Textual criticism(s) and the edition of Spanish classics.

An example from the debate over Góngora's *Soledades* : the application of the genealogical-reconstructive method to the Abbot of Rute's *Examen del Antídoto* [1]

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Résumé : This essay has two main goals : first, to give an idea of both the increasing interest in textual criticism that, over the last thirty years, has shaken Hispanic philology, and the plurality of methods that scholars have been trying out in order to edit Spanish classics ; second, to offer an example of the genealogical-reconstructive method's application by summarizing the most relevant outcomes of my previous research on the tradition of one of the most significant texts of the debate over Góngora's Soledades, i.e. Francisco Fernández de Córdoba's Examen del Antídoto. Such case study, in fact, displays three of the main issues faced by philologists : the existence of an archetype, contamination, and potentially authorial variants.

Mots-clés : Textual Criticism, Lachmann's method, Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, Examen del Antídoto, gongorine controversy

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As is well-known, the purpose of philology is the reconstruction of texts « whose complete genuineness is open to doubt » [2], that is, to provide an edition which aims at delivering a text purified of all the elements which are not due to the author's

1. Sincere thanks to Professor Paolo Tanganelli (University of Ferrara) for his constructive criticism and to my friend Dr. Cristiano Ragni (University of Perugia) for the proofreading.

2. Trovato 2014, p. 39.

own hand. In the attempt to get as close as possible to the *original* of the author, therefore, ecdotics is a useful instrument not only for philologists. A critical edition has indeed come to be the starting point for any kind of text-based research, whether philological, literary, linguistic, cultural or historical.

For this reason, over the last thirty years, in the Spanish context a significant increase of critical editions and a growing interest in textual criticism, particularly the genealogical-reconstructive method, have also been recorded. This is testified to by the publication of several textbooks, such as Blecua's *Manual de crítica textual* (1983), Fradejas Rueda's *Introducción a la edición de textos medievales castellanos* (1991), Pérez Priego's *La edición de textos* (1997), Orduna's *Fundamentos de crítica textual* (2005) and again Blecua's *Estudios de crítica textual* (2012), among others [3].

However, scepticism among some critics as to the applicability of the so-called "Lachmannian method" to non-classical texts and the need to find an alternative philological praxis have produced a methodological rift. This becomes wider as the stakes get higher, that is, when it comes to the edition of Spanish classics : masterpieces that carry the cultural heritage of the historical and literary period in which they were written and reflect its specific concept of art and its set of ideals of taste, ideologies and values.

One of the most significant examples of the consequences of such a rift is represented by the case of the debate over the edition of Cervantes' *Quijote* [4]. Between 1990 and 2005, thanks to the constitution both of the *Cervantes Society of America* (1979) and the *Associación de Cervantistas* (1988), and to the establishment in Alcalá de Henares of the *Centro de Estudios Cervantinos* (1990), interest in editions of Cervantes grew exponentially and the debate over the editorial criteria to follow became particularly lively. The dispute can be summarised as follows : in 1993, Sevilla Arroyo and Rey Hazas published their edition of *Quijote* [5], based mainly on the *editio princeps* ; in 1995, Sevilla Arroyo defended his philological praxis in the article entitled *La edición de las obras de Miguel de Cervantes* [6] ; in September 1996, Rico criticised Sevilla Arroyo's *Quijote* in his famous article '*Por Hepila famosa' o cómo no editar el* Quijote [7] ; in October 1996, Sevilla Arroyo replied to Rico's critiques by publishing the article *Cómo no se debe profanar el* Quijote [8] ; in the introduction to his *Quijote* (1998), Rico examined all the editions published between 1780 and 1993, highlighting – once again – the lack of philological criteria in Sevilla Arroyo's edition [9] ; in the same year, Sevilla Arroyo wrote the article *Rico contra Cervantes. Francisco Rico ofrece 'su'* Don Quijote de la Mancha *'al común de los mortales'* [10] ; finally, in 2005,

3. Apart from the above-mentioned manuals, it is important to mention also the recent Spanish translation of Maas' *Textkritik* by Bonilla Cerezo and Baldissera (Maas 2012) and a couple of significant articles which stand out among others : Germán Orduna's "La *edición crítica*" (Orduna 1990, p. 17-43) and Alberto Blecua's "Los textos medievales castellanos y sus ediciones" (Blecua 1991, p. 73-88).

4. The chronological reconstruction proposed here follows Urbina 2005, p. 144-145.

5. Cervantes Saavedra 1993.

6. Sevilla Arroyo 1995, p. 75-135.

7. Rico 1996, p. 16-17.

8. Sevilla Arroyo, Rey Hazas 1996, p. 18.

9. Precisely in the chapter "Historia del texto" of the referred introduction (Cervantes Saavedra 1998, p. CXCII-CCXLII).

10. Sevilla Arroyo 1996-1998, p. 133-144.

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Rico published his monograph *El texto del "Quijote"*. Still in this last intervention, while trying to present – or defend – his conception of ecdotics, the scholar, known for being a firm detractor of the application of the stemmatic method to Romance philological traditions [11], ended up criticising several editions (improperly called "critical") and the two types of "fetishism", which continue to haunt Cervantes' masterpiece :

> *Con ser grave que el fetichismo del facsímil se haya sobrepuesto al fetichismo de la princeps, lo peor no son los estragos puntuales : lo peor es que el recurso a los facsímiles ha detraído de adquirir la inexcusable familiaridad con los originales. [. . .] Solo el manejo continuado de los ejemplares auténticos enseña a valorar muchos detalles que el facsímil anula o encubre y en los cuales reside con frecuencia la solución de problemas que ni siquiera son perceptibles con criterios de semántica o estilo* [12] ;

> *Ocurre también que la falta de conocimientos filológicos [. . .] se ha suplido porfiadamente con las querencias de unas teorías y una crítica literarias que a su vez han venido a excitar el « supersticioso respeto » a la* princeps [13].

11. « En España, por contagio de Italia, los estudios textuales tienden a confundirse con el método estamático incorrectamente llamado "de Lachmann" (y no carece de gracia que un método centrado en indagar genealogías se haya engañado tanto tiempo sobre la suya propia). A la necesidad elemental de ordenar y clasificar los materiales con que se trabaja en cualquier dominio, la estemática obedece sentando unos postulados de lógica puramente abstracta : si un testimonio se ciñe siempre solo a otro testimonio que a su vez procede de la misma manera (etc.), si introduce innovaciones identificables como errores, si no subsana felizmente los errores del modelo, si. . . , si. . . , entonces es quizá posible, en efecto, remontarse hacia atrás y restituir un único texto genuino. En ocasiones, el método permite resultados aceptables en ciertas tradiciones muy bien delimitadas o en la agrupación de algunas variantes, pero es estéril para la gran mayoría de los grandes títulos españoles, sobre todo de transmisión impresa, en relación con los cuales es obvio que las condiciones requeridas no se dan más que excepcionalmente ; y, desde luego, la estemática, de suyo, nada tiene que decir que valga para nuestra novela. Con la *Textkritik* de Paul Maas en la mano, opino, no podríamos siquiera precisar la filiación de los tres primeros *Quijotes* de Francisco de Robles (1604, 1605, 1608), eliminaríamos todas las otras ediciones, que tantas veces sanan el texto con absoluta solvencia, y nos veríamos obligados, porque es una exigencia interna del sistema, a conjeturar un "arquetipo" del *Ingenioso hidalgo*. Pese a correcciones de rumbo como las de Alberto Blecua, el lachmannismo ha sido una rémora al desarrollo de un pensamiento ecdótico pleno, porque su concentración en una parcela diminuta ha cegado para mirar a horizontes mayores. » (Rico 2005, p. 11-12 ; 'In Spain, because of the Italian influence, textual studies tend to be confused with the stemmatic method, improperly called "Lachmann's method" (curiously, a method aimed at finding genealogies has been wrong about its own for such a long time). To the basic need to organize and classify the documents with which one can work, stemmatics offers abstract postulates : if a witness is always bound only to another exemplar which, in turn, descends from another (and so on), if. . . , if. . . , then it might be possible to go back along that tradition and offer one genuine text. Sometimes, this method brings acceptable results in well-delimited traditions or in the aggrupation of some variants, but it is mostly sterile in the case of Spanish masterpieces, especially if they come from a printed transmission, for which the required conditions are rarely satisfied ; and, obviously, stemmatics cannot help us with such novel [*Quijote*]. I believe that with Paul Maas' *Textkritik* in hand, we could not even trace the affiliation of the first three Francisco de Robles' *Quijotes* (1604, 1605, 1608), we would eliminate all the other editions that often permit the punctual emendation of the text, and we would be forced to infer the existence of the *Ingenioso hidalgo*'s archetype, since this is an internal requirement of such system. Despite several adjustments, such as Alberto Blecua's, Lachmannism has turned out to be an obstacle for the development of a full philological reasoning, because its focus on a delimited area has overshadowed greater horizons').

12. Rico 2005, p. 35. ' Being already negative the fact that the fetishism for the facsimile has replaced that for the *princeps*, the havoc it causes is not the worst part : this is that such use of facsimiles has inhibited the acquisition of the essential familiarity with the originals. [. . .] Only the continuous use of the originals teaches how to take into account many details that the facsimile overshadows or covers ; it is in the originals that the solution to problems that are not visible through semantic and stylistic criteria is likely to be found. '

13. Rico 2005, p. 38. ' It also happens that the lack of philological knowledge [. . .] has been obstinately replaced by certain tendencies of some literary theories and critics which, in turn, have encouraged the "superstitious respect" for the *princeps*. '

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Rico's critique concerns both the frequent lack of philological knowledge and the common tendency to "superstitiously" venerate the *editio princeps* (or, alternatively, the *codex optimus*), faithfully offered to the reader after graphic modernisation and through the introduction of a few corrections the editor makes *ope ingenii*. Once more, Rico's analysis takes into account the most important editions that were published from the Enlightenment until the one signed by Sevilla Arroyo, which all reiterated that « *atávica adhesión a la* princeps *[que] ha rehusado mirar hacia nuevas direcciones y preferido dejar al* Quijote *oxidándose en una vía muerta* » [14]. According to the scholar, all these editions-proving unable to explain errors and incongruities because of the lack of careful variant analysis, ignoring both the textual evidence of Cervantes' revisions in the second and the third Madrid editions (published respectively in 1605 and in 1608) and the whole process from the manuscript to the printed book contributed to create the picture of a contorted, contradictory or "tricky" Cervantes. In Rico's own words :

> *Todos los editores hasta aquí citados subscriben la premisa de manera implícita (y supongo que inadvertida), pero Gaos y Lathrop la exhiben sin embozos. De acuerdo con Gaos, en el* Quijote *todo es « plan, consciencia, premeditación », y « el novelista domina en todo momento la totalidad de su obra ». En vez de los « errores », los « olvidos » o « descuidos » que Clemencín censura y propone enmendar, Gaos no ve sino sutiles artificios de Cervantes para chasquear al lector que los crea involuntarios. [. . .] Que « Cervantes o la edición príncipe » (con tajante equivalencia) lleguen a equivocarse es hipótesis que se descarta sistemáticamente* [15] ;

> *. . . cualquier distorsión, cualquier improbable hápax, cualquier forma o construcción posible en castellano pero diversa de la única continuamente documentada en Cervantes, se ha dado por buena sin entrever siquiera que la lección anómala se aclara a la luz de la más elemental fenomenología de la copia* [16].

The lack of a solid philological tradition in the Spanish context – which does not concern only Cervantes' *Quijote* –, the general scepticism towards the genealogical method and the need to overcome an unsatisfactory "*filología de la princeps*" led Rico to set the foundations for what he called "*ecdótica del Siglo de Oro*", that is, an "open philology", which, without pursuing the filiation of the witnesses, by starting from a simple variant analysis and combining different fields of knowledge (ecdotics,

14. Rico 2005, p. 22. 'atavistic loyalty to the *princeps* [which] has rejected the possibility to look for new horizons and has preferred leaving the *Quijote* to oxidise in a dead end'.

15. Rico 2005, p. 40-41. 'All editors quoted so far implicitly (and, I guess, unintentionally) endorse this idea, but Gaos and Lathrop show it off. According to Gaos, in *Quijote*, everything is « planned, conscious, intentional », and « the novelist always has control over his entire work ». Instead of the « errors », the « lapses » or « mistakes » that Clemencín finds and invites to amend, Gaos only sees subtle tricks that Cervantes introduces in the text with the purpose of making the reader think they are unintentional slips. The hypothesis that « Cervantes or the *editio princeps* » (as if they were categorically the same) could have made mistakes is systematically rejected'.

16. Rico 2005, p. 43. '[. . .] any kind of distortion, any kind of unlikely hapax, any kind of structure or construction, possible in Spanish, but different from the ones recorded in Cervantes, has been accepted without even realising that the uncommon variant can be explained through the most basic phenomenology of the copy'.

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history, bibliography, literary criticism, etc.), takes into account textual and non-textual implications, is able to describe and consider the whole writing and editing process and, consequently, offers the modern reader a purified and easy-to-read classic, whether this is entitled *Quijote*, *La Celestina*, *Lazarillo de Tormes* or *El burlador de Sevilla* :

> *Por* ecdótica *entiendo (discúlpese que me cite) « una visión completa y articulada, por más que siempre provisional, reajustable y reajustada caso a caso, del conjunto de operaciones intelectuales y materiales anejas al designio de transvasar un discurso desde un sistema de referencias hasta otro, desde los códigos de una cultura hasta los de otra, y de cuáles son las implicaciones de cada una de tales operaciones para el comprometido e imprescindible equilibrio entre la voluntad del escritor, la singularidad de la obra y las conveniencias de los receptores ». En un hecho ecdótico confluyen siempre elementos de diversa entidad, y al editor le es necesario tomarlos en cuenta todos, y los unos en función de los otros. Un factor* textual *puede estar en cualquier parte. No cabe dudar, pongamos, de que la disponibilidad y el precio del papel [. . .] condicionaron en más de un aspecto la composición literaria del* Ingenioso hidalgo *(bastaría recordar que el novelista escribía sin puntos y aparte), como condicionaron luego poderosamente la composición tipográfica, con todo su cortejo de consecuencias textuales. [. . .] La disponibilidad y el precio del papel son datos ecdóticos : cómo y en qué medida en cada momento, ha de decidirlo el editor. Cuando digo* ecdótica, *pues, pienso antes en una actitud que en una disciplina que por ahora habita menos en la realidad que en el deseo y que, en cualquier caso, tendría que ser « impura, mestiza, proteica » (perdón de nuevo). El legado de experiencias de la* philologia perennis, *la robusta filología de los humanistas y de quienes los sucedieron en la universidad moderna, sigue proporcionando una base inexcusable, pero claro está que también insuficiente. A una ecdótica cabal le cumple hacerse cargo, discriminadamente, de múltiples saberes, técnicas y enfoques*[17].

17. Rico 2005, p. 10-11. ‘ With the term *ecdoctis* I mean (please, forgive the self-quotation) “a complete and well-structured vision (though always provisional), re-adjustable and re-adjusted case by case, of the combination of intellectual and material operations which aim at transferring a subject from a reference system to another, from the codes of a specific culture to another, and of the implications that any of such operations can have in the delicate and basic balance among the author’s will, the work’s peculiarity and the audience’s convenience”. In ecdotics, elements of different nature always come into play, and the editor needs to take them all into account, as they depend on one another. A *textual* factor can lie anywhere. It is evident, let’s imagine, that the availability and the price of paper [. . .] determined, from several points of view, the *Ingenioso hidalgo*’s literary composition (it would be enough to remember that Cervantes wrote with no full stops) and, subsequently, the typographical elaboration, with all the related textual consequences. [. . .] The availability and the price of paper are ecdotics factors : the ‘how’ and ‘to what extent in any moment’ have to be defined by the editor. When I say *ecdotics*, therefore, I mean an attitude more than a discipline, a desire more than an actual reality, and that in any case, should be “impure, *mestiza*, protean” (please, forgive me again). The legacy of experiences of *philologia perennis*, the solid philology of the humanists and of their heirs in the modern University keep offering an essential basis, but it is still unsatisfactory. A full ecdotics must engage, discriminately, with several fields of knowledge, techniques and approaches.

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2 A glance right out of the canon : The critical edition of Francisco Fernández de Córdoba's *Examen del Antídoto*

Commonly known as *Examen del Antídoto*, Francisco Fernández de Córdoba's *Examen del Antídoto o Apología por las Soledades de don Luis de Góngora contra el autor del Antídoto* is one the most important defenses of Góngora's *Soledades* (1613-1614), the most significant expression of Spanish Baroque poetry which, therefore, came to be the target of his opponents' attacks, starting from the Sevillian poet Juan de Jáuregui's *Antídoto contra la pestilente poesía de las Soledades* (1615).

Written between the end of 1616 and the beginning of the following year, and first published in 1925 by Miguel Artigas Ferrando [18], who made a diplomatic copy of one of the surviving witnesses (ms. 3803 from the National Library of Spain, BNE) to the *Examen*, the Abbot of Rute's apology has not had any further publication and, much less, a proper critical edition. This is why, at the end of 2014, benefiting from the support of the research project *Édition digitale et étude de la polémique autour de Góngora*, coordinated by Professor Mercedes Blanco, and encouraged by my Ph.D. tutors' experience and knowledge (Professor Paolo Tanganelli and Professor Rafael Bonilla Cerezo), I accepted the challenge of doing justice (through the application of the genealogical-reconstructive method) to such a fundamental work of 17th-century Spanish literature and literary theory, which had been inexplicably mistreated [19].

Despite the modest length of the text, achieving the goal of a critical edition has been anything but easy, since the paucity of significant errors and the circumstances in which the text was transmitted (a highly-cultured tradition) have led me to deal with three of the main issues that often haunt, or seduce, the philologist/editor : the existence of an archetype, the shadow of contamination and the threatening – or challenging – possibility of author's revisions.

2.1 The archetype

As is known, to prove the existence of an archetype (a lost copy from which the whole surviving tradition derives and the highest point in the stemma that philologists can reach [20]) a simple condition needs to be observed, that is, the recognition of at least one monogenetic error shared by all the preserved witnesses.

The collation of the eight surviving witnesses to *Examen* (A = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 3906 ; M = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 3726 ; M1 = Madrid,

18. Artigas Ferrando 1925, p. 400-467.

19. The final result of my Ph.D. research, i.e., the critical edition of the Abbot of Rute's *Examen del Antídoto*, has been recently published by Almuzara (Fernández de Córdoba 2019). A lighter online edition is also available in the Sorbonne's Observatoire de la Vie Littérarie catalogue (`https://obvil.sorbonne-universite.fr/corpus/gongora/1617_examen`). The most relevant outcomes and my stemmatic hypotesis can be consulted also in Mancinelli 2017.

20. I borrow the whole definition of archetype from Paolo Trovato : « Textual critics should only use the word *archetype* to designate the point in the *stemma* beyond which the surviving tradition does not allow them to reach » (Trovato 2014, p. 66) ; and – reformulating Blecua's definition of the archetype itself as « *un códice o impreso perdido,* X,*o conservado,* A, B, C, *etc., que transmita errores comunes a todos los testimonios* » (Blecua 2001, p. 71 ; ' a lost, *X*, or a surviving *A*, *B*, *C*, etc. codex or a printed book which transmits errors that are common to all the witnesses ') – « a lost copy marred by at least one error of the conjunctive type, from which the whole *surviving* tradition derives » (Trovato 2014, p. 67).

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Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 5566 ; M2 = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 3803 ; S = Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 2006 ; S1 = Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 2123 ; G = Palma de Mallorca, Biblioteca de la Fundación Bartolomé March, ms. 6454 ; V = Vitoria-Gasteiz, Biblioteca del Seminario Diocesano de Vitoria, ms. 88 [21]) does not seem to provide sufficient evidence to support irrefutably the existence of such a codex and as a consequence to exclude the possibility that the whole tradition derives directly from the author's original [22]. Nevertheless, some errors – albeit, possibly polygenetic [23] – catch the eye and do not allow us to reject the idea of a common descent from an archetype ω :

262 [24] baptizará ⎹ baptizaran A | baptizarán G V | bautizaràn M M1 | baptiçaran M2 | vaptiçaran S | baptizaràn S1

> Si en la primera, que sola hoy ha salido a luz, este mancebo está por baptizar, tenga vuestra merced paciencia que en la segunda o en la tercera se le **baptizará** y sabrá su nombre.

1396 eslo ⎹ eso A M M1 M2 S

> Aunque, si mira vuestra merced – sin antojos de apasionado alinde – los defectos de este poema, confesará que no es tan oscuro – como eslo su estilo –, pues se acomoda a los sujetos de que trata, pues tiene tanto de energía, o evidencia, o perspicuidad, que así la llama Cicerón…

1986 tentejuela ⎹ tentejuelo A G M M2 S

> Virgilio al menos así lo hizo : ¿cuántas y cuántas palabras hallará vuestra merced repetidas en sus obras cincuenta y cien veces ? ¿Cuántas en la de Horacio y otros ? ¡Hasta tentejuela ! Hablen el índice virgiliano de Nicolás Eritreo y el horaciano de Tomás Trectero y callará vuestra merced en esta materia por cien años.

21. In order to give the reader an idea of the complexity of this tradition, it is important to point out that manuscript V transmits approximately one-seventh of the whole *Examen*, a portion which coincides with lines 1-402 of Fernández de Córdoba 2019. Hence, the several omissions (*om.*) in the examined fragments. For a detailed description of all the manuscripts, see Mancinelli 2017 and Fernández de Córdoba 2019, p. 67-73.

22. As Tanganelli reminds us, « *cuando no se logra demostrar la existencia de un arquetipo, hay que asumir que la tradición deriva directamente del original (que, por supuesto, puede ser un original en movimiento), y, en consecuencia, no se podrá descartar que las variantes adiáforas de las ramas altas puedan ser del mismo autor (o, más en general, que los testimonios conservados desciendan de diferentes redacciones 'originales').* » (Tanganelli 2016, p. 184 ; ' when it is not possible to prove the existence of the archetype, we have to assume that the tradition derives directly from the original (which, of course, may be a moving original). As a consequence, it will not be possible to deny that the equally acceptable readings of the highest branches might be due to the author (or, generally, that the surviving witnesses may descend from different authorial versions)').

23. On the concept of polygenesis, its conditions and limits, see Brandoli 2007, p. 99-214. Trovato 2014 (p. 113) adopts Brandoli's classification, insisting on its probabilistic dimension and on the difficulty of distinguishing between polygenetic and monogenetic innovations, depending also on the different degree of tolerance that every literary genre has for certain types of errors : « I would add that, in general, the difficulty of spotting significant errors depends on the fact that every literary genre has a different degree of tolerance for certain types of error. The textual critic should thus distinguish noise from significant errors case by case. While in major poets such as Virgil or Dante, the mere omission of a disyllable, being prosodically unacceptable, is usually a significant error, in thirteenth-century copies of prose Latin guides to the Holy Land neither the addition nor the omission of an epithet, or the abbreviation or extension of a scriptural quotation, is genealogically significant » (Trovato 2014, p. 115).

24. In order to orient the reader, I indicate, before every fragment, the line of Fernández de Córdoba 2019 where the analysed variant/error can be found.

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Two more innovations which, unlike the above-mentioned, involve more than one grapheme and for which a polygenetic origin is difficult to imagine, help dispel the lingering doubts and lead us to postulate the existence of ω : the banalization "*los gigantes*" for "*las gigantas*", which means "sunflower"[25], in the following fragment ; and the marginal gloss "*Égloga*" instead of "*Elegía*", to refer to verse 13 of Herrera's *Elegía cuarta*, "*Del ancho mar el término infinito*"[26].

541-2 las gigantas ⌋ los gigantes A G M M1 M2 S S1 | *om.*V

> Así también diremos a la vela del navío, o sea –por solo servir a vuestra merced– al navío mismo, «Clicie del viento» ; no porque camine buscando al sol, ni porque lleve aquellos desmesurados florones que las gigantas o girasoles, sino porque de la manera que estos, mirando al sol, se gobiernan por él, así la vela mira al viento y por él se gobierna, si bien para huirle y darle espaldas como el heliotropio para seguir a su querido, el sol, y andarse tras él

580 Elegía IV ⌋ Egl. I A | Ecglo. 4 G | Egloga 4ª M2 | Herre eglo. M M1 | Herrera Eg>o<log. 4 S | Herrera Eglog. 4 S1 | *om.* V

3 The contamination of S (and S1)

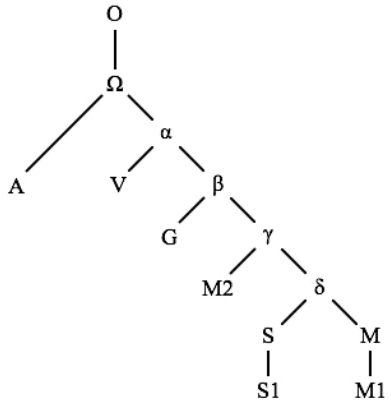


Figure 1

This being the *stemma* which best represents the most relevant outcomes of the collation, a few variants shared by mss. A and S (S1) deserve to be taken into account, as they seem to force us to reconsider the dynamics of the tradition partially by revealing two different disturbance phenomena (*perturbazione*, Timpanaro), i.e., two

25. According to the 1803 *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana* of the Real Academia de España, the term *giganta* means "yerba, lo mismo que *girasol*".

26. Herrera 1985, p. 399.

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kinds of horizontal transmission (from A to S) : according to Segre's classification, respectively, a "contamination of exemplars" and a "contamination of readings" [27].

The former would only concern a short portion of the text [28] and could be proved thanks to a set of innovations (most of them equally acceptable readings) of A, shared also by S (S1) :

518 lo muestra la experiencia misma, y hablando ella, callarán los escritores G M M1 M2] *om.* A S S1 *(om.* V)

532 está lleno de vino como suelen los cueros G M M2] lo suelen estar A S S1

598 tendría la cucharita sus mil y quinientos años G M M1 M2] seis A S S1 | *om.* V

641 Topa vuestra merced con aquellos versos G M M1 M2] en A S S1 | *om.* V

743 eso es ya dar indicio claro de que "sincerum est nisi vas [...]" G M M1 M2] *om.* A S S1 (*om.* V)

The latter involves the whole *Examen* and is visible through several isolated innovations, common to both manuscripts. Here, a few *loci* in which the polygenetic origin, albeit possible, seems hard to defend :

914 "Fannius Hermogenis laedat conviva Tigelli ?" G M M1 M2] convivia A S S1

1612 ¿Y Horacio : "multa merces, multa prece, multa aura, multa tellure..." G M M1 M2] aurea A S S1 | *om.* V

2144 como si sobre los hombros de cada cual se hubiera dejado caer un sino celeste G M M1 M2] signo A S S1 | *om.* V

2698 en las comparaciones no se requiere omnímoda verdad, ni semejanza : sobra que combinen en algún principal atributo G M2] convengan A S S1 | convienen M M1 | *om.* V

2724 "Alius namque ibi isthmos angustia simili est [...]" G M M1 M2] isthmus A S S1 | *om.* V

Two more cases are worth taking into account. Copying simultaneously from A and δ (or a descendant of them), the contamination of S gives rise to a couple of "hybrid" variants, as a result of the combination of the different readings of both its sources :

27. « *2. La contaminazione di esemplari non può essere considerata alla pari delle altre [...] : quando un copista, o per integrare un esemplare incompleto, o perché imbattutosi in un esemplare più leggibile o autorevole, trascrive alternativamente da due esemplari, la sua copia appartiene, alternativamente, ad uno solo dei gruppi di provenienza dei due esemplari. 3. La contaminazione di lezione è conseguenza di una collazione eseguita sull'ascendente di un codice. Questa contaminazione può essere classificata, secondo le sue modalità, come contaminazione semplice (conseguenza di una sola collazione con un solo esemplare), contaminazione frazionata (conseguenze di successive collazioni con un solo esemplare), contaminazione multipla (conseguenza di collazioni con più di un esemplare), che può essere inoltre frazionata* » (Segre 1998, p. 71). A Spanish translation is available in Segre 2016, p. 9-10. On contamination in general, see Trovato 2014, p. 128-138.

28. Approximately corresponding with lines 513-744 of Fernández de Córdoba 2019.

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1487 Usole G M M2] (Usole *om.*) i tambien A | Usolo M1 | Usso (Ussò S1) tambien S S1 | *om.* V

> **Usole** Lucano : "Iam tumuli collesque latent, iam flumina cuncta / condidit una palus vastaque voragine mersit, / absorpsit penitus rupes".

1616 autor de las Soledades G M M1 M2] poeta (de las Soledades *om.*) A | poeta (poetta S1) de las Soledades S S1 | *om.* V

> Luego no habló, ni aun imitó mal nuestro **autor de las *Soledades***.

The *stemma* which reflects this hypothesis is the following :

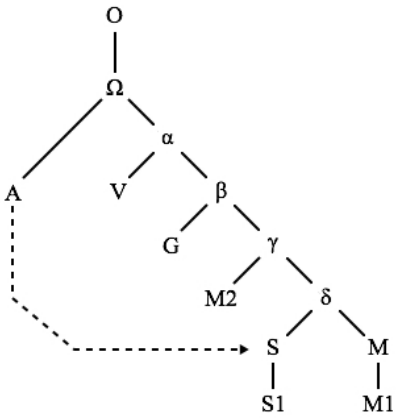


Figure 2

4 An active and cultured tradition : authorial revisions or copyist's variants ?

Based on some of the textual discrepancies which separate ms. A from the rest of the tradition, the scholar Ana Cristina López Viñuela, in her 1998 essay "*El tratamiento de las citas en la edición crítica del* Examen del Antídoto, *del abad de Rute* "[29], postulated the existence (and its evidence in the tradition) of a double original : one, being the primitive version of the defense, completed by the end of July 1617 ; the other, coinciding with a further revision, dating from the summer of 1620 [30].

To support her conjecture, López Viñuela selects a range of variants of A which appear to be the correct readings or, generally, the most faithful to the sources Fernández de Córdoba quotes, mainly Góngora's *Soledades* and Jáuregui's *Antídoto* :

29. López Viñuela 1998, p. 377-388.

30. Such a hypothesis and chronology are based on a few letters that Fernández de Córdoba sent to his friend Díaz de Rivas, first published by Alonso 1975, p. 27-58 and which are dated respectively from 25 July 1617 (Granada), 29 June 1620 (Rute) and 7 July 1620 (Rute). In the first letter, Fernández de Córdoba informs his friend about the recent conclusion of his *Examen* ; while, in the second one, the abbot asks Díaz de Rivas to take charge (financially) of two more copies of the defense. See also Mancinelli 2017, p. 224-226 and Fernández de Córdoba 2019, p. 108-113.

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1438-9 voces sunt signa conceptuum A]*om.* G M M1 M2 S S1 *(om.* V*)*

> Porque comoquiera que las palabras no solo son señales de los conceptos – conforme al filósofo, "voces sunt signa conceptuum" –, sino vestiduras de ellos, han de ser ajustadas a su talle...

1545-6 Pasos otro dio al aire al suelo A] *om.* G M M1 M2 S S1 *(om.*V*)*

1558-9 Advocaron así toda la gente A] *om.* G M M1 M2 S S1 *(om.* V*)*

> Haga vuestra merced unas ordenanzas confirmadas de Apolo y graduarlas hemos aquí de Dios y del rey, que un verso tan significativo y de tanta energía, "Pasos otro dio al aire al suelo coces", se dé por de caballeriza. [...] Que el siguiente verso, "Advocaron así toda la gente", sea de tribunal no es maravilla, pues donde había juzgado de juegos y premios, no pudo faltar tribunal de jueces...

1589 tres A] *om.* G M M1 M2 S S1 *(om.*V*)*

1590-3 La orza contenía ... la oreja A] y refiere los versos G M M1 M2 S S1 *(om.* V*)*

> Dice luego vuestra merced : "Igual hermosura tienen aquellos tres versitos como tres perlas : "La orza contenía / que un montañés traía. / No excedía la oreja, etc." »

2330 todo A] todos G M M1 M2 S S1 | *om.* V

> "Media luna las armas de su frente / y el Sol **todo** los rayos de su pelo"

The *stemma* which seems to represent López Viñuela's reconstruction would look like the following :

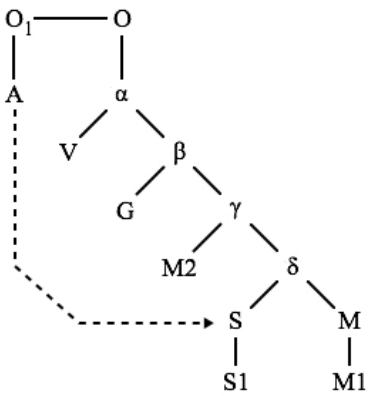


Figure 3

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Though there might be a chance that the Abbot of Rute – having had several copies made in his *atelier* – amended or made a few changes to his *apología*, most of the examples López Viñuela examines do not necessarily imply the author's intervention, since they are explicable as mere errors committed by the copyist of α (or β), thus exclusively confirming the independence of A from the other branch of the stemma.

Among the *loci* analysed by López Viñuela, in fact, only two variants force us to consider the option of the persistence in the tradition of an authorial revision :

1599 arboles G M M1 M2 S S1] alamos A | *om.* V

> Prosigue vuestra merced culpando en nuestro poeta la siguiente frasis : "Que a mucha fresca rosa" ; "Tanto garzón robusto, / tanta ofrecen los árboles zagala" ; "tanta náutica doctrina" ; "besó ya tanto leño".

426 suele el t. G M M1 M2] sabe el t. A | el t. suele S | el t(iem)po suele S1 | *om.* V

> Pues, y a aquellos versitos del cabrero, "que a rüinas y estragos / suele el tiempo hacer verdes halagos", ¿qué les halla vuestra merced de malo ?

In the first case, it is possible to imagine that the Abbot of Rute, after quoting verse 664 of *Soledad primera* as it was (according to Jammes [31]) in its primitive version ("*tanta ofrecen los árboles zagala*"), decided to modernise the hendecasyllable with the correction made by Góngora himself (replacement of "*árboles*" with "*álamos*").

The same logic has to be applied to the change from "*suele*" of β (presumably from α) to "*sabe*" in A, with the only difference that "*suele*" is not registered in any of the compositional phases of Góngora's poem, but in Jáuregui's *Antídoto* [32] : a Sevillian's mistake, then, that Fernández de Córdoba would recognise and correct during a further revision of his defense.

Another variant which must be added to the previous – not listed by López Viñuela – is the interpolation, in the following fragment, of "*predicador de Su Majestad*" referring to Góngora's friend, Hortensio Paravicino, who was awarded the title of Royal preacher only in December 1617 [33], approximately five months after the Abbot of Rute finished writing his *Examen* :

854-5 el maestro ... Paravicino G M M1 S S1] el padre fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino, predicador de Su Majestad A | el maestro fray Hortensio (Félix *om.*) Palaviçino <Luis Tribaldos de Toledo chronista de su *Majestad* / don Iñigo Aguirre caballero del habito de *Santiago*> (*marg.*) M2 | *om.* V

31. See Góngora y Argote 1994, p. 326-327.

32. « *Dice el otro pastor contemplando las ruinas vestidas de yedra : 'Que a ruinas y estragos / suele el tiempo hacer verdes halagos'* » (Jáuregui 2001, p. 13).

33. « *Paravicino debía de ser ya predicador muy famoso, cuando en diciembre de 1617 Felipe III le concedió el título de Predicador Real, poco después de que Góngora obtuviese la Capellanía de honor* » (Cerdan 1978, p. 46).

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> En Madrid, emporio de todos los buenos ingenios y estudios del mundo, como corte al fin del mayor monarca que en él ha habido, Pedro de Valencia, cuya aprobación sobrara para cosas mayores, don Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, el maestro fray Hortensio Paravicino, Luis de Cabrera de Córdoba, Manuel Ponce...

Even though these three cases might raise some doubts and they seem to justify the hypothesis of a revised version of Fernández de Córdoba's defense from which ms. A would derive, there are solid reasons to reject it.

On the one hand, López Viñuela does not take into account the issue of the archetype, breaking a basic rule of ecdotics : to prove the persistence, in the surviving tradition, of authorial variants or, rather, different authorial versions of the same text, irrefutable textual evidence must be found, that is, it has to be impossible to demonstrate the existence of an archetype.

On the other hand, López Viñuela underestimates a very important historical element, i.e., the way and the context in which Fernández de Córdoba's *Examen* circulated : this was a very active one, in which copies spread within a culturally dynamic environment thanks to the accurate work of copyists and readers, who were used to handling different texts of the debate, knew Góngora's poem by heart (or could check a copy of his *Soledades*), and were often knowledgeable enough to intervene with emendations and interpolations.

For all these reasons, it seems to be imprudent to exclude the possibility that the above variants and other modernisations [34] and corrections, which characterise other manuscripts of the tradition – such as, the interpolation "*Luis Tribaldos de Toledo chronista de Su Majestad / don Iñigo Aguirre caballero del hábito de Santiago*" of M2 –, may be due to an expert copyist or, even, a curious reader.

The combination of these elements, not considered by López Viñuela, with the apparent "contradiction" of ms. A – which, despite collecting plenty of trivial errors and leaving in a few cases blank spaces, is still the most faithful when it comes to Latin, Italian and Spanish quotations – leads us to postulate the existence at least of one *interpositus* ϵ, probably not easy to be read, between A and the archetype. It would have been the copyist of such a codex, or possibly a learned reader, then, who rectified and modernised the above fragments of the text *ope ingenii*.

34. The most significant example of how active this tradition can be is the modernisation of verse 4 of *Soledad primera*, which, in mss. A, G, M2 (supposedly in Ω), appears as it was in its intermediate version ("*en dehesas azules pace estrellas*"), while, in δ, is updated, according to its definitive shape "*en campos de zafiro pace estrellas*". See Jammes' introductory study to his edition of *Soledades* (Góngora y Argote 1994, p. 196-198) and Mancinelli 2017, p. 213-214.

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This hypothesis can be represented by means of the following *stemma* :

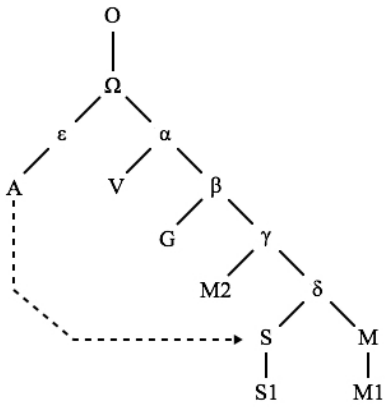


Figure 4

5 Conclusions

Given the above, even though the number of probable monogenetic errors is relatively low, it is possible to come to the following conclusions :

1) the tradition of Fernández de Córdoba's defense may be classified according to the principles of the stemmatic method ;

2) the above *stemma* (Figure 4) seems the most suited to represent the *Examen*'s tradition in order to reconstruct the text, even though it has to be applied *cum grano salis*, that is, not mechanically, also because of the contamination of ms. S.

3) finally, in case of equally acceptable readings :

a) when ms. V does not omit, the combination between this manuscript and A gives the critical text ;

b) when ms. V omits, the contradictory behaviour of ms. A and the possibility of interventions of the *interpositus* ϵ lead us usually to prefer the variants of α.

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