna nuestras lunas, que borró tantas veces, cuando de temor de sus bajeles, se aseguraban las barcas desde Estambor a Pera" (165).

⁹Regarding the norms for the praise of the king, Menander states: "If he has never fought a war (a rare circumstance), you have no choice but to proceed to peaceful topics" (85).

¹⁰Quevedo refers to the well known statue "Charles V dominating the Furor," by Pompeo Leoni, that at one time was in Aranjuez" (Blecuá 418 n.).

¹¹The first verse, as González de Salas points out in the first edition, is taken from a previous sonnet Quevedo dedicated to Scipion (234), which in turns adapts the phrase that Seneca put in the Roman hero's mouth, in his *Epistle LXXXVI to Lucilio*. Both compositions are examples of ungrateful countries.

¹²These writings also fall within the epideictic discourse tradition which is divided into blame and praise (*Menander* 3).

¹³"A la cristianísima reina madre (cuya hechura él es) hizo poner en prisiones y la obligó a salir huyendo a valerse de la protección de España, haciéndole tan afrentosos indicios e indecentes cargos, como quien enderezaba el odio a acabar con su vida y fama. Ha hechado dos veces de Francia al serenísimo duque de Orliens, indicándole de que conspiraba contra la corona de su hermano" (*Obras completas*, 919a).

¹⁴"La serenísima Reina Madre, si no se retirara a Flandes por no ser vista del Cardenal infecto del Morbo Regio, también fuera Icteros. No fue Icteros Monsieur, hermano del Rey, porque se fue donde el amorbado regio no le viese; volvió, mire no le mire" (*Obras* 72, 74).

¹⁵James Crosby has pointed out: "The themes of the relationship between monarch and favorite, which Quevedo treated in the First Part of the *Política de Dios*, was to become one of his predilections, and was to be set forth at length in such later works as the *Discurso de todos los diablos*, the *Vida de Marco Bruto*, and *La fortuna con seso y la hora de todos*" (2).

¹⁶Maravall states: "Quevedo con un considerable grado de miopía, insiste en señalar los abusos del ministro en suplantar lo que es potestad real y el abandono por parte del rey de lo que es, y no puede ser otra cosa, contenido de poder de la majestad, como el origen de todos los males... Para Quevedo todo se arregla con volver al gobierno directo del Rey" (107). As we have shown, Quevedo maintains this position in the tómulos against Richelieu.

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