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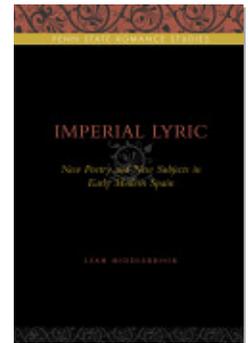
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4



HEROIC LYRIC

Proxima heroica maiestate lyrica nobilitas . . .

—Scaliger, *Poetices* VII.1.47

FERNANDO DE HERRERA (1534–1597) WAS THE poet of light. A skilled composer of odes and an innovator in early modern genres from literary criticism and history to saintly biography, Herrera chose light and the sun as the favored metaphors for his ambitions in the field of letters. He composed the critical *Las obras de Garcilaso de la Vega con anotaciones* (The Poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega with Annotations, 1580) to shed light on proper compositional strategies and to lead Spanish writing out of obscurity;¹ and the erudite Petrarchan poetry with which he is most commonly associated—sonnets (primarily) directed to the celebration of the lady “Luz,” or “Light” (also referred to as Heliadora, Aurora, and Estrella, among other luminous names)—have inspired critics to refer to his “radiant” poetics. López Bueno observes that “en la poesía herreriana, el mundo se subsume en el objeto amoroso, que irradia desde su heliocentrismo” (“in the poetry of Herrera, the world is subsumed into the object of desire, which radiates forth in a heliocentric order”) (*La poética cultista*, 51).

1. On Herrera and discourses of obscurity and illumination, see Paul Julian Smith, *Writing in the Margin*, 32–37. See also 43–49, and Herrera himself: “Ni . . . pretendo descubrir más luz que la que conviene a los ojos flacos y cortos de vista. . . . Pero deseo que sea esta mi intención bien acogida de los que saben, y que se persuadan a creer que la honra de la nación . . . me oblig[ó] . . . a publicar estas rudezas de mi ingenio” (“nor . . . do I intend to reveal more light than that which is suitable for weak and myopic eyes. . . . But I wish that my intentions are welcomed by those who have knowledge, and that I may persuade them that the honor of the nation . . . obliged me to publish these crude results of my wit”); *Annotations*, 264. Page references to the *Annotations* refer to the 2001 Cátedra edition of the text.

The formulation is particularly useful. Whereas the lasting poetic fame marked by the laurel structures the Petrarchan universe, light, as a source of illumination and also as a source of energy, is the trope that motivated and organized Herrera's verbal enterprises both in poetry and in prose.² "Donde no hay luz ni entendimiento" he wrote in the *Annotations*, "no se puede conocer ni entender cosa alguna" ("where there is neither light nor understanding . . . one cannot know or understand anything at all").³ We can compare this line with Boscán's formulation, discussed in Chapter 1: the new art "consiste en ingenio y en juicio, no teniendo estas dos cosas más vida de cuanto tienen gusto" ("depends entirely on wit and on judgment, neither of which have life apart from pleasure"). Written half a century or so before Herrera composed the *Annotations*, these words link Boscán to a fundamentally different epoch from that of his Sevillian successor. To Boscán, composing poetry was an activity of courtly *otium*; furthermore, it was informed by pressures to mediate and diffuse the energies and passions of the nobleman, and thereby assist in his accommodation to the new social and political regimes to which he was subject. Herrera forged his precepts and his practice for a *new* "new poetry" in the late 1500s, as Spanish captains were celebrated as glorious agents of a heroic modern age in which a modern Catholic king—not Ferdinand, but Philip II—would secure the hegemony of the true religion across the globe in a "second Reconquest." At the same time, Spanish noblemen were subordinate as never before to the powers of God and of the king. Counter-Reformation ideologies cast the Spanish fighter's heroic *diestro brazo* as an instrument of divine will: God guided the aim and provided the force for each successful blow. Within this context, the discourse of courtly lyric was invested with a new mandate. While it still participated in promoting and naturalizing the nobleman's subjection, it was also required to *disguise* the fundamental disruption of Spanish masculine identity that had been brought about by the discourses of messianic imperialism, and to proclaim the virtue and the virility of the modern age.

2. Herrera's known canon of writing was diverse as well as prolific. On the historical writing and the *Tomás Moro*, see Randel, *The Historical Prose*, as well as Lara Garrido, *Del Siglo de Oro* (133–48). On the *Annotations*, see the introduction by Pepe and Reyes, in Herrera, *Annotations*, 17–83. Morros Mestres ("La idea de la lírica") is also a very useful scholar and commentator on the text, since he tracks the sources of Herrera's opinions in the work; Montero situates the *Annotations* within the context of the controversy that followed on its publication.

3. This line is also quoted by Lara Garrido, 138. His brief but incisive comments on Herrera's poetics underscore some of the principal points in López Bueno. See *Del Siglo de Oro*, 133–48.

Viewed from this perspective, the observation made by Mary Gaylord Randel some time ago, that Herrera's works are joined by a "common heroic *vision*," takes on a particular significance (Randel, *The Historical Prose*, 4, my emphasis). In keeping with mannerist aesthetics, Herrera can be understood as working to recuperate a measure of the heroic Spanish agency that was excluded by modern conditions through his manipulation of poetic discourse to achieve powerful visual effects. Smith has pointed out that Herrera maintained an affinity for the trope of *enargeia*, in particular, and he glosses the term: "The form of the thing is to be so expressed in the word that it is seen rather than heard, and the orator's linguistic gesture will provoke emotions appropriate to this graphic persuasiveness." Sixteenth-century rhetoricians deployed these figures in the interest of securing the *eficacia* of language to compensate for absent things, "to represent the object in an excellent way."⁴ Herrera made no secret of his opinion that male agency, or *virtud*, was the definitive "lost object" for contemporary Spanish poetry.⁵ But his sense of this loss was complex, given that it was brought about by God's decision to favor the Spanish nation with the completion of His will. The *Annotations*, Herrera's nationalist odes, and his Petrarchan poetry to the lady Luz cohere as an organic whole when we understand them as informed by an acute sense of the obsolescence of traditional ideals of Spanish masculinity and of poetry itself in a modern age that was making new and perhaps exaggerated claims for those ideals. Across the spectrum of Herrera's writings, we find him working to bring virile Spanish glory into life and presence on the page while maintaining a rhetorically licensed

4. Quotations from Smith, *Writing in the Margin*, 45 and 44. On the rhetoric of visual effect in the late sixteenth century, see the important study by Bergmann (*Art Inscribed*). On metaphors of vision in the Petrarchan poetry, see also Navarrete (*Orphans of Petrarch*, 151–69).

5. Two examples from the *Annotations* characterize Herrera's view. The first is his opening defense of his project: "Los españoles, ocupados en las armas con perpetua solitud hasta acabar de restituir su reino a la religión cristiana, no pudiendo entre aquel tumulto y rigor acudir a la quietud y sosiego de estos estudios, quedaron por la mayor parte ajenos de su noticia y apenas pueden dificilmente ilustrar las tinieblas de la oscuridad en que se hallaron por tan largo espacio de años" (278) ("The Spanish, occupied with the perpetual cares of completing the restitution of their kingdom to the Christian religion, and unable, amid the tumult and the demands of that time to welcome the quiet and the leisure of such studies, remained for the most part alien to news of it, and it is only with difficulty that one can illustrate the darkness and the obscurity in which they found themselves during a long period of years"). The second appears in Herrera's comments on Cetina, whose sonnets we found praised by Herrera in Chapter 3. As he continues his remarks, however, he attributes Cetina with a certain lassitude: "fáltale el espíritu y vigor, que tan importante es a la poesía; y así dice muchas cosas dulcemente, pero sin fuerzas" (280) ("he lacks spirit and vigor, and these are quite important to poetry; and thus he says many things sweetly, but without force").

ambiguity regarding the substance that lay behind those words, and a politic attitude regarding the place of human agency in the physical world.

From Action to Essence

Herrera was born in the environs of Seville in 1534 and remained a resident of the area until his death in 1597. His adult years corresponded to the reign of Philip II (1527–1598).⁶ Herrera, who was described by his biographer, Francisco de Pacheco, as the descendant of an honorable but modest family, gained his livelihood through a position in the parish of St. Andrés. However, despite his marginality with respect to the court, and despite a propensity for secluding himself in his study, he was a member of an ambitious and productive intellectual circle.⁷ Judging from allusions to Herrera that appear in Pacheco and in the writings of other near-contemporaries, such as Rodrigo Caro, in *Los claros varones de Sevilla*, and also judging from the list of dedicatees to whom Herrera directed his writing or with whom he exchanged sonnets and songs, it is clear that he consorted with fellow humanists and intellectuals of various ranks, including members of the power elite.⁸

This association with members of the old and new Spanish nobility very likely enhanced his sensitivity to political and ideological factors that were transforming ideals of Spanish masculinity and prowess. In the final third of the sixteenth century, the conditions were ripe for an efflorescence of heroic Spanish poetry.⁹ Imperial forces were occupied in nearly continuous warfare against the Turks to the east, against Protestants to the north, against rebellious Moriscos internally, and in the Americas, in continuing wars of

6. Philip's rule formally commenced in 1555 and 1556 and lasted until his death in 1598. In effect, however, he had governed from about 1543, when the emperor began granting him increasing responsibility for matters on the Peninsula (Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, 1997).

7. The principal source of biographical information regarding Herrera has always been his contemporary Pacheco, in the *Libro de verdaderos retratos de los hombres ilustres de Sevilla* (1599). Macrí amplified the context of Pacheco's brief remarks. See *Fernando de Herrera*, 23–48.

8. The best known are the Count and Countess of Gelves, since generations of scholars have argued for a love affair or at least an unrequited passion on Herrera's part for the Countess. Equal numbers of critics are skeptical about the possibility of a historical beloved. I argue below that Herrera's Petrarchan sequence was "about" love only in the most rhetorical sense: Herrera praised Petrarch most of all for using poetic and rhetorical strategies in a manner so dexterous that he elevated the trivial theme of love to an exalted status.

9. On the sixteenth century as a climate for epic, see Davis, *Myth and Identity*, as well as Simerka, *Discourses of Empire*.

conquest. Official propaganda promoted celebrated captains such as don García de Toledo, Juan of Austria, Sebastian of Portugal, and the king himself as divine agents crusading for the final global victory of the True Church. But as we have already encountered a number of times in this book, the composition of the military ranks and the technologies and fighting strategies employed in war were no longer what they had been under the medieval system. Furthermore, Philip II had been imbued with a messianic triumphalist notion of Spanish destiny by his father, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V; and his royal astrologers, jurists, biographers, and chroniclers surpassed their precursors in elaborating on the idea that Spain was the chosen instrument of divine will.¹⁰ In the wake of the Spanish victory at Lepanto (1571), in particular, Spanish triumphalism no longer associated military valor and honor with the aristocracy. With new social organizations taking over within imperial fighting ranks and within the context of an ideology that presented victory as a gift from God, any Spanish man, regardless of his rank, could claim a share of a Spanish national myth as “the daring Spaniard” (*el osado español*) and the *diestro braço* lost a degree of purchase on the social imagination.¹¹

We have seen how a number of Spanish writers responded to these conditions. Notably, we might recall the nostalgic lament of Sánchez de Lima for a lost generation of aristocratic warrior poets, discussed in Chapter 1. In contrast to Sánchez de Lima, Herrera’s writings reflect a distinctly un-nostalgic view of a modern era in which Spain’s valiant men had the good fortune to be chosen by God to participate in the revelation of His will.¹² However, a sense of a fundamental hermeneutic, as well as a historical, gulf

10. John Headley has analyzed many of the memoranda and letters of council by which the young Charles of Burgundy was guided to represent himself as, simultaneously, a “new Caesar,” and, in a more Christian vein, the fulfillment of God’s promise to unite the world under one sovereign. Headley focuses on the shaping role of Mercurio de Gattinara in the young emperor’s formation and in his ultimate acceptance by the Spanish grandees. See Headley, “The Hapsburg World,” 93–127. See also the discussion of the discourse of universal monarchy in Geoffrey Parker, *Success Is Never Final*, 19–38. One point Parker reminds us of is that most of the European states claimed that providence was on the side of their military and imperialistic policies.

11. The discourse of “*el osado español*” and its variants has received some discussion. See, for example, Michael Gerli on “*el gallardo español*” as it appears in Ercilla and is taken up by Cervantes (Gerli, “Aristotle in Africa”) and Anthony Cascardi, *Ideologies of History*. It seems clear that Cervantes and Herrera, at the very least, understood the social implications of employing terms for generalized male Spanish force.

12. Two distinguishing features of Herrera as a writer are his mannerism and nationalism; but a third striking aspect of his worldview is his presentism, as Randel, among others, has pointed out. In her discussion of Herrera’s defense of Lepanto as the most heroic battle ever fought (*The Historical Prose*, 84–86), she notes that his claim is based on the “technical superiority of modern weaponry,

that separated the Spanish past from the revealed modern age informed Herrera's scholarship into classical and emergent forms and genres, from the ode, the elegy, and the eclogue through the sonnet and prose forms such as the historical account (*relación*), the saintly life, and the expanded critical commentary. In this new epoch it was the patriotic and spiritual duty of the man of letters to fashion the Castilian language into forms adequate to the representation of Spain's glory. As Lara Garrido has described, referring to Herrera's cultural moment, "El destino de los pueblos está regido por una instancia superior: la voluntad divina, cuya presencia en la Historia debe ser subrayada frente a la común ceguera. Es así como cobra un nuevo sentido . . . la figura del hombre de letras y del poeta, en las conexiones entre relato histórico y canción heroica—desvelamiento de la grandeza mesiánica de los españoles que 'no puede tener morada en la estrechura de la tierra' porque defienden con las armas 'la honra de Jesucristo'" (*Del Siglo de Oro*, 140) ("The destiny of peoples is ruled by a superior cause: divine will, whose presence in History must be underscored in the face of their common blindness. It is thus that . . . the figure of the man of letters and the poet gain a new meaning, in the connections between the historical account and the heroic song—the revealing of the messianic greatness of the Spanish, 'who cannot find a dwelling place in all the wide earth' because they defend with arms 'the honor of Jesus Christ'"). Such "revealing" is the stated purpose of Herrera's *Annotations*, which opens with the well-known claim: "Deseo que sea esta mi intención bien acogida de los que saben, y que se persuaden a creer que la honra de la nación y la nobleza y excelencia del escritor presente me obligaron a publicar estas rudezas de mi ingenio" (264) ("I desire that my intentions be welcomed by those who have knowledge and that they are persuaded to believe that the honor of the nation and the nobility and the excellence of the present writer [Garcilaso] obliged me to publish these crude fruits of my wit"). A number of astute studies of this ambitious critical work, a true sixteenth-century masterpiece and one of the first European works of literary criticism, have emphasized the ways in which Herrera championed Spanish writers to compensate peninsular cultural belatedness with respect to Italy. The significance of Herrera's meditations on genre in the work has received less consideration, but the *Annotations*

which makes an enemy more fearful than ever, and individual survival still more tenuous" (86). Herrera's view thus differs substantially from what is expressed by other writers discussed in this book, such as Aldana, who mourns the end of sword fighting (see Introduction), and Cetina, who expresses terror before modern guns (see Chapter 3).

fits more completely into the cultural context of Counter-Reformation Spain and into Herrera's ambitions as a man of letters, first, when we take him at his word that his critical work was motivated by a concern for the condition of language in the Spanish nation,¹³ and, second, when we recall that both contemporary political and religious discourses promoted the difference between the heroic Spanish past and the present age. Herrera voices his dismay at the current state of a discourse that is no longer capable of memorializing Spanish glory because the fundamental bases for representation have been transformed. The most significant example for our purposes appears in the course of comments on Garcilaso's *Eclogue 2*:

¿En qué región se hallaron reyes tan fuertes, tan guerreros, tan religiosos como los que sucedieron a Pelayo? ¿Quién mereció la gloria, el nombre y opinión, traída de la famosa antigüedad, como Bernardo del Carpio? ¿Quién puede exceder la fortaleza y piedad del Conde Fernán González, esclarecido capitán de Cristo? ¿Quién fue tan beligeró y bien afortunado como el Cid Ruy Díaz? . . . Pues ya la felicidad, prudencia y valor del rey católico son tan grandes, y sobran con tanto exceso los hechos de los otros reyes, que no sufren que se les compare otro alguno . . . Mas, ¿para qué me alargó con tanta demasía en estos ejemplos, pues sabemos que no faltaron a España en algún tiempo varones heroicos? ¡Faltaron escritores cuerdos y sabios que los dedicasen con immortal estilo a la eternidad de la memoria! Y tuvieron mayor culpa de esto los príncipes y los reyes de España, que no atendieron a la gloria de esta generosa nación y no buscaron hombres graves y suficientes para la dificultad y grandeza de la historia; antes escogieron los que les presentaba el favor y no sus letras y prudencia. Y hasta ahora sentimos esta falta con profunda ignorancia de las hazañas de los nuestros, porque no hay entre los príncipes quien favorezca a los hombres que saben y pueden tratar verdadera y eloquentemente, con juicio y prudencia, las cosas bien hechas en paz y en guerra. (902–4)

[In what region were there found kings so strong, such warriors, men so devout as those who followed after Pelayo? Who deserved

13. Unlike Boscán, who sought to reform poetry for "nuestra España," Herrera used the word *nación* as is seen in the quotation above.

the glory, the name, and the opinion, brought forth from famous ancient times, as much as Bernardo del Carpio? Who can exceed the force and the piety of Count Fernán González, distinguished captain of Christ? Who was so warlike and so fortunate as the Cid Ruy Díaz? . . . But now that the happiness, the prudence and the valor of the Catholic King are so great, and surpass by so great an extent the deeds of other kings that he does not suffer comparison to another. . . . But, why do I go on for such great length with these examples, for we know that Spain did not lack heroic men at any time. What were lacking were sane and wise writers who commended them to eternal memory with immortal style! And they had the greatest fault in this the princes and the kings of Spain, who did not attend to the glory of this generous nation and did not seek out men of sufficient gravity for the difficulty and the grandeur of history; rather, they chose those who presented them with favor and not with their letters and their prudence. And until now we have felt this lack through the deep ignorance of the deeds of our own men, because there is not one among the princes who favors those men of knowledge who can treat truthfully and eloquently, with judgment and prudence, those things well done in peace and in war.]

This outburst is most immediately motivated by perceived calumnies of Italian writers who criticized the actions of the imperial armies (Bembo, specifically, had called their behavior during the Sack of Rome “barbaric,” and the term sent Herrera into a frenzy).¹⁴ However, this passage has a larger point that Herrera reiterated in various ways throughout the *Annotations*: Spanish and imperial wars were misunderstood because they were not represented in the proper way. Answering to vain and shortsighted kings and

14. “No sé que ánimos se puedan hallar tan pacientes que toleren los oprobios y denuestos con que vituperan a los españoles los escritores de Italia. . . . No se disculpa Bembo con la imitación antigua, que ya no tiene ahora lugar esta respuesta, si no es porque le parece más elegante modo de hablar, y por eso nombra al turco Rey de Tracia, que es la menor parte de su imperio . . . no son los españoles tan inhumanos y apartados de la policía . . . que merecan ese apellido” (“I do not know what souls can find the patience within themselves to tolerate the opprobrium and the denouncements with which the writers of Italy vituperate the Spanish. . . . Bembo is not excused for the reason of his having imitated the ancients, for there is no longer any place for that response, no, he said it because it appears to him to be a more elegant mode of speaking, and for that reason he calls the Turk the King of Thrace, when that is the smallest part of his empire . . . the Spanish are not so inhuman nor so isolated from politesse . . . that they deserve such a name”); *Annotations*, 899–900.

patrons, Spanish writers had emphasized individual human achievements without fitting them into the greater pattern of universal Christian history. Fixed within the mere worldly context, the actions of Spain's medieval heroes and the imperial forces were at best flat and devoid of meaning; at worst, they could appear brutal and destructive. But Herrera and his generation had been blessed with the insight that achievements from the victories of Pelayo (the Asturian king credited with launching the "Reconquest" in the eighth century) through the triumphs of Charles V, Philip II, and Juan of Austria were not simply *events* in Spain's national history. They were *portents* of something far greater: the fulfillment of Christian history. And the deeds of Spain's individual captains, kings, and heroes were smaller signs that fit into this larger pattern. As a consequence, the modern age did not require poets so much as it did men of "prudence," that is, those who could read and interpret divine signs and demonstrate the true significance of the triumphs, the defeats, and the heroic actions they commemorated.¹⁵

Herrera's views were clearly shaped by the ideological climate of late sixteenth-century Spain (Hernando de Acuña's "Ya se acerca, Señor, o ya es llegado," discussed in Chapter 1, was composed at roughly the same time). But they received support from contemporary social conditions, for instance, the successful deployment of formations such as the Spanish *tercios* and the Swiss pikemen, blocs of soldiers drawn from the general ranks of the populace. As the success of various imperial wars was credited to the increased use of these kinds of troops (a decision informed, always, in the background, by God's will), a discourse of generalized male Spanish prowess displaced references to the *diestro braço* in Spanish poetry and prose. References to the *osado español* (the daring Spaniard), to the *gallardo español* (the brave Spaniard), and to the *esforzado español* (the powerful Spaniard) are rife throughout sixteenth-century heroic poetry and prose, from Eclogue 2 of Garcilaso de la Vega through compositions by Ercilla, Herrera, and Cervantes, among others. Therefore, in Spain, as acutely as anywhere else in Europe, the question loomed: was epic still the noble discourse through

15. Unlike his father, Philip II did not take to the battlefield. Rather, he styled himself as the "prudent" king and occupied himself with the management of the realm, with securing the dynasty through attempts to father an heir, and with meditation and prayer that he might correctly interpret the signs of God's will. His half-brother, don Juan of Austria, was selected to suppress the Morisco rebellions in the Alpujarras region in 1569. Don Juan was successful and went on to lead the Holy League to victory against the Ottoman navy at Lepanto, in 1571. Propagandists joined the two victories together to represent Christian Spain as bringing about a "Second Reconquest" of Islam. On tensions between the prudent king and his "impulsive" half-brother, see Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, 134–40.

which the greatest events in history were best represented? Had the long tradition of Homer's art come to an end? Certain writers—notably Tasso, in Italy, and Juan Rufo and Alonso de Ercilla, among others, in Spain—addressed themselves to the task of reforming epic to accommodate the ideologies of the messianic present.¹⁶ Other men of letters argued that traditional forms were not suited to commemorating Spanish victories in the contemporary age and confronted a paradox. Providence had revealed that the true heroes of history were God, Christ, and the True Church. However, both patrons and an eager public demanded stirring and colorful nationalist poetry.¹⁷ Furthermore, men and women of prudence, as we have already seen, understood themselves as bearing a moral responsibility to represent the great events of the triumphal era in ways that were accessible to the less enlightened.¹⁸

16. Herrera may have composed an epic in his youth—his friend Francisco de Rioja claimed that he did, in introductory comments to the 1619 *Versos*. But given the relative absence of mention of an epic within contemporary accounts of Herrera's career, his assertion seems unreliable. Serious poets tended to be credited with having composed an epic, whether or not they did so.

17. Macrí notes that Herrera and Rufo maintained a hostile relationship. Rufo referred to Herrera as arrogant and outspoken, a view which most likely derived from what Herrera had to say of the court favorite's great work. "Rufo debió encontrarse con Herrera en el salon del marqués de Tarifa. Acostumbrado al fácil éxito mundano, le pinta como un 'hombre leído y estudioso . . . bronco, arrogante y despejado, y poeta áspero y terrible'" ("Rufo must have met Herrera in the salon of the Marquis of Tarifa. Accustomed to easy worldly success, he paints him as a 'well read and studious man . . . brusque, arrogant, and outspoken, and a harsh and terrible poet'"); Macrí, *Fernando de Herrera*, 24. The anecdote supports the contention that Herrera not only did not write epic himself, but attacked those who did on literary and doctrinal grounds. Having said that, it should be noted that Herrera praised the Portuguese Camoes in the *Annotations* for his majestic style. He seems to have ignored Ercilla, perhaps because he seems to have had little interest in the New World.

18. A brief look at the openings of parts one and two of *La Araucana* demonstrates the impact of Counter-Reformation culture on heroic, or Homeric, epic. The different ways in which Ercilla framed the two parts of his poem for his cultured and courtly readership indicates the challenges faced by a poet attempting to accommodate epic to the ideologies and the social organization of early modern Spain. Part one, published in 1569, opens with two rhetorical commonplaces, each properly "Renaissance" in perspective and rhetoric. The first statement is contained in the prologue and is an apology and justification for publishing: "Si pensara que el trabajo que he puesto en esta obra me había de quitar tan poco el miedo de publicarla sé cierto de mí que no tuviera ánimo para llevarla al cabo. Pero considerando ser la historia verdadera y de cosas de guerra, a las cuales hay tantos aficionados, me he resuelto en imprimirla, ayudando a ello las importunaciones de muchos testigos que en lo más dello se hallaron, y el agravio que algunos españoles recibirán quedando sus hazañas en perpetuo silencio, faltando quien les escriba, no por ser ellas pequeñas, pero porque la tierra es tan remota y apartada y la postrera que los españoles han pisado por la parte del Pirú;" Ercilla, *La Araucana*. vol. 1, Prólogo, 121. ("If I thought that the labor I have taken with this work would lessen by so little the fear of publishing it, I know for certain that for my part I would not have had the spirit to bring it to completion. But considering that this is a story that is true and relates things of war, of which there are so many followers, I have resolved to publish it, this resolution being aided by the requests of many who were found to have witnessed it, and by the injury

For Herrera, the best path toward solving this conundrum lay in combining aspects of Counter-Reformation logic with the advanced science of contemporary rhetoric. The task of the prudent writer would be to portray Spain's heroes in exalted, powerful language (*eficacia*). This language would represent their achievements effectively. More important, however, it would call attention to the significance of representation itself by means of

received by those Spanish men whose deeds were relegated to perpetual silence, lacking someone to write of them, not because they were small ones, but because the land is so remote and distant, and the most recent in the regions of Peru to have been trod upon by the Spanish"). The second is the supplication to Philip II: "No las damas, amor, no gentilezas / de caballeros canto enamorados, / ni las muestras, regalos y ternezas / de amorosos afectos y cuidados; / mas el valor, los hechos, las proezas, / de aquellos españoles esforzados / . . . / Suplícoco, gran Felipe, que mirada / esta labor, de vos sea recibida" (1-6; 17-18) ("Not the ladies, or love, not the pleasant witticisms / of knights in love do I sing, / nor the signs, prizes, and tender exchanges / of sentiments of love and care; / but the valor, the deeds, the spoils, / of those strong Spaniards / . . . / Great Philip, I beseech that, having been gazed on / this work is accepted by you"). Part two of the *Araucana* was published in 1578, and its opening inscribes the text within the mature social, poetic, and religious ideologies of the Counter-Reformation, and illustrate the penetration of the institutions of State and Church into late sixteenth-century poetic discourse: "Quisiera mil veces mezclar algunas cosas diferentes; pero acordé de no mudar estilo porque lo que digo se me tomase en descuento de las faltas que el libro lleva, autorizándole con escribir en él el alto principio que el Rey nuestro señor dio a sus obras con el asalto y entrada de San Quintín, por habernos dado otro aquel mismo día los araucanos en el fuerte de la Concepción" (Prólogo) ("I would have wished a thousand times to mix in other, different things; but I decided not to change my style so that what I say could avoid being discounted for the faults that the book presents. I am authorized to write here of the great beginning that the King our sovereign gave to his labors with the assault and the entry into San Quentin by the fact that the Araucans had given us another assault that same day in the fort of La Concepción"). "Salga mi trabajada voz, y rompa / el son confuso y mísero lamento / con eficacia y fuerza que interrumpa / el celeste y terrestre movimiento. / La fama con sonora y clara trompa, / dando más furia a mi cansado aliento / derrame en todo el orbe de la tierra / las armas, el furor y nueva guerra. / Dadme, joh sacro Señor!, favor, que creo / que es lo que más aquí pueda ayudarme, / pues en tan gran peligro ya no veo / sino vuestra fortuna en que salvarme: / mirad dónde me ha puesto el buen deseo, / favoreced mi voz con escucharme, / que luego el bravo mar, viéndoos atento, / aplacará su furia y movimiento. / Y a vuestra nave el rostro revolviendo, / la socorred en este grande aprieto, / que, si decirse es lícito, yo entiendo / que a vuestra voluntad todo es sujeto (1-20)" ("Let my weary voice sing out, and break / the confused sound and the miserable lament / with efficaciousness and force that will interrupt / the movement of heaven and earth. / Let fame, trumpeting resonant and clear, / giving more fury to my tired breath / spread through all the orb of the earth / the arms, the fury, and this new war. / Give me, oh Holy Lord! favor, for I believe / that that is what can most here aid me, / for in such great danger I can no longer see / how to find my salvation if not from your favor: / look where my good desires have placed me, / favor my voice by listening to me, / for the great sea, observing you attentive, / will placate its furious movement. / And turning your face to your ship, / grant it succor in these straits, / for, if it is permitted that I speak thus, I understand / that all is subject to your will.")

In part one, Ercilla portrays himself as invested with the responsibility of commemorating heroes and the actions they undertake in remote reaches of the globe. In part two, his task is different: now he must inscribe, using all the persuasive power of modern rhetoric, the subjection of the world and its inhabitants to God and the Sovereign. The openings of the first two parts of the

striking visual and acoustic effects. The artificial, self-consciously aesthetic aspects of his style would illuminate the deeper truth that informed these works, namely, that the men celebrated were themselves signs of God's plan; their force, their strength, their courage, and their mental agility were in fact dross in comparison with what they signaled: the noble essence of the soul of the Spanish people who had been chosen by God as his instruments.¹⁹ Herrera's frequent comments on manly virtue (*virtud*) in the *Annotations* all turn on this fundamental translation of physical characteristics into metaphysical ones, from action to essence. For example his note on the word *valiente* (valiant) locates the strength of the nobleman, not in his fighting arm, but rather in his soul. He opens his comment by redefining *fortaleza*, which means strength or fortitude:

La fortaleza es una levantada virtud del ànimo, no vencida de algún temor, y constante en las cosas adversas, y en emprender y sufrir generosamente todos los peligros y incitada a las cosas altas y difíciles, y menospreciadora de las humildes y bajas. Pero no todos los que son prontos a poner las manos en cualquier peligro y sin temor alguno acometen todos los hechos peligrosos se pueden llamar fuertes, a opinión de Aristóteles, porque los que por deseo de alcanzar una pequeña gloria y por esperanza de aquistar riquezas y robar se arrojan a los peligros y combaten sin miedo con los contrarios, no merecen ni gozan esta alabanza. (897)

[Fortitude is an exalted virtue of the spirit, one never vanquished by fear, and constant in adverse events, and generous in undertaking and in suffering danger, and incited to great and difficult tasks, and disdainful of humble and low ones. But not all those who are quick to set their hand to whatever danger, and who commit those dangerous deeds without fear can be called strong, in the opinion

Araucana therefore can be said to reflect the subjection of epic discourse to the hegemony of the political state. As a result, efficacious speaking ("eficacia," line 3) begins to be valued over efficacious action, even in the action-packed genre of the epic. In part two of the poem, great noble captains will be named in long lists, and their daring and virtue praised (see lines 19.69–76), but the epic character of the poem no longer turns on the heroism of the noble individual; rather, it is sustained by a messianic doctrine of a globe subsumed under God's will.

19. This is the ideological undergirding of mannerist aesthetic excess. On the ideological aspects of mannerism, see Baena, "Spanish Mannerist Detours," as well as Smith, *Writing in the Margin*.

of Aristotle, because those who, desiring to gain a little bit of glory and acquire some riches by looting, throw themselves into dangers and fight without fear with the adversary, do not deserve or enjoy such praise.]

Nearly every writer we have studied up to this point has employed a conceit of “private” internal space whose ideological function can be exposed. In sixteenth-century poetry, in particular, the hidden regions of the heart and of the soul are the sites in which lyric speakers internalize their complex experiences of power and embrace ideology as their own private desire. The entry on *valiente* represents another iteration of this same process. The man of *fortaleza* demonstrates a greater quality of spirit than does the vainglorious and avaricious strongman who rushes into battle. By associating physical bravery with base motives and appetites, Herrera makes a virtue of self-restraint, the discipline that is most crucial to great men who sought to eke their living within the Hapsburg political regime. We have encountered examples of this discourse of inner strength before. In Chapter 1, we noted that Herrera praises the sonnet form in the *Annotations* by drawing on the late fifteenth-century writings of Lorenzo de’Medici. Lorenzo’s discourse of pragmatic virtù presents subjection and constraint as enabling conditions for a particular variety of nobility. Roughly a century later, Herrera demonstrated the impact of Counter-Reformation doctrine on the courtier’s strategies of accommodation. In Herrera’s writings, self-restraint is no longer a willed, pragmatic act. It is a noble quality conferred upon the soul by God. A similar view also informs Song 2 (1582), a poem that was perhaps composed for his friend and patron Fernando de Enríquez de Ribera, the Marquis of Tarifa.²⁰

Song 2

No celebro los hechos
del duro Marte, y sin temor osados
los valerosos pechos,
la siempre insigne gloria
de aquellos españoles no domados

.

20. Cuevas credits Coster with identifying the poem as a wedding song composed for the marquis and marquise, in 1580 (Cuevas, *Poesía*, 391).

No basta, no, el imperio
 ni traer las cervizes humilladas
 presas en cautiverio
 con vencedora mano,
 ni que, de las banderas ensalzadas,
 el cita y africano,
 con medroso semblante,
 y el indo y Persia sin valor se espante

que quien al miedo obliga
 y rinde el corazón, y desfallece
 de la virtud amiga,
 y va por el camino
 do la profana multitud perece
 sujeto al yugo indino,
 pierde la gloria y nombre,
 pues siendo más se hace menos hombre.

Los heroes famosos
 los niervos derribaron,
 que ni en los engañosos
 gustos, ni en lisonjeras
 voces de las sirenas peligraron,
 ante las ondas fieras
 atravesando fueron
 por do ningunos escapar pudieron.

Seguid, Señor, la llama
 de la virtud, que en vos sus fuerzas prueba

(9-13; 41-66)

[I do not celebrate the deeds / of harsh Mars, and the fearlessness, the
 daring, / the valiant breasts of / the always distinguished and glorious /
 Spaniards, never conquered / . . . / No, empire is not enough, / nor
 is it enough to lead those humbled necks / imprisoned in captivity /
 by your conquering hand, / nor, by unfurling your banners, /

and with a fearsome face, / to strike fear in the Turk and the African, / and in India and cowardly Persia / for he who pleases / to give his heart over to fear, and forsakes / his friend virtue / and pursues the path / down which the profane multitude disappears, / subjected to the undignified yoke, / he loses his glory and his name, / or being greater in the eyes of the world he makes himself less of a man. / The sinews of the famous heroes were destroyed / —for while neither through deceiving / appetites, nor by the flattering / voices of the sirens did they wander into danger—they crossed over the fierce waves / from whence none could escape. / Follow, Sir, that flame / of virtue, for it tests its force in you]

Using the ancients as examples, Herrera admonishes his young friend that apparently heroic acts such as the conquest of empires and the subjection of the infidel are not, in fact, sufficient to preserve the honor of one's name. Indeed, the greater the power a man wields, the less he is a man ("siendo más se hace menos hombre"; 56). The desire to spread fear is a base appetite that must be conquered if a man is to reveal his true virtue, which lies in his capacities for self-restraint.

Songs for the *Varón máximo*

While Song 2 is another example of Herrera substituting a mystical discourse of essence for the nobleman's previously celebrated characteristics, his physical strength and his agency, the poem is also notable inasmuch as it is a lyric. Along with doctrine and rhetoric, the *forms* in which contemporary heroic achievements were to be commemorated was a central preoccupation for Herrera. While he was ambitious on behalf of poetry, he was aware of important developments in alternative genres and not at all convinced that poetic discourse still had a significant role to play in the modern age.²¹ At the same time, he was not prepared to dispense with the art altogether. It is notable that his entry on the failure of poets to adequately represent the role of Spanish and imperial wars in history appears as a comment on Garcilaso's Eclogue 2, in a section in which Garcilaso had inserted a brief narrative of the battle of Gelves. Herrera was intrigued by this experiment in setting

21. On Herrera's ambivalent views on historical writing as an emergent genre, see Randel, *The Historical Prose*. Lara Garrido, *Del Siglo de Oro*, emphasizes Herrera's saintly lives (see 139).

historical material into the eclogue form.²² Thus, drawing on a selection of old and new textual authorities—on Lorenzo, on Quintilian, on contemporary rhetoricians such as Scaliger, Ruscelli, and Minturno—Herrera set out to forge the poetry suitable for Spain's great men.²³ This poetry would suit Aristotelian doctrines of decorum in that it would occupy an appropriately subordinate place in the hierarchy of the genres: it would be lyric, not epic. At the same time, this contemporary “new lyric” would be noble in its own way. Herrera's ambitions for his lyric are expressed most clearly as he defines the genre of the ode:

Después de la magestad heróica, dieron los antiguos el segundo lugar a la nobleza lírica, poema nacido para alabanzas y narraciones de cosas hechas, y deleites y alegrías y convites. Requiere este verso ingenio vivo y espiritoso, voluntad cuidadosa y trabajadora, juicio despierto y agudo, las voces y oración pulida, castigada eficaz y numerosa y particularmente, la jocundidad, como los élegos la lacia y los epigramas los juegos. Y así como la poesía eróica tomó nombre del canto . . . así la lírica se apellidó . . . porque no se pronunciaban sin el canto de la lira. (477–78)

[After the majesty of the heroic meter, the ancients gave second place to the nobility of the lyric, a poem born for encomia and the narration of feats achieved, of delights and pleasures and festivals. This verse requires a lively and spirited wit, a will to careful work, an attentive and sharp judgment, and voices and sentences that are polished, carefully considered, efficacious, and measured; particularly it requires jocularity, just as elegies require license, and epigrams contests. And just as heroic poetry took its name from the great song . . . so the lyric was named . . . because it was not pronounced without the song of the lyre.]

22. Overall the *Annotations* make the case that Garcilaso was an excellent poet and man of letters who achieved the best results possible given the limited verbal resources available to him at the time. The *Annotations* work to supplement Garcilaso's work with modern rhetorical theory and useful examples from ancient and modern writers whose relevance has been revealed to the present age.

23. On Herrera's sources, see the detailed analysis by Morros Mestres (*Las polémicas literarias*), as well as the introduction by Pepe and Reyes to the Cátedra edition of the *Anotaciones*. The discussions by Randel (*The Historical Prose*), Lara Garrido (*Del Siglo de Oro*), López Bueno (*La poética cultista*), and Navarrete (*Orphans of Petrarch*) also set Herrera's ideas in the contexts of Italian mannerist rhetoric.

Following Scaliger, Herrera presents the lyric as essentially subordinate. The ode, for example, is “second in majesty” to heroic great song.²⁴ But within these constraints, the lyric offered some important resources. For one thing, while it was not epic, it was still privileged discourse, retaining a measure of grandeur, even if it was “second.” In addition, contemporary lyric forms such as the sonnet and many types of song were not subject to ancient prescriptions by the worthies. They did not have to follow the rules and codes set down, for example, in Aristotle. The new lyric thus lent itself to enhancement through modern rhetorical devices and vocabularies.²⁵ Herrera suggests this in his remarks on the sonnet:

Es el soneto . . . tan extendida y capaz de todo argumento que recoge en sí sola todo lo que pueden abrazar estas partes de poesía, sin hacer violencia alguna a los preceptos y religión del arte, porque resplandecen en ella con maravillosa claridad y lumbre de figuras y exornaciones poéticas la cultura y propiedad, la festividad y agudeza, la magnificencia y espíritu, la dulcura y jocundidad, la aspereza y vehemencia, la comiseración y afectos, y la eficacia y representación de todas. (266–67)

[The sonnet . . . is so extensive and capable of any argument that it gathers into itself all that these other kinds of poetry can embrace, without doing a single violence to the precepts and the doctrine of the art, because in it shine forth with marvelous clarity and light of figures and poetic adornments, culture and propriety, festivity and wit, magnificence and spirit, sweetness and humor, bitterness and vehemence, commiseration and the affects, and the efficaciousness and representation of them all.]

These two features of the new lyric, its inherited privilege as poetic discourse and its potential for modernization, appealed to Herrera as he sought to forge a heroic art for the contemporary age. Before the lyric could come into its own as a discourse for the contemporary age, however, Herrera needed to recuperate it from the damages wrought by Boscán.

24. See Morros Mestres on this passage (*Las polémicas literarias*, 216).

25. For a slightly different view of Herrera’s ideas of epic, lyric, and the present, see Navarrete, *Orphans of Petrarch*, 151–57, 165–67, in which he touches on Herrera’s comments on the epic and the phrase “el osado español,” and 177–79.

Early in the *Annotations*, Herrera contrasts Tuscan with Spanish. The former is “muy florida, abundosa, blanda y compuesta, pero libre, laciva, desmayada, y demasiadamente enternecida y muelle y llena de afectación” (277) (“very florid, abundant, smooth, and composed, but free, lax, weak, and too tender and soft and full of affectation”). Spanish, in contrast, is

grave, religiosa, honesta, alta, magnífica, suave, tierna, afectuosísima y llena de los sentimientos, y tan copiosa y abundante que ninguna otra puede gloriarse de esta riqueza y fertilidad . . . es más recatada y observante, que ninguno tiene autoridad para osar innovar alguna cosa con libertad; porque ni corta ni añade sílabas a las dicciones, ni trueca ni altera forma, antes toda entera y perpetua muestra su castidad y cultura y admirable grandeza y espíritu . . . Finalmente la española se debe tratar con más honra y reverencia y la toscana con más regalo y llaneza. (277–78)

[Our (tongue is) grave, religious, honest, elevated, magnificent, smooth, tender, very full of affect and sentiments, and so copious and abundant that no other can glory in such richness and fertility . . . it is more circumspect and observant, for no one has the authority to dare innovate anything with liberty; because one neither cuts nor adds syllables to its diction, nor does one exchange or alter a form, but rather, sufficient unto itself, it perpetually displays its restraint and its refinement and its admirable greatness and spirit . . . Finally, Spanish should be treated with more honor and reverence, and Tuscan with more ornament and simplicity.]

These two descriptions have a context in a contemporary humanist discourse. As Patricia Parker has demonstrated, vernacular derivatives of the Latin words *mollis*, *nervus*, and *viriliem* appear throughout the writing of sixteenth-century rhetoricians and testify to an anxiety regarding the possible effeminacy of the pursuit of letters. This anxiety was enhanced when the field of letters turned to the elaboration of style, the “‘futile and crippling study of words,’ to the detriment of the ‘things’ that are the ‘sinews’ (*nervi*) of discourse.”²⁶ A preoccupation with “virile style”

26. Parker, “Virile Style,” 203; embedded quotations are of Quintilian, in the *Institutes*, 8.18–22, in the 1936 Loeb edition, as cited by Parker. Parker’s discussion establishes the principal source for sixteenth-century preoccupations with “virile style” as Quintilian, although she observes that

(Parker) clearly informed Herrera's comments on Spanish and Italian. His attribution of the quality of *muella* to Tuscan represents the opening salvo in his attempt to recuperate masculine force for Spanish lyric, and it can serve to focus our attention on the vocabulary of virility, heroism, glory, spirit, and magnificence that is omnipresent through the seven-hundred-plus pages of the *Annotations*. Herrera's poetics of the lyric is really a poetics of masculinity, motivated by the persistent cultural ambivalence about masculine agency and the ideal of the Spanish hero. When Herrera makes a claim for the enjambed line as "virtuous" ("cortar el verso . . . no es vicio sino virtud, y uno de los caminos principales para alcanzar la alteza y la hermosura del estilo, como en el heróico latino, que romper el verso es grandeza del modo del decir"; 270 ["to break the line . . . is not a vice but a virtue, and one of the principal paths by which to achieve the elevation and the beauty of the style, as in the Latin heroic line, where to break the line is greatness in the mode of speech"]), or when he calls for Spanish poetry to be instilled "not only with flesh and blood, but with sinews" ("no sólo . . . carne y sangre, pero niervos"; 560), he reveals his greater purpose: an invigoration that was also a re-masculinization of the Spanish language.

In the *Annotations* in particular, this re-masculinization is represented as a recovery from sprezzatura. The target in the early pages of the text is clearly Boscán, in his aspect as the author of a movement to modernize and nationalize Castilian poetry by tailoring it to the discourses and practices of docile courtiers on the order of Castiglione. As we saw in Chapter 1, Boscán's remarks on poetics linked style to politics, directing writers and readers away from close rhyme and meter and toward Italian hendecasyllables in a language that only loosely disguised the additional distinction he was drawing between *caballero*-style warriors and the peaceable, urbane courtiers who were his ideal modern Spanish subjects: happily married neighbors, improving friends. Herrera was similarly inclined against rhyme and meter, and he agreed with Boscán that regular verse privileged music over reason, thereby producing an inferior poetry. However, he was repelled by the common and vulgar nature of poetry composed in the mode of sprezzatura.

nervus is also an important word for Horace. The arguments she cites in the essay—from Erasmus, Montaigne, Eloyt, among others—will strike a familiar note with readers of Herrera, whose *Annotations* bear numerous traces of the discourse of "virile style" (*ibid.*, 203–4).

In the following passage, Herrera directly engages Boscán's discussion of consonance and issues a firm reproof:

que no decienda a tanta facilidad que pierda los numeros y la dignidad conveniente. Y en este pecado caen muchos, que piensan acabar una grande hazaña cuando escriben de la manera que hablan, como si no fuese diferente el descuido y llaneza, que demanda el sermón común, de la observación que pide el artificio y cuidado de quien escribe. No reprehendo la facilidad, sino la afectación de ella, porque singular virtud es decir libre y claramente sin cansar el ánimo del que oye . . . y no se puede dejar de conceder que regala mucho al sentido ver que ningunos vínculos y ligaduras de consonancias impiden el pensamiento para no descubrirse con delgadeza y facilidad. Más, ¿quién no condenará el poco espíritu y vigor, la humildad y bajeza que se adquiere con el conseguimiento della? ¿y quién no estima por molestia o disgusto oír palabras desnudas de grandeza y autoridad cuando importa representarla? (267–68)

[a poem) should not descend into such simplicity that it loses its measure and the appropriate dignity. And many fall into this fault, thinking that they have achieved a great deed when they write in the manner in which they speak, as if the ease and simplicity demanded by the common sermon were no different from the circumspection and care demanded of those who write with artifice. I do not reprove simplicity, but rather the affectation of it, because it is a singular virtue to speak freely and clearly, without tiring the spirit of he who hears . . . and one cannot fail to concede that it is pleasing to the sense to find that no chains and bindings of consonance impede thought from revealing itself with subtlety and ease. But who will not condemn the lack of spirit and vigor, the humility and lowness that is acquired in achieving this? And who does not esteem it an annoyance or displeasure to hear words denuded of their grandeur and their authority when it is important to represent that quality?]

Boscán's Italianate reform, according to Herrera, reflected a fundamental misunderstanding of Spanish masculinity. In an epoch in which Hapsburg power had not only been consolidated, but determined to be

divinely willed, the tender and graceful mode of dissembling promoted by Castiglione and Boscán represented an effeminate affectation (*afectación*) that was now revealed to be entirely foreign to the Spanish soul.²⁷ In Herrera's view, true Spanish spirit should be recognized for its vigor, its grandeur, and its authority, which would inform the contemporary courtier's necessary circumspection. Herrera's ideals thus resembled the *varon máximo* celebrated some years later by Gracián, the prudent and circumspect figure formed "prudente, Séneca; sagaz, Esopo; belicoso, Homero; Aristóteles, filósofo; Tácito, político; y cortesano, el Conde" ("in prudence, by Seneca; wisdom, Aesop; as a warrior, Homer; Aristotle, philosopher; Tacitus, a politician; and as a courtier, Castiglione").²⁸ To represent this authentic and modern nobleman, a new "new art" was required, one that represented Spanish men in their essential Spanish virility. The balance of this chapter will be devoted to considering the two principal subgenres Herrera worked with in his experiments with heroic lyric: the ode and Petrarchism.

The Ode: Variety and Grandeur

A relatively early ode, the "Canción en alabanza de la divina majestad, por la victoria del Señor don Juan," which Herrera appended to his historical account of the Battle of Cyprus (*Relación de la guerra de Cipro*, 1572), is representative of his attempts to frame grave subject matter in a worthy style that was also accommodated to Counter-Reformation doctrine.²⁹

27. Later in the text Herrera provides an ambiguous defense of Boscán: "Boscán, aunque imitó la llaneza de estilo y las mismas sentencias de Ausias y se atrevió traer las joyas de Petrarca en su no bien compuesto vestido, merece mucha más onra que la que le da la censura y el rigor de jueces severos; porque si puede tener disculpa ser extranjero de la lengua en que publicó sus intentos y no exercitado en aquellas disciplinas que le podían abrir el camino para la dificultad y aspereza" (279) ("Boscán, although he imitated the plain style and the very sentences of Ausias and dared to bring the jewels of Petrarch into his own ill-composed garments, deserves much more honor than that which the censure and the rigor of severe judges gives him, because he can indeed be excused for being a stranger to the language in which he published his efforts"). We can interpret Herrera's remark as waspishness or as a sign of his commitment to truthful rigor. In either case, a historical irony came to bear on the remark when the *Annotations* came under attack by Juan Fernández de Velasco ("el Prete Jacopín"), who, speaking for the *catedráticos* of Salamanca, challenged the Sevillian Herrera's arrogance in commenting on and criticizing the poetry of the Toledan Garcilaso (Seville was technically part of Castile, but north-south tensions ran high in the sixteenth century). On the "controversy" generated by the *Annotations*, see Montero, *La controversia*. On Herrera and Boscán, see Navarrete, *Orphans of Petrarch*, especially 162–65.

28. Bernat Vistarini and Madroñal, eds., *El Héroe* (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 2003).

29. On the *Relación*, see Randel, *The Historical Prose*.

The poem opens with an extended and solemn call to praise God in his aspect of “Dios de las batallas.” The first ten lines demonstrate Herrera’s principal strategies for composing heroic ode:

Cantemos al Señor, que en la llanura
 venció del mar al enemigo fiero.
 Tú, Dios de las batallas, tu eres diestra,
 salud y gloria nuestra.
 Tú rompiste las fuerzas, y la dura
 frente de Faraón, feroz guerrero.
 Sus escogidos príncipes cubrieron
 los abissos del mar, y decendieron
 cual piedra en el profundo, y tu ira luego
 los tragó, como arista seca el fuego.

(1–10)

[Let us sing to the Lord, who across the wide reaches of the sea /
 defeated the fierce enemy. / You, God of battle, you are the skill, /
 the safety, and the glory of us all. / You broke the strength, and the
 harsh / brow of Faraón, the fierce warrior. / His select princes cov-
 ered / the deep seas, and they descended / like stones into the deep,
 and then your ire / swallowed them, as fire does dry tinder.]

This poem may at first seem to be a variation on epic or ballad; however, the style is more stately than that of a ballad, while Herrera replaces the muse-inspired song of arms and a man with a virtuous community who gather to praise a virile and warlike God. The opening lines thereby imbue the ode with the plenitude and the grandeur that Herrera argued for in the *Annotations*, but they also establish the poem as unfolding in a subordinate register, and this circumspection with respect to divine and earthly rank licenses Herrera’s subsequent use of epic conventions. For example, lines 7 through 10 contain an epic simile. The Turkish princes are scattered over the water and sink like stones into a deep that swallows them in the same manner that fire consumes straw. The comparison is saved from catachresis by Herrera’s brevity, which turns a contradiction into an *agindeza*. Complex, allusive and nested as it is, the image disappears as quickly as the straw and the Turks. Herrera’s descriptions of the heroic actions of Juan of Austria bring the poem similarly close to epic:

Por la gloria debida de tu nombre,
 por la venganza de tu muerta gente,
 y de los presos por aquel gemido,
 vuelve el braço tendido
 contra aquél que aborrece ya ser hombre;
 y las honras que a ti se dan consiente;
 y tres y cuatro veces su castigo
 dobla, con fortaleza, al enemigo,
 y la injuria a tu nombre cometida
 sea el duro cuchillo de su vida.

(70–79)

[For the glory that is due to Your name, / for the vengeance of
 Your slain men, / and for the imprisoned, for their groans, / he
 turns his strong arm / against that one who is abhorrent to the
 state of man; / and bestows the honors that are due to you; / and
 three and four times redoubles / the force of his punishment, of the
 enemy, / and the injury committed to your name / will serve as the
 harsh blade to his life.]

The anaphora that builds the momentum of the coming blows in lines 70–71 and 72, and in lines 75, 76, and 78 of this passage, and the impact of the enjambments between lines 73 and 74—and especially between lines 76 and 77, as the prince extends his valiant arm and deals out his just punishment to his foes—contribute to building the vivid scene. However, Herrera continues to work a careful balance between the representation of heroism and the subordination of human greatness. The prince's actions are represented in lines addressed to God, as the prince fights in God's service. Furthermore, the lines demonstrate Herrera's prudence as a reader of divine signs. As Juan of Austria's sword becomes forged out of the Turkish slights to God in lines 78 and 79, the heroic *braço tendido* is revealed as having been animated by divine force; and the voice that sings the song thereby remains *recatada*, or observant of its place, "second in majesty."³⁰

30. This subordination is enhanced by the variable rhyme and the length of the verses. It can also be argued that their irregularity endows them with subjectivity: the poem varies according to the voice, which speaks in an irregular pattern of eleven- and seven-syllable lines. The effect is that the ode appears to emerge from inside a human body and not from the totalizing registers of history and epic.

As another representative example of Herrera's experiments with the ode, the first song of the 1582 lyric sequence is a lament for the heroic death of the Portuguese King Sebastian. The vocabulary of the poem is, again, characteristic of Herrera's heroic style, and his use of enjambment and variation in the rhythm of the lines works to underscore the solemnity and power of the grieving voice:

Song 1 [1582]

Voz de dolor y canto de gemido,
 y espíritu de miedo envuelto en ira
 hagan principio acerbo a la memoria
 de aquél día fatal, aborrecido,
 que Lusitania mísera suspira,
 desnuda de valor, falta de gloria;
 y la llorosa historia
 asombre con horror funesto y triste,
 dend'el áfrico Atlante y seno ardiente
 hasta do el mar d'otro color se viste
 y do el límite rojo de Oriente,
 y todas sus vencidas gentes fieras,
 ven tremolar de Cristo las banderas.

(1-13)

[A pained voice and a groaning song, / and a shuddering spirit wrapped in ire / give the bitter opening to the memory / of that fatal day, hateful, / for which miserable Lusitania sighs, / denuded of valor, devoid of glory; / and let the grievous story / shock with its horror, funereal and sad, / that between the Atlantic and the burning breast of Africa, / to where the sea clothes itself in a different color / and where the red limits of the east, / and all her fierce and conquered peoples, / see the banners of Christ shudder.]

The rhythm and rhyme of the abbreviated line 7 ("y la llorosa historia") cause it to echo the final dactyl and iamb of line 6 ("falta de gloria"). This formal variation inscribes a stately pause in the lament and illustrates Herrera's assertion that the *eficacia* of the ode will arise from lines that are considered, polished, and measured ("pulida . . . eficaz y numerosa").

Finally, one last poem merits mention as an example of Herrera's heroic song. Sonnet 54, collected among Herrera's *suelos*, is unusual among the sonnets we have examined in this book.³¹ The poem makes relatively little use of elements such as the *volta* and is actually a mini-ode, fitting an elevated vocabulary into fourteen rhythmic lines:

Sonnet 54

Alégrate Danubio impetuoso
de quien huyó el tirano de Oriente;
tú, Alfeo sacro y Ebro caudaloso,
sujetos a ese bárbaro y vil gente;
que la preza con lazo riguroso
que enfrena el curso a vuestra gran corriente,
Betis quebrantará victorioso
y vuestro imperio juntará a Occidente.
Veréis al fiero y áspero tirano
dejar del largo Eufrates esta parte,
por fuerza y sangre y hierro y fuego y muerte.
Y cerradas las puertas del dios Iano,
sossegará, domesticado, Marte,
con vuestra diestra y gloriosa suerte.

[Rejoice, impetuous Danube / for the tyrant of the Orient has fled; / And you, sacred Alfeo and abundant Ebro, / subject to that barbarous and vile people; / for the enslavement that with its rigorous ties / binds the course of your great current, / has been broken by victorious Betis / and your empire has been joined to the Occident. / You will see the fierce and harsh tyrant / leave behind the great Euphrates, / perforce, and with blood, and iron, and fire and death. / And once the portals of the god Janus are closed, / Mars, domesticated, will be soothed, / by your fitting and glorious fortune.]

This poem represents a variety of sonnet that has not to this point made an appearance in this book; it is a sonnet in the sense of the "little song" that fits

31. Cuevas collects this sonnet, which he dates to 1578, among Herrera's loose Italianate lyric. The poem did not form part of the 1582 edition.

Herrera's description in the *Annotations*: "el soneto . . . tanto es más difícil, por estar encerrado en un perpetuo y pequeño espacio . . . puede fácilmente juzgar con la experiencia quien ha compuesto sonetos, y recogido en una sujeta y sutil materia con gran dificultad, ha esquivado la oscuridad y dureza del estilo" (268) ("the sonnet . . . is more difficult, for being enclosed in a perpetual and small space . . . this can be easily judged from experience by the person who has written sonnets, and, having gathered a tamed and subtle material with great difficulty, has vexed it with obscurity and roughness of style"). In fact, unlike many writers studied in this book, Herrera was not engaged by the conceit of sonnetization.³² His sonnets tend to fit into the category of abbreviated odes or Petrarchan fragments. However, while Herrera made little use of the disciplining function of the volta, for example, or of puns and ambivalent representations of the lyric "I," many of his sonnets show evidence of a similarly modern and perhaps more radical poetic experiment, one that again reveals the form's adaptability to early modern views. In his Petrarchan sonnets, in particular, Herrera deployed formulas

32. There are some exceptions. Sonnet 64 (1582) is a celebration of just Christian empire that was probably composed around the time that Philip II inherited the crown of Portugal: "Ya que el sujeto reino lusitano / inclina al yugo la cerviz paciente, / y todo el grande esfuerzo de Occidente / tenéis, sacro señor, en vuestra mano, volved contra el suelo órrido africano / el firme pecho y vuestra osada gente; / que su poder, su corazón valiente, / que tanto fue, será ante el vuestro en vano. / Cristo os da la pujanza de este imperio / para que la fe vuestra se adelante / por donde su santa nombre es ofendido. / ¿Quién contra vos, quién contra el reino esperio / bastará alzar la frente, que al instante / no se derribe a vuestros pies rendido?" ("Now that the subject Lusitanian realm / inclines its patient neck to the yoke, / and all the great strength of the West, / Sacred Sir, is held in your hand, / once again turn your stalwart breast and your brave people against the horrid African soil; / for its power, its valiant heart, / which was once so great, will strive in vain before your own. / Christ propels you into this empire / so that this our faith may proceed forward / to those places where His sainted name is offended. / Who against you, who against the western realm / will be sufficient to raise his brow, who in that instant / will not fall vanquished at your feet?") Spanish propagandists treated the Spanish inheritance of the Portuguese throne as providential. According to contemporary writers, God had prevented King Sebastian from fathering children and had sent him to his glorious death (Sebastian died in a daring, if imprudent, crusade) so that Portugal could be "restored" to Spain (as Dian Fox discusses, he suffered from numerous ailments and expressed a strong dislike of women; she mounts a convincing argument for the king's homosexuality; see Fox, "Frente a Frente"). Sonnet 64 presents Portugal's patient acquiescence to providence as the final sign that the time has come to take up the perennial Spanish struggle to conquer North Africa (lines 1–8). Although the Africans have resisted in the past (lines 7–8), they will not do so in the coming battle because Christ animates the Spanish forward charge (lines 9–14). The poem corresponds formally to sonnetization, since Herrera deploys the rules of the sonnet form to underscore a Counter-Reformation discourse of Christian might. Christ enters the poem at the crucial point of the volta, the space in which the poetic utterance "turns" on itself, after the completion of the quatrains and before the opening of the new rhyme scheme in the tercets. From this position, God's son can be said to bend the poem to His will. The speaker's prediction of success in Africa, voiced in the second quatrain, becomes transformed retroactively from courtly flattery to divine

abstracted from the *Canzoniere* in the manner of a verbal technology that would represent Spanish virility in its radiant essence. My use of the word *technology* here is deliberate. Herrera's views on Petrarchism anticipated the Heideggerian formulation of modern poetic revealing as *techne* that was opposed to *poiesis*, "not . . . a bringing-forth in the sense of *poiesis* . . . a challenging . . . which puts to nature the unreasonable demand that it supply energy that can be extracted and stored" (15).³³ The final section of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of Herrera's Petrarchan technology of heroic lyric.³⁴

Irradiation

Like other scholarly minded poetic reformers, Herrera admonished lax contemporaries for their fundamental misunderstanding of the *Canzoniere*. Unlike many of his peers, however, Herrera directed equal attention to imitation and to the mechanisms of Neo-Platonic sublimation that undergirded the work. Most discussions of Herrera overlook the latter; however, the

prophecy, since after line 9 Spanish victory is no longer a matter of speculation but rather a divine truth awaiting revelation. In addition to doctrine, the poem inscribes late sixteenth-century political hierarchies as well. The Portuguese kingdom is peaceably subjected to the yoke of Spanish monarchy (lines 1 and 2), and the poem's African kingdoms will also bow their heads to Spanish power (lines 13 and 14). Ultimately, however, Sonnet 64 represents a Counter-Reformation political vision. The fates of Philip and of Spain are subject to the power of Christ, the prime mover of Spanish *imperium* who wields force over the poem itself.

33. I have discussed Herrera's proto-Heideggerian ideas before. See Middlebrook, "Fernando de Herrera Invented the Internet."

34. One final, paradigmatic example of Herrera's ideals for his heroic lyric song is Elegy 3, "No baños en el mar sagrado y cano" ("Do not bathe in that sacred, gray sea"), which has been discussed by López Bueno, among other critics (*La poética cultista*, 49–50). The poem appears in the 1582 Petrarchan sequence and is unusual in that it represents a rare moment in which the poetic speaker enjoys erotic fulfillment: "Aquí donde el grande Betis ve presente / l'armada vencedora qu'el Egeo / manchó con sangre de la Turca gente, / quiero decir la gloria en que me veo / . . . / Lo demás qu'entre nos passó, no es dino, / noche, d'oír el austro pressuroso / . . . / Mete en el ancho piélago espumoso / tus negras trenzas, y húmido semblante, / que'en tanto que tú yaces en reposo, / podrá Amor darme gloria semejante." (7–10; 67–73) ("It is here, where the great Betis beholds / the conquering armada that stained / the Aegean with the blood of the Turkish people, / that I wish to speak of the glory in which I find myself / . . . / What happened between us is not worthy, / oh night, to be overheard by the rushing south wind / . . . / Hide away your dark locks and your watery face, / in the the broad and foamy depths, / for while you take your repose / love grants me a similar glory"). The commemoration of the historical event of the launch of the Spanish ships toward their victory at Lepanto licenses Herrera's speaker's reflection on his own conquest of his beloved. This theme of amorous license establishes the poem as an elegy, according to Herrera's classicist criteria.

poetics of Petrarchan sublimation are the key to understanding Herrera's aesthetics.³⁵ In the *Annotations*, Herrera argues that Petrarch invented a specific verbal operation that set the *Canzoniere* apart from other kinds of texts and established it as an important model for the ennobling and the reinvigoration of Spanish poetry:

Petrarca . . . dejó atrás con grande intervalo en nobleza de pensamientos a todos los poetas que trataron de cosas de amor, sin recibir comparación en esto de los mejores antiguos . . . Dessean algunos más cosas en los escritos de Petrarca, no considerando que el poeta élego no tiene necesidad de mucha más erudición; y le imponen culpa de vestir y aderezar con palabras las sentencias comunes, no consiendiendo su excelencia en esquivar los conceptos vulgares. ¿Y cuál puede ser mayor alabanza de Petrarca que hacer con el género de decir suyo aventajadas y maravillosas las cosas comunes? (271–72)

[Petrarch . . . in the nobility of his thoughts outstripped by a great distance all poets who treated the theme of love, in this, not even the best of the ancients compared with him. . . . Some desire more things from the writings of Petrarch, not considering that the elect poet has no need for more erudition; and they fault him for clothing and appointing common sayings by means of his words, for his excellence does not consist in disguising vulgar ideas. But what can be greater praise of Petrarch than to make common things privileged and marvelous by means of his mode of speech?]

Herrera perceived Petrarch as having expanded the power of secular vernacular letters, endowing language with a transformational force. Petrarch's fourteenth-century skills in *elucutio* and *dispositio* enabled him to defeat the categories that bound the material plane and to elevate base things to the order of the privileged and the marvelous. In the poetic register, these base elements were love lyrics; in the human one, they were the appetites:

35. In pages I have already cited in this chapter, critics such as Cuevas, Lara Garrido, Navarrete, and López Bueno all make reference in passing to Herrera's interest in sublimation. As is evident from my discussion, López Bueno's discussions of irradiation are particularly relevant to the argument I am forwarding here. Lacking up to this point has been an explanation of how Herrera's Petrarchism fits into his larger project of transforming action into essence, thereby recuperating heroic poetry for modern Spain. This is the gap I am proposing to fill.

Escribió para mostrar la fuerza del deseo sensual, que combatía con la razón, y así dijo:

la voglia et la ragion combattuto áno
sette et sette anni, et vincerá il migliore.

Y en otra parte rompe con este afecto:

Pigmali3n quanto lodarti dei
de l' imagine tua, se mille volte
n'havesti quel, ch'io solo una vorrei.

Pero pinta esto tan po3ticamente y tan apartado y lleno de honestidad en las voces y el modo que es maravilloso su artificio. Y todo 3l se emplea y ocupa en el gozo de los ojos m3s que de otro sentido, y en el de los 3idos y entendimiento, y en consideraci3n de la belleza de su Laura y de la virtud de su 3nimo. (272)

[He wrote to show the power of sensual desire, which he combated by means of reason, and thus he said, "Desire and reason have battled for seven and seven years, and the better one will win out." And in another place he breaks with this affect: "Pygmalion, how glad you should be of your statue, because you received a thousand times what I yearn to have just once." But he paints this so poetically, and with such detachment, and with a voice and a manner so full of honesty that his artifice is marvelous. And he is occupied most of all with the pleasure of the eyes more than any other sense, and with that of the ears and of the understanding, and with the consideration of the beauty of his Laura, and of the virtue of her soul.]³⁶

Informed by the same preoccupations that motivate passages we have examined earlier in this chapter—in the entry on *valiente*, for example, and the song in praise of true virtue (Song 2 [1582])—these passages provide the key to fitting Herrera's Petrarchism into the wider context of his ambitions for modern letters. Each turns on the challenge of redefining masculine nobility for an era in which men are subject to political and metaphysical regimes that appropriate their agency. But whereas the *valiente* passage and the song are proscriptive and didactic, and rely on accompanying exempla and visual figures to *persuade* readers that the modern condition is an exalted one, Herrera's discussion of Petrarch frames

36. The translations of Petrarch's Poem 101 and Poem 78 embedded in this quotation are from Durling (*Petrarch's Lyric Poems*, 1976).

the *Canzoniere* as a sophisticated verbal device by which to *transform* men's appetites for action into glorious essence. Furthermore, the mechanisms by which the sequence transformed the base into the elevated and appetite into understanding could be abstracted from the original text and adapted to modern conditions, for "no todos los pensamientos y consideraciones de amor y de las demás cosas que toca la poesía cayeron en la mente del Petrarca y del Bembo y de los antiguos" ("not all the thoughts and the considerations of love and of the other things that poetry touches upon came to mind for Petrarch and Bembo and the ancients"); and "no supieron inventar nuestros precessores todos los modos y observaciones de la habla" (274) ("our predecessors did not know all the modes and the aspects of language"). Moreover, to employ Petrarchan sublimation significantly enhanced a writer's efficaciousness in revealing (by which Herrera also meant representing) "many things": "por esta vía se abre lugar para descubrir muchas cosas" (273) ("by this path the way is opened to reveal many things"). Therefore, while Petrarchan poetics furnished the fourteenth-century writer with a means to transform erotic desire into marvelous artifice, Herrera, writing in his own day, his language fortified by modern discoveries in the rhetorical arts, selected a beloved who would serve as a source of *force* as well as transformation. "Luz," or "light," provided Petrarchism with the fuel to achieve effects of heroic lyric. The function of light and its energy for the sequence is established in the opening sonnet of the 1582 *Algunas obras de Fernando de Herrera*:

Sonnet 1

Osé y temí, más pudo la osadía
 tanto que desprecié el temor cobarde;
 subí a do el fuego más me enciende y arde
 cuanto más la esperanza se desvía.
 Gasté en error la edad flórida mía;
 ahora veo el daño, pero tarde:
 que ya mal puede ser que el seso guarde
 a quien se entrega ciego a su porfía.
 Tal vez pruevo (mas, ¿qué me vale?) alzarme
 del grave peso que mi cuello oprime,
 aunque falta a la poca fuerza el hecho.
 Sigo al fin mi furor, porque mudarme

no es honra ya, ni justo que se estime
tan mal de quien tan bien rindió su pecho.

[I dared and I feared, but my daring so strong / that I disdained cowardly fear; / the more I climb to where the flame lights and burns, / the more my hope is led astray. / I wasted the flower of my youth in error; / now I see the danger, but too late: / for the mind can offer little protection / to a man who delivers himself blindly over to his daring. / Perhaps I will break loose (but what good does it do me?) / of that grave weight that oppresses my neck, / although I lack even that little force to achieve the deed. / I follow my madness along, in the end, because to change / would no longer bring honor, nor would it be just that / one who rendered his breast to one so exalted be held in such low esteem.]

The challenges posed to interpreting the 1582 volume have puzzled Herrera's readers over time. Sonnet 1 provides a promising opening to a late sixteenth-century Petrarchan sequence: the poem imitates the principal conventions of an introductory poem (then and now, wasted youth, error), and it is composed in a rhythm and a vocabulary that demonstrate Herrera's facility with the precepts of humanist poetic reform. Taken as a whole, however, the collection of poems diverges from the model. Herrera's lyric speaker does not achieve salvation or transcendence by the final poem; indeed, there is no real conclusion to the narrative. The text simply leaves off with a cry of frustration.³⁷ Finally, the collection lacks balance between the individual fragments, many of which are strikingly beautiful, intensely visual works, and the whole, which fails to cohere. Herrera himself is reported to have rejected the 1582 volume as juvenilia further along in his career.

While I do not propose to provide a comprehensive account of the relationship of the 1582 sequence to the *Canzoniere*, certain aspects of the collection make more sense when we follow cues that are presented in Sonnet 1, first about the poem's relationship to Herrera's wider preoccupations with the virility of the Spanish subject, and, second, about the relationship

37. López Bueno provides an overview of the criticism of the sequence, as well as a very useful account of the struggle between passion and reason in the work (*La poética cultista*, 35–60). See also Navarrete, *Orphans of Petrarch*, 168–99, on the sequence, and Cuevas on the editions of Herrera's work (Herrera, *Poesía*, 87–99).

of action and appearance, and the value that Herrera attached to each. The speaker represents himself as having suffered through a heroic struggle between daring and fear. “Osé y temí” reproduces the terms for noble self-mastery that appear in the entry on *valiente*, in the *Annotations*. Moreover, Sonnet 1 represents the same ambivalent outcome of the internal struggle that is found both in the *valiente* entry and the wedding song. Daring is the stronger force in the sonnet (line 1), and the speaker thus corresponds to Herrera’s modern masculine ideal of the noble soul that struggles against itself but emerges triumphant. While the struggle is heroic, however, it is also self-defeating. At the end of the poem, the speaker claims that he does not have “even that little force” (*la poca fuerza*, line 11) that will enable him to free himself from his oppression. Moreover, were he to do so, the struggle would not bring him honor (line 13).

Sonnet 1 therefore presents us once again with an image of noble subjection. The speaker’s daring is all display: “osé y temí” makes for a vigorous opening in comparison to other versions of the line we have seen before, such as “Entre osar y temer,” by Cetina.³⁸ His power is limited to the domain of representation; however, having noted that, we see that Sonnet 1 also goes on to take the innovative turn as Herrera leads the poem and the sequence into his own terrain in line 3, “subí a do el fuego más me enciende y arde.” The line introduces the element that inspires the speaker’s daring, a radiant light that implies the sun, and that will take shape across the sequence as the beloved Luz. The line suggests the myth of Phaeton, a common topos in baroque and mannerist poetry. The vainglorious son of Helios serves as an example or *escarmiento* against overreaching. But while Sonnet 1 clearly alludes to Phaeton, the passages from Herrera’s writings that we have been examining in these pages suggest an alternate interpretation, namely, that the crucible of Petrarchan desire transforms the mere brash daring available to any “osado español” into the true nobility that can be found within the elect few. Luz illuminates this nobility, fueling it into presence in Sonnet 1. In subsequent poems she will continue to transform action into display by serving as the source of illumination for the color-saturated and richly embellished fragments that work by means of *enargeia*. At the opening of this chapter, I referred to critical discussions of Herrera’s use of visual figures and provided an initial definition of *enargeia* as the art of placing an object before the eyes. An additional definition supplied by Joseph Campana, “forceful visuality,” helps explain Herrera’s investment in

38. See Chapter 3.

the beautiful Petrarchan fragment as sublimated heroic force.³⁹ The poems that celebrate light and the visual register, in particular, are often entirely detached from any kind of moral or autobiographical narrative and function in and of themselves as pure *enargeia*, forceful presence that compensates for the “lost object” that is masculine Spanish agency in the modern age. They thus fulfill the demand for heroic lyric. Subsequent poems in the 1582 sequence and in the loose lyrics not included in the volume will elaborate on the ennobling sublimation of forceful action into aesthetic effects. For example, read apart from Herrera’s theories of lyric, the quatrains of Sonnet 45 (1582) appear to be meaningless, if lovely, ornament:

Clara, suave luz, alegre y bella,
 que los safiros y color del cielo
 teñís de la esmeralda con el velo
 que respandece en una y otra estrella;
 divino resplandor, pura centella,
 por quien, libre mi alma, en alto vuelo
 a las alas rojas bate y huye el suelo,
 ardiendo vuestro dulce fuego en ella

(1–8)

[Clear, soft light, happy and beautiful, / you who tinge the sapphires and the color of the sky / with emerald by the veil / that shines out from one and another star; / divine refulgence, purest spark / toward whom my soul, freed, in soaring flight / beats its red wings and flees the ground, / your sweet fire burning within it]

Considered within the context of Herrera’s aims to forge a persuasive heroic lyric, however—poetry that was simultaneously “second in majesty” and resplendent and forceful in revealing the virile nobility of the Spanish soul—Sonnet 45 (1582), or Sonnet 33 (1582), which begins with “Ardientes hebras, do se ilustra el oro / de celestial ambrosia rociado” (1–2) (“Shining strands, where gold, / bedewed with celestial ambrosia shines forth”) and goes on to evoke “Purpúreas rosas, perlas de Oriente, / marfil terso, y angélica armonía” (9–10) (“Purpled roses, pearls of the orient, / smooth marble,

39. Campana (“On Not Defending Poetry”) draws a distinction between *enargeia* as “forceful visuality” and *enegeia*, a figure that stirs the affective experience of presence.

angelic harmonies”), or Sonnet 10, “Rojo sol, que con hacha luminosa / coloras el purpúreo y alto cielo” (1–2) (“Red sun, who with your shining brush / colors the exalted purple sky”),⁴⁰ assume significance as statements of glorious presence are informed by the possible emptiness that subtends their fabric. Ultimately, Herrera’s Petrarchan strategies may best be set off in the somewhat overlooked Sonnet 59 (1619).⁴¹

Sonnet 59

Rayo de guerra, grande honor de Marte,
 fatal ruina al bárbaro africano,
 que, en la temida España, de el Romano
 Imperio levantaste el estandarte:
 Si la voz de la Fama, en esa parte
 do estás, puede llegar al reino vano,
 teme, con el vencido italiano,
 d’el osado español la fuerza y arte.
 Otro mayor que tú, en el yugo indino
 lo puso, y un gran Leiva la vitoria
 d’Italia conquirió en sangrienta guerra.
 Y al fin, un nuevo César, qu’al latino
 en clemencia y valor ganó la gloria,
 y añadió mar al mar, tierra a la tierra.

[Lighting bolt of war, great honor of Mars, / fatal ruin of the barbarous African, / you who, within fearsome Spain, raised the standard / of the Roman Empire: / If the voice of Fame can reach to that place where you are, / that vain kingdom, / be fearful, along with the defeated Italian, / of the force and the art of the daring Spaniard. / Another greater than you placed him under the ignoble yoke / and the great Leiva conquered Italy in victory, /

40. The use of aesthetic language in this poem has been commented on by Smith (*Writing in the Margin*, 58–59).

41. Poems that appear in the 1619 *Versos de Fernando de Herrera* have tended to be treated with caution by critics. The volume’s editor, Herrera’s friend Francisco de Pacheco, referred to having repaired and completed poems that had been damaged in a shipwreck, and scholars have therefore hesitated to treat poems that appear only in that volume as authentically Herrera’s own (see Cuevas, 87–99). The question of attribution is not critical to my argument here. If Pacheco or another member of Herrera’s circle amended Sonnet 59, they were certainly working from a deep understanding of their deceased friend’s poetics and his ambitions for *energeia*.

in bloody war. / And in the end, a new Caesar gained / the glory
of the Latin one in clemency and in valor, / and joined sea to sea,
shore to shore.]

Opening with an invocation of the great Roman general Scipio, a worthy whose conquest of Spain pales in comparison with the victories secured by the Spanish captains Fernando González de Córdoba (the “Great Captain”) and Antonio de Leiva (the Marquis of Vasto), and whose domains cannot equal the global empire secured by Charles V, the modern Caesar, Sonnet 59 (1619) is informed by the Spanish triumphalist and messianic view of history. But in the aesthetic register, the poem also represents the transformation of virile masculine identity in the context of that history. This is most evident in the first line of the poem, where the brilliant general’s battlefield force is represented *as* brilliance, with the striking visual figure of the lightning bolt, or “*rayo de guerra*.” The line is a textbook example of *enargeia*. The figure transforms action into essence, as the physical power of the general’s fighting arm is transformed into a flash of light. Moreover, the visual effect is supported by an acoustic one: the charge is reinforced by stress on the first syllable of the word. Since *rayo* is also the first word of the poem, the sonnet is propelled into presence and motion.

But the deftly worked aesthetics in this poem speak directly to the paradoxical nature of Spanish nobility and glory in the late sixteenth century, since *enargeia* is used here to *displace* the famed general. Furthermore, this displacement is enacted by a modern constellation of Spanish ideological and historical circumstances. Scipio’s individual powers are outstripped by the Spanish Caesar, whose ascendance to the throne, as we have seen throughout this chapter, marked a new epoch for Spain. Charles V was the monarch and the emperor who had been blessed to carry out God’s final will on earth, and his reign inaugurated a new historical and cosmological epoch. However, while the new Caesar was supported by providence, in this poem he is also supported by the “*osado español*.” When in line 8 this figure precedes the named captains, he reflects a transformation in the way in which Spain now appeared to itself, both as a society and as a force on the globe. No longer identified with the heroic individual valor of the medieval era, Spain was privileged collectively, as a nation.

Sonnet 59 employs Petrarchan technologies of illumination and poetics to both display and mask the conflicting social and ideological forces that trouble the poetic representation of greatness and military glory in Herrera’s epoch. In this way, the poem fulfills the potential that he observed in the

Canzoniere as a text with specific utility in the modern age. And yet, in the end, were the circumstances of Spanish modernity suitable for representation in poetry? Is the *rayo de guerra* an exaltation or a statement of defeat, an evacuation? In recent years, critics have begun to look past the apparently empty excesses of mannerist aesthetic elaboration to argue that in certain ideological climates, hollow ornament has a point. In fact, it *is* the point in periods of radical cultural change in which old forms are evacuated of meaning and new forms are rising up to take their place. Setting the image of the *rayo de guerra* against that constant Spanish backdrop, the Castilian hero, the wielder of the sovereign *diestro brazo*, the figure against which Juan Boscán wrote so conscientiously in his 1541 “Letter” and sequence, Sonnet 59 comes into focus as no mere exercise in ornamentation and hyperbole. Rather, it becomes an ambivalent image that emblemizes what has been variously referred to as the “crisis of disorientation of the Counter-Reformation” and the “culture of the baroque.”⁴²

Herrera’s efforts in the field of letters consistently reflect his attempts to secure Spanish identity in the face of the early modern culture shock. Were his experiments with heroic lyric a success? In his view, they were not. Herrera appears to have been content with some of his odes; however, he rejected his Petrarchan poetry as juvenilia and requested that it be destroyed. He turned to the longer and weightier projects enumerated by Pacheco—a general history of Spain, a saintly “Life” of Thomas More (1590), a long poem on Proserpine.⁴³

Members of Herrera’s circle, however, and patrons such as the Count and Countess of Gelves held the lyric in higher esteem.⁴⁴ If Herrera’s noble patrons liked the work but Herrera himself did not, the discrepancy suggests that Petrarchan poetry did not, in the end, manage to transcend its limitations as a base subgenre. The displacement of the noble Spanish hero into

42. “La crisis y la desorientación de la edad contrarreformista, entre la abstracción neoplatónica del ejemplarismo heroico y la preocupación historicista de las criaturas del arte” (“crisis of disorientation of the Counter-Reformation, between the neoplatonic abstraction of the heroic exemplar and the historicizing preoccupation of those creatures dedicated to art”); Macrí, *Fernando de Herrera*, 29. For “culture of the baroque,” see Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*.

43. The *Tomás Moro* was published. The other two works, if completed, have not been located.

44. The simple fact of the 1619 edition suggests that at least one friend, Francisco de Pacheco, and perhaps others, recognized Herrera’s aims with Petrarchan poetry and with the new lyric, more widely. Pacheco, who edited and introduced the volume, reported that he had saved it from a shipwreck and had restored many of the pages that had been damaged in the event (*Poesía original*, 87–99). This admission has led scholars to avoid working with the poems contained in the edition,

efficacious and brilliant discourse yielded spectacular results, but they testified to power—to the empire and the elite patrons and rulers who occupied the higher ranks of its political regime—not to the cultural memory. In the struggle between poesis and politics in which Herrera sought to play a part, politics appeared to have won.

since they cannot be attributed with certainty to Herrera himself; but arguably, authorship is less important here than content. Many of the 1619 poems are decidedly mannerist in style. Moreover, several of them are strong statements of imperialist triumphalism. Whether Herrera composed them or not, or whether he composed parts of them or not, the works provide support for the idea that his use of aesthetics was bound up with the question of the changing nature of Spanish virility in his profoundly nationalist and messianic age. The question of whether his view was shared by fellow writers in his intellectual circle or whether it was a view he held on his own is a relatively minor one.