

**Edition and Study of Teive's *Epithalamium: The Epodon libri tres* (1565)
and Neo-Latin Literature in Counter-Reformation Portugal**

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and Neo-Latin Literature in Counter-Reformation Portugal**

D. Phil Dissertation

Catarina Fouto (St. Peter's College) – Hilary Term (2012)

Short Abstract

This dissertation comprises the first study of the poetry of the Portuguese humanist Diogo de Teive (1513-14 – c. 1569). It examines and presents a scholarly edition of the *Epithalamium* which Teive composed on the occasion of the marriage of Princess Maria of Portugal to Alessandro Farnese in 1565. It also critically explores the work in which the poem was published, the *Epodon libri tres* (Lisbon, 1565).

Because both this and the *Epithalamium* bring together different strands of Teive's literary work, Chapter One analyses the development of his literary career, linking it to the ideological and cultural transformations which took place in Portugal from the 1540s to the 1560s, and the author's attempt to carve his identity and space in the Portuguese literary scene. Chapter Two explores the concepts of 'imitatio' and 'mimesis' in the *Epodon libri tres*, shedding light on specific aspects of the *Epithalamium*. In the eyes of his readers, Teive emerges as a Catholic Horace. This is achieved by means of formal imitation, 'aemulatio', and allusion to Horace, a process whereby Teive introduces significant and ideologically motivated differences representative of the impact of Counter-Reformation upon literary writing. The 'aemulatio' of Prudentius's *Peristephanon* in book II is to be understood in this light. Part Two engages with Teive's comments on questions of verbal representation in the *Epodon libri tres*. Chapter Three analyses the *Epithalamium* from a generic perspective, arguing that it presents instances of generic enrichment, and that these are an example of the appropriation of occasional poetry for the purpose of authorial self-representation. One of the instances of generic enrichment is the incorporation of a didactic passage indebted to the tradition of the 'speculum principum', which is analysed in Chapter Four. Part One interprets the rewriting and appropriation of Plutarch and Erasmus as authorising strategies whereby Teive represents himself as an advisor of kings in the *Epodon libri tres*. Part Two discusses the author's political thought and opinions, drawing from an analysis of the *Epithalamium*. Finally, Chapter Five comprises the study of the transmission of the poem, its metrical analysis, edition, translation, and commentary.

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Long abstract

This thesis examines and presents a scholarly edition and translation of Diogo de Teive's *Epithalamium in laudem nuptiarum Alexandri et Mariae*, composed in 1565 and published in the compilation *Epodon libri tres* that same year. Albeit being an important author (both for the variety and number of his publications in his lifetime), Teive remains understudied. Hence, the need to embark on a broader study of his literary career. The study of the poem in particular and of Teive's publications, with special interest on the *Epodon libri tres* is, in turn, informed by an analysis into the transformations in Portuguese cultural and political life which dominated the period between the 1540s and the mid 1560s. The *Epithalamium* is examined as representative of the ways in which humanists reacted to change in Portuguese intellectual life, from the times of King João III's humanistic project, represented in the promising foundation of the Colégio das Artes in Coimbra, to the militantly orthodox regency of Cardinal Henrique (1562 – 1568), especially in the aftermath of the Council of Trent (1545 – 1563).

Chapter One establishes the grounds for the understanding of the composite character of Teive's *Epithalamium* and *Epodon libri tres* by looking back at the author's intellectual background and literary career. This exploration focuses not so much on those aspects which have already been established by scholarship, his early years, his return to Portugal, and his dealings with the Inquisition, but on the hitherto unexplored development of his career. My approach in this chapter follows in the footsteps of recent developments in 'career criticism' which shed light upon

the development of the literary career of early-modern writers who simultaneously pursued non-literary careers. The intersection of Teive's authorial career and his public persona of humanist, priest and courtier will become clear in the course of my analysis.

Until now, Teive has been seen, above all, as the humanist condemned by the Inquisition and the heterodox author, something which this thesis challenges. I argue that Teive, who made his *début* as a prose writer with the *Commentarius* (1548), later reinvented himself with the publication of the *Opuscula* (1558), and finally confirmed his status as a court poet in the *Epodon libri tres* (1565). By the end of the analysis into Teive's career and publications, we are left with someone who cannot be considered a marginalised intellectual, as the editorial success he achieved in the early 1560s confirms.

This thesis shows that Teive sought to carve his own space and identity in the neo-Latin literary scene in Portugal, turning to poetry because Jerónimo Osório and Damião de Góis, both names of international reputation, had colonized the field of neo-Latin prose. Teive proved to be a quick and fluent neo-Latin writer, and this was certainly one of the factors which contributed to his success as an occasional poet. This was even more the case when there was no other Portuguese poet of international fame with the exception of the clergyman and neo-Latinist André de Resende.

In Chapter One the analysis of the transformations in Teive's career is also set against the broader Portuguese context. The changing patterns of literary patronage had a decisive impact in his work. The growing interest in moral and religious themes observed in his publications is an excellent example of the general tendencies of cultural production of this period, which was influenced by the growing orthodoxy of a militant Catholic monarchy where ecclesiastical figures had significant influence at court, and where control over printing ensured ideological

homogeneity.

Chapter Two goes on to explore the concepts of ‘imitatio’ and ‘mimesis’ in Teive’s *Epodon libri tres*, shedding light on specific aspects of the *Epithalamium*. Part One makes a contribution to the study of the reception of Horace in sixteenth-century Portugal and of early-modern literary theory in that country. It is argued that in the *Epodon libri tres* formal imitation of Horatian lyric metres, imitation of content, and, finally, allusion to different works by Horace amount to a consistent self-representation. Teive’s authorial persona is in tune with the expurgated reading of Horace in Counter-Reformation Europe: on an immediate level, the problematic aspects of Horace’s *Epodi* are completely effaced in Teive’s book. The rhetoric of invective and blame is replaced by didacticism, piety and the rhetoric of praise. Teive plays with the readers’ expectations and his engagement with Horace denotes, at different levels, an ideological motivation representative of the impact of Counter-Reformation. A good example of such strategy can be seen in the ‘aemulatio’ of one of the greatest Christian poets in book II of the *Epodon libri tres*: Prudentius’s *Peristephanon* inspired Teive in his hymns in book II of the *Epodon libri tres* at a time when Protestant criticism targeted the cult of saints. Also, in the prologue of book III Teive proceeds to a radical interpretation of the general precepts of Horace’s *Ars Poetica*, especially the purpose of literature, openly professing that aesthetic pleasure should be subordinated to moral edification and concerns. Teive’s rhetorical strategies, frequently used by Christian authors, are at work both in this prologue and in the *Epithalamium*, and emphasize the value of subject-matter of Christian and religious inspiration against the sophistication of form. Teive credits Horace with this in the prologue of book III, and in the *Epithalamium* too there is an implied criticism of the generation of Classical writers and Portuguese Italianate poets. Thus, in the *Epodon libri tres* Teive emerges as a Catholic Horace.

Part Two of this chapter focuses on a question of literary criticism. Teive is particularly interested in questions of verbal representation. Drawing from the analysis of the poem *De perfecto Episcopo* (book III of the *Epodon libri tres*), the nuptial oration written in 1552, and the *Epithalamium* composed in 1565, Teive's self-proclaimed inability to represent Forms is further explored, and explained as an inevitable consequence of his Neoplatonism. Teive shows an acute awareness of the limitations of language as a means of 'mimesis', and, differently from other contemporary authors who value 'eudentia' and 'copia', he invites his audience to take on an active role in the reading of the text and in the creation of meaning. The *Epithalamium* provides excellent illustration of the enactment of the author's stance.

Chapter Three analyses this poem from a generic perspective. If the *Epodon libri tres* is a fascinating compilation for the reasons discussed in Chapter Two, Teive's *Epithalamium* of 1565 is an equally interesting text, namely because of its composite character and the underlying tension existing between some of the elements it contains.

The preliminary investigation into the epithalamic tradition in Portugal up to 1565 opens the way to the understanding of Teive's poem, and, thanks to the comparative perspective adopted in this analysis, intertextual relations emerge and the dynamic interaction between the Latin, vernacular and neo-Latin traditions is brought into a sharper focus. This is particularly relevant for two reasons: the first is the identification in the *Epithalamium* of an allusion to the 'Epitalâmio' which António Ferreira, vernacular poet and Teive's friend, composed on the same occasion. The second reason is that by comparing Teive's two epithalamia of 1552 and 1565 the existence of some tendencies in the former, in an embryonic stage, come to light, tendencies which were furthered in the later *Epithalamium*.

My analysis of Teive's poem draws from the work of Stephen Harrison (*Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace*, 2007) and Francis Cairns (*Generic Composition*

in *Greek and Roman Poetry*, 1972). Although Cairns and Harrison develop their conceptual models based on Classical texts, the very nature of humanistic education and formation in Renaissance Europe (in which direct contact and exposure to Classical literature was constant) supports the transfer of their discussions to humanistic literature. The concept of ‘generic enrichment’ (Harrison) is particularly endorsed in this thesis, as Teive achieves a much deeper and more complex level of originality than his contemporaries in his poem by incorporating other literary genres into the poem. The ‘host genre’, the epithalamium, is enriched by the creative interaction with the ‘guest’ genres, the didactic and the hymnal. The hymnal mode takes the reader back to the hymns to saints and martyrs published in book II of the *Epodon libri tres* (inspired by Prudentius’s *Peristephanon*), and the didactic to the *Institutio Sebastiani Primi* and *Sententiae* included in book I.

The interaction of the hymnal mode is explored in relation to the intersection of Teive’s public and authorial persona. As a priest and a poet, he emphasizes the doctrinal content of the poem, which is, undoubtedly, one of its most striking features: the poem presents an orthodox defence of the sacramental character of marriage, incorporating all the important doctrinal arguments of the Tridentine debate.

One aspect to which this chapter pays special attention is the careful introduction of a mythological narrative in Teive’s *Epithalamium*, a sign of the tension often felt by Portuguese humanists at a time of intolerance towards anything other than the strictest orthodoxy. The inclusion of a mythological fable to explain the royal marriage was certainly suggested to Teive by Ferreira’s ‘Epitalâmio’, but so as to not jeopardise the coherence of his text where the Catholic priest professes his refusal of pagan deities (denounced as ‘figmenta’), Teive makes calculated use of textual strategies: the shift from the 1st person to the 3rd person in the poem and the creation of a new character, the ‘elegans vates deorum’, enable the narrative to be

seen as explicitly fictional, with no direct relation to the 1st person lyric subject, a representation of the pious Teive.

The *Epithalamium*, where the mature Teive shows his full potential, can be seen as a summary of his literary career, and is a good example of the appropriation of occasional poetry for the purpose of self-representation. In fact, a different facet of the author's authorial and public persona is also present in the poem.

The didactic mode is perceivable in the 'allocutio sponsalis' where Teive offers his political advice to the Dukes of Parma. Identified in Chapter Three as a 'guest' genre in the epithalamium, didactic poetry features prominently in the *Epodon libri tres*, especially in book I, which comprises the *Institutio* and the *Sententiae*, two poems where Teive, the humanist, discusses the education of the prince. Chapter Four starts by highlighting how these works were in tune with broader tendencies observed in Portugal and in Europe. I argue that in the *Epodon libri tres* Teive legitimizes his status as an advisor of kings by establishing intertextual relations with Plutarch's *Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata* and Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani*.

At a time when editions and translations of Plutarch showed the renewed interest in the author's work throughout Europe, Teive reworked the apophthegmatic tradition in his *Sententiae*. The way in which Teive engaged with Erasmus in his *Institutio Sebastiani Primi*, on the other hand, is representative of the specificity of the reception of Erasmus in Portugal. As the comparative analysis of the *Institutio Sebastiani Primi* and *Institutio Principis Christiani* makes clear, Teive did use Erasmus's work as an important source for his didactic poem, as was first suggested (if not demonstrated) by Davide Bigalli, who was led to see this as a sign of the author's covert heterodoxy. I explain Teive's appropriation of Erasmus differently. Drawing from the analyses of Marcel Bataillon and Silvana Menchi, who have explored the reception of Erasmus in Spain and Italy respectively, I propose a

reinterpretation of the reception of Erasmus in Portugal, and argue that, despite the ideological *démarche* of the 1550s, the ‘neo-Latin Erasmus’ continued to be accepted in Portugal. His works continued to be read by the restricted elite, who showed interest in his philological and pedagogic works, and he was valued as an eloquent and elegant writer, and as a Christian political thinker. Teive’s engagement with Erasmus should, instead, be interpreted (as in Plutarch’s case) as an example of his humanistic stance and background.

In the *Epithalamium* Teive condensed his views on good rule into fewer than thirty lines. The analysis of the political content of the *Epithalamium* is complemented by bringing into the discussion some of his other works, especially the *Institutio* and the *Sententiae*, where he had the opportunity to express his ideas on kingship in greater detail. On the other hand, the gap in the study of the representation of kingship in the works of Portuguese poets is also addressed by comparing Teive with other influential Portuguese authors. The conclusions of this exploration suggest that, although Teive appears to avoid some polemical political issues in his writings, this is not to say that he avoids all polemical debate. The importance of the topic of the overseas expansion for the future of national politics was too great a matter to ignore. An example of the author’s independent (if carefully laid out) opinions can be best seen in the appreciation of Portuguese presence in India. Like Camões, Teive is critical of the masking of the real reasons behind the overseas expansion. Furthermore, he perceives war only as a necessary means of securing the economic viability and strategic security of the empire. Textual evidence contradicts the hypothesis that Teive may have supported a military campaign in Morocco either on the grounds of the ideal of crusade or as an end in itself. If in the *Epithalamium* and in the *Epodon libri tres* the rhetoric of spiritual antagonism against the Muslim enemy is present, it has more to do with the pressure which a man of his status at court may have felt to comply to the prevailing

orthodox mainstream, than with a wholehearted adherence to the ideal of crusade. Like Camões', Teive's stance is unique amongst Portuguese intellectuals, as he never abstains from stressing the economic benefits and strategic importance of both North Africa and India for the future of the empire. In fact, Teive's political opinions are sound and well-informed: his defence of the maintenance of complementary overseas territories was in tune with the policy which prevailed at court.

Finally, Chapter Five comprises the scholarly edition, translation and brief commentary of the *Epithalamium*. The metrical analysis confirms that Teive's metrical technique in the *Epodon libri tres* is essentially Horatian and in tune with the best Renaissance practice. The author had used the same metre in the tragedy *Ioannes Princeps*, which instead presented Senecan turns. The poetic sensitivity required to achieve this level of sophisticated composition offers a glimpse into the Teive's intellectual background.

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**Note on Transcription, Reference and Translation Conventions
for Early Printed Texts**

All quotations from modern editions of primary texts respect the original spelling and the edition criteria of each editor, although these may vary from those which have been adopted in the edition of the *Epithalamium*. When transcribing from early-modern printed texts, or manuscripts, the original text (including orthography and punctuation) has been strictly respected, with the exception of abbreviations (which have been expanded) and accents in Latin (which have been deleted). Any changes or interpolations have been clearly indicated between square brackets. Ellipses indicate the deliberate omission of text.

Reference to the pagination of the early-modern printed texts is made by indicating the recto or verso side of leaves. Occasionally, pages containing liminary and prefatorial material do not present pagination number, and have been identified by the gatherings and leaves, e.g. f. q2r corresponds to the recto side of the second leave of gathering q. To avoid any confusion, quotations of book III of the *Epodon libri tres*, which has independent pagination, clearly indicate that the page number refers to book III, e.g. Teive (1656) III f. 41r.

Abbreviations of, and references to classical and medieval Latin authors have been introduced in the body of the text, and have followed the conventions adopted in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. References to *Os Lusíadas* indicate the canto in Roman numerals and the stanza in Arab numerals separated by a full stop, e.g. X. 82 (canto ten, stanza 82). Any other references are introduced in footnotes according to the author-date style of referencing.

In the body of the thesis, only quotations of Teive's works in Latin are accompanied by a translation into English. The translation of these quotations is necessary because there are no modern critical editions or translations of the majority of his works, and also because the Latin text at times presents problems. To edit the quotations would go beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used in the thesis:

- BC** - Biblioteca de Catalunya (Barcelona - Spain)
BCLM - Biblioteca de Castilla - La Mancha (Toledo - Spain)
BDMII – Biblioteca D. Manuel II (Vila Viçosa - Portugal)
BL – British Library
BNB – Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro)
BNP – Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Lisbon)
BPE – Biblioteca Pública de Evora (Portugal)
HUHL - Harvard University (Houghton Library – United States)
UHL - University of Heidelberg Library (Germany)

In the dissertation, the titles of Diogo de Teive's works are quoted integrally in the first instance, and thereafter abbreviated as follows:

<i>Commentarius</i>	<i>Commentarius de rebus a Lusitanis in India apud Dium gestis anno salutis nostrae MCXLVI</i> (1548, Coimbra)
<i>Oratio</i>	<i>Oratio in laudem nuptiarum Ioannis ac Ioannae illustrissimorum principum rectoris conciliique iussu Conimbricae habita</i> (1553, Coimbra)
<i>Carmen</i>	<i>Carmen in Nuptias eorumdem principum</i> (1553) [included in the <i>Oratio</i>]
<i>Opuscula</i>	<i>Opuscula aliquot in laudem Ioannis Tertij Lusitaniae Regis, et principis eius filij, et fratris Ludouici, atque item Sebastiani primi Regis eiusdem nepotis</i> (1558, Salamanca)
<i>Mortis meditatio</i>	<i>Mortis meditatio in funus Theodosii Brigantiae ducis</i> (1563, Lisbon)
<i>Deploratio</i>	<i>Deploratio consolationi admista in mortem Ferdinandi Menesii Archiepiscopi Vlyssiponensis</i> (1564, Lisbon)

<i>Tumulus</i>	<i>Tumulus in mortem Michaelis Menesii, Marchionis Villae Regalis</i> (1564, Lisbon)
<i>Epodon libri tres</i>	<i>Epodon siue Iambicorum carminum libri tres</i> (1565, Lisbon)
<i>Sententiae</i>	<i>Sententiarum vtilium quidem omnibus hominibus, sed regibus ac regum moderatoribus praecipue</i> (1565)
<i>Institutio</i>	<i>Institutio Sebastiani Primi</i> (1558; 1565)
<i>Epithalamium</i>	<i>Epithalamium in laudem nuptiarum Alexandri et Mariae principum Parmae et Placentiae</i> (1565)

Introduction

A gloomy atmosphere in Portuguese public life had prevailed for almost a decade by 1565. The royal household had been struck by several bereavements: the heir to the throne, Prince João, died in 1552, Prince Luís in 1555, and his brother, King João III, in 1557. His widow, Catherine of Austria, was left in charge of a small nation at the head of a vast Empire. But, on 13th May 1565, Portugal rejoiced, and the kingdom celebrated a royal wedding of great political significance.

A proxy wedding ceremony in Lisbon united Alessandro Farnese (the future Duke of Parma and Piacenza) and Princess Maria (daughter of the late Prince Duarte, brother of King João III, and of Isabel of Braganza). Both Alessandro and Maria had been brought up at court. Alessandro Farnese, born in Rome in 1545, was the son of Princess Margaret of Austria (illegitimate daughter of Charles V and Philip's II half-sister) and of Ottavio Farnese, second Duke of Parma (great grandson of Pope Paul III). However, Alessandro was not living with his parents at that time: Margaret was then the regent of the Netherlands, and Ottavio spent his time between Flanders and Parma. In the years leading up to his marriage, the young Alessandro had lived six years at court in Madrid (1559-1565), completing his education side by side with Prince Carlos, son of Philip II and Princess Maria Manuela, daughter of King João III.¹

Alessandro's presence at the Spanish court was due to political reasons: the citadel of Piacenza, part of the Farnese domains, had been taken and occupied by Spanish troops, and the son of Ottavio Farnese had been taken to Madrid by Philip

¹ Essen (1933) 56 – 82.

II, in order to guarantee the Duke's loyalty to Spain.² Paolo Tiepolo, the Venetian ambassador in Madrid, is very clear in his letter to the Venetian Senate:

‘Tout cela n’empêche pas le Roi de tenir en son pouvoir deux gages certains de la fidélité du duc de Parme, l’un le château de Plaisance, l’autre le fils unique du duc, lequel, ne quittant jamais la cour, se trouve toujours près du souverain comme otage et qui doit, jusque dans le choix de sa future épouse, dépendre de la volonté du Roi.’³

Princess Maria of Portugal, born in 1538, lived in the royal palace located in the Paço da Ribeira in Lisbon, near Queen Catherine's quarters, and enjoyed the company of her mother, Isabel of Braganza, and of the heir to the throne, Prince Sebastião. The bride also usually spent time with her aunt, the wealthy Princess Maria (1521-1577), daughter of the late King Manuel and Leonor of Austria.⁴

According to contemporary sources, the Portuguese crown made every effort to secure this royal wedding, and demonstrations of great joy accompanied the celebrations in Lisbon.⁵ The grandeur of the festivities was a sign of the political significance of this marriage: the dynamics of power within the European context were at stake, and Philip II, who suggested this wedding, was to win in the long-term.

The story of the marriage of Maria and Alessandro Farnese had begun, in fact, years before. The Portuguese princess was neither the first nor the second choice of the Farnese.⁶ Margaret of Austria and Ottavio Farnese had tried to establish a political alliance with their Italian neighbours, an alliance which would strengthen their position, and secure the protection of their domains. They intended to marry Alessandro to Lucrezia d'Este, the sister of Alphonse, Duke of Ferrara. But soon Philip II took action and put a stop to the marriage when he realised the Italian

² Essen (1933) 10 – 24.

³ Essen (1943) 16.

⁴ Melo (1944) 137 – 40 and Tavares (1999) 11 – 12.

⁵ Barbosa Machado (1736-51) II Chapter xiii.

⁶ Essen (1933) 83 – 102.

lords would inevitably become more united and stronger.⁷ In exchange, he reassured Ottavio and his wife that he would protect their domains. Margaret and Ottavio did not give up on their plan immediately, but insisted that Philip II should make a decision regarding Alessandro's marriage as soon as possible.

Philip II turned his attention to the daughters of the Holy Roman Emperor. Officially, Ferdinand excused his daughters, stating that none of them intended to marry. However, the real reason behind the Emperor's decision was of a very different nature, and was openly commented upon at court: it would be a scandal should Ferdinand allow one of his daughters to marry Alessandro, son of an illegitimate mother and of a grandson of a Pope.⁸

Ferdinand's refusal put Margaret and Ottavio Farnese in a rather delicate situation: it was imperative to secure the existence of a male heir. Moreover, Philip II was unwilling to allow Alessandro Farnese to leave the Spanish court before a final decision was made regarding his marriage.

It was Philip II's intention that Alessandro should marry someone of his own blood, so as to guarantee the loyalty of the future Duke of Parma. Philip II's chosen bride was Princess Maria of Portugal, his cousin. Spanish accounts of the time exalt Maria's ancestry:

'... el Rey puso los suyos [ojos], mudado el primer intento, en Maria de Portugal, hija del Principe Eduardo, y de Isabela de Berganza, nieta de el Rey D. Manuel: y explorados por cartas los animos de Margarita, y Octavio, fue lo mismo proponerlo el Rey, y abrazarlo todos. Porque en aquel tiempo, vestido con todas las Luzes del Oriente, era Inclyto el Nombre Portugués, por haver sacado á luz gran parte del Orbe con sus armas, igualmente piadosas, que fuertes. Y el mismo Rey Philipo descendia de aí por linea materna, como hijo, que era de Isabela, y por consiguiente nieto de Manuel: y aun havia buelto à emparentar con la misma casa, tomando por muger veinte años antes a Maria hija de Juan el III, nieta de Manuel. Por lo qual la casa de los Farneses pudo honrrarse mucho, de que de dos nietas de Manuel, la una fuesse muger de Philipo, Rey de las Españas, la otra de Alexandro, Principe de Parma. Principalmente, porque esta ultima, y Philipo havian nacido de hermano y hermana: y Maria la Portuguesa estava en el mismo grado con Philipo, y con su muger. Llegavasse por el lado materno la

⁷ Estrada (1682) 145.

⁸ Essen (1933) 93 – 94.

nobleza de los de Berganza, mezclada repetidas vezes con la sangre de los Reyes de Portugal, y en el aulico esplendor no desigual al de Rey.’⁹

The Dukes of Parma were certain that Philip’s plan would not benefit their interests. However, by then the Farnese had failed twice in finding a bride for Alessandro, and he had not yet given them a male heir. Eventually, the reluctant Farnese agreed to the marriage with the Portuguese princess.

Nonetheless, the marriage was a prestigious one for the Farnese: Maria was an important member of the Portuguese royal household, and the Portuguese crown ruled over a vast Empire. Italian sources focus on the importance and extension of the Portuguese Empire, namely its long process of expansion. Papirio Piccedi, author of the *Oratione in morte della Serenissima Signora Donna Maria di Portogallo* (1578, Parma), praised Portugal:

‘This kingdom, or rather kingdoms, of Portugal extend even beyond the frontiers of Europe, occupying vast areas, not only of Africa but also of Asia, and bordering on many kingdoms of Spain, Persia, of the lands of the sultan of Egypt now ruled by the emperor of the Turks, so that they embrace a large part of Africa and Asia. The lasting strength of these [Portuguese] kings is clear to see from their having many times conquered and subdued the Moors and other infidel peoples, not only in self-defence, but also as invaders themselves.’¹⁰

Thus, it was an honour that a member of the Farnese household should marry an important member of the Portuguese royal family. Francesco de Marchi stresses this in his *Narratione particolare delle gran feste e trionfi fatti in Portogallo, et in Fiandra nello sposalitio del’Illustrissimo, e Eccellentissimo Signore, il Sign. Alessandro Farnese, Principe di Parma, e Piacenza, e la Serenissima Donna Maria di Portogallo* (1566, Bologne).¹¹ Marchi’s point of view is that of the official line of the Flemish court, and he stresses how prestigious the match was to the Dukes of Parma and Piacenza: ‘... Dio, e sua Maestà hanno fatto questo

⁹ Estrada (1682) 145 – 46.

¹⁰ apud Bertini (2000) 54.

¹¹ This account has been edited and commented by Bertini (1997) 77 – 132.

parentado, dal quale non si può sino sperare grandezza, e consolatione all'Illustrissima casa Farnese con accrescimento di stati, e d'honori' (f. 7v).

Philip II's marriage proposal was not enthusiastically welcomed in Portugal.¹² It is true that the Farnese could not be compared to the Portuguese royal family: objectively, Alessandro Farnese's status was unequal to that of Maria, and Emperor Ferdinand had previously refused to marry off his daughters on the grounds of the illegitimacy of Alessandro's parents. On the other hand, Teotónio of Braganza (uncle of Maria and a member of the council of state) sent a letter to Ottavio Farnese saying that the council had discussed the marriage proposal, and was reluctant to support the marriage. The reason for this was that Princess Maria was high in the line of succession to the Portuguese throne, and that by marrying into the Farnese she should live far away from Portugal. This potential threat to the sovereignty of Portugal would prove to be real, years later: Ranuzio Farnese, Maria's first son, later claimed his right to the Portuguese throne when Cardinal Henrique died a King in 1580. The Portuguese had good reasons to be cautious.

Despite the opposition of the council of state, Cardinal Henrique (the regent at the time) decided to go ahead with the marriage. His was an entirely strategic decision. The attempts of the Portuguese crown to change the course of the political events in the European scene greatly depended on the significance and extension of its overseas Empire. The Portuguese crown played a leading role in the Discoveries and in the expansion of Catholicism in the new territories.¹³ Furthermore, Portugal had always presented itself as a stout supporter of Catholic orthodoxy: as early as 1497, King Manuel had decided to force Jews and Moors living in Portugal to become Christians, and ordered that those who refused to do

¹² Bertini (2000) 50.

¹³ Boxer (1978).

so should be expelled from the territory. Under João III's rule, Portugal refused to take part in the wars that opposed Christian kings in Europe, and instead focused on its military presence abroad, especially in territories under Muslim domain and influence. When the winds of Reformation were blowing in Europe, Portugal remained loyal, and it was in Portugal too that the decrees of the Council of Trent were first implemented in Western Europe under Cardinal Henrique's regency. And yet, despite the good relations with the papacy, decisions inevitably favoured Spanish diplomacy whenever a dispute involved Portuguese and Spanish interests. In fact, as time went by, Portugal and Spain became more and more competitors rather than allies, and the family connections and loyalties of both Charles V and Philip II were extremely powerful when the time came to influence diplomatic decisions.

Thus, it was important to secure and strengthen the Portuguese presence in European decision-making circles. Following in the footsteps of his predecessor, Queen Catherine, Cardinal Henrique decided to focus his attention on the Roman curia, and the Castilian, Italian and French courts.¹⁴ The marriage of Princess Maria and Alessandro Farnese presented itself as an excellent opportunity to influence Italian diplomatic circles,¹⁵ which were of paramount importance for Portugal when claiming the leadership in the expansion of Christianity. Also, the presence of Portuguese representatives in Italian political circles was essential to obtain support and secure funding for the activities of the Portuguese ambassadors throughout the whole of Europe, namely the establishment of political alliances which could effectively represent Portuguese interests. Moreover, Portuguese kings and members of the aristocracy were highly praised by the Italian aristocracy and clergy, who frequently addressed letters to the members of the royal family

¹⁴ Azevedo Cruz (1992) II 65 – 186.

¹⁵ Polónia (2010) 168.

offering their services in exchange for titles in the royal military religious orders.¹⁶ One of Sebastião's first decisions as a ruler testifies to the importance of the presence of Portugal in Italian diplomatic circles: Álvaro de Castro was sent to the Roman curia under Pius V to speed up some decisions regarding Portuguese interests, and during his journey, he spent time at the court of the new Duchess of Parma.¹⁷

Given the political significance of this matrimonial alliance, the terms of the marriage contract had to be carefully and secretly negotiated.¹⁸ A well-known figure at the Spanish court, the Franciscan André da Ínsua represented Portuguese interests in Madrid, under direct instruction of Cardinal Henrique. His presence did not arouse any suspicion, and he could negotiate directly with one of the most prestigious counsellors of Philip II, the Portuguese Rui Gomes da Silva, Prince of Éboli, and with the king's confessor. Princess Maria's uncle, Teotónio of Braganza, who was living in Madrid at the time, became involved in the negotiations, and so did Giuliano Ardinghelli, head of Alessandro Farnese's house in Madrid. From late 1563 to early 1565, several attempts were made to meet the interests of both parties. After long and painstaking negotiations between Lisbon and Madrid, eventually both parties reached a satisfactory agreement, and all the clauses of the marriage contract were signed in secret on 25th March 1565. The wedding only became official in June. According to the marriage contract, Alessandro would inherit the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza on his father's death and the Marquessate of Novara as soon as he married Maria.

Alessandro Farnese was displeased with the news of the marriage. When he learned that Princess Maria was on her way to Flanders, he publicly said he wished

¹⁶ Azevedo Cruz (1992) I 269.

¹⁷ Lima Cruz (2009) 166.

¹⁸ For a detailed account of the difficult marriage negotiations, see Carvalho (1998) 15 – 44.

the entire fleet would sink.¹⁹ Maria of Portugal was seven years his senior, and judging from contemporary sources, she was not particularly attractive. Instead, authors insist on her spiritual and intellectual qualities. In Brussels, the marriage of Alessandro Farnese and Maria of Portugal was celebrated by Nicolas de Mamer and his son, who composed two epithalamia on that occasion. Nicolas de Mamer (1500-1567) had been Charles V's chronicler, and his literary career flourished under the Emperor's reign and Philip II's rule.²⁰ In an epithalamium published in 1566, he praised the bride of Alessandro Farnese:

‘... Inclyta progenies magnorum e stemate Regum,
 Portugallensis placido moderamine regni,
 qui bene frena suae rexerunt tempore vitae,
 et sancte atque pie et multa sub pace quiete
 semper et Ecclesiae sese exhibuere fideles
 Catholicae, cuius caput est vertexque supremus
 Romanus praesul iam mox post tempora Christi:
 matura aetate, et plenis iam nubilis annis
 mittitur extremis, Eduardi est filia, terris.
 Quondam Ioannis erat Regis qui hoc nomine frater;
 magnanimi sed filius Emanuelis vterque
 Regis, qui fuerat numerosa prole beatus.’ (f. a2r)

‘...Sed quali specie, quibus et virtutibus illa
 culta venit virgo, regali stirpe creata?
 Num quae animi magis excellens an corporis extet
 dotibus insignis, ferat atque hoc munere palmam?
 Praestet et an multis utraque hac dote puellis?’

‘...Sed tamen vt mentis donum praestantius, atque
 nobilius multo quam corporis esse putatur:
 sic excellit eo tam claro haec munere virgo,
 vincat et emineat licet vtroque atque nitescat.
 Forma, decor, species, ei inest, et blanda venustas
 corporis et gracilis statura, artusque decentes,
 et simul elucet clarae hic prudentia mentis
 rara, atque insignis, iuncta et virtutibus.’ (f. a2v)

Maria's ancestry is appropriately exalted, but the text cannot help but suggest that Maria's intellectual abilities and culture made her more attractive than her

¹⁹ Essen (1933) 121. Nonetheless, and despite Alessandro's infidelities, the Dukes of Parma had a happy marriage, and had three children. When Maria died, in 1577, Alessandro refused to remarry, as his advisers suggested for political reasons.

²⁰ Mersch (1959) 299-321.

beauty. Rumours about her appearance had caused some concern, and, yet, when the Italian and Spanish entourage finally saw Maria for the first time, they were relieved and positively surprised to see how she was more beautiful than expected.²¹

Even though Maria of Portugal was not the daughter of a monarch, the Portuguese crown made every effort to honour the marriage with spectacular celebrations and popular festivities worthy of a direct descendant of kings: Cardinal Henrique was determined that the celebrations left no room for speculation as to the support of the Portuguese royal family to this marriage. Julián de Alba, royal chaplain and member of the council of state, performed the ceremony by proxy where Alessandro Farnese was represented by the Spanish ambassador Alonso de Tovar. The most prominent figures of the Portuguese royal family and court were present, including the heir to the throne, Sebastião, the regent, Cardinal Henrique, and Queen Catherine. After the religious ceremony, there was a 'sarau', a soirée where members of the royal family and of the Italian suite engaged in dancing and joyful conversation to the sound of music.

A clear sign of that royal support was the welcoming of the Flemish fleet, commanded by the Count of Mansfelt (Margaret's favourite at court), upon its arrival in Lisbon on 12th August. The Count, his wife and the members of the fleet were invited to four receptions offered by the bride's brother, Duarte of Braganza, by Constantino of Braganza (Maria's uncle, and former Viceroy of India from 1558-1561), by the ambassador of Sebastião, and finally, by the humanist Damião de Góis, who had lived in Louvain.

Also, and despite the unfavourable economic climate, and the bereavements that had struck the royal family, the festivities respected the traditions of royal

²¹ Essen (1933) 131 – 32.

marriages of the Portuguese crown, and public displays of joy and happiness were made throughout the two-week celebrations in Lisbon. The sumptuary laws then in force in Portugal were suspended, and the royal family and the aristocratic families had the opportunity to display their grandeur and opulence. The accounts of the Italian party gave particular attention to this sort of detail, as they implied the Farnese would soon share the glory of such power, magnificence and affluence. The Portuguese were especially artful in showing off their overseas Empire.

Two weeks after the wedding, public festivities took place. In general, Queen Catherine showed little interest in popular entertainments, but given the occasion she attended the celebrations and demonstrated her support to the political alliance with the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza. The traditional bullfights delighted the audience, and the people of Lisbon hastened to watch the entertainments. The combats of the knights and young men on foot against bulls made a particular impression on the members of the Farnese party; jousts and tilting matches then followed. The military power of the Portuguese aristocracy who were directly involved in creating, expanding and maintaining the empire was displayed at the festivities.²²

The opulence and vastness of the Portuguese Empire was equally displayed throughout the ceremonies and festivities. The clothes and jewels of both Princess Maria and Queen Catherine were adorned with precious and exotic gems and pearls; the influx of rich and varied products from India, Africa and Brazil was seen at the banquets: exotic meat from India was cooked by Indian chefs, and the spiced dishes had quite an impact on the foreign party unaccustomed to such delicacies. Porcelain from Asia was used at the banquets, and water from every corner of the Empire was served: from the Indus to the Ganges, from the Moluccas

²² For a more detailed account of the festivities, see Bertini (1997) 77 – 132.

to Africa and Asia. The Portuguese even claimed to have brought water from the Tiber in a clear attempt at ‘aemulatio’ of the Roman Empire.²³

Belém, which had been the setting of the arrival of the Flemish fleet, was also the setting of an emotional farewell to the bride according to historical accounts²⁴ and literary texts. Important Portuguese poets wished the Princess a safe trip in their poems, and celebrated this important royal marriage with a number of poems in Portuguese and Latin. Amongst these Portuguese poets is Diogo de Teive (1514 – c.1569), who published his *Epithalamium* in a compilation entitled *Epodon libri tres*, published in Lisbon. Teive’s poem was the only epithalamium celebrating these nuptials to be published the same year Princess Maria of Portugal and Alessandro Farnese married. Such speed was uncommon in the Portuguese book market.

This is not the only distinctive feature of Teive’s *Epithalamium*: the poem is striking due to its composite character. Epithalamic ‘topoi’, a mythological narrative, and didactic elements are combined; yet another layer of meaning is added by means of an initial section with clear religious and doctrinal implications. Teive’s *Epithalamium* is equally interesting because it seems to contain somewhat conflicting elements. Since Teive was responding to events which had just occurred, the speed of composition revealed underlying tensions in Portuguese intellectual life. In a way, as a Catholic priest and a court poet in a Counter-Reformation monarchy, Teive was being pulled in opposite directions when he composed this poem.

In the opening lines of the *Epithalamium*, the relation between the dedicatee of the poem and its subject is established: Princess Maria was the niece of Cardinal Henrique, the dedicatee of both the poem and book III of the *Epodon libri tres*.

²³ Bertini (2000) 52.

²⁴ Barbosa Machado (1736-51) II Chapter xiv.

Therefore, it is only natural to celebrate the Princess's marriage with a poem dedicated to the Cardinal, to be included in a book also dedicated to the Cardinal – the author says. Teive then justifies the choice of his topic: given that he is a priest, it is suitable to celebrate this marriage. The Biblical episode of Creation is inserted at this point of the text, and Teive describes the creation of the world and of Man by God, culminating in the institution of marriage as sacrament.

Divine protection is then requested for the royal wedding, and Teive wishes happy life to the couple and that they may bear many descendants. There follows a didactic section, which contributes to neutralizing the erotic content of a poem of this particular genre. The author proceeds to offer his advice on kingship to the future Dukes of Parma, particularly on the importance of not yielding to passion, as well as on obedience to God's will and submission to virtue while ruling. May the future Dukes be worthy of their ancestors, and known for fighting the Turkish menace, and for expanding Christianity. Teive also gives his advice to the people under the couple's rule, before he requests God's blessing with simple prayers.

At this point, Teive reverts to the manner of a traditional post-Classical epithalamium, and he inserts a mythological episode. The transition to the following section of the poem is made with the 'recusatio' of the artificiality of the poets who adopt Italian models. But this is merely a 'topos': the mythological narrative offers a poetical explanation for the royal marriage. At this point, a new character emerges in the poem, the 'vates', who sings of the council of the gods, summoned by Jupiter at Hymenaeus's request. The god of nuptials recognizes he has been unable to find a suitable match for the Portuguese Princess, and asks for the help of the gods. Jupiter then reveals that Maria and Alessandro were both in love with each other thanks to Cupid, and he orders that the two young princes marry.

The ‘vates’ sings of the celebrations and of the joys of marriage but Teive, ever the Catholic poet, refuses to reproduce the songs of the choirs of Tritons and Nereids who were to accompany Princess Maria in her trip by sea to Brussels. At the very end of the mythological narrative Teive also comments with apparent disapproval on the previous section, referring to the pagan deities as ‘figmenta veterum poetarum’ [fabrications of the ancient poets].

Finally, Teive requests the protection of the Virgin Mary for the royal couple, unlike the vernacular poets who seem freer in their Classicism. ‘Iuno pronuba’ becomes ‘Maria pronuba’ in the *Epithalamium*, and in the closing lines of the poem he wishes a safe journey to the Portuguese princess, and hopes for future glory for all the members of the Portuguese royal family, under God’s protection.

This unusual epithalamium and the book where it was published, the *Epodon libri tres*, can be better understood when looking at Teive’s life as humanist, priest and court poet. Both bring together different strands of the author’s literary career, and, in many ways, his works testify to the changes taking place in Portugal in the sixteenth century: his writings offer a unique insight on a particularly important period of Portuguese cultural and political history.

Albeit an important author (for the variety and number of his publications in his lifetime), Teive remains understudied. With the exception of Davide Bigalli’s monograph *Immagini del Principe* (1985) which discusses the political thought of the Portuguese humanist, there are no other wide-ranging discussions of his work. Moreover, scholarly interest tends to focus on the earlier stages of Teive’s life: Brandão edited his Inquisitorial ‘processo’,²⁵ and studied the tense relationship between that institution and the Colégio das Artes and its teachers.²⁶ Matos and

²⁵ Brandão (1943).

²⁶ Brandão (1948-69).

Serrão complemented Brandão's work, bringing to light new facts about the author's life abroad.²⁷

The earlier stages of Teive's career have equally attracted the attention of scholars: the historiographical *Commentarius* of 1548 has been translated several times, albeit never edited in modern times, and was subsequently studied by Sousa Rebelo.²⁸ The tragedy *Ioannes Princeps*, composed in 1554, the first attempt to stage a contemporary episode in the history of Portuguese theatre, was edited and translated by Castro Soares.²⁹ Frèches was the first to study the play in greater detail,³⁰ and Castro Soares's most recent publications (2005, 2006) do not add to her previous exploration of this play.³¹ Other researchers have compared the *Ioannes Princeps* to Buchanan's neo-Latin tragedies *Iephtes* and *Baptistes*, and António Ferreira's tragedy *Castro*.³²

On Teive's occasional writings very little work has been done. In fact, the edition and translation of Teive's *Oratio funebris* by Martins da Costa is the sole exception to this.³³ Teive's later publications of poetry have not yet merited any critical editions or studies. In fact, with the exception of those of Brandão³⁴ and Costa Ramalho,³⁵ which established the year of Teive's death in c. 1569, no studies have been devoted to the final stage of this humanist's life and career. The above-mentioned Davide Bigalli, despite having made an important contribution to the study of his work, misinterpreted some facts of this period in Teive's life, and will therefore be refuted.

²⁷ Matos (1937) and Serrão (1952).

²⁸ Sousa Rebelo (1984, 1988, 1993).

²⁹ Castro Soares (1977, 1999).

³⁰ Frèches (1964) 101 – 08.

³¹ Castro Soares (2005, 2006).

³² See Watson (1954), Frèches (1964) 69 – 80, Martyn (1986, 1987a), and Earle (1990).

³³ See Teive (1998).

³⁴ Brandão (1948).

³⁵ Costa Ramalho (1979).

This outline of the state of the art on Teive's life and publications justifies the need to embark on a broader examination of his literary career: the lack of critical studies on the author's works is evident, and is to be understood as a consequence of the reduced impact of neo-Latin scholarship on the study of Portuguese Renaissance.

This dissertation proposes to address a gap in the study of Teive's work by examining and presenting the first study on the author's poetry: the *Epodon libri tres* will be explored, and a scholarly edition and translation of the *Epithalamium* carried out. The study of the poem and this work in particular will, in turn, be informed by the analysis of the transformations in Portuguese cultural life which dominated the period between the 1540s and the mid 1560s. Teive's *Epodon libri tres* and the *Epithalamium* will be examined as representative of the ways in which humanists reacted to change in Portuguese intellectual life, from the times of King João III's humanistic project, represented in the promising foundation of the Colégio das Artes in Coimbra, to the increasingly orthodox and militant regency of Cardinal Henrique, especially in the aftermath of the Council of Trent.

Each chapter of this dissertation will, therefore, present varied methodologies, ranging from the close reading of texts to broader examinations based on a comparative perspective. Although the focus of the dissertation is mainly literary, its discussions and analyses will likewise be informed by, and shed light on the broader cultural and historical context in which Teive lived in, and wrote his works. In the course of the research, unknown manuscript poems by Teive related to the marriage of Princess Maria and Alessandro Farnese were discovered, and they also will be incorporated into the discussion.

Because the *Epithalamium* and the *Epodon libri tres* display a composite character, it is important to establish, first and foremost, in what way they are representative of the author's intellectual background and literary output. Chapter

One, therefore, starts by presenting a brief overview of Teive's formative years, and then moves on to map and explain the hitherto unexplored transformations which occurred in his career, from his *début* as an historian in the 1548 *Commentarius* to his last publication, the *Epodon libri tres* (1565). These changes will be explained both by examining the ideological, political and cultural transformations which took place in Portugal during Teive's career, and by understanding the author's status in the national literary scene.

The approach adopted in this chapter is indebted to a recent trend of critical theory: 'career criticism'. The foundational works of Kipling (*The Life of the Poet: Beginning and Ending Poetic Careers*, 1981) and Helgerson (*Self-Crowned Laureates*, 1983) have argued that authors develop (or represent the development of) their literary careers often drawing from a Virgilian or Ovidian model. Recent contributions in this field have expanded the boundaries of the first conceptual model of 'career criticism' by examining the development of the literary career of authors who *simultaneously* follow a non-literary one.³⁶ This is particularly relevant to the specific historical and cultural context of Portuguese Humanism: authors could not rely solely on patronage to pursue their careers, and those who did not possess family wealth had perforce to pursue a parallel career. Teive belongs to such category, as will be seen. In the words of Patrick Cheney,

'Authorship and agency, genre and genre patterning, imitation and intertextuality, politics and religion, sexuality and gender – all become part of a complex template for defining criticism on the idea of a literary career.'³⁷

The understanding of Teive's literary career will benefit from an approach which brings together the poet's authorial and public persona: the narrative and

³⁶ In the recent volume edited by Patrick Cheney and Frederick de Armas, *European Literary Careers: the Author from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (2002), three papers analyse the overlap of the literary and non-literary careers of Antonio de Guevara (K. Bollard de Broce), Garcilaso, Lope de Vega, and Cervantes (A. Cruz), and Marot, du Bartas and George Wither (A. Prescott).

³⁷ Cheney (2002) 12.

analysis carried out in Chapter One will emphasize how the one was conjecturally influenced by the other, but it will also prepare the ground for subsequent analysis into the textual strategies whereby Teive shapes his authorial persona: imitation, allusion and intertextuality, choice of genres and topics, and even experiments of generic enrichment in his poetry. Liminary material will be of great use to my discussion,³⁸ but exploring his texts, in particular the *Epithalamium*, will show to what extent Teive creates and authorizes his public and authorial persona as one.

The construction of Teive's persona in the *Epodon libri tres* will be explored in Chapter Two, which discusses the concepts of 'imitatio' and 'mimesis' in Teive's *Epodon libri tres*, shedding light on specific aspects of the *Epithalamium*. It will be demonstrated how Teive constructs his identity as a neo-Latin Catholic writer by means of imitation, 'aemulatio' and allusion, primarily of Horace, but also Prudentius. Part Two of the chapter will make a contribution to the study of literary theory in sixteenth-century Portugal by engaging with Teive's reflections on questions of verbal representation in the *Epodon libri tres*.

Chapter Three will take us close to the *Epithalamium*. Part One will present a summary overview of the epithalamic genre in Portugal (1500 – 1565), drawing from a comparative perspective between the vernacular and the neo-Latin traditions. This is necessary to the understanding of important aspects of Teive's poem, namely an allusion to another poem composed on the same occasion. Part Two of the chapter comprises the detailed analysis of the poem, which is indebted to the work of Stephen Harrison (*Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace*, 2007) and Francis Cairns (*Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry*, 1972). Cairns and Harrison develop their conceptual models based on Classical texts, and yet, the very nature of humanistic education and formation in Renaissance Europe (in which direct contact and exposure to Classical literature was constant) supports

³⁸ Helgerson also privileges the analysis of proems and prefaces (and prologues), and of the process of authorial self-representation in his *Self-Crowned Laureates*.

the transfer of their discussions to humanistic literature. The examination of the poem from a generic perspective will highlight its original features, namely two examples of generic enrichment which will be explained in relation to Teive's attempt to represent his authorial persona.

Chapter Four discusses one of the examples of generic enrichment of the *Epithalamium* in closer detail. Present in a very embryonic stage in Teive's first epithalamium composed in 1552, the incorporation of political advice to the newly-weds was significantly furthered in the *Epithalamium*, and can be seen as the result of Teive's standing as a humanist, and his increased interest on matters of state throughout his literary career. Part One will explore the textual mechanisms whereby Teive legitimises his status as an advisor of kings in the *Epodon libri tres*. The rewriting of Plutarch's *Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata* and the appropriation of Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani* offer a glimpse into the author's humanistic background. Part Two of this chapter analyses the political content of the *Epithalamium*, which is representative of Teive's ideas on kingship. Since Teive presents his advice in the *Epithalamium* in general terms, this analysis will bring into the discussion some of his other works, and equally compare the author's opinions on political matters with those of other contemporary Portuguese poets.

Chapter Five comprises the scholarly edition and translation of the Epithalamium, preceded by the discussion of the history of the text, the explanation of the criteria adopted in the edition and the metrical analysis of the poem. The commentary clarifies the meaning of certain passages of the poem, and explains the editorial changes made to it.

Therefore, in the course of this dissertation, the *Epodon libri tres* and the *Epithalamium* will be analysed from different perspectives. This complementary examination will illuminate broader aspects of Teive's humanism and literary career.

Chapter One

The Literary Career of Diogo de Teive

‘Quod autem tribus his libris continetur totum regium est,
nec quidpiam ex alio genere hominum commistum est.’

Epodon libri tres (1565), f. a4r

[What is contained in these three books concerns kings alone,
and I did not bring in any other kind of people.]

This short sentence points to one of the most defining traits of Diogo de Teive’s literary career. During the course of his life and career as a humanist, teacher, courtier and priest, he was extremely close to the court. Teive was one of the most complete writers of his day, and his work was considered sufficiently important to be published in his lifetime. Amongst his publications are three major works: an account of the second siege of Diu (the *Commentarius* of 1548) and two compilations, the *Opuscula* (published in Salamanca, 1558) and the *Epodon libri tres* (which came out in Lisbon in 1565, and where the *Epithalamium* was printed). Writing solely in Latin, Teive was an accomplished prose writer, playwright and poet, having authored historiography, the first tragedy ever to focus on a national and contemporary theme in Portugal, didactic and religious poetry, and occasional prose and poetry of various types. His work is also interesting because, being close to the court, he lived through the heyday of João III’s reign (1521 – 57) and the uncertain times of the regencies of Queen Catherine of Austria (1557 – 62) and Cardinal Henrique (1562 – 68).

Teive writes at an exciting moment in Portuguese history. In less than a century Portugal had changed dramatically. From a small and peripheral kingdom in the western tip of Europe, Portugal had become a nation with vast domains which extended over three continents, opening up to modernity looking simultaneously to

the new world and to the Old Continent.³⁹ The Discoveries had changed the map of the world, and brought prosperity to the kingdom. Avoiding the wars which devastated Europe and which set Christian kings in opposition, Portugal remained sheltered from the turmoil of religious dissent which spread in other countries. Under King João III and the regencies of Catherine of Austria and Cardinal Henrique, Portugal lived in peace, both internally and with other European nations, thus concentrating its military efforts in the expansion and maintenance of the empire, especially in territories under Muslim domain and influence. The royal family, head of an empire, progressively concentrated power in its own hands, and thus needed qualified bureaucrats to manage and maintain the overseas territories, and to serve Portuguese interests in the European diplomatic circles.⁴⁰ King João III would become the first Portuguese ruler to undertake serious educational reforms to meet the growing needs of the empire, but, before that, he provided financial support to Portuguese students, so that they could complete their studies in Paris, fostering the establishment of cultural relations with the elite of European humanism, and narrowing the cultural gap between his kingdom and the rest of Europe.⁴¹

In this political context where royal power was increasingly centrally enforced, as in the rest of Europe, in Portugal too court culture became more and more important in the promotion of the crown. Cultural production, often associated with members of the royal family, shaped a particular image of the royal family,

³⁹ Silva Dias (1973: 341 – 60) explores these transformations brought about by the Discoveries and the cultural contacts with the European Humanism (and the later influence of Counter-Reformation upon Portugal). The volume edited by Bethencourt and Ramada Curto (2007) is the most comprehensive in its approach to the overseas expansion and its cultural impact.

⁴⁰ As Teive himself explicitly says in his *Oratio funebris*; commenting on the creation of the Colégio das Artes, he describes it as the ‘praestantissimae Reipublicae seminarium, cum ex honesta disciplina sanctaque institutione viri optimi ac sapientissimi proficiscuntur quibus postea sine periculo, res tota credi possit.’ [the seed of the most flowering Republic, as from its honest teaching and holy education come the most excellent and wise men, to whom in future the state can be trusted, with no peril.] (f. 23v).

⁴¹ See Silva Dias (1969).

an image which the royal family itself helped to promote. As Trevor-Roper notes in the introduction to his study of patronage in the Habsburg domains, ‘princely courts ... took over both the production and the direction of art, and made it serve their propaganda and their prestige,’ and specific ideas were expressed both indirectly, through commissions and patronage, and directly, through the personal conviction of artists and writers alike.⁴² During the final stage of King João III’s reign and the regencies of Catherine and Cardinal Henrique, different cultural expressions shaped and promoted a specific ideological image of the Portuguese crown both at a national and international level: an image of Empire and power, humanistic culture and progress, Catholicism and devotion.⁴³

This section of the dissertation will present an overview of Teive’s literary career at different stages of his life and of Portuguese intellectual and political life. It will be argued that the aforementioned three components of this ideological image are increasingly present in Teive’s work. By identifying particular patterns of patronage of different members of the royal family and of Portuguese aristocratic and religious elite, attention will be drawn to the decisive role of different patrons in Teive’s life and career as teacher, priest and court poet, highlighting the author’s relations with the main political protagonists of his time. Though primarily concerned with the development of Diogo de Teive’s career, I will establish parallels with the author’s public career and with the broader context of literary production in Portugal to demonstrate the representative character of his work. The choices and changes in his career leading up to the publication of the *Epodon libri tres* will be explained. This overview of his work is important,

⁴² Trevor-Roper (1976) 8. Equally important studies on patronage and ideology under Charles V have been authored by Checa (1992, 1999).

⁴³ On Portuguese court culture and political representation see Alves (1986). For a survey on the relationship between ideology and architecture, see Muchagato (1993). Jordan (1994, 2000) discusses patronage of the visual arts and ideology in *Quinhentos Portugal*.

because Teive brings together different facets of his public persona and strands of his literary career in the ambitious *Epodon libri tres* and *Epithalamium* of 1565.

I.1 The Formative Years

Knowledge of Teive's formative years has been made possible thanks to inquisitorial bureaucracy: his 'processo' contains important information which will be complemented here. Born in 1513 – 14 in Braga, Teive left his homeland at the age of twelve to study abroad at the Collège de Saint-Barbe, where Portuguese scholars were educated thanks to the grants awarded by King João III. Teive's father was keen that his son should not read Theology, and against the wishes of the principal, Diogo de Gouveia Senior, Teive left and went to Salamanca to study civil Law (1532 – 34). He was disappointed by Salamanca – he felt there was insufficient knowledge of Greek at the University, and decided to return to France: in Toulouse he continued the study of Law but met with financial difficulties for he was no longer entitled to his scholarship.⁴⁴ The growing tension between Charles V and Emperor Francis I led to the persecution of Spaniards in Toulouse.⁴⁵ Because Portuguese and Spaniards were often confused, Teive felt endangered, and he gladly accepted André de Gouveia's (1497 – 1548) invitation to teach at the Collège de la Guyenne, in Bordeaux, in 1536, of which Gouveia was the distinguished principal.⁴⁶ Teive taught both grammar and rhetoric at the highest level, whilst continuing his studies of Greek and Law. In 1538 he went to Paris, where he made contact with the 'lecteurs royaux' of the Collège Royal.

⁴⁴ Serrão (1970) 53 – 61.

⁴⁵ Brandão (1943) 465.

⁴⁶ Gorris Camos (2001) examines the career of André de Gouveia in France and in Portugal in detail.

After a short trip to Gascony, where Teive prepared the sons of two noblemen for entry to the University, he returned to Paris, but soon left for Montauban (in the summer of 1541), again to teach in the university. This teaching post allowed him to pay for his future studies of Law at the University of Poitiers (1542). A year later, André de Gouveia invited Teive to return to Bordeaux, to the Collège de la Guyenne.⁴⁷

There Teive meet George Buchanan, and forged a close friendship with the Scotsman, who evoked Gouveia and Teive as his close friends in his *Hendecasyllabon liber* (Incipit: ‘Si quicquam, Goveane, fas mihi esset’).⁴⁸ When Buchanan was already in Paris in 1544, he composed an elegy (IV of the *Elegiarum liber vnus*) dedicated to Teive and Ptolomé de la Taste, complaining of a severe illness.⁴⁹ Teive is addressed as ‘altera pars animae ... meae’, and later in the poem, Buchanan laments that Teive cannot keep him company in that moment of distress and suffering:

‘At neque Tastaesus, nec Tevius assidet ore
suaviloquo longum qui vetet esse diem.’

The amiable tone of the poem, considered one of the most personal in Buchanan’s poetry, reveals the affection between the two humanists, later reunited at the Colégio das Artes in Coimbra.⁵⁰ It was in 1544 that Teive was invited by King João III to teach at the Colégio das Artes, prior to which he was expected to help his friend, André de Gouveia, to organise the team of staff to go from France to Portugal.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Brandão (1948) I 262 – 98 provides detailed information about this period of Teive’s life abroad.

⁴⁸ Buchanan (1609) 114 – 15.

⁴⁹ Buchanan (1609) 75 – 78.

⁵⁰ For Buchanan’s relation with Portuguese humanists in France, Teive in particular, see Ford (2001) 49 – 50 and 57.

⁵¹ Brandão (1948) I 497 – 505.

The monarch's long planned institute of higher education was finally coming into being to form the new intellectual and administrative elite of the Portuguese empire. Teive returned to Portugal in 1547, and with him came a prestigious group of international scholars: Buchanan, Elie Vinet, Nicholas de Grouchy, Guillaume de Guérente and Arnould Fabrice. Well-known Portuguese academics included André de Gouveia, João da Costa and Teive himself, who was responsible for the teaching of both Latin and Greek. Appropriately, King João III's plan of creating an institute of higher education capable of competing with the European universities was celebrated in the dedication of Teive's first book.

I.2 Teive, the Historian and Prose Writer

(1548 - 1555)

Teive's début as an author is representative of the optimistic cultural atmosphere of that time in Portugal. In 1548, the *Commentarius* appeared in Coimbra, commissioned from Teive by King João III himself.⁵² This is an account of the siege of Diu, a Portuguese citadel in the south of Cambay, which, under the command of João de Mascarenhas, suffered months of heavy fighting against the army of Khoja Safar, an Italian rebel of Albanian origin who had served Mahmud Shah, former ruler of Cambay, and who had been nominated Lord of Gujerat. After months of fighting, Portuguese reinforcements, led by João de Castro, arrived in Diu and succeeded in defeating the Gujerat troops in one of the most memorable feats of Portuguese arms in India.

In the dedication to the King, Teive comments on the monarch's project of humanistic renewal in Portugal in terms which are not entirely exaggerated:

⁵² The best and most complete modern translation is in Portuguese: Teive (1995).

‘Quamquam alioqui quicumque ex literis fructus prouenit, iure optimo ad te pertinere videatur: qui Lusitanos tuos ante in hoc genere incultos, humaniorumque disciplinarum pene expertes, maximis tuis sumptibus, summo studio ac diligentia excoli erudirique iussisti. ... iam inde a felicissimis regni tui principiis Lutetiam omnium bonarum artium altricem optimae cuiusque indolis quam plurimos selectos iuuenes, ad capiendum ingenii cultum mittere curasti. Hoc fuit literarum in Lusitania indies magis ac magis pullulantium seminarium. ... Voluisti igitur, vt non solum rei militaris gloria, qua semper nostri homines floruerunt, sed etiam literarum dignitate ciues tuos excellere, quibus vt nihil in rebus humanis praestantius inuenitur, ita nihil tibi maius debere possumus: cuius benignitate studioque effectum est, vt Lusitaniae expulsa finibus barbaries exularet, totiusque humanitatis cultus pro illa retineretur.’ (iii)

[Since some fruit, whatever it is, is born from the study of the letters, rightly it should seem that it belongs to you: for you ordered your Portuguese, before uncultivated in this sort of matters, and virtually destitute of the study of human knowledge, to instruct and educate themselves with great zeal and diligence at your considerable expense. ... From the very beginning of your felicitous reign you took care to send a selection of many young men of excellent character to Paris, nourisher of all the fine arts. This was a seedbed by which letters in Portugal have flourished more and more by the day. ... So, you wished your citizens to excel not only in the glory of their military achievements, in which our men have always distinguished themselves, but also in the dignity of letters; since nothing else exists more important in respect to man, we cannot therefore owe anything more important to you: thanks to your generosity and efforts, you have achieved the expulsion of barbarity beyond the borders of Lusitania, and in it the preservation of the study of every kind of literary elegance.]

Not only does Teive praise the King’s plan, he also subtly presents himself as a result of this royal enterprise: indeed, Teive had been one of those ‘plurimi selecti iuuenes,’ a ‘bolseiro’, who had spent time in Paris, learning and cultivating himself. The reader is led to infer from Teive’s own words that he too, like the other ‘bolseiros’, excelled in the dignity of letters. Teive’s views on the royal plan of forming the cultural elite of the country in the heart of Europe could not be better, since Paris is praised as a dynamic humanistic centre. It is important to bear in mind that the *Commentarius* was a historiographical work which celebrated the military achievements of the Portuguese in India, a work which is representative of a broader tendency in sixteenth-century printing in Portugal: the publication of historical accounts. According to Borges Macedo, of a total of 66 historiographical works published in Portugal from 1500 to 1599, 21 were published between 1546

and 1555.⁵³ And yet, in the dedication Teive pays little attention to the military feats which took place in Diu: he is far more interested in the cultural development fostered by King João III, and in linking his status as a writer to his project of humanistic renewal.

This dedication is also relevant because it is the only occasion in Teive's literary career where he comments on his exclusive use of Latin. Linguistic choice in the sixteenth century in Portugal was an important question. The Portuguese court was bilingual due to the repeated matrimonial alliances with Spain, and Portuguese writers were equally comfortable in writing in both Portuguese and Spanish.⁵⁴ In the collection of court poetry known as the *Cancioneiro Geral* compiled by the writer Garcia de Resende in 1516, approximately a seventh of the total number of poems are composed in Spanish.⁵⁵ Also, according to Buescu, 15% of the total number of works published in Portugal in the sixteenth century was written in Spanish.⁵⁶ Still, these two languages were not exclusive, and many authors composed their literary texts in Latin. Sixteenth-century Portuguese authors could, therefore, choose from no less than three languages.

In the dedication to King João III, Teive explains his reason to write in Latin. His account of the siege of Diu is written in Latin, '... vt res ab ipsis prospere, ac fortiter gestae *omnium* si fieri posset *linguis* legerentur' [so that their [of the Portuguese] successful and brave achievements could be, if possible, read in the *languages of all* – my emphasis].⁵⁷ The universal character of Latin was of key

⁵³ Borges Macedo (1975) 204, table 5.

⁵⁴ Buescu (2004).

⁵⁵ Vásquez-Cuesta (1988) 43 – 44.

⁵⁶ Buescu (2005) 249 n. 4.

⁵⁷ Teive (1548) i. Latin, Teive adds in the opening lines of his dedication, is equally suitable for subject-matter at once heroic and novel:

'Cum interea *Commentarius* rerum nuper in India gestarum mihi oblatu est: quem vbi perlegissem, existimaui me multis de causis operae precium facturum, si res quae in eo continerentur latinis literis mandarem: quae tantae ac tales sunt: vt non minus ex magnitudine admirationem, quam ex nouitate gratiam sint consecuturæ.' (i-ii)

importance in this occasion, and here Teive is possibly referring to the possibility of his Latin account being translated into the vernacular languages of Europe.⁵⁸ However, the existence of a national audience interested in neo-Latin literature has been firmly established.⁵⁹ This intellectual elite had been educated in humanistic circles and cultivated Latin, a readership formed essentially by learned aristocrats and clergymen. Being a member of the cultural elite himself, Teive writes solely for an elite readership when he chooses to write in Latin some of his minor works published in 1563-64,⁶⁰ dedicated to members of the Portuguese aristocracy who would be unknown to the European public. Despite the fact that not all the works written by Teive are meant for an international audience, it is legitimate to say that his most important publications are, amongst these the 1548 *Commentarius*, the 1558 *Opuscula* and some of the texts of book III of the *Epodon libri tres*, including the *Epithalamium*.

In 1548, Teive saw himself as a historian, and so did his peers. In the dedication of the *Commentarius*, Teive announces his intention to dedicate to King João III a ‘universa rerum Lusitanicarum historia’ [complete history of Portugal].⁶¹ It is likely that this statement inspired one of the authors of the liminary poems which accompany this edition of the *Commentarius*. In his poem dedicated to Portugal (‘Ioannis Costae ad Lusitaniam, *Carmen*’), Costa praises King João III for his achievements, and continues:

[In the meantime, an account of the recent events in India was brought to me: when I read it, I thought I could carry out something valuable, for many reasons, if I rendered in Latin the things which that account contained, for they are of such grandeur and such nature, that they will obtain no less admiration for their greatness than approval for their novelty.]

⁵⁸ As had happened with the account of the first siege of Diu, published in Latin by Góis, which was subsequently translated into German and Italian. See Hirsch (1967) 141.

⁵⁹ See for their variety and scope Matos (1956) and Sánchez Tarrío (2009).

⁶⁰ See below, Chapter 1.4 (43 – 45).

⁶¹ Teive (1548) iv.

‘Additus his scriptor summus: cui tradita cura est,
Teuius, aut potius Liuius eloquio.’ (vi)

By composing a complete history of Portugal from its beginning to the contemporary overseas empire, Teive would be following in Livy’s footsteps. Costa’s statement would only make sense in a specific cultural and political context, in which the historical ‘realia’ of the overseas expansion and the cultural renovation fostered by King João III appealed to the cultural memory of a generation of humanists. George Buchanan also speaks of Teive as a historian in his liminary poem dedicated to King João III (‘Ad eundem Invictissimum Regem de hoc commentario Georgius Buchananus’):

‘... Vna aberatque, oberatque tuis Mors saeva triumphis,
carpere victricem scilicet ausa manum.
Et comes huic tenebris nisa est obliuio caecis
fortia magnanimum condere facta ducum:
Donec Apollineis se Teuius induit armis:
et spolia e victa Morte superba tulit:
victurisque iubet chartis iuuenescere, vitae
prodiga pro patriae pectora laude suae:
proque aeui paucis, quos Mors praeciderat, annis
reddit ab aeterna posteritate decus.
Iure ergo inuictus Rex es: quando omnia vincens
accessit titulis Mors quoque victa tuis.’ (v)

In his poem, Buchanan goes even further than Costa, when he highlights the role played by writers in preserving the memory of the achievements of the Portuguese king for posterity. Such is his confidence in the power of literature – and in Teive as a writer.

At the Colégio das Artes power struggles soon affected the daily life of the institution, and after the sudden death of André de Gouveia (the first principal) in June 1548, King João III succumbed to the pressure of the conservative group led by Diogo de Gouveia Senior. At the time when Teive was replacing Gouveia as

head of the Colégio,⁶² an investigation into the activities in France of Teive, Costa and Buchanan was ordered by the Inquisition in 1549.⁶³ They were under suspicion for their liberal religious views, and subsequently were subject to a ‘processo’ before the Inquisition in Lisbon. They were all accused of Protestantism. In particular, Teive was accused of possessing a copy of Calvin’s *Institutio Christiani Religionis*, and of being a Lutheran: at this point in the trial, Teive’s dangerous personal relations with unorthodox persons were recalled. Teive, Costa and Buchanan were convicted, deprived of their posts, and imprisoned, but Teive was released after a short period.⁶⁴

His fall from grace was a short one. He soon moved to Braga to start an ecclesiastical career, and the Archbishop, Baltasar Limpo, was very pleased with his commitment to his new way of life. Teive’s conviction had done little harm to his relationship with the royal family either, and soon in 1552 he was appointed to the prestigious office of principal of the Colégio das Artes by King João III, where he delivered the nuptial oration which celebrated the marriage of the heir to the throne, Prince João, published with a *Carmen* in hexameters.⁶⁵ Eventually, Teive handed the institution over to the Jesuits in 1555 when the monarch made his final decision regarding it. Teive was effectively barred from teaching at the Colégio, above all because he was not a Jesuit.⁶⁶

From Coimbra he went to Lisbon to seek the help of the royal family. He was successful in becoming one of King João III’s many chaplains, and was given the benefice of the royal priory of Vila Chã da Braciosa in Miranda do Douro.⁶⁷ It has been argued that Teive was sent away from the court due to his past problems with

⁶² Brandão (1948) I 626.

⁶³ For an account of their activities, and the investigation which ensued see Brandão (1948) II 1 – 107.

⁶⁴ For a detailed account of the ‘processos’ of Teive, Costa and Buchanan, see Brandão (1948-69) II 109 – 1028.

⁶⁵ Teive (1553).

⁶⁶ Brandão (1948) II 905 – 08.

⁶⁷ Brandão (1948) II 961 – 71.

the Inquisition,⁶⁸ but this is, in fact, incorrect. Vila Chã was a wealthy parish, and the only one in the royal priory available.

Teive was still seen as a historian in the late 1550s. The important vernacular poet and playwright António Ferreira, a dear friend from the days in Coimbra, with whom he was reunited in the final years of his life,⁶⁹ dedicated an epistle to him (c. 1557) when he was living in the solitude of Miranda do Douro :

‘No teu verso latino nos renova
ora outro Horácio, ora outro grande Maro;
na grave prosa Pádua, Arpino enova.

Por ti começou já ser grande, e claro
o português império; igual aos feitos
no mundo raros teu estilo raro.

Encheste d’esperanças nossos peitos.
Não nos detenhas encubertos tanto
altos exemplos de obras, e conceitos.

Enquanto assi estás livre, Teive, enquanto
te não chama tua sorte ao que mereces,
cria ao português nome amor, e espanto,
ledo, e confiado do que em ti conheces.’ (ll. 184 ff.)⁷⁰

In his Epistle, Ferreira refers to the publication of the *Commentarius* (ll. 187-88), after encouraging Teive to enjoy his time away from the busy Lisbon, and to continue to write in Latin, experimenting with different literary genres (ll. 186 – 87). His confidence in Teive’s ability as a writer is clear (ll.188-89), although, as Earle points out, a certain irony pervades this text: Ferreira abhorred Lisbon and the hustle and bustle of city life, and, yet, he was an active writer. Teive, on the other hand, was not writing at all in his ‘santo ócio’ of Miranda do Douro (l. 64).⁷¹

⁶⁸ Bigalli (1985) 162.

⁶⁹ Ferreira (1528 – 1569) is one of the most important Portuguese humanists and writers of sixteenth-century Portugal. His life and work have attracted the attention of many scholars: a modern edition of his complete works was carried out by Earle (1990). For complete studies on the author’s life and work, see Roig (1970) and Earle (1988). Ferreira also dedicated an eclogue, ‘Tévio’, to Diogo de Teive (see Ferreira (2000) 185 – 89).

⁷⁰ Ferreira (2000) 338.

⁷¹ See the commentary by Earle: Ferreira (2000) 599-601.

Indeed, Teive never published his history of Portugal,⁷² and so the *Commentarius* is the only book entirely written in prose published by Teive in his lifetime.⁷³ Teive also included some texts in prose in his *Opuscula* of 1558 (all of them previously written and publicly delivered), but by then a decisive shift in the author's career was taking place – from 1558 onwards, Teive's publications consist mostly of occasional poetry. The reasons for this change are both external and personal, but before we can explain them it is necessary to look at the wider context of royal patronage in Portugal. It will be argued that Teive was establishing his own space in the broader literary scene in Portugal.

I.3 The *Opuscula* (1558): a Work of Transition

In the remote Vila Chã, life so far away from the court and the 'conuiuium' with other humanists proved hard for Teive. His isolation would only be partially relieved with the publication of the *Opuscula* in nearby Salamanca in 1558. This is, in many ways, a work of transition in Teive's publication career, and this change should be first explained by the transformations which were gradually taking place in Portuguese intellectual and cultural life.

An analysis of works published in Portugal and of works published by Portuguese authors abroad⁷⁴ reveals that the majority of works commissioned by, or dedicated to the members of the royal family fall into two categories: on the one hand works of political content, such as chronicles of Kings, political treatises,

⁷² In the *Epodon libri tres*, Teive excuses himself, saying that he had been unable to find the time and the inspiration to write this book (f. a5r).

⁷³ Teive is also credited with a translation of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* into Latin. According to Mesquita e Quadros (1762) xii, this translation (which was never published) was lost in a fire caused by the 1755 earthquake in Lisbon.

⁷⁴ Based on the publications of Anselmo (1977), Ruiz Fidalgo (1994), Earle (2009) and Wilkinson (2010).

historiographical accounts of the expansion of the Empire, and occasional literature related with the royal family; and, on the other hand, works with a religious content (liturgical, theological, and spiritual). Fictional literary texts, as well as technical books on law, medicine or other sciences are also amongst the corpus of works dedicated to members of the royal family, but their number is significantly lower. Between 1521 – 65, there are dedications to all the major members of the Portuguese royal family, but clearly King João III and Cardinal Henrique are the most frequent dedicatees and commissioners of works.

As Serrão points out, in this period, historiographical works are almost exclusively concerned with the celebration of the overseas empire. Before the turn of the seventeenth century, almost 70% of the total number of this type of works published in Portugal focussed on the expansion in Asia.⁷⁵ And if Teive's début as an author, his *Commentarius*, is one of the very first examples of this, the *De bello Cambaico ultimo commentarii tres* (published in Louvain, in 1549, also on the second siege of Diu, like Teive's *Commentarius*) by Damião de Góis⁷⁶ and João de Barros's monumental *Décadas da Ásia* confirm this trend in Portuguese literature of the expansion.⁷⁷ This great interest in the history of the expansion demonstrated by Portuguese authors, particularly in the second half of the sixteenth century, confirms the construction of an ideological message associated with the royal family. In this context, the memory of the dynasty was celebrated, especially of King Manuel's reign when the expansion reached its climax with the arrival of Vasco da Gama in India in 1498. Two historiographical accounts of his reign were commissioned, both by the most popular Portuguese authors of that time, widely read in Europe: certainly commissioned years earlier, Góis's

⁷⁵ Serrão (1980) 211-402.

⁷⁶ Góis (1502 – 1574) was a brilliant humanist and one of the most important neo-Latin prose writers in sixteenth-century Portugal, and whose career (of international reputation) has been studied in detail by Hirsch (1967) and Torres (1982).

⁷⁷ Barros (1496 – 1570) is one of the most important sixteenth-century Portuguese historians. For his career and work, see Borges Coelho (1997) and Andrade (1980).

Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emmanuel appeared in 1566 at the request of Cardinal Henrique, who also commissioned a second chronicle, in Latin, from the prelate Jerónimo Osório:⁷⁸ his extensive *De rebus Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniae gestis* (1571, Lisbon) draws heavily from Góis's own work. So, Teive had at the time to compete against two historians of international fame.

Jerónimo Osório also distinguished himself as a writer of political treatises, and his *De Nobilitate Ciuili et Christiana* (1542), dedicated to Prince Luís, gained him international fame for his fierce attack on Macchiavelli.⁷⁹ To King João III, Osório dedicated his *De Gloria* (1549), and finally to his grandson and heir to the throne his *De regis institutione et disciplina* (1571).⁸⁰ These three titles are representative of a trend which had begun earlier in the first half of the sixteenth century in Portugal: the proliferation of political treatises. Buescu links this trend to the centralisation of power in the hands of the royal family and to the spirit of Counter-Reformation with its presentation of ideal role models, often embodied by the kings of Portugal.⁸¹ These works contributed to the ideological construction of the Portuguese crown as the head of the overseas empire and a stout defender of Catholicism.

Teive himself would never write political treatises in prose, but the works published in book I of the *Epodon libri tres* deal directly with the exercise of royal power, as we shall see.⁸² That Teive felt the need to claim his own position within this particular literary field sheds light on the author's subsequent literary career.

⁷⁸ Bell (1933) remains the authoritative study of Osório's life and career. Further explorations of his treatises were made by Castro Soares (1994). For the reception of Osório abroad, see Earle (2004).

⁷⁹ For a discussion of Osório's contribution to the anti-Machiavellian debate, see Anglo (2005) 143-63.

⁸⁰ Modern translations of Osório's works appeared recently by Guimarães Pinto: Osório (1996); Osório (2005a) and Osório (2005b).

⁸¹ Buescu (1996) 41-46.

⁸² See Chapter 1.4 (51).

The analysis of the prologue of the *Opuscula* is particularly revealing in this respect. Addressing Cardinal Henrique, Teive justifies his decision to compose the

Institutio:

‘Quod ego Ioanne principe vita perfructe aggredi statueram, vt de Christiani principis perfecta institutione dialogum ad imitationem Platonis, et illius, quem M. Tullius scripsit de perfecto oratore, opus meo iudicio perfectissimum, tribus item libris complecterer. Sed nunc erit mihi felicissimi Regis nostri Sebastiani aetas maturior expectanda, dum ea quae in opere illo continebuntur percipere ac intelligere possit.’ (ff. 5r – 5v)

[For, when Prince João was still alive, I had decided to compose a work on the perfect education of the Christian prince, in a dialogue fashioned upon Plato’s or on that which Cicero wrote about the perfect orator (a perfect work, as far as I can see), a work which would also comprise three books. But now, it is necessary for me to wait until Sebastião, our most gracious King, comes to be of an older age so he may understand and comprehend the questions contained in that work.]

Teive’s planned dialogue on the education of Prince João⁸³ is exactly what Osório’s *De regis institutione et disciplina* is: a dialogue on the education of the prince. Despite having been published in 1571, it is certain that this work was carried out many years before – Guimarães Pinto argues convincingly that it was completed between 1562 and 1564,⁸⁴ so it is plausible that Teive had some knowledge of Osório’s treatise, or perhaps that he knew that Osório was working on a new dialogue (as all his previous treatises dedicated to the members of the royal family), this time discussing the education of princes.

It is worth highlighting that, although Osório’s text is dedicated to Prince Sebastião, nowhere in the main body of the text are questions specific to Portuguese reality approached. This abstract conception, typical of Osório’s works, is reflected on the title of the book which does not identify its dedicatee. Having spent his formative years abroad like Teive, and being a clergyman also like Teive, Osório’s international success offers an interesting contrast. This abstract theorization so typical of Osório’s texts was certainly one of the main

⁸³ Despite what Teive says, in the current state of research, there is no known manuscript evidence or historical information to support that he ever wrote such a book.

⁸⁴ Guimarães Pinto (2005) 15-22.

reasons why he became so appealing to the European audience. His readers could find comprehensive discussion of the topics without the need to be well-informed on Portuguese political life to understand his arguments and examples. On the other hand, the title *Institutio Sebastiani Primi* is an indication of the opposite characteristic of Teive's works: they are firmly related to Portuguese historical and political life, and their understanding greatly depends on the reader's knowledge of the life of the Portuguese court. Surely this was an important cause of Teive's lack of editorial success abroad.

To summarise, the option of writing the *Institutio* as a brief poem, which Teive presents as a concession to the child-prince in the prologue of the *Opuscula*, may have been influenced by Osório's successful literary career. In fact, Teive never wrote this dialogue on the education of the prince, and in 1565 he published a revised edition of the *Institutio*. In the *Epithalamium* too Teive includes such advice, a sign of Teive's constant interest in political matters.

By the end of the 1550s, Góis and Osório had completely taken over the field of neo-Latin prose writing. There was no Portuguese poet of similar international fame at the time, with the exception of André de Resende (1498? – 1573), a well-travelled and brilliant polymath, who is best known today for his study of Iberian archaeology, the *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae*. Like Teive, Resende was also a learned clergyman and a friend of António Ferreira, and he composed occasional as well as religious poetry throughout his long career, counting amongst his dedicatees several members of the royal family, such as Cardinal Henrique, and the bishop Julián de Alba.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ For a study of Resende's neo-Latin poetry, see the edition by Martyn (1998), which has an updated biography and overview of the author's career (1 – 14). For Resende's relationship with Ferreira, see Martyn (1987b).

Royal patronage was equally active in the particular field of ephemeral literature, and this certainly appealed to a man like Teive. The Portuguese crown was aware of the potential of this type of literature in the construction of its ideological image, and (despite the limits of sixteenth-century Portuguese printing) a number of works of occasional literature were published on particular public events of political significance, such as solemn opening of the ‘cortes’, and death, birth or marriage of members of the royal family. According to Borges Macedo, of a total of 98 works dealing with contemporary events (including occasional literature) published in the sixteenth century, a significant 54 appeared between 1546 and 1570.⁸⁶ There seemed to be great interest in this particular field, and room for a man of Teive’s intellectual abilities. This is all the more the case since Teive was close to the royal family.

Thus, the *Opuscula* are a work of transition, and they mark an important evolution in Teive’s literary career. His taste for the ephemeral, for the events and lives of the main political protagonists at court found in his mastery of Latin an important ally, as Teive composed his works very quickly: he authored the tragedy *Ioannes Princeps* in less than a fortnight;⁸⁷ a mere twenty-one days separate the death of the Archbishop Fernando de Vasconcelos and the ‘imprimatur’ given by the Inquisition to the *Deploratio* which mourned the death of the prelate in 1564.⁸⁸

Teive’s preference for occasional literature can be simultaneously explained by more personal reasons. He rarely refers to himself in his poetry. Teive feels more comfortable writing about others in his texts, and his is a poetry firmly grounded on reality. None of his surviving texts is purely fictional, and when he tries to write in a fictional register in the *Epithalamium* there is a clear uneasiness about it.

⁸⁶ Borges Macedo (1975) 204, table 5.

⁸⁷ The tragedy’s subject-matter is the death of Prince João (on 2 January 1554). In the text, there are references to the pregnancy of the Prince’s wife, Juana of Austria, and the imminent birth of their posthumous son, Prince Sebastião, born in 20 January 1554.

⁸⁸ Brandão (1948) II 1025.

Also rare are the moments when Teive reflects on literature or poetic representation, unlike some of his peers. If it is clear that Teive's readership is the elite, it is also clear that he writes of others for others. The presence of names such as Góis and Osório in the field of neo-Latin historiography and didactic prose may have influenced this shift in Teive's career as an author, but his preference for occasional literature certainly suited his personality. With the publication of the *Opuscula* Teive reinvented himself as an author, presenting himself as a poet for the first time, something which never changed in his literary career thenceforward.

In this compilation of works, dedicated to Cardinal Henrique, most of the texts were commissioned on the occasion of particularly important public events in Portugal, and relate to the members of the royal family, either directly or indirectly. Also, the political meaning of this collection is clear, as is its ideological message. The texts are good examples of propaganda in support of the crown's power and role in the nation's cultural development; of the political and economical significance of its Empire; of the moral and religious standards of its members who ruled over a country which had not experienced religious division at the hands of heretics or the associated political instability, as had happened in neighbouring Spain where the book was published.

In his lengthy dedication to Cardinal Henrique, Teive praises the 'munificentia' of King João III and Queen Catherine, though hinting at the lack of suitable intellectual company for a man like him in Miranda.⁸⁹ The reader senses he misses the life of the court. When recommending his work to the Cardinal, Teive appeals to his support:

'Sed regium hoc opus, cur enim regium non appellem, quod clarissimorum Regum laudes totum continet? ad quem potui melius, quam ad Regis filium Regisque fratrem, regiis virtutibus ornatissimum regnique cum sapientissima Regina sapientissimum moderatorem,

⁸⁹ Teive (1558) f. 2r.

reuerendissimum atque integerrimum Cardinalem, literarum ac literatorum decus ac praesidium mittere?’ (f. 5v)

[But this royal work (why should I not call it royal, since all of it contains the praise of the most illustrious kings?) to whom else could I dedicate it than to the son of a king and the brother of a king, adorned with royal virtues, the most wise regent of the kingdom with the most wise queen, the most reverend and most honest Cardinal, honour and protection of letters and of men of letters?]

Alluding to Horace’s *C.* 1.1.2, where Horace addresses Maecenas as ‘praesidium et dulce decus’, Teive is appealing to the Cardinal’s patronage, actively representing himself as a poet whom great men had trusted. When describing the contents of the *Opuscula* in the dedication, Teive again and again highlights the fact that most of the texts were directly commissioned by the members of the royal family. Also, after the death of King João III, the country would have to rely on Cardinal Henrique to continue the work of his predecessor in promoting the ideals of humanism in Portugal. Teive stresses the importance of continued support to the development of the ‘bonarum artium studia’ in Portugal, so that the Cardinal could ‘achieve immortal glory by preserving and expanding the study of the fine arts.’⁹⁰ Teive links his own career as a writer to the broader context of the development of intellectual life in Portugal, and particularly to the political protagonists of such development in the hope of guaranteeing support for his future.

The title page of this compilation informs the potential reader that this work contains ‘works in praise of João III, King of Portugal, and his son, and his brother Prince Luis, and also of the grandson of this King, Prince Sebastião’. The opening text, the ‘*Oratio in laudem Ioannis tertii Lusitaniae Regis*’ was delivered publicly in Coimbra. The second text is the ‘*Oratio funebris in laudem Ioannis tertii*’, composed and delivered in 1557 on the occasion of the King’s death. In 1552, the heir to the throne, Prince João married Philip II’s daughter Juana, and Teive

⁹⁰ I am paraphrasing Teive’s own words: Teive (1558) f. 8r.

celebrated their wedding with the ‘*Oratio in laudem nuptiarum Ioannis ac Ioannae Lusitaniae Principum*’ and a ‘*Carmen*’, both delivered and published in Coimbra (1553). These latter two texts were reprinted in the *Opuscula*, followed by the ‘*Oratio funebris in laudem Ioannis illustrissimi Lusitaniae Principis*’ (again delivered in Coimbra) and the author’s only surviving play, the *Ioannes Princeps* (never performed at court). The death of Prince Luís, brother of King João III, in 1555, was the public event which motivated the ‘*Epistola, qua Antonium illustrissimum Principem in morte patris Ludouici Regis fratris consolatur*’ (Antonio was his illegitimate son and had been a student at the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra). There follows the ‘*Institutio Sebastiani Primi*’, dedicated to Francisco de Sá de Meneses,⁹¹ the tutor of the deceased heir to the throne, who was expected to be appointed tutor of Sebastião⁹² – his first text of didactic poetry, a genre he will resume later in his life, with significant expression in the 1565 *Epodon libri tres*. The last text of the *Opuscula* is an epistle to André de Noronha, a distinguished member of the Portuguese Church who was close to the court: in this ‘*Epistola ad Andream Noronam clarissimum virum de statu rerum Hispanicarum*’, Teive criticises war between Christian kings, namely between those of Spain and France, a ‘topos’ also present in other texts published in the *Opuscula*, e.g. in the ‘*Oratio funebris in laudem Ioannis tertii*’, where the king’s decision not to wage war against other European nations, despite the many reasons to do so,⁹³ is praised at length.

⁹¹ For the significance of Sá de Meneses (1523? – 1584) in the context of Portuguese humanism, see Esteves (1998) and Fardilha (2008) 103 – 20.

⁹² In the end, it was the Jesuit Luís Gonçalves da Câmara who was appointed as Sebastião’s tutor and confessor. See Azevedo Cruz (1992) I 96 – 99 and 214 – 15. Luís’s brother, Martinho, was a pupil of Teive – a liminary epigram composed by him was printed in the edition of Teive’s ‘*Oratio*’ (1553) publicly delivered on the occasion of the marriage of Prince João.

⁹³ Among them, French piracy which was a great cause of concern and of ruin to the Portuguese ships in the Atlantic, as well as the dispute with the Spanish crown over the Maluka Islands and the embarrassing voyage by Magellan on behalf of the Spanish.

Between 1558 and 1563 Teive was, once again, silent. Cardinal Henrique appears not to have been moved by Teive's dedication and appeal to support his career. Certainly, life in Miranda do Douro would not have given him the privilege of inside information about the events taking place at court. In the 1558 *Opuscula* there is a three-year time gap between the epistle on the death of Prince Luís (composed in 1555) and the last two texts, which were certainly composed in 1558. This compilation is Teive's first book of occasional literature (prose, drama and poetry), but in a retrospective manner, as most of the texts had been written years before they were published.

However, things changed dramatically around 1563. In the final months of 1560 a new bishop was appointed to Miranda do Douro: Julián de Alba, a Spaniard and one of the men Queen Catherine most trusted.⁹⁴ The new bishop, though a competent prelate, was more comfortable at court than fulfilling his religious and pastoral duties in the remote Miranda, and his presence in the council of state is a clear indication of his influence and of his status. Moreover, he was a patron of letters, and a friend of humanists such as André de Resende and Sá de Meneses (the addressee of Teive's *Institutio*). It is not entirely clear what de Alba's exact role was, though it is highly likely that it was thanks to his influence that Teive returned to Lisbon in 1563 – the following year, the Spaniard ceased to be bishop of Miranda. In the prologue of book I of the *Epodon libri tres* (1565), Teive acknowledges his debt to him:

‘Nunc autem hoc opus tibi dedicandum existimaui, tum quod tibi nostra Teuorum familia plurimum, ego mea omnia debeo, et accepta refero, tum etiam quia rerum sacrarum apud regem nostrum praefectus es amplissimus et ab illius latere vix unquam recedis, teque ille perlibenter audit et tuis sapientissimis monitis auscultat. Addam etiam te literarum et literatorum hominum valde studiosum esse, eosque summis beneficiis exornare, domique tuae in omni genere doctrinae claros ac praestantes viros alere, quorum conuictu ac familiaritate vehementer delectaris. Qua propter haec tibi dedicanda censi, ut singularem animi mei

⁹⁴ For the career and cultural contacts of this prelate, see Silva Terra (1975).

propensionem erga te testificarer ... Vale Antistitum ornamentum, decus et praesidium meum.⁹⁵

[For I thought that I ought to dedicate this work to you, not only because the entire Teive family owes you very much, and for my part I account to your credit all that I possess, but also because you are also the influential spiritual director of our king, and you almost never leave his presence, and he listens to you with great pleasure, and gives ear to your most wise advice. And I will add to this that you take great interest in the letters and in the men of letters, that you distinguish them with great honours, and that in your house you maintain men who are illustrious and eminent in all sort of knowledge, enjoying their company and their society. For that reason, I was of the opinion that I ought to dedicate this work to you, to publicly testify my singular affection for you (...). Hail, glory of the prelates, my honour and protection.]

As in the dedication to King João III and to Cardinal Henrique, Teive's praise of the dedicatee positively reflects his status as a writer: Teive was one of these men supported by Julián de Alba's patronage, now enjoying his company. Again, the quotation of *C.* 1.1.2 at the very end of the prologue points out to a relationship of patronage between Teive and Julián de Alba, reflecting Teive's ambitious self-representation. It can be said with certainty that in 1563 Teive had definitely returned to Lisbon, and his literary work from this point onwards testifies that he is back in the political life of the court.

⁹⁵ Teive (1565) f. a4v-5r.

I.4 The *Epodon libri tres* (1565):

Teive, the Court Poet

Upon his arrival in Lisbon, Teive soon resumed his publication career having authored several minor works in 1563 – 64. It should be stressed that circulation in manuscript was particularly important in Portuguese literary circles.⁹⁶ Therefore, works chosen to be printed were most likely those which would appeal more to both the dedicatees and the readers of that time, and Teive's success in the publishing scene in Portugal in the early 1560s is a clear indication that he was considered an important writer, and that the subject-matter of his works was relevant. In the slim volumes published immediately after he departed from Miranda, there is a distinctive preference for religious themes, a tendency he seems to share with his contemporaries.⁹⁷ The scope of his dedications broadened. Teive no longer limited himself to seek the support of the royal family, and he included members of the high aristocracy and important ecclesiastical figures as his dedicatees.

The first book Teive published in 1563 was the *Mortis meditatio in funus Theodosii Brigantiae ducis*. The volume contains a poem, composed on the death of the 5th Duke of Braganza, Teodósio, dedicated to the 1st Duke of Aveiro, João de Lencastre. The houses of Braganza and Aveiro were the most important aristocratic families of that period, and were also renowned for their support of the intellectual elite.⁹⁸ There was public rivalry between the two houses over matters of power,⁹⁹ and with his *Mortis meditatio* Teive appears as a conciliatory figure,

⁹⁶ See, especially, Buescu (2003) and Ferreira (1992).

⁹⁷ This preference can also be observed in the private libraries of members of the royal household, aristocracy and high clergy. See Buescu (2007b) 162 – 63.

⁹⁸ Matos (1956).

⁹⁹ Sousa (1946 – 55) XI: 27, and Azevedo Cruz (1992) I 84 – 90.

trying to bring the two families together at a time of grief. In 1565, he will act in a similarly conciliatory way at a more important political level.

By 1564, Teive had been made a ‘canonicus’, which we learn from the title page of one of the two slim volumes he published that year. The first to appear was the *Tumulus in mortem Michaelis Menesiis, Marchionis Villae Regalis*, which opens with a poem on the death of Miguel de Meneses, 4th Marquis of Vila Real. His sister, Juliana de Lara, was married to the 1st Duke of Aveiro, and for this reason poems dedicated to the members of the family of the Duke of Aveiro are included: to the Duke and Duchess, as well as to his two legitimate sons, Jorge and Pedro Dinis. In a period of two years, Teive dedicated poems to the members of the house of Aveiro twice. This indicates a possible attempt on Teive’s part to seek support in his literary endeavours from the house of Aveiro. His friend António Ferreira too dedicated many of his works to the members of this prestigious family in the final years of his life,¹⁰⁰ testifying to a growing proximity between the two writers.

The book closes with a poem typical of Teive’s ability as a writer and of his role as a priest: the ‘*Deprecatio ad Iesum Christum cruxifixum*’ was composed on Ash Friday at the request of Queen Catherine’s confessor, the prestigious Luis de Granada, at the time when the Marquis was approaching death.

The second of Teive’s publications that year was the *Deploratio consolationi admista in mortem Ferdinandi Menesii archiepiscopi Vlissiponensis* (Lisbon), composed after the death of Fernando de Meneses, the Archbishop of Lisbon. The title page confirms that Teive was, by then, a ‘doctus et canonicus author.’ There is good reason to believe, as Costa Ramalho argues, that Teive was a ‘canonicus’ in Lisbon and not in Miranda do Douro,¹⁰¹ as he acknowledges the debt of the Lisbon congregation towards the deceased Archbishop using words which suggest that he

¹⁰⁰ On Ferreira’s dedications to the house of Aveiro in this period see Earle (2000) 569.

¹⁰¹ See Brandão (1948) II 1024 – 26.

was one of its members.¹⁰² Thanks to the study of the *Epodon libri tres* it is possible to further Costa Ramalho's conclusions, and confirm that in 1565 Teive was a priest in the important Augustinian monastery of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon. In a hymn dedicated to this Spanish martyr and patron of Lisbon, which is included in book II, Teive states: 'Tui ipse templi nunc minister infimus,/ parumque dignus sum sacerdos...' [I myself am now a humble servant of your temple, and a scarcely worthy priest] (f. 137r).

The growing importance of religion in Teive's literary work deserves attention, as it is related to the status of the author, but also (and significantly) because it shows how Teive is responding to changes in Portuguese political and intellectual life.

In 1548, the younger Teive showed no interest in his *Commentarius* in explaining the triumph of the Portuguese troops as the consequence of a miracle, or of the justice of the Portuguese cause in waging war against Muslims, as other authors of his time did when writing about the same events.¹⁰³ The religious justification for the overseas expansion is virtually absent from the *Commentarius*, with the exception of a brief reference in the dedication, where Teive praises King João III as 'foris iusto, ac pio bello fines propagantem' [expanding the kingdom's domains abroad through just and pious war].¹⁰⁴

Teive's remaining publications appeared when the author was already a priest. That there is a growing interest in religious matters after that, should, therefore, be no cause for surprise, but this turn in Teive's literary career reflects a trend visible also in the intellectual production of his Portuguese contemporaries. The respect for Catholicism and devotion of the members of the Portuguese royal family and

¹⁰² Costa Ramalho (1979) 3-4.

¹⁰³ Sousa Rebelo (1993); see also Sousa Rebelo (1984), especially 483-85.

¹⁰⁴ Teive (1548) i.

of the nobility, and their role in protecting and expanding Christianity are important aspects of an ideological image present in Teive's works, and in the general literary production of the second half of the sixteenth century in Portugal. In fact, the importance of religion and especially of *orthodoxy* in intellectual life will gradually increase as the failure of the humanistic ideals is confirmed in the 1550s, and as the spirit of Trent imposes itself on Catholic countries.

Works of religious content (either theological or liturgical) are predominant in the corpus of books printed in Portugal in the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁵ According to Borges de Macedo, of a total of 1904 books published in Portugal in the sixteenth century, 735 present theological, liturgical or moral content.¹⁰⁶ This tendency becomes more evident from the late 1530s onwards, a decisive decade in the ideological inflection of Portuguese cultural life, and a decade of change for Cardinal Henrique, the dedicatee of Teive's *Opuscula* and of book III of the *Epodon libri tres*. Of those 735 books, 629 were published between 1536 and the turn of the century.

In 1536, King João III finally succeeded in bringing the Inquisition to Portugal, having appointed his brother, Henrique, then Archbishop of Braga, as 'Inquisidor-Mor' in 1539. In 1540, Henrique was nominated Archbishop of Évora, and five years later made Cardinal by Pope Julius III, who opened the Council of Trent that same year, and who was the great grandfather of Alessandro Farnese.

Before he was appointed 'Inquisidor-Mor', Henrique was a renowned patron of letters, offering his protection and his financial support to several important humanists of that time. Among them, was the mathematician Pedro Nunes, his former tutor,¹⁰⁷ who dedicated his *Libro de Algebra en Aritmética e Geometria* (1567, Louvain) to him. Also, other distinguished humanists directly supported by

¹⁰⁵ Buescu (2005) 252.

¹⁰⁶ Borges Macedo (1975) 204, table 5.

¹⁰⁷ Polónia (2005) 57.

Henrique were Góis and the Flemings Nicolas Cleynaerts (Clenardus, 1495 – 1542, a distinguished Hellenist and a Hebrew scholar)¹⁰⁸ and Jan Was (Johannes Vasaeus, ? – 1550, an active historian),¹⁰⁹ both future teachers in the Colégios of Évora (from 1533) and Braga (1538), created by the Cardinal.¹¹⁰ They came to Portugal recommended by the above-mentioned André de Resende, who at the time corresponded with Erasmus and authored an *Encomium Erasmi* (1531, Louvain).¹¹¹ This cultural openness shown by Henrique in the 1530s gradually disappeared. As has been pointed out by one of his recent biographers, over the course of the following decades, Cardinal Henrique continued his relevant practice of patronage, but his priorities changed:

‘As responsabilidades eclesiásticas assumidas ao longo da sua carreira e o seu cada vez maior comprometimento com os destinos religiosos do reino parecem influenciar uma evolução nas suas posições culturais, de que a ligação aos padres jesuítas e o gradual afastamento dos intelectuais humanistas constituem prova inequívoca.’¹¹²

As ‘Inquisidor-Mor’, Henrique had greater responsibilities in enforcing orthodoxy. With the Inquisition, intellectual production was now subject to numerous constraints in Catholic Europe.¹¹³ The Inquisition was present in every aspect of cultural reception, production, and formation, thanks to strict control over every aspect of the production, printing, distribution and selling of books, as well as of public and private libraries of nationals and foreigners living in Portugal, both on entering and leaving the country.¹¹⁴ Thus, the Inquisition operated as a tool of ideological control, and its first actions against the cultural

¹⁰⁸ On the work of this important humanist, see Cerejeira (1949).

¹⁰⁹ Was’ *Chronici Rerum Memorabilium Hispaniae tomus prior* was first published posthumously in 1552. See Rodríguez Peregrina (1988).

¹¹⁰ Cornil (1984) studied the career of both Cleynaerts and Was in Portugal.

¹¹¹ Sauvage (1971) has studied the author’s Erasmianism.

¹¹² Polónia (2005) 56 – 57.

¹¹³ For a comparative discussion of the control mechanisms of the Portuguese, Spanish and Italian Inquisitions, see Bethencourt (2009) 221 – 45.

¹¹⁴ A modern edition and study of the Inquisitorial ‘indices’ of forbidden books in Portugal has been carried out by Bujanda (1995); for the use of preventive and repressive censorship see pages 34-51.

elite of the time sent out a clear warning that the times had changed. 1544 was the year of the first ‘autos da fé’ in Lisbon witnessed by the King and the Queen, and in 1545 Fernão de Pina, humanist and ‘guarda-mor’ of the royal archive of the Torre do Tombo was arrested and tried (and finally convicted in 1550).¹¹⁵ Góis, on the other hand, was denounced to the Inquisition in 1550, but no formal accusation was made against him by the Inquisition in the end.¹¹⁶ Years later, the hand of the Inquisition would reach the Colégio das Artes. The trial of Teive, Buchanan and Costa was an important landmark in the history of sixteenth-century intellectual life in Portugal for its symbolism: orthodoxy triumphed over the King’s project of decisively (but, in the end, briefly) opening Portugal to the European circles of humanism. In 1557, confirming that the times had indeed changed, Teive (feebly) praised King João III for bringing the Inquisition to Portugal.¹¹⁷

Cardinal Henrique’s growing concern with religious orthodoxy and the change in his priorities as a patron of letters are reflected by the type of literary works he commissioned from the late 1540s onwards, as well as by the texts which were dedicated to him then.

Both André de Resende’s *Breuiarium Eborense* (Lisbon) and António da Gama’s *Tractatus de sacramentis prestandis ultimo supplicio damnatis* (Lisbon)¹¹⁸ were published at his request. In 1549, the renowned theologian and jurist Martin de Azpilcueta Navarro¹¹⁹ authored the introduction of the *Manual de confessores e penitentes*, a book published ‘por comissam do Infante Cardeal Inquisidor

¹¹⁵ Drummond Braga (1989).

¹¹⁶ Nonetheless, these accusations were compiled and used in the final trial of 1570, when Góis was convicted and imprisoned. See Rego (1971), and a full analysis in Hirsch (1967) 208-20.

¹¹⁷ Teive (1558) f. 34v.

¹¹⁸ I quote the abbreviated form of the titles of these works. Complete references may be found in the Bibliography.

¹¹⁹ Arigita y Lasa (1998) remains the most complete study of the author’s life and career.

mayor'. In his catalogue of sixteenth-century Portuguese printing Anselmo includes the *Lembranças pera auisar dalguns erros e descuydos em que muytas vezes caem os confessores*, published 'por mandado do Reuerendissimo e Serenissimo Principe o Cardeal Iffante' (no date is given for this title¹²⁰). João Álvares's historical work, *Chronica dos feytos, vida, e morte do Infante Santo Dom Fernando, que morreo em Fez* (Lisbon, 1577), an account of the final days of Prince Fernando, who had died in captivity following a heavy defeat suffered by the Portuguese in the African fortress of Fez, was revised for publication by Jerónimo de Ramos, at the request of Cardinal Henrique. In 1557, Tommaso de Vio Cajetan's *Summa Caietana* was also translated by the theologian Pablo de Palacio, who taught at Coimbra, 'por mandado y com aprobacion del Reuerendissimo y Serenissimo S. Dom Henrique'. This list of titles commissioned by the Cardinal reveals his interest in works with liturgical and ritual content, as well as theological.

Works dedicated to him fall in the same categories, and, for that reason, I shall be brief: the *Cathecismo ou doutrina christãa e praticas spirituaes* (Braga, 1564) was dedicated to him by the Portuguese Dominican Bartolomeu dos Mártires (1514 – 90), who had an active role in the sessions of the Council of Trent between 1562 – 63 (he presented over 250 petitions at Trent), and who on his return to Portugal in 1564 would be the first prelate to apply the Tridentine decrees in his diocese of Braga.¹²¹ Finally, a lengthy dedication to Cardinal Henrique authored by Luis de Granada¹²² can be read in the *Treynta y dos sermones*, translated into Spanish by Juan de la Cruz (Lisbon, 1558).

¹²⁰ Anselmo (1977) catalogue number 349.

¹²¹ For the life, intellectual legacy and pastoral activity of this post-Tridentine prelate, see Rolo (1964, 1977) and Marcocci (2009).

¹²² This important Dominican (1504 – 1588) lived in Portugal during the majority of his adult life. The most complete work on Granada's life and work in Portugal appeared by Rodrigues (1988). For his privileged position at the Portuguese court, see 51 – 61. Borges (2009) has studied the reception of his works in the Iberian Peninsula.

The Cardinal's role in Portuguese intellectual life was, thus, now inseparable from his duties as Archbishop of Lisbon and head of the Inquisition, and similarly to his contemporaries Teive will bear that in mind in his dedications to the Cardinal, as will be seen in detail with regard to the *Epithalamium*.

The dedications of Teive's *Epodon libri tres* shed light on a different aspect of Portugal's public life in the second half of the sixteenth century, a particularly delicate moment in the history of Portuguese political life.¹²³ Queen Catherine carried out the role of regent for five unstable years, and was severely criticised for favouring Spanish interests at court.¹²⁴ Her disagreements with the Cardinal were notorious, and in a skilled tactical manoeuvre the Queen abdicated in favour of Cardinal Henrique, only to gain control over the future king, the young Sebastião. Nonetheless, she continued to show a great interest in politics, and tried to influence the course of political life a great many times under the Cardinal's regency.¹²⁵ Only a few months after the publication of Teive's *Epodon libri tres* Cardinal Henrique tried to force the prince to become king before he came of age to annul the Queen's political influence, but Sebastião was forced to reject the plan by the Queen herself.¹²⁶ The tension between the two members of the Portuguese royal family led to the formation of a council with supporters of both Catherine and Cardinal Henrique in 1569. Julián de Alba would be one of the members of this council, being a supporter of the Spanish Queen.

In 1565, when Teive published his *Epodon libri tres*, the dispute between the Queen and the Cardinal caused concern. Refusing to take sides in this internal conflict, Teive appears instead as a promoter of harmony at court, bringing the protagonists of political tension together as dedicatees of his work.

¹²³ A description of the contents of this work can be found in Chapter 5.1 (211 – 13).

¹²⁴ Buescu (2007) 330 – 48.

¹²⁵ Buescu (2007) 349-82.

¹²⁶ Buescu (2007) 353 – 54.

Book I is dedicated to the ‘Maecenas’ Julián de Alba, the man whom Queen Catherine trusted to defend her interests. It includes the *Sententiae*, a poem where Teive provides advice to the future king by way of short maxims, which is followed by the second edition of the *Institutio*.¹²⁷ Book II, the central section of the work, is dedicated to the future King Sebastião – it includes a series of hymns dedicated to the martyrs and patron saints of Portugal, a sign of how concerned Teive is with presenting himself as an orthodox writer.¹²⁸ Finally, in a conciliatory gesture, book III, which contains the *Epithalamium*, is dedicated to Cardinal Henrique. In the prologue of this book, Teive acknowledges the Cardinal’s role as regent and prelate, again resorting to Horace in his address to the dedicatee, as he had done in his dedication to Julián de Alba in book I:

‘Possum equidem optimo iure illud Horatianum in epistola illa peruulgata ad Augustum Coesarem (Princeps Serenissime) nunc in medium adducere.

“Cum tot sustineas ac tanta negocia solus,
in publica commoda peccem
si longo sermone morer tua tempora”.’ (III f. q 2r)

[I could indeed, Serene Prince, include here, with total justice, that phrase of Horace from his famous letter to Augustus Caesar:

Cum tot sustineas ac tanta negotia solus
... in publica commoda peccem
si longo sermone morer tua tempora.

“Seeing that you alone carry the weight of so many great charges,
I should sin against the public good
if with long talk I were to waste your time.”]

Teive is quoting ll. 1 and 3-4 of Horace’s *Ep.* 2. 1., dedicated to Augustus.¹²⁹ The implied comparison with Augustus is rather fitting in the context of the regency of Cardinal Henrique: after the death of the heir and the King, and the abdication of Queen Catherine, the Cardinal was left to govern the country, adding this to his religious and pastoral duties, and his function as ‘Inquisidor’. This

¹²⁷ Both texts will be analysed in detail in Chapter 4.1 (especially 157-67).

¹²⁸ The relationship with Prudentius’s *Peristephanon* is explored in Chapter 2.1. (69-70, and 74-77).

¹²⁹ The use of Horace’s text has other relevant implications for the construction of Teive’s authorly persona, which will be discussed in Chapter Two.

comparison with Augustus also merits attention for another reason. A possible comparison with Maecenas would put the Cardinal and Julián de Alba at the same level, and Teive is quite careful not to do so. Also, as we are told in Horace's epistle, Augustus was recognised for his services to Rome during his lifetime, and certainly it would please the Cardinal that Teive chose to quote from this epistle, widely used in Latin prefaces. The desire not to take too much of the Cardinal's time due to his great responsibilities, borrowed directly from Horace, accounts for the brief prologue of book III (just 2 ff.) when compared to the extensive prologue of book I (8 ff.). But what is more relevant is what is implied by the use of this text.

According to Suetonius's *Vita Horatii*¹³⁰ (available in many Renaissance editions of Horace), the Roman poet had composed the epistle to Augustus after the emperor complained that he had not mentioned him in his recent works.¹³¹ In 1565, seven years had passed since Teive had last published a text dedicated to Cardinal Henrique. Having dedicated his publications of 1563 and 1564 to the house of Aveiro, Teive tactfully excuses himself for the absence of dedications to the Cardinal. The learned Renaissance reader would appreciate how the use of the *Vita Horatii* in this particular instance, coincidental with facts of the author's life, is instrumental to the construction of Teive's authorial persona.

¹³⁰ The *Vita Horatii* was part of the section entitled *De poetis* included in Suetonius's *De viris illustribus*. Fraenkel (1957) 1 – 23 analyses this text in detail, and Holland (2001) 53 – 60 discusses the different editions of the *Vita* in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, and its appropriation by early-modern French writers.

¹³¹ I quote from Roth's edition:

'Scripta quidem eius usque adeo probavit mansuraque perpetua opinatus est, ut non modo Seculare carmen componendum iniunxerit sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique, privignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere; post Sermones vero quosdam lectos nullam sui mentionem habitam ita sit questus: *Irasci me tibi scito, quod non in plerisque eius modi scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris; an vereris ne apud posteros infame tibi sit, quod videaris familiaris nobis esse?* Expressit Eclogam ad se, cuius initium est:

*"Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,
Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes: in publica commoda peccem,
Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar."*(1909: 297 – 98)

Resuming the description of the contents the *Epodon libri tres*, the opening set of texts of book III is all directly related to Cardinal Henrique and his entourage. The first is the extensive didactic poem *De perfecto Episcopo*, the ‘perfect bishop’ being modelled upon its dedicatee. The text was certainly composed in 1564, at a time when the nomination of Cardinal Henrique for bishop of Lisbon was about to be made public, as pointed out by Costa Ramalho.¹³² The ‘Congratulatio de Serenissimo principe Henrico dum Vlyssiponensem Archiepiscopum accepit’ is dedicated to the above-mentioned Luis de Granada, who is representative of an interesting aspect of the Cardinal’s intellectual activity: his role as author of spiritual books.¹³³ Luis de Granada, himself a distinguished author of spiritual literature, urged the Cardinal to print his own *Meditações e Homilias sobre alguns mysterios da vida de Nosso Redemptor e sobre alguns lugares do Sancto Evangelho* (Évora, 1564?), a book which achieved editorial success, with six editions before the turn of the century, in Portuguese and in Latin, in Portugal and abroad. Teive drew inspiration from this work (specifically, ff. 30r-31v) to compose the next poem of book III, the ‘*Ode in illa verba Euangelii: Si vis potes me mudare*’. It is in this group of poems that Teive included his *Epithalamium* celebrating the marriage of Princess Maria and Alessandro Farnese, this being the last poem of book III dedicated to the Cardinal.

The second group of texts is dedicated to the family of the Duke of Aveiro, as in Teive’s publications of 1563 and 1564. Teive gives the house of Aveiro an important status in his work, by including these poems in book III dedicated to the

¹³² Costa Ramalho (1979) 3 – 5.

¹³³ See Rodrigues (1988). Bujanda (1995) points out that the Inquisition in Portugal was more tolerant towards authors of spiritual books than in Spain, which may be explained by the personal interests and preferences of Cardinal Henrique; see especially 102 and 117 – 18.

regent, Cardinal Henrique. This option merits explanation. The two regents are represented in the *Epodon libri tres*, as is the King himself. The house of Aveiro had in the recent years become increasingly important in the political scene, and the fact that the poems are included in book III, dedicated to the Cardinal, and not in book I dedicated to Julián de Alba, is an indication that the house of Aveiro was a supporter of the Cardinal in his disputes with Queen Catherine. It is known that the Queen had tried to hinder the political rise of the house of Aveiro, whilst also keeping the house of Braganza out of the main political decisions of her regency.¹³⁴ Cardinal Henrique, on the other hand, had quite the opposite attitude towards these two important aristocratic families, as the personal commitment of the Cardinal in marrying Princess Maria (daughter of Isabel of Braganza) to Alessandro Farnese illustrates.¹³⁵

In the *Epodon libri tres*, the set of poems dedicated to the members of the house of Aveiro starts with an ode, entitled ‘*Ab aulicis tumultibus ad ruris tranquillitatem senibus maximus esse secedendum*’. The poem was dedicated to the Duke of Aveiro: wanting to see his title made hereditary, and facing many disappointments, he spent a long time away from court. In this poem, the Duke is compared to Emperor Diocletian and to Charles V, who had retired to Yuste in the final years of his life. Again, the conciliatory Teive brings the house of Aveiro and Queen Catherine (Charles V’s sister) together. Significantly, in the central section of the poem Teive addresses the Duke of Aveiro in a third and final Horatian allusion to patronage (‘o praeclare Maecenas’, f. 50r). To the Duchess Teive dedicates an extensive ‘*Contemplatio in verba quae Iesus Christus Deus noster protulit*’, a poem of clear religious content which suited Teive’s status as a priest. The following texts are interesting too, as Teive appears before the reader endorsing the pretension of the recently-founded house of Aveiro that their title

¹³⁴ Buescu (2007) 339 – 40.

¹³⁵ See the Introduction.

should be made hereditary. The heir of the house of Aveiro, Jorge de Lencastre (Marquis of Torres Novas during his father's life), is the dedicatee of one ode where he is advised to offer his services to the heir to the crown, and to protect him in the battlefield. Teive recalls the example of João de Lencastre, the Marquis' father, who had been made Duke by King João III, for his services to the crown. The last text of this group is dedicated to the second son of the Duke, Pedro Dinis. Bearing in mind that the title of Duke of Aveiro was quite recent, Teive's text again expresses the poet's view on the pretensions of Jorge de Lencastre: the title 'Virtus origo nobilitatis' is quite telling in this particular context.

Book III ends with a celebratory ode on the defeat inflicted on the Turks in the siege of Malta in September 1565, one of the most important historical events of that year in Europe. Teive shows no concern to link this text to the Portuguese context: it would have been easy to have done so, bearing in mind the military efforts carried out by the Portuguese in the North of Africa, and that the presence of the Turks was an impending menace to the security of Europe. Garcia de Toledo, the Spanish Viceroy of Sicily, who came to the rescue, is appropriately portrayed as the hero of the day.

At this point it is important to recall Teive's ambitions of becoming an internationally acclaimed author. The *Opuscula* had been published in Salamanca, but did not grant him fame, for the reasons I explained before. It is highly probable that in 1565 Teive was considering the possibility of publishing abroad again, and some of the texts included in book III of the *Epodon libri tres* would suit this project, namely the 'De perfecto Episcopo' (dedicated to the regent), the 'Congratulatio' to Luis de Granada (well-known in Europe), the *Epithalamium* (which, as a literary work, is much different from the *Carmen* of 1552, and is more to the taste of the European public) and finally the Ode on the siege of Malta, where Portugal is nowhere present. Material reasons also contribute to this

hypothesis: book III has a different pagination from books I and II, and it also presents a different title page.¹³⁶ Also, there is a separate prologue in book III (book II does not have a prologue), much shorter than the prologue of book I, suggesting there may have been a last-minute change in Teive's plans for the publication of the poems, something which Teive handled successfully. What may have led to the publication of these texts as book III of the *Epodon libri tres* is unknown in the current state of research. Nonetheless, it may be pointed out that by 1565 Teive had been living in Portugal for more than twenty years, and he might have lost any foreign contacts he had established during his erratic years in France and Spain. Moreover, in Lisbon, Teive was far away from any foreign printing centre.

This description of the *Epodon libri tres* reveals that Teive was preparing for his future at court, and Horace plays a decisive role in the negotiation of patronage. Teive dedicated texts to all the relevant figures of the political and cultural scene of the country, and the choice of Horatian allusions and quotations in this context is significant for it results in the strengthening of his status as author. If Teive had been distinguished with the patronage of the Duke of Aveiro, Julián de Alba and Cardinal Henrique, then soon it would be the turn of King Sebastião himself. Teive's omissions are equally interesting. It is known that Queen Catherine was a patron of the visual arts and not of letters, so the absence of direct references and dedications to her is understandable. Sebastião is the only major political figure who is neither addressed nor alluded to in the Horatian lines previously discussed. It is also significant that book II, specifically dedicated to him, lacks a prologue. Certainly, the prince was too young at the time to be a patron, but that does not prevent Teive from recommending his work to the future

¹³⁶ See Chapter 5.1 (210).

king in a number of liminary poems. The absence of references or allusions to patronage related to Sebastião is to be understood as Teive's incentive to the future King to become his patron.

I.5 The Final Years (1565 - ?)

After the publication of the *Epodon libri tres* Teive did not publish again for unknown reasons. Ramalho has proved that Teive was still alive in 1569,¹³⁷ when he composed an epitaph on the occasion of the death of Jerónimo Cardoso, another Portuguese humanist.¹³⁸ There is good reason to believe that Teive intended to continue to publish his works. In the prologue of book I to Julián de Alba, Teive talks about his plans for future publication:

‘Spero ... vt permultas epistolas quas longo iam ante tempore ad insignes et praeclaros viros, ad imitationem Horatii scripsi: quam plurimas item odas, et epigrammata ..., etiam tumulos, et epitaphia illustrium quorundam virorum, et foeminarum duos tresue libros redigam, ac postea in lucem edam.’ (f. a 4r-v)

[I hope ... to compile in two or three books, and then publish the great many epistles to noble and illustrious men I wrote a long time ago, in the imitation of Horace, as well as the innumerable odes, and epigrams, ... and elegies, and epitaphs of certain illustrious men and women.]

This has a strong resemblance to the contents of Ferreira's *Poemas Lusitanos*. Published posthumously in 1598, it included: Sonnets, Epigrams, Odes, Elegies, Eclogues, Epithalamium on the marriage of Princess Maria and Alessandro Farnese, Epistles, Epitaphs, Tragedy *Castro*.¹³⁹ That the two friends were certainly in contact in the final years of their lives is proved by the inclusion of a liminary

¹³⁷ Costa Ramalho (1979).

¹³⁸ The epitaph can be found in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa F.G. 6368, f. 328v. For Cardoso, see below Chapter 3.1 (114 – 115).

¹³⁹ I acknowledge that Teive does not mention pastoral poetry here, but that only confirms the fact that he was not comfortable with writing texts which are purely fictional.

poem by Ferreira in f. 49v of the *Epodon libri tres*, thus establishing solid ground for an inter-textual interpretation of the epithalamia both authors composed in 1565.

Further to Costa Ramalho's discovery of the epitaph to Cardoso, I have found manuscript evidence which corroborates Teive's statement that he intended to continue publishing. From these findings we can guess he had been an active poet ever since his return to the court in 1563. In ms. F.G. 6368 there is another text authored by Teive in ff. 332v-333r, dedicated to Rodrigues Sanches (brother of the dedicatee of the epitaph).¹⁴⁰ An epigram by Teive was printed in the edition of Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcelo's *Comedia Aulegrafia*, published in 1619 (Lisbon).¹⁴¹ Finally, at the Biblioteca D. Manuel II in Vila Viçosa, a series of eight poems was preserved in a manuscript bound into a copy of the 1564 *Tumulus* (shelfmark BDMII 279).¹⁴² Teive addresses Princess Maria (b. 1521), praising her virtue and dedication to patronage,¹⁴³ but he also consoles her niece, Princess Maria, the future Duchess of Parma, encouraging her at a time when the marriage negotiations had reached an impasse.¹⁴⁴ Only a man of status would allow himself the liberty of composing such verses given the secrecy involved.

There are periods of silence in Teive's literary career as has been discussed before, and most likely death surprised the author when he was preparing another collection of texts. 1569 was the year the plague took the lives of many important Portuguese intellectuals. In the current state of the investigation it is impossible to go any further without embarking on speculation, but it is certain that Teive had

¹⁴⁰ Incipit: 'An unicuique suum est sidus, an bona vulgo'.

¹⁴¹ Incipit: 'Inscribunt alij morituris nomina chartis'.

¹⁴² Including an earlier version of the ode on the siege of Malta. For a description of this ms., see Chapter 5. 1 (208 - 09).

¹⁴³ Incipit. 1: 'Cur Maria Illustri Regum de stirpe creata'; 2: 'Ducere te multi, tu nubere nulli,'; 3: 'Miratur quidam nulli quod sponsa marito'; 4: 'Cur Maria Princeps orta claris Regibus'. See Chapter 5.1 (208-09).

¹⁴⁴ Incipit. 1: 'Catarina nupta maximo Brigantiae'; 2: 'Sit tua nupta soror, sit Dux, populisque beata'; 3: 'Si nubas, Regi nubes, sic fata jubebunt'. See Chapter 5.1 (208-09).

died by 1579, the year Pedro Sanches composed a poem preserved in the same manuscript F.G. 6368 BNL, entitled ‘Carmina de poetis Lusitanis ad Ignatium Moralem’. As Costa Ramalho first argued,¹⁴⁵ in that poem Teive is listed among those who are no longer amongst the living:

‘Tevius attollit speciosae frontis honorem,
qui Senecam verbis, et multo pondere rerum
Pene pari sequitur gressu, paribusque cothurnis.’

This last appreciation of Teive’s literary career by one of his contemporaries portrays him as the author of the *Ioannes Princeps*, the first tragedy of historical content to be composed in Portugal. Equally in these lines is the recognition of Teive as the author of works of serious subject-matter and the advisor of kings, a sign of the success attained by the texts he published towards the end of his career, amongst which the *Epodon libri tres* features prominently.

¹⁴⁵ Costa Ramalho (1979) 146 – 48.

Chapter Two

Imitatio and *Mimesis* in the *Epodon libri tres*: The Literary Implications of Religious Doctrine

This chapter will focus on the theoretical and literary principles underlying the composition of the *Epodon libri tres* and the *Epithalamium*. This analysis will draw from a discussion of two structural concepts for the Renaissance writer: ‘imitatio’ and ‘mimesis’.

Part one of this Chapter will ascertain how Teive defines his authorial persona in the *Epodon libri tres* by engaging with Horace’s *Epodi*, something which is essential to the understanding of the unusual composition of the *Epithalamium* in iambic trimeters. It will be argued that Teive favours eclectic imitation and purposefully adopts Horatian metres to highlight how the content of his poetry is very different from Horace’s. To illustrate my point, I will first explore formal imitation. Secondly, I will discuss how the construction of Teive’s literary identity as a ‘Catholic Horace’ is achieved in book II by means of ‘aemulatio’ of Prudentius’s *Peristephanon* and also in the prologue of book III, a text in which the Portuguese humanist engages with Horace’s *Ars Poetica*. Analysing the imitation of content in the *Epodon libri tres*, it will be argued that the rhetorical strategies employed in the prologue are also significantly at work in the *Epithalamium*.

The conclusions will, in the first instance, reveal how Teive perceives literary imitation and emulation. They will also present the *Epithalamium* and the *Epodon libri tres* as examples of neo-Latin literature written in Portugal in the aftermath of the Council of Trent, and the ideological concerns which underpin it.

II. 1 'Imitatio' and Self-Representation:

Horace in the *Epodon libri tres*

The reception of Horace in Portugal has attracted critical attention. In his *Horacio en España*, Menéndez Pelayo dedicated a chapter to Portuguese literature.¹⁴⁶ There, he presents a general overview of the reception of Horace amongst sixteenth-century vernacular and canonical authors, namely Sá de Miranda, António Ferreira, Pero de Andrade Caminha, Diogo Bernardes and Camões (and other minor poets). Generally speaking, this overview has not yet been replaced by more updated surveys, as is demonstrated by Pina Martin's brief entry on Horace in Portugal published as part of the *Enciclopedia Oraziana*.¹⁴⁷ However, specific studies on the presence and influence of Horace and Horatianism in the work of the above-mentioned vernacular writers have come to light.¹⁴⁸ The scrutiny of texts has, in the first instance, highlighted the existence of verbal borrowings, but also, on a more conceptual level, it has opened the way to the study of the reception of the precepts of the *Ars Poetica* in sixteenth-century Portugal. The conclusions which have emerged from these contributions point to an understandably strong influence in the classical genres such as the epistle and the ode, António Ferreira being hailed as the more Horatian of Portuguese poets of this period. In this particular respect, Portuguese neo-Latin literature has not yet been the subject of similar broad studies, which may be explained by the lack of

¹⁴⁶ See Menéndez Pelayo (1885) II 293 – 354, and for the translations of Horace (1885) I 239 – 90.

¹⁴⁷ Pina Martins (1998).

¹⁴⁸ The list of such studies is vast. For the reception of Horatian poetics, see Pinto de Castro (1973) 13 – 81 and Marnoto (1997) 331 – 43. The presence of Horatian 'topoi' in Portuguese literature has been analysed by Achcar (1994), and Rivers (1954) has explored the reception of the Horatian epistle in the Iberian Peninsula. For a study of Horatianism in Camões see Fraga (2003) and Franco (2011). For the influence of Horatianism in the poetry of Sá de Miranda see Earle (1980); the question of Horatian poetics in the work of Andrade Caminha has been addressed by Cirurgião (1982) and Anastácio (1998) I 79 – 118. The work of António Ferreira has attracted more critical attention: see Fucilla (1953), Rocha Pereira (1972), Busnardo-Neto (1974) 252 – 362, Silveira (1986), Sousa Rebelo (1982) 106 – 12, Earle (1988), and Pinto de Castro (2009).

modern critical editions. The analysis of Teive's *Epodon libri tres* will address this gap, contributing to the knowledge of the modes of reception of Horace and his work in sixteenth-century Portugal.

Bearing in mind the conclusions briefly outlined above, Teive's engagement with Horace in the *Epodon libri tres* is striking in its originality. First, this collection of poetry appears to be unique in that country for its direct and explicit dialogue with the *Epodi*, at a time when the *Carmina* and the *Ars Poetica* were the most influential and popular works amongst early-modern authors.

II. 1. 1 The 'Epode' in Sixteenth-Century Europe

In the *Epodon libri tres* Teive openly establishes a textual relation with Horace: not only is the Horatian matrix quite evident in the very title of the book and in the metres adopted, but the Portuguese poet also compares his writings to those of the Roman poet, and, in a uncommonly bold statement, proclaims his own superiority. The choice of Horace's *Epodi* for such an attempt of self-representation is an unusual one in the Renaissance, as they were never the most popular of Horace's works. Friis-Jensen points out that, despite the admiration the *Carmina* attracted (especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries), 'the Middle Ages regarded Horace chiefly as a moralist, and ... his hexameter poetry was more widely-read than his lyrics'¹⁴⁹ – the best example of this medieval appraisal of Horace's poetry in hexameters is Dante's 'Orazio satiro' (*Inferno*, 4.38). The Renaissance, however, witnessed a shift in the interest in Horace's work. The *Ars Poetica* (as had also happened in the Middle Ages) continued to be highly important to the early-modern period due to its influence upon literary theory, but there was an increasing interest in the *Carmina*: poets engaged with Horace's lyrics, attracted

¹⁴⁹ For an update survey of the reception of Horace in the Middle Ages, see Friis-Jensen (2007). This quote is from an earlier article by Friis-Jensen (1993) 258 – 59.

by their metrical and formal virtuosity, as well as by their philosophical and moral content. However, the very nature of Horace's 'corpus lyricum' was subject to debate during the early-modern period. The absence of literary theory about lyric poetry in Ancient times meant that poets could experiment more freely, and Horace is a paramount example of this. For critics, however, such freedom to experiment posed problems when the time came to interpret the poems within generic categories which had no theoretical tradition. The epode is an excellent case of the difficulties grammarians, editors, and commentators met with. The reading of Renaissance editions of the *Epodi* reveals the existence of an intense and ongoing debate on the definition of the term 'epode' since Antiquity.¹⁵⁰

Humanist editors of Horace's *Epodi* invariably refer to the ancient commentators, Porphyrio (possibly from the late third century) and Pseudo-Acro, a miscellany of different Horatian commentaries, put together around the fifth century, attributed to Helenius Acro, c. second century, who had authored a lost commentary on Horace.¹⁵¹ Their commentaries were repeatedly printed in the editions of the early-modern period alongside those of contemporary commentators. Pseudo-Acro discusses the concept of 'epode' in more detail than Porphyrio,¹⁵² and for the first time explicitly referred to the need to explain the puzzling meaning of the title of Horace's work, offering two different solutions: either Horace had composed the book dedicated to Maecenas when the latter was travelling, or the title was justified by the fact that 'ita uersus ordinati sunt. ut singulis quibusque clausulae suae recinant. Clausulam dicunt lyrici poetae

¹⁵⁰ The following discussion is indebted to the work of Vigliano (2012, forthc.), namely the section entitled 'Qu'est-ce qu'un épode?'. The paper has not been published, and I would like to thank the author for kindly giving me access to his text (available online in an earlier version, see Bibliography). The paper contains an appendix with excerpts of the relevant humanist commentaries (20-36). In the course of my analysis, I refer to the 'editio princeps' of the humanists' commentaries, unless stated. These references are at times different from Vigliano's, and Cruicke's edition of the *Epodi* is not discussed in his paper.

¹⁵¹ See Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) xlvii-li.

¹⁵² A modern edition of their commentaries can be accessed in Mariotti (1998) III 848 – 60 (Pseudo-Acro) and 738 – 45 (Porphyrio).

praecisos et non integros uersus'.¹⁵³ Naturally, future commentators tended to focus more on metre than on Maecenas' travels to explain the title of Horace's work. The definition of epode as a unity formed by a sequence of two lines (a longer verse, the proode, and a shorter one, the epode) has an important consequence, which several later commentators failed to appreciate: it does not apply to all the poems, since *Epod.* 17 is composed in iambic trimeters throughout.¹⁵⁴

During the medieval period, manuscript circulation associated the corpus of Horatian lyric poetry. Borrowing Friis-Jensen's words once again, 'the *Epodes* of Horace [were] treated as an extension of the *Odes*, and similarly the *Carmen Saeculare*',¹⁵⁵ something which is explained by the widely-accepted etymology of the title of the *Epodi*: '“epodos id est super odas”'.¹⁵⁶

These continued to be associated in Renaissance printed editions of the Roman poet.¹⁵⁷ The *editio princeps* of Horace was published in Venice, in the early 1470s, and it was in Italy that the first commentaries appeared towards the turn of the fifteenth century. Of the first Italian commentators, Cristoforo Landino (1482) and Antonio Mancinelli (1492), it is the latter who discusses the epode in greater detail.¹⁵⁸ Landino follows Pseudo-Acro closely, but includes a reference to the fourth-century grammarian, Diomedes who is also quoted by Mancinelli, but at more length:

¹⁵³ Pseudo-Acro (1998) 848.

¹⁵⁴ As Vigliano (2012: 4) notes, in mid sixteenth century, *Epod.* 17 was often printed as two separate texts: 'une épode numérotée 17 contient la rétractation du poète, et une autre, numérotée 18, la réponse de la magicienne. Elle s'explique probablement par la glose d'Acron, un des commentateurs anciens d'Horace: “dans certaines versions”, dit-il, “une nouvelle ode commence et son titre est “Canidie refuse la réconciliation”’.

¹⁵⁵ Friis-Jensen (1993) 302.

¹⁵⁶ Friis-Jensen (1993) 303.

¹⁵⁷ For a complete discussion in different European countries and beyond, see the entries 'Edizioni, traduzioni e commenti' of the *Enciclopedia Oraziana*, edited by Mariotti (1998) I 357 – 68.

¹⁵⁸ Both commentaries can be accessed in *Horatius cum commentariis Ant. Mancinelli Acronis Porphyrii Christophori Landini*, published in Venice in 1492.

‘Dicuntur autem epodi synecdochicos a partibus uersuum: quae legitimis et integris uersibus □π□δονται. idest accinuntur. Haec ex Diomede ex quibus colligimus quod epodos proprie dicitur uersiculus sequens: tamen et superior et sequens simul epodos uocatur per synecdochen. scilicet unde et alibi ait. Iambicum est carmen maledicum plerunque trimetro uersu et epodo sequente compositum.’¹⁵⁹

This is the first occasion where the tone of invective which characterises a significant number of poems of Horace’s *Epodi* is mentioned – remaining, notwithstanding, away from critical debate in sixteenth-century commentaries. Mancinelli instead focuses on the extension of the term ‘epode’ to the unit of proode plus epode, by synecdoche. Again, Mancinelli fails to see that his explanation cannot be applied to *Epod.* 17.

After the publication of the commentaries by Italian humanists, the interest was sparked in France.¹⁶⁰ Between 1543 and 1565 two commentaries appeared on the *Epodi*: Henri Glaréan’s in 1543 and Marc-Antoine Muret’s in 1555. In 1561, Denis Lambin published his edition of Horace and Julius Scaliger’s posthumous edition of the *Poetices libri septem* (where the term ‘epode’ is discussed) also came to light.

Glaréan disagreed with Pseudo-Acro and Porphyrio, and claimed that the epodes had received their name by a process of synecdoche, as had been previously suggested by Manicelli.¹⁶¹ Muret, on the other hand, questioned the very title of Horace’s book, and explicitly stated that the explanations put forward by ancient grammarians were easily refutable, and that he himself had once read the text of the *Epodi* in an old book, where it was considered the fifth book of the *Carmina*.¹⁶² Yet, the French commentator does not go as far as to present his own views on the *raison d’être* of the title of Horace’s book or on its defining traits.

¹⁵⁹ Landino (1492) f. 155r.

¹⁶⁰ For this particular dynamic period of reception of Horace in France see Holland (2001) 28 – 128.

¹⁶¹ Glaréan (1543) f. Bbiir – Bbii v.

¹⁶² Muret (1555) 170.

Lambin too accepts the authority of the ancient commentators, although pointing out that this is not entirely convincing, and himself suggesting different possibilities to explain the title. These range from the traditional explanation that the *Epodi* were the last book of the *Carmina*, to the more far-fetched hypothesis that its title was perhaps linked to the choreography of the choir performing on stage, amongst others.¹⁶³ Scaliger is the only critic to openly question the authority of the ancient commentators. In book I. 44 of his *Poetices libri septem* he points out that, according to their definition, the term ‘epode’ would apply to any form of elegiac poetry. Moreover, Scaliger notes, the definition presented by the ancient commentators does not apply to last epode of the collection. Instead, Scaliger originally presents the less convincing hypothesis that the term ‘epode’ would have been applied to the book, because the *Epodi* functioned as a sort of epilogue to the *Carmina* – he draws a parallel with Plato who had entitled *Epinomis* the work he had appended to the *Nomoi*.¹⁶⁴

Soon after the publication of Scaliger’s *Poetices libri septem*, the Flemish humanist Jacob Cruucke published his two first editions of Horace: the edition and commentary of book IV of the *Carmina* came out in 1565, and two years later the *Epodi* were edited and commented (Antwerp). Cruucke is at the heart of a much-debated philological question, appropriately bearing his name:¹⁶⁵ he claimed to have had access to a number of very early manuscripts of Horace, preserved until 1566 at the abbey of St Peter in his home town of Ghent, before they were destroyed in a fire. In his edition, Cruucke discusses the importance of the manuscripts for the edition of the ‘corpus Horatianum’. In this group of manuscripts, the *Epodi* were an independent text, and not part of the *Carmina*.

¹⁶³ Lambin (1561) 407 – 08.

¹⁶⁴ Scaliger (1994) 384 – 86.

¹⁶⁵ In this chapter, I will only refer to the importance of this debate with regard to the *Epodi*. For the implications on the entire ‘corpus Horatianum’, see Pasquali (1952) 380 – 85 and a summary view by Brink (1971) 8 – 9.

After recalling that often the seventeen epodes were appended as a fifth book of the *Carmina*,¹⁶⁶ the editor cannot contain his irony:

‘Sed quid? An existimabimus a mente fuisse alienatum Horatium, quando odas ab epodis seiungeret? Aut illum tam male sanum iudicabimus qui non intellexeret libri huius inscriptionem inanem penitus, et nullius fore significationis, si etiam haec sua carmina odas nominari volet?’¹⁶⁷

Cruicke’s well-humoured comment is pertinent, but it is interesting to notice how the polemical editor did not venture to present an alternative explanation as to why the *Epodi* should be considered an independent work.

This was the state of the critical debate surrounding Horace’s *Epodi* around the time Teive composed his epithalamium and the *Epodon libri tres*. Editors, commentators and critics participate in an intense debate which focuses exclusively on the formal structure of the epode. Consequently, the association between the *Carmina* and the *Epodi*, which had been inherited from the Middle Ages, continued throughout the Renaissance. The reason for this association within Horace’s *corpus lyricum* is formal, as Horace uses epodic systems in both the *Carmina* and the *Epodi*.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Cruicke (1567) 17.

¹⁶⁷ Cruicke (1567) 18.

¹⁶⁸ See Whickham (1896) 410 – 15.

II. 1. 2 Formal Imitation in the *Epodon libri tres*: Horace's *Epodi* and Prudentius's *Peristephanon*

When Teive published his *Epodon libri tres* in 1565, the use of iambic metres in his works was not a novelty. The first text we have in iambics is a play, modelled upon Seneca's metrical practice,¹⁶⁹ and published in 1558, in the *Opuscula*. He published his first non-dramatic poem in iambic metre, the *Institutio* (also in the *Opuscula*), and then Teive explained his choice of metre as a concession to the young heir, Sebastião: he would find the reading of his work less taxing, more pleasurable, and he would more easily memorize the text.¹⁷⁰

However, the *Epodon libri tres* are unique in Teive's career because they consist, almost exclusively, of iambics,¹⁷¹ either in couplets (iambic trimeter followed by iambic dimeter), or in non-strophic, stichic form, i.e. the same metre is used throughout the text.¹⁷²

The opening book contains the *Sententiae*, in iambic dimeters, and the *Institutio*, composed in iambic trimeters, works inspired by Plutarch's *Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata* and Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani*, respectively.¹⁷³

Book II consists of religious hymns. Teive uses metres which are used by Horace in his lyric poetry, but the model of this extensive corpus of hymnal poetry (of over three thousand five hundred lines) is Prudentius's *Peristephanon*, a collection of fourteen hymns dedicated to Roman and Spanish martyrs and

¹⁶⁹ This point is developed in more detail in Chapter 5.3 (especially 229 – 30), where Teive's metrical technique is discussed.

¹⁷⁰ See Chapter 4.1 for a discussion of the prologue and 4.1.1 for its implications (157 – 60).

¹⁷¹ The exceptions are the use of the Alcaic hendecasyllable and the four-line sapphic stanza.

¹⁷² A list of the metres adopted in each poem of the *Epodon libri tres* can be found in Chapter 5.1 (211 – 13).

¹⁷³ Both didactic poems are discussed in Chapter 4.1 (157 – 68), where the use of Plutarch and Erasmus as textual models is interpreted as a legitimising strategy.

saints.¹⁷⁴ Significantly, some of the metrical combinations of the *Peristephanon* are Horatian: the Second Pythiambic (dactylic hexameter followed by an iambic trimeter) of *Pe.* 9 is used by Horace in *Epod.* 16, and the Fourth Archilochian (greater Archilochian followed by an iambic trimeter catalectic) of *C.*1.4 is also used in *Pe.*12. Prudentius's work stands out for its metrical variety: the same metre is not used twice apart from the elegiac couplet and the iambic dimeter.¹⁷⁵ The former is not used by Teive in the *Epodon libri tres*, but the latter is. Although Teive is no match for Prudentius at a formal level, he is clearly driven by the desire to emulate this important Christian poet. The opening hymns addressed to Jesus form a coherent whole and are composed in iambic dimeters,¹⁷⁶ but the poems which follow, dedicated to Portuguese saints and martyrs, are composed using different combinations, creating an impression of metrical 'varietas': iambic couplet (like in Horace's *Epod.* 1-10 and Prudentius's *Pe.*2 and 5), sapphic stanzas (Prudentius's *Pe.* 4), stichic iambic trimeter (the metre of the closing poem of Horace's *Epodi* also used by Prudentius in *Pe.*10), stichic iambic dimeter (*Pe.* 2 and 5), and finally Alcaic hendecasyllable in the last hymn, as in Prudentius's *Pe.* 14, also the last poem of the *Peristephanon*. It is in book II that the variety of metres is more visible in Teive's work, thanks to the use of the Alcaic hendecasyllable and the sapphic stanza. The exceptional use of the former (not to be found in Horace's lyric poetry) in the closing poem of book II strengthens the intertextual play with Prudentius. On the other hand, although Horace does not employ the sapphic stanza in his *Epodi*, this features prominently in 25 of the 103 odes of the *Carmina* (namely in some of the hymns dedicated to Roman gods¹⁷⁷)

¹⁷⁴ For the significance of this work, see Roberts (1993) and Palmer (1989).

¹⁷⁵ See Palmer (1989) 70 – 75.

¹⁷⁶ The exception is the last poem of this opening sequence, which combines iambic trimeters and dimeters, and which refers to the specific events of the siege of Malta, taking place at the time.

¹⁷⁷ E. g. *C.*1.10, a hymn to Mercury, is composed in Sapphic stanzas, and so is *C.* 1. 12, composed in praise of gods and heroes. The invocation to Venus (*C.* 1. 30) is equally

and in his *Carmen Saeculare*. It is also employed by Prudentius in the *Peristephanon*. Thus, Teive brings the *Carmina* into play in the *Epodon libri tres*, and the metrical identity of book II, Prudentian in intention and character, is simultaneously owed to Horace's *Epodi*¹⁷⁸ and to Prudentius.

In book III Teive returned to the exclusive use of iambic metres, as in book I, but again attempting to recreate an impression of metrical variety: stichic iambic trimeter and dimeter are used, alongside the iambic couplet. It is important to highlight how the selection of metre emphasizes the intertextual play with Horace's *Epodi*. The poem dedicated to the Duke of Aveiro presents the following explanatory note: 'Ab aulicis tumultibus ad ruris tranquillitatem senibus maxime esse secedendum' [it is a good idea especially for old men to leave the tumult of the court in search of the tranquillity of the country]– this apology of life away from the city and the court, dedicated to the Duke when he made the decision to leave due to disputes with Queen Catherine,¹⁷⁹ is significantly composed in the metre of Horace's *Epod.* 2. And the closing poem of this work, which celebrates the victory achieved by the Christians in the siege of Malta, adopts the metre used by Horace in *Epod.* 9.

The connection which Teive establishes with Horace in the *Epodon libri tres* is owed both to the title of this compilation and to the iambic rhythms adopted in the vast majority of the poems. The Horatian identity of the *Epodon libri tres* is, thus, shaped in a first instance at the level of formal, metrical 'imitatio', and this plays an important part in securing the coherence of this compilation of poetry.

However, it cannot be argued that Teive chose to imitate the *Epodi* for the sole purpose of engaging with it at a formal level, since his use of metres neither comes

composed in this metre, as is the prayer to Faunus in *C.* 3.18, the offering to the virgin Diana (*C.* 3. 22), and the hymn to Apollo (*C.* 4. 6).

¹⁷⁸ Nine of the fifteen hymns are composed in iambic metres, and so is the opening sequence of thirteen shorter hymns addressed to Jesus.

¹⁷⁹ Sousa (1946 – 1954) XI, part i: 49 – 50.

close to nor surpasses those employed by Horace. Teive does not employ the metrical systems which combine metres other than the iambic dimeter and trimeter.¹⁸⁰ Thus, the textual relation which Teive purposefully established with Horace does not find its *raison d'être* in mere metrical emulation, nor does it operate *exclusively* at a formal level.

Why, then, were Horace's *Epodi* so appealing to Teive and in what way does he transform Horace's text?

II. 1. 3 Imitation of Content in the *Epodon libri tres*:

Prudentius and Horace Catholicized

In my view, Teive was sensitive to a different aspect of the *Epodi* and this has to do with his status as an occasional poet. As Lindsay Watson notes, they are an example of occasional literature. Explaining the heterogeneity and variety which characterizes the *Epodi*, Watson notes the occasionality of the earlier tradition of the Greek iambus, its 'here and now' character which Horace replicated in his work, with the few exceptions of epodes 2, 6 and 11.¹⁸¹

As a court writer and author of occasional literature, Teive was sensitive to this aspect of Horace's work, and there are ample examples of this in the *Epodon libri tres*. He composed the *Institutio* certainly at a time when Sá de Meneses was expected to be appointed tutor to Prince Sebastião. Book II, on the other hand, opens with a series of poems addressed to Jesus, where Teive includes references

¹⁸⁰ The Second and Third Archilochian, the Alcmanic strophe, and the First and Second Pythiambic do not feature in the *Epodon libri tres*.

¹⁸¹ I am paraphrasing Watson (2007) 99.

to events of everyday life at court,¹⁸² and the hymns which follow addressed to patron saints and martyrs too include references to members of the royal family. In book III, the *De perfecto Episcopo* was composed on the eve of the appointment of Cardinal Henrique as Archbishop of Lisbon, and the ‘Congratulatio’ marks that nomination. The *Epithalamium* celebrates the marriage of Maria of Portugal to Alessandro Farnese. Finally, Teive rewrote *Epod. 2* as an occasional poem when the Duke of Aveiro abandoned the court, and the celebrated victory of the Christians in Malta would remind the reader of Horace’s *Epod. 9*, which marked the victory of Octavian at Actium.

The sense of unity presiding over Teive’s work is also due to the writing of occasional *court* poetry. The poems contained in the three books, the author claims, are all directly or indirectly related to the royal household: ‘Quod autem tribus his libris continetur totum regium est, nec quidpiam ex alio genere hominum commistum est’ [What is contained in these three books concerns kings alone, and I did not bring in any other kind of people].¹⁸³ If Teive proved sensitive to the importance of occasionality in Horace’s *Epodi* (which explains the composition of the *Epithalamium* in iambic metre), he adapted it to his own personal circumstances of court writer, having surpassed Horace in the *varietas* of genres he engages with in his *Epodon libri tres* – the *Epithalamium* is a clear example of the spirit of *aemulatio* which characterises Teive’s book.

Horace is instrumental in structuring the collection as a coherent whole. As was argued in Chapter One, the Roman author plays an important role in the *Epodon libri tres* in the definition of Teive’s persona as a court writer supported by the patronage of the members of the royal family and its associates. Horace is equally

¹⁸² E.g. Prince Sebastião’s meeting noblemen and the discussion on the strategic importance of a Christian victory in Malta. Incipit: ‘In pace quid Regem agere decet ... et de obsessa Melita a Turcis, et quae Rex Sebastianus de his protulit’ (f. 120r).

¹⁸³ Teive (1565) f. a4r.

important in defining a different aspect of Teive's persona in the *Epodon libri tres*, but this is achieved by building on difference.

Given that Teive is a man concerned with his priestly status, and with the seriousness of the topics he approaches in his poems, to emulate Horace's *Epodi* in a conservative Counter-Reformation Portugal may appear disconcerting. In the first instance, if we think of the highly sexual and obscene (even homosexual) content of epodes 8, 11 and 12, the passion Horace confesses for a former slave girl (epode 14) and the tormented end to the love affair with the loose Neaera (epode 15), or the light-hearted banter of epode 3, and the problematic epodes where witches are addressed and human sacrifices and spells are mentioned (epodes 5 and 17), then only a reduced number of epodes in Horace's work would respect the decorum of Teive's status, these being epode 2, and the politically engaged epodes 7, 9 and 16.

Only four years after the publication of Teive's *Epodon libri tres*, the first censored edition of Horace's *Epodi* was published in Rome. The edition, bearing the title of *Quintus Horatius Flaccus ab omni obscenitate purgatus*, included Aldo Manuzio's *De metris Horatianis*, and was intended to be used in Jesuit schools all over Europe.¹⁸⁴ A significant number of epodes were cut out by censorship (5, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15 and 17). Although no explanation of the criteria adopted is given in the edition, it is clear that the main concern was the elimination of any references to sexual content or witchcraft. In this light, Teive's imitation of Horace's *Epodi* is in tune with the expurgated reading of Horace in Counter-Reformation Europe. The irony and the rhetoric of blame and invective which

¹⁸⁴ For more information on the publication of editions of Horace in Italy, see Iurilli (2004). No editions of Horace were published in Portugal throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, according to Wilkinson (2010).

characterizes Horace's epodes is absent from the *Epodon libri tres*, having been substituted by didacticism, religious piety and the rhetoric of praise.

Both the title of Teive's work and the iambic metres adopted created a certain expectation in the cultivated reader of the Renaissance. Teive's readers would share a common, contemporary 'Erwartungshorizont'. Amongst broader cultural norms and criteria, this 'horizon of expectations' would encompass literary principles and concepts, such as 'imitatio', 'aemulatio' and genre, and the audience would judge any given literary work by such literary conventions and principles, shared by both author and readership. As Jauss argues:

'A literary work, even when it appears to be new, does not present itself as something absolutely new in an informational vacuum, but predisposes its audience to a very specific kind of reception by announcements, overt and covert signals, familiar characteristics, or implicit allusions.'¹⁸⁵

Such 'announcements, overt and covert signals, familiar characteristics' and 'implicit allusions' are very much present in Teive's *Epodon libri tres*, from the title of the work, to the adoption of metres which feature in Horace's lyric poetry, the use of Horatian phrasing, and allusions to Horace's texts when Teive addresses his patrons. Thus, the textual link to Horace is deliberately created, and subtly handled. The readers would not fail to appreciate how the content and tone of this work are very different from Horace's, and Teive's persona emerges in sharp contrast to the model overtly emulated. The ultimate purpose of such strategy and the ideological motivations which underpin it go hand in hand, and two examples will suffice to illustrate my point.

Earlier in this chapter, I proposed that book II of the *Epodon libri tres* is inspired by Prudentius. The turn of the sixteenth century saw a renewed interest in the works of this medieval author, especially since the publication of the first

¹⁸⁵ Jauss (1982) 23.

complete edition of his works,¹⁸⁶ an interest which spread in Europe after the 1530s.¹⁸⁷ The appropriation and rewriting of the *Peristephanon* within a work with a clear Horatian identity is very much in the militant spirit of Counter-Reformation, at a time when the cult of saints was one of the objects of criticism by Protestants. The neo-Latin poet André de Resende also composed a *Catalogo dos Santos de Portugal* (c.1560).¹⁸⁸ That Resende may have been inspired by Prudentius, and that Teive may have been prompted to compose the hymns of book II after Resende completed his *Catalogo dos Santos de Portugal* will forcefully remain a hypothesis in the current state of research – there is no known edition of the *Catalogo*, or manuscript material to help us further this hypothesis. The same Resende had already composed an extensive poem in two books, in hexameters, dedicated to the life and martyrdom of St. Vincent,¹⁸⁹ patron saint of Portugal and its capital, the *Vicentius levita et martyr*,¹⁹⁰ but this is quite different from Prudentius's *Pe. 5*.¹⁹¹

St. Vincent is the only martyr common to the *Peristephanon* and book II of the *Epodon libri tres*. There is textual evidence to confirm that Teive had Prudentius's poem in mind. When Vincent succeeds in enduring torture, the enraged Datianus's reaction is described by Prudentius: 'his persecutor saucius/ pallet, rubescit, aestuat' (*Pe. 5.201 – 02*). The same verb is used by Teive: 'Datianus iris aestuantibus furens' (f. 135 r). After Vincent had endured torture, being burnt at the pyre ('rogum' at the end of the line in both *Pe. 5.221* and Teive, f. 135v), he is described as unshaken (*Pe. 5.233*: 'haec inter *inmotus manet*'; Teive: 'mens tum/ *immota tantis permanet constans malis*', f. 135v). The martyr is, then, thrust into

¹⁸⁶ The identification of the 'editio princeps' is problematic. See Gaston (1973) 163.

¹⁸⁷ See Gaston (1973) 164 – 66, and Green (2000).

¹⁸⁸ Martyn (1987-88) 197 n.2.

¹⁸⁹ It is not known whether the *Catalogo dos Santos de Portugal* would include a text dedicated to St. Vincent, although this is highly likely given that he was an important saint.

¹⁹⁰ Although no modern edition of the *Vicentius levita et martyr* has been carried out, a facsimile was published. See Resende (1981).

¹⁹¹ For an analysis of the poem, see DeSantis (2000).

prison (*Pe.* 5.238: ‘truditur’; Teive: ‘protrudit’, f. 135v). Both Prudentius and Teive describe the moment of the passing of the martyr by wordplay: Vincent will become victorious in death (*Pe.* 5. 367 – 68: ‘*victor* relictis artibus/ caelum capessit spiritus’; Teive: ‘ille nullis est potis cruciatibus/ superare viuum, mortuum optat *vincere*’, f. 136r). Datianus orders that his body be delivered to the wild beasts (*Pe.* 5. 387: ‘*feris cadauer tradere*’; Teive: ‘iubet *cadauer* littus in medium *trahi/exponi* et auibus et *feris crudelibus*’, f. 136r). The crow which protects Vincent’s dead body and frightens away (*Pe.* 5. 419: ‘*fugat*’; Teive: ‘*fugerat*’, f. 136r) birds of prey and a wolf is described as its ‘*custos*’ (*Pe.* 5. 420; Teive, f. 136r). However, verbal similarities are very occasional.

Moreover, there are important differences, as Teive appears to suggest by deliberately avoiding the iambic dimeter used in *Pe.* 5: his poem is in iambic trimeter. The vivid description of the ‘*passio*’ of the martyr is not given so much prominence in the poem, the verbal agon between Vincent and Datianus is considerably reduced and the content of Vincent’s speech is changed – more than questioning the pagan gods, Teive’s Vincent professes his faith (the passage has verbal echoes of the ‘*Professio fidei Tridentina*’). But far more significant is the continuation of the legend of this saint and the direct connection with Teive, who was at the time a priest in the church of St. Vincent’s monastery.¹⁹² In another poem, *Pe.* 4. 77-100, Prudentius claims that the martyr, originally from Saragossa, had been buried near Valencia’s coast.¹⁹³ After the fall of Valencia in the eighth century, the Christians would have put the remains of the martyr on a boat, which arrived in Lusitanian shores, near to what became known as Cape St Vincent. In 1147, after conquering Lisbon from the Moors, Afonso Henriques ordered that the martyr’s remains be taken to Lisbon,¹⁹⁴ and the saint became the patron of the city

¹⁹² See Chapter 1.4 (45).

¹⁹³ For Prudentius’s sources, see Palmer (1989) 245 – 46.

¹⁹⁴ See Picoito (2008).

and of the kingdom. This is an important aspect of Teive's hymn, which celebrates Vincent as a symbol of Catholic Portugal, and Teive as the priest of St. Vincent's church, responsible for the perpetuation of the martyr's memory. In fact, in book II of the *Epodon libri tres* there is a distinctive intent to celebrate exclusively national saints (most of the 'passiones' sung by Prudentius are from his native Hispania, but not all), and to link past and present. In the opening set of poems dedicated to Jesus, Teive insists on the need to engage in war in Morocco to ensure the protection of the kingdom, and, in this light, the inclusion of a hymn dedicated to the Crusaders who helped King Afonso Henriques conquer Lisbon from the Moors (ff. 147r – 150r) gains a new meaning. The hymn to St Vincent also ends with a final prayer where Teive requests protection for Portugal, Sebastião and the Cardinal Henrique.

A second example of how Teive shapes his authorial persona building on difference can be seen in book III of the *Epodon libri tres*, where he brings yet another two of Horace's works, the *Ep.* 2.1 and *Ars Poetica*, into play. This can be seen in the prologue of book III which is here quoted in its entirety as a detailed analysis will follow:

'Serenissimo Principi D. Henrico Cardinali Reuerendissimo, Archiepiscopo Vlyssiponensi regnique moderatori sapientissimo et Domino suo obseruantissimo Iacobus Teuius salutem plurimam dicit:

Possum equidem optimo iure illud Horatianum in epistola illa peruulgata ad Augustum Coesarem (Princeps Serenissime) nunc in medium adducere.

“Cum tot sustineas ac tanta negocia solus,
in publica commoda peccem
si longo sermone morer tua tempora.”

Verum longe dispar est meo iudicio, ac dissimilis ratio, si quidem ille quamuis eleganter et erudite ac proprio musarum, vt ita dicam, ore, poeticam tamen in illa epistola summis laudibus exornabat. Ego tametsi aut nullo, aut valde dissimili verborum cultu et elegancia, perfectam tamen diuini Episcopi imaginem hic describere statui. Quod si longo interuallo me ille ornatissimi carminis suauitate post se

relinquit, ego grauissimi argumenti dignitate illum procul dubio longe antecello. Nihil enim habet ars poetica a summis etiam et clarissimis viris decantata, in quo cum perfectissimi Episcopi institutione possit comparari. Illa verborum lenitate demulcet aures, haec solidis virtutibus animum praemunit. Illa iocos ac voluptates praecipue, haec summam vitae integritatem in se continet, et ad bene beateque viuendum viam demonstrat. Illa multa fabularum deliramenta, multa inania et a veritate abhorrentia, haec grauissimas sententias ac sanctissima omnipotentis Dei praecepta complectitur. Denique illa ab homine inuenta, multa excogitauit quibus veluti voluptatum illecebris aures (ut modo dixi) praecipue obiectaret, haec ab ipso summo rerum moderatore praecepta ac tradita mentes excitat, omnique vitij labe expurgatas pulcherrimis virtutum omnium ornamentis excultas et expolitas reddit, et in aeternis coelorum sedibus collocat. Quanto igitur argumentum quod hic a nobis tractatur praeclarius, summaque tua amplitudine est dignius tanto erectiori animo, quam Horatius ab Augusto Caesare ego a te princeps serenissime ausim precibus contendere vt nostrum hoc de perfecto episcopo opusculum perlegas. Quod ea praecipue ratione ad te ipsum stripsi. Quoniam, vt fatear ingenue, videbam me tanti argumenti magnitudini nec dicendo, nec excogitando quidem satisfacere vllo modo posse. Cumque id intelligerem operae precium existimaui, vt hi qui legerent dum multa quae ad absoluendam tantae rei imaginem desiderarent, ab his quae scribo oculos auerterent et ad te qui proxime adesses, cui haec dedicata sunt conuerterent, in quo tanquam in viua aliqua imagine perfectissimam pontificis optimi effigiem non solum animorum cogitatione comprehenderent, sed etiam oculis perspicerent. In quo summa omnia ac perfectissima reperirent. Nec enim vereor dum haec loquor, tam me assentatorem nostra aetas, quam fortasse, aut negligentem, aut inuidum scriptorem haec posteraque arguat.’ (III f. q2r – a1v)

[Diogo de Teive addresses many greetings to the most Serene Prince Cardinal Henry, Reverend Archbishop of Lisbon, most wise regent of the kingdom and his most observant ruler.

I could indeed, Serene Prince, include here, with total justice, that phrase of Horace from his famous letter to Augustus Caesar:

“Cum tot sustineas ac tanta negotia solus
 ... in publica commoda peccem
 si longo sermone morer tua tempora”.
 [“Seeing that you alone carry the weight of so many great charges,
 ... I should sin against the public good
 if with long talk I were to waste your time.”]

Indeed, it is not within my ability, and it would be absurd – especially if he bestowed the highest praise on poetry in that epistle with great eloquence and learning, and, so to speak, through the very mouth of the Muses – yet, despite having no training or elegance in the use of words, or at any rate much less than his, all the same I intend here to describe the perfect image of a divine bishop. Horace leaves me far behind in the smoothness of his ornate verse, but I have no doubt that I am far ahead of him in the seriousness and dignity of my argument. For the art of poetry, even in the mouths of the best and most enlightened writers, has nothing in comparison to the institution of a perfect bishop. The one charms the ears with gentle words, the other

fortifies the soul with solid virtue. The one is made principally of sports and pleasures, the other of the greatest integrity in life, and in addition shows the way to a right and holy existence. The one includes crazy myths and many things which are empty and untrue; the other grave sayings and the holy precepts of almighty God. Finally, the one, a human invention, has discovered many things which expose men's ears to the deceits of pleasure, as I have just said. But the precepts of the other, handed down by the great regent of things himself, stimulate our minds, make them free of the stain of vice, polish and adorn them with the beautiful ornaments of virtue, and grant them eternal life in the seats of heaven. To the degree that my argument is loftier and more worthy of your dignity, I stand with a loftier soul than Horace's before Augustus Caesar, when I dare to ask and pray that you, Serene Prince, should read through my little work about the perfect bishop. I have written to you especially for this reason, because – if I may say so in my simplicity – I could see that there was no way that I could do justice, either in speech or in thought, to the magnitude of so great a theme. When I understood that, I realized that it would be useful for those who read these words to feel the lack of many things which would make the image complete. They should avert their eyes from what I write and instead turn them towards you, the dedicatee of this work, so that you are present. They will thus understand intellectually, and even see with their own eyes, the perfect likeness of a good bishop, as if in some living image. And in this they will find all that is highest and most perfect. Nor indeed do I fear that this age will accuse me of flattery in what I write. Rather it is perhaps more likely that this age, or a later one, will judge me a negligent or envious writer.]¹⁹⁵

Quotations of, or allusions to Horace's *Epist.* 2. 1 to Augustus were a standard form of beginning this type of texts, as Janson points out in his study of Latin prefaces.¹⁹⁶ Teive is, therefore, following a prestigious model. He was not, in fact, the only Portuguese poet to have addressed Cardinal Henrique by quoting the opening lines of Horace's epistle – António Ferreira too alludes to this text in epistle to Cardinal Henrique (II.2) of his *Poemas Lusitanos*.¹⁹⁷ And yet, whereas the use of Horace's epistle to start a preface (or a poem) was common, the rhetorical strategies adopted by Teive are not.

By quoting Horace's *Epist.* 2. 1 to Augustus, he creates in his readers a sense of identification with the Roman poet. Like the verse epistle, Teive's prologue is addressed to the highest political leader of the empire, but unlike Horace's lengthy

¹⁹⁵ In Chapter One, it was argued that Teive quotes Horace's epistle to tactfully excuse himself to Cardinal Henrique for the absence of dedications, mimicking Horace in his excuse to Augustus. This chapter will focus exclusively on the rhetorical strategies adopted by Teive, also at work in the *Epithalamium*.

¹⁹⁶ Janson (1964) 100 – 06.

¹⁹⁷ Ferreira (2000) 319 –20.

poem, it is concise (and in keeping with the sense of the quotation from Horace). This text is also an interesting piece for its contribution to literary criticism, and in my view Teive intended it to play a similar role to that of *Epist.* 2.1, where Horace contrasts the poets of the past and those of contemporary days, and discusses the role of the poet within the political life of the state. Indirectly, Teive too broaches such questions: he compares his own poetry to that of the Roman author – his poem on a contemporary subject (the *De perfecto Episcopo*) is contrasted with that of a poet (albeit prestigious, Teive acknowledges) from the past. Secondly, he also reflects upon the role of the poet when he opposes his didactic poem with Horace's *Ars Poetica*.

The parallel drawn at the very beginning of book III with the *Ars Poetica* is yet another nod to the learned reader who would not fail to appreciate how Teive weaves his web of Horatian allusion and intertextuality into the *Epodon libri tres*. In this prologue Teive draws from and expands the Horatian definition of the purpose of poetry as found in *A. P.* 333: 'Aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare poetae'. Unlike the vast majority of his contemporaries, he stresses the opposition between the utility of poetry and the aesthetic delight it originates. Teive deliberately effaces in his prologue to Cardinal Henrique other passages of Horace's work, where the Roman poet combines profit and delight. The line which follows 'aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare poetae' significantly reads 'aut *simul* et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae' (*A. P.* 334). Horace also reminds the Piso brothers that the successful poet is he who is able to mix profit and delight ('Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci/ lectorem delectando pariterque monendo', *A. P.* 343 – 44).

In the context of Renaissance literary theory Teive's statements in the prologue and his strategy to forge his literary persona by dismissing Horace are quite

extraordinary (especially in an author with such a humble stance), but they are revealing of the implications of religious doctrine upon intellectual production.

In the history of literary criticism, Horace's epistle always had a significant influence in the definition of the purpose of literature. In the Middle Ages, pleasure was accepted as one of the ends of literature, but the emphasis was on its utility, or 'more often pleasure [was] a partial purpose', as Friis-Jensen argues.¹⁹⁸ The emphasis on the moral utility of pagan authors was, naturally, a way of justifying the very reading of such texts in a Christian era. However, the enthusiasm for the recuperation of classical texts fuelled by Humanism decisively changed this view.

Thus, in the Renaissance the Horatian formulation 'aut prodesse... aut delectare' was by and large differently interpreted. The disjunction presented by 'aut...aut...' in Horace's definition of poetry quoted was often rather presented as an inclusive one: literature was meant to *both* profit *and* delight. This point, made by Madeleine Doran in her study of Elizabethan drama,¹⁹⁹ is taken up by Robert Matz in his *Defending Literature in Early-Modern England: Renaissance Literary Theory in Social Context*. According to Matz, such a shift towards an inclusive interpretation of the Horatian definition, despite being authorised by other classical sources (Horace included), mirrors the social and cultural changes which were taking place within the different layers of the aristocratic culture. Above all, this inclusive definition shows literature as 'a culturally contested practice – one that can be situated within a changing cultural landscape that rewarded forms of both profit and pleasure'.²⁰⁰ Matz presents a convincing argument drawing from sixteenth-century English authors to demonstrate that 'the conflict between a choice of "either/or" or "both/and" in the classical sources suggests ... that the

¹⁹⁸ Friis-Jensen (1993) 263. For a discussion of the medieval debate on the purpose of literature drawing from the interpretation of Horace's *Ars Poetica*, see 261 – 64.

¹⁹⁹ Doran (1954).

²⁰⁰ Matz (2000) 3.

relations between profitable and pleasurable activity are subject to potentially contradictory, *potentially strategic interpretation*' (my emphasis).²⁰¹ Matz's latter point is important, and can be applied *mutatis mutandis* to sixteenth-century Portugal with equally revealing, albeit different, conclusions.

The production of literary theory in 'Quinhentos' Portugal was quite insignificant, with the few exceptions being published towards the turn of the century, after the publication of Teive's *Epodon libri tres*, and often published abroad.²⁰² Critics like Pinto de Castro and Alves, who have devoted their attention to the development of literary theory in the Portuguese Renaissance and Baroque, have drawn attention to this relative lack of theoretical output by Portuguese humanists – something which bears resemblance to what happened in the neighbouring Habsburg Spain –, and they have equally highlighted the importance of non-theoretical literary production to the understanding of the underlying principles of literary theory which guided Portuguese authors.²⁰³

I propose to analyse Teive's prologue as an example of this non-theoretical output, and namely as a paradigm of the shift which occurred with regard to the interpretation of the purpose of literature in Portugal in the course of the sixteenth century.

²⁰¹ Matz (2000) 1.

²⁰² Amongst these are commentaries to Horace's *Ars Poetica*, by Aquiles Estaço (*In Quintii Horatii Flacci Poeticam Commentarii*, Antwerp, 1553); Pedro da Veiga (*Horatius Flaccus Venusinus de Arte Poetica*, Antwerp, 1578), Tomé Correia (*In Librum de Arte Poetica Q. Horatii Flacci Explanationes*, Venice, 1587) – the latter has been analysed by Weinberg (1974) 215 – 21. Correia was a writer of occasional literature and literary theory and also published a number of other treatises, including *De Epigrammate* (1569), *De Elegia libellus* (1571), *De Antiquitate Poesis* (1586), *De conficiendis Epigrammatibus* (1590, a revised edition of the 1571 book), and finally his *De Eloquentia* (1591). Another theoretical contribution to literary theory of the sixteenth century made by a Portuguese is that of Miguel Sanches de Lima's: his *El Arte Poetica en romance castellano* will be analysed later in this chapter.

²⁰³ Menéndez y Pelayo's *Historia de las Ideas Estéticas en España* in five long volumes devotes very little attention to Portugal. For systematic and in-depth studies on literary theory in early-modern Portugal, see Pinto de Castro (1973, 1984a, 1985), Alves (2001)105 – 23 (an overview of early-modern literary theory in Portugal, with a particular emphasis on epic), Kohut (1973) who adopts a comparative perspective between Spain and Portugal, and recently, Anastácio (2006).

As Dunn remarks in his study of the rhetoric of authorship in the Renaissance preface, ‘self-authorization has always been part of the prefatory project, and the intersection of preface with authorizing strategies is as old as the preface itself’.²⁰⁴ Classical rhetorical treatises stress the importance of humility and a plain, unornamented style for a successful ‘captatio benevolentiae’.²⁰⁵ By doing so, the speaker would gain authority over his audience. The simplicity of style and the self-proclaimed incompetence of the author in terms of his linguistic and stylistic resources were, therefore, recurrent ‘topoi’. In his concise prologue to the Cardinal, Teive conventionally adopts these strategies, stressing his inability as a writer. Yet, in this text humbleness plays a specific role which surpasses that of mere ‘captatio benevolentiae’. This is the first moment when the Portuguese writer compares himself to Horace, with whom Teive appears in oppositional stance in the text. The eloquence, elegance, smoothness and ornate style of Horace’s poetry cannot be equalled by Teive. The superior poetic skill of the Roman author is openly acknowledged by Teive who, in an apparent praise of the Roman poet, refers to him as the mouthpiece of the Muses.

By presenting Horace in such terms, Teive makes a move in his prologue to a second recurrent topic of Classical prefaces, suggested by handbooks of rhetoric: the conflict between form and content. Teive presents the ‘argumentum’ of his poem, the perfect image of a divine bishop, as one which, due to its seriousness and dignity, outshines the subject of Horace’s famous epistle. Thus, after acknowledging his formal shortcomings, Teive surprises his audience by considering them positive since they allow the content of his poetry to stand for itself. This rhetorical strategy serves the purpose of highlighting how Teive’s

²⁰⁴ Dunn (1994) 19.

²⁰⁵ Janson (1964) 27 – 63.

simple verses bring out the innate value of the subject-matter he sings, its truthfulness, integrity, virtue and piety.

In contrast, Teive claims, the ‘argumentum’ of Horace’s poetry is made of crazy myths sprung from man’s imagination or from the inspiration of the *pagan* Muses.²⁰⁶ This corresponds to the image of the ‘vates’ in the *Epithalamium* who, inspired by the ‘Delphico furore’ (ll. 175 – 76), narrates the mythological fable by which the marriage of Maria and Alessandro Farnese is explained in poetic terms.²⁰⁷

Teive presents himself from the start in open and direct opposition to Horace, and it is an unusual ‘aemulatio’ that which pervades the prologue – in the eyes of the readers of the *Epodon libri tres* Horace becomes the poet who seeks simply to ‘delectare’ men. Teive’s defence of his own poetry is based on Horace’s famous line, but the Portuguese author deliberately averts his readers’ attention from other passages of the *Ars Poetica* where ‘iucunda’ and ‘idonea’, and where ‘utile’ and ‘dulce’ are considered equally important and brought together in the definition of the purpose of poetry. Thus, Teive’s image of a serious, pious, simple poet devoted to the truth and to God is built in contrast to Horace’s persona, a persona which is manipulated by Teive drawing from a selective and ideologically motivated reading of Horace’s text – or, to use Matz’s formulation, to a ‘strategic interpretation’ of this important passage of the *Ars Poetica*.

In Teive’s words, the *De perfecto Episcopo*, its purpose, subject-matter and origin by far surpass the Roman author’s epistle. Composed in the eve of Cardinal Henrique’s election as the Archbishop of Lisbon, the content of this work consists of solid virtue and the greatest integrity, Teive informs his readers, but, above all, of the grave sayings and the holy precepts of almighty God – and these, it is

²⁰⁶ Teive also criticises the ‘veterum fabularum deliramenta’ in the prologue of book I addressed to Julián de Alba. Teive (1565) f. a3v.

²⁰⁷ See Chapter 3.2.3 (139 – 151).

implied, can do without the artificiality of rhetoric. This rejection of rhetoric is, in itself, a rhetorical strategy with a long tradition in the writings of Christian authors.²⁰⁸ Teive's pretence of being ignorant of the art of rhetoric is not to be taken seriously, and his readers would not fail to appreciate it.

Therefore, the pagan Muses who had stirred Horace to compose his *Ars Poetica* are replaced in the *De perfecto Episcopo* by God himself. Not only is the source of inspiration for Teive's poem superior to that of Horace, not only is his subject-matter more lofty than that of the Roman poet, its *purpose* is also more noteworthy: the moral edification of the soul, the promotion of piety and holiness, the prevention of vice and sin, and finally the ultimate goal of achieving salvation of the soul and eternal life.

In the *Epodon libri tres* Teive appears to be more radical than other Portuguese sixteenth-century humanists. In book IV of his *Noua grammatices Mariae matris Dei Virginis ars*, published in 1516, Estêvão Cavaleiro defined poetry as 'metrica structura ad utilitatem uoluptatemque accommodata'.²⁰⁹ Cavaleiro establishes a direct equivalence between the utility and the pleasure of literature, both sharing an equally important status.

Ferreira, humanist of a later generation, expresses slightly different views on the purpose of literature in different texts of his *Poemas Lusitanos*. In his 'Epistle to Prince Duarte'²¹⁰ (son of João III's brother, Duarte, and brother of Maria of Portugal), who was a well-known patron of the letters, Ferreira fleetingly addresses the moral and religious purpose of literature (ll. 25-27) to focus on its creative power and aesthetic potential (ll. 27-51). In his 'Epistle to Cardinal

²⁰⁸ Janson (1964) 130.

²⁰⁹ Cavaleiro (1516) IV. 6. For an overview of Cavaleiro's life and works, see Matos (1963). The *Noua grammatices Mariae matris Dei Virginis ars* has been studied by Barreto (1980-81), and Ramalho (1977-78) has dedicated particular attention to the prologue of this work as a testimony of the earlier stages of the development of Humanism in Portugal.

²¹⁰ Ferreira (2000) 309 – 12.

Henrique'²¹¹ (where the opening lines of Horace's *Ep.* 2.1 are alluded to) Ferreira makes his defence of poetry in different terms. Addressing the most important literary patron of his time, Ferreira makes an apology of the value of literature, highlighting the public role of the poet, and his moral responsibility towards his community:

'Pera o público bem também estudam
e cantam os bons poetas, deleitando
ensinam, e os maus afeitos em bons mudam.' (ll. 91 – 93)

The public good is mentioned as the purpose of poetry, and furthermore, the pure aesthetic value of literature is put in a second plane, when the Portuguese writer makes 'ensinam' the main verb of the clause, and 'deleitando' the gerundive subordinative clause. Although there is a clear reference to *A. P.* 333 – 34, the meaning of Ferreira's verses is not entirely equivalent to those of Horace. Defending the importance of literature in general, and not his status as an individual author before the Cardinal, Ferreira stresses the profit and utility of poetry, revealing what Earle has defined as an 'ecstatic belief in the power of poetry to transform man and the world for their greater good'²¹² ('os maus afeitos em bons mudam', Ferreira points out to the Cardinal). Of Ferreira's concern with the aesthetic (and associated moral) value of poetry an example can be found in the above-mentioned epistle to prince Duarte, but it should be highlighted that Ferreira chose to tone down his defence of the aesthetic purpose of literature in this epistle to Cardinal Henrique.

In 1580, the Portuguese Miguel Sanches de Lima, who lived most of his life in Spain, published his *El Arte Poetica en Romance Castellano* (Alcalá de Henares, 1580). Sanches de Lima also emphasizes the utility of literature in his definition of poetry:

²¹¹ Ferreira (2000) 319 – 27.
²¹² Earle (1988) 25.

‘Poesia es la que mata la necedad, y destierra la ignorancia, auuia el ingenio, adelgaza y labra el entendimiento, exercita la memoria, ocupando el tiempo el Poeta en studiosas, y altas consideraciones, tratando conceptos muy subidos, *mezclando el agradable y dulce estilo, con lo prouechoso y muy sentido.*’ (my emphasis) ²¹³

Sanches de Lima continues in his treatise, composed as a dialogue between Calidonio and Silvio, by criticising the pernicious effects of romances of chivalry.

Calidonio, the author’s mouthpiece, discusses the true purpose of literature:

‘Y de la Poesia, *vsando della como se deue, se saca mucha utilidad y prouecho, assi para el alma como para el gusto de los hombres de claro juyzio y delicado entendimiento.*’ (my emphasis) ²¹⁴

Apart from a brief reference to the sweetness of style with clear Horatian undertones, Sanches de Lima’s defence of poetry as a profitable activity for the poet reflects the progressive effacing of the aesthetic value of literature replacing it with moral edification.

His *El Arte Poetica* was published fifteen years after the *Epodon libri tres*. Whereas neither Estêvão Cavaleiro, Ferreira, or Sanches Lima deny room for pleasure as one of the purposes of the writing of literature, albeit subordinated to moral concerns, Teive appears to do so.

The motives which led Teive to write the prologue of book III in the terms analysed can be traced to the atmosphere of religious orthodoxy which prevailed at the time in Portugal and which had an impact on the cultural production of the humanist elite, as previously discussed in Chapter One. But his priestly status proved particularly important in this respect. Teive was one of the first Catholic neo-Latin authors and members of the clergy to have engaged so openly with Horace’s *Epodi* in a post-Tridentine atmosphere, publishing a work bearing a similar title.

²¹³ Sanches de Lima (1944) 40.

²¹⁴ Sanches de Lima (1944) 43 – 44.

It would not be until much later in the seventeenth century that prestigious Jesuit poets, such as the Polish Maciej Sarbiewski (1595 – 1640), his friend, the Frenchman Gilbert Jonin (1598 – 1638), and the German Jakob Balde (1604 – 1668) emulated Horace in similar terms and so consistently. Like Teive, Balde, Sarbiewski and Jonin were men of the Church, and composed lyric collections of odes and epodes following Horace’s model. In an article entitled ‘Horace Polonais. Horace Allemand’, Andrée Thill points out that Balde and Sarbiewski ‘laissent leur propre personne en retrait. Le lecteur n’apprend presque rien sur leurs goûts, leurs faiblesses, leurs amitiés’²¹⁵ – a point made earlier in this thesis regarding Teive and his preference for occasional literature. If the adaptation of Horace’s political and moral odes to a different historical context poses no problem for Thill, she admits that ‘l’imitation des *Epodes* d’Horace... représente un problème à part’, as Balde and Sarbiewski’s poems “n’ont que peu de points communs avec les *Epodes* d’Horace. On n’y retrouve que partiellement la métrique, et jamais le ton de la poésie iambique’.²¹⁶ Thill argues, in my view rightly, that both authors had emulated Horace’s odes influenced by their faith and the concerns of their own time. However, there is no need to consider their *Epodi* as a case apart, but quite on the contrary to argue that they correspond to a deliberate rewriting of Horace’s work. Precisely because the general tone of Horace’s *Epodi* would not be fitting for religious men and would infringe literary decorum, and due to the fact that the content of many of Horace’s epodes would not be considered suitable for immediate and direct imitation, neo-Latin writers in Counter-Reformation Europe (especially priests and members of religious orders) transform Horace’s work into something entirely new.

In the prologue of his *Odarum libri IV et Epodon I* (1630) dedicated to the Bishop of Montpellier, Pierre Fenoillet, Jonin declares: ‘memineram quippe me

²¹⁵ Thill (1993) 424.

²¹⁶ Thill (1993) 420.

Christianum Christianis haec auribus canere: quibus placere magis existimo pietatem incultam, quam cultum qualemcunque, qui aliquam impietatis habeat colorem'.²¹⁷ Not only are Jonin's words very similar to Teive's, but the collections of epodes composed by Sarbiewski, Balde and Jonin also reveal affinities with the *Epodon libri tres*, as occasional texts, dedicated to either secular patrons or to members of the Jesuit order, go hand in hand with religious poems. Amongst Jonin's works there is a poem dedicated to the General Provincial of the order, another to Ignatius of Loyola (also dedicatee of one of Teive's poems in book III of the *Epodon libri tres*), and another dedicated to the Virgin Mary, to name a few. In Balde's *Lyrlicorum libri IV. Epodon liber I* (1643), the opening epode is a poem on the devastation of wars in Europe, where the Jesuit encourages Europeans to take up arms against the Turks.²¹⁸ Amongst Sarbiewski's epodes²¹⁹ are two poems inspired by Horace's 'Beatus ille', the second (epode 3) being described by the author as a 'laus otii religiosi' (page 149). Horace's *Epod. 7* was certainly the model of Sarbiewski's epode on the wars which destroyed Europe. Another epode by the so-called Polish Horace is dedicated to the unborn baby Jesus, which is followed by another depicting the poet at the foot of the Holy Cross, at the time of the Passion. Like Teive, Sarbiewski also includes a nuptial poem in his collection (a 'nuptialis pompa'), which is followed by a series of four poems on a Marian procession.

Thus, the rewriting of Horace's *Epodi* should not be seen as a 'problème à part'. And if Sarbiewski became known as the 'Polish Horace' and Balde as the 'German Horace', as the title of Thill's contribution reminds us, it would be important to bear in mind that the national tone of their poetry goes hand in hand with a shared religious faith in Catholicism. In that sense, and although there is no cause

²¹⁷ Jonin (1630) 37.

²¹⁸ A recent critical edition of the *Epodon liber* is available: Balde (2002). For epode 1, see 24ff.

²¹⁹ Sarbiewski (1684) *Lyrlicorum libri IV. Epodon liber unus, Alterque Epigrammatum*.

whatsoever to suggest that Teive served as an inspiration or source to these poets of the seventeenth century, he is their predecessor when he presents himself before his readers as a Catholic Horace, and rewriting the *Epodi* in the spirit of Counter-Reformation Portugal.

From this discussion, it will come as no surprise that in the *Epithalamium* Teive is aiming at the level of transformative imitation.²²⁰ This type of eclectic imitation corresponds to the ideal defended by Erasmus in his *Ciceronianus* where the excesses of the anachronistic Ciceronian imitators are criticised.²²¹ Teive, who had spent the early years of his life in France, would have been well-acquainted with the controversy surrounding Erasmus's *Ciceronianus*.²²² It is important to remember that some of Teive's acquaintances in France were involved in the polemic: André de Gouveia (who invited Teive to teach at Bordeaux) was anti-Ciceronian.

Teive shared his stance towards the imitation of literary models. The analysis of the *Epithalamium* reveals an original author with a personal style of expression. Apart from few exceptions,²²³ it is not possible to identify direct or mildly transformed quotations or borrowings from classical, medieval and neo-Latin sources²²⁴ which imply an attempt at 'aemulatio' at the level of diction. Metrical restrictions can hinder originality and lead writers to borrow from the literary

²²⁰ The contributions of Greene (1982) and Pigman III (1980 and 1990) to the study of 'imitatio' in the Renaissance are essential reading. For the concept of transformative imitation, see Pigman III (1980).

²²¹ See Pigman III (1979).

²²² On the reception of Erasmus's *Ciceronianus* in France in the first half of the sixteenth century, and especially on the position of Portuguese intellectuals on the polemical debate, see Salmon (1980) (particularly 312 – 14).

²²³ See the commentary, Chapter 5.5, and Chapter 3.2.1 (133 – 36), where the paraphrase of Biblical and liturgical passages is contextualised and their function within the text explained on the basis of a specific ideological motivation.

²²⁴ As can be seen in the Commentary, there are very few exceptions to this. Borrowings from Classical authors are even rarer in the poem.

corpus at hand, but this does not happen in Teive's *Epithalamium*. The Portuguese author does not perceive nor resort to literary tradition as quarrying material.

It should be pointed out that rather than deliberate imitation, the use of similar phraseology in Latin may well be the result of either coincidence or unconscious reminiscence.²²⁵ This is the case particularly in poetry. Quintilian advises that 'imitatio ... non sit tantum in verbis' (*Inst.* 10. 2. 27). There are words and phrases which can be found in Classical, medieval and Renaissance writers, but these are part of everyday Latin usage, and are not deliberate stock-formulae used for metrical reasons or examples of what may be considered as deliberate imitation.

With the epithalamium Teive aims at achieving a level of originality both at the level of verbal expression and in generic terms, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Therefore, the purpose of the commentary presented in Chapter Five is to justify editorial choices and to clarify the meaning of certain passages of the text, and not so much to identify textual similarities or coincidences with other texts.

II. 1. 4 'Decorum'

Teive's *Epodon libri tres* also reflects the pervasive character of 'decorum': style, subject-matter, and authorship are not independent and must comply with this principle, a point Erasmus makes in his *Ciceronianus*. There, eclectic imitation is defended by the Dutch humanist who draws attention to the originality which should characterize verbal expression in several passages of his dialogue, reminding the reader how it should spring from and reflect the character of the author. A style which does not adjust to character and mind of the author will ultimately compromise his writing, Erasmus goes on to state:

'Nec videbitur illius sermo venustus, qui non congruit personae, nec rebus est accommodatus, monstrosum etiam qui

²²⁵ Pigman III (1990) 200-01.

res pietatis tractat verbis impiorum, quique materiam
Christianam Paganicis nugis contaminat.’²²⁶

As will be argued in more detail in Chapter Three, in the *Epithalamium* it is quite evident that Teive succeeds in keeping the ‘pagan frivolities’ on an entirely independent plane where his voice is never heard and his presence is effaced. Furthermore, confirming the originality which characterizes the poem, Teive included a passage in the text where he makes an apology for the rhetorical style of the poem:

‘Haec nostra plectro personante carmina,
hos musa modulos fuci inanes concinit.
Haec simplici oro voce: nec sanctis libet
nec forte possum rebus alios quaerere
simplex colores. Omnis hinc fucus procul
exterminetur, omnis ornatus procul,
comptique crines, nimiaque elegantia
pulchra calamistris: eruditibus vatibus
quos Itala terra nutrit, haec relinquimus.’ (ll. 159 – 69)

[The muse sings this song of ours to the sound of the resounding plectrum, these melodies devoid of artifice. I pray for this with simple words: neither does it please me nor perhaps can I, a simple man, seek other tints for holy subject-matter. May all artifice be banished from here, away all fine attires, and braided hair, and excessive elegance made beautiful by curling irons: to the learned poets whom Italy nurtures we leave such things.]

The same rhetorical strategies adopted in the prologue to Cardinal Henrique are at play in the *Epithalamium*. By establishing an equivalence between prayer and poetry, and by characterizing his poetry/prayers as pure, innocent, and free from artifice, Teive comments upon his own style, denying room for artifice, excessive elegance and embellishment. Highlighting his option for the plain style, and presenting himself as a ‘simplex’ incapable of such artificial sophistication, the poet emphasizes that more ornamented style (‘alios colores’) would not be appropriate for a man of the cloth such as himself, and underlines the value of his subject-matter (‘sanctis rebus’) – similarly to what he argues in the prologue of book III.

²²⁶ Erasmus (1971) 709.

There are numerous examples in rhetorical treatises where the discussion of style is made in similar terms as those found in the *Epithalamium*. For example, Cicero comments on the plain style, stating that it rejects the ‘ornatus’, the ‘calamistri’, and the ‘fucati medicamenta candoris et ruboris’ (*Orat.* 23. 78 – 79). The use of a gendered discourse in the definition of rhetoric style was passed down to the Renaissance via classical rhetorical treatises. As Sohm notes, ‘the critique of effeminate ornament in ancient rhetoric ... presupposed a wily woman gifted in the art of coloring and a credulous viewer who will mistake appearance for reality’, a viewer who will ‘[mistake] appearance for substance’.²²⁷ The expression of negative judgement on style based on gender, on the idea of the feminine, adopted by Classical treatises found its way into theoretical output of the Renaissance. The idea of the appropriateness and decorum of Cicero’s style is questioned in Erasmus’s *Ciceronianus* in significant terms:

‘Quin et ea aetate qua viuebat Cicero, non deerant viri priscam illam seueritatem adhuc spirantes, veluti Cato Vticensis, et Brutus, et Asinius Pollio, qui seuerius quiddam, minus theatricam magisque masculum requirerent in Ciceronis eloquentiaQuod igitur parum virile ducebatur in Cicerone, num putas decorum videri Christianis, quorum omnis vita magis spectat ad bene viuendum, quam ad ornate compeque dicendum: a quorum moribus oportet plurimum abesse, quicquid ad fucos et scenicam delectationem accedit?’²²⁸

Not only does Erasmus use similar terms to denounce the inadequacy of the ornate and affected style, he equally addresses the question stating clearly that such artificiality was unsuitable, *indecorous*, for Christians. When Teive argues for the supremacy of content over form in the prologue of book III and in the *Epithalamium*, he does so in terms validated by a long-standing theoretical tradition. Again, by denying his rhetorical competence and his stylistic ability Teive is confirming to his audience that he is well-versed in such matters, as the self-proclaimed rejection of rhetoric is a rhetorical strategy per se. Teive, who

²²⁷ Sohm (1995) 782.

²²⁸ Erasmus (1971) 653 – 54.

defines himself in the *Epithalamium* as a man of God, simple and pure, with no stain of vice or sin, and morally beyond reproach, duly conforms to the rules of literary decorum when claiming that his nuptial poem is composed in the plain and unsophisticated style which reflects his moral qualities, his character, and his condition of priest. Thus, the implications of decorum are well illustrated both in the *Epithalamium* and in the *Epodon libri tres*.

II. 2 ‘Mimesis’: the Literary Implications of Neoplatonism

The second part of this Chapter is dedicated to the concept of ‘mimesis’. Its discussion arises from a problem of literary criticism which is present in Teive’s literary career since the nuptial oration of 1552, and whose implications are visible in the *Epithalamium*. Thus, to discuss Teive’s views on verbal representation, different texts will be analysed, including passages from the ‘oratio nuptialis’ written in 1552 for the marriage of Prince João and Princess Juana, the prologue of book III of the *Epodon libri tres*, the *De perfecto Episcopo*, and finally from the *Epithalamium*. The choice of these texts merits explanation. Teive did not write theoretical works of literary criticism, but as a poet, on the other hand, he incorporated reflections on questions of ‘mimesis’ in his works.

The contrast between ‘imago’ and ‘effigies’ is given prominence in the nuptial oration of 1552 for the first time in Teive’s career. Despite not being interested in debating concepts of literary theory, and certainly not in doing so in a piece of occasional literature, he associates the concept of ‘imago’ to perfection perceived by the mind, whereas the term ‘effigies’ appears to represent an imperfect image perceived by the sense of sight:

‘Vt ergo clare, aperteque perspicere possitis, quot, quantisque beneficiis summa omnipotentis Dei benignitas nos cumulauerit, nos beatos, ac felices effecerit, qui tales reges populo Lusitano largitus fuerit, mecum (si placet) alicuius impij tyranni triste atque immane *simulachrum*, regisque optimi ac sapientissimi speciosam ac laetam *effigiem* diligentissime *perpendite*.’ (8-9)

‘*Videtis* horrendam crudelissimi tyranni *effigiem*. Nunc, si placet, mecum, *recognoscite coelestem* quandam, non hominis, sed cuiusdam veluti numinis *imaginem*.’ (10)

[So, in order that you may clearly and plainly understand how many, how great are the honours which God Almighty has bestowed upon us, and in what way He made us blessed and blissful, He who was generous towards the Portuguese people, ... *consider* with me, if you will, the sad and monstrous *simulacrum* of the impious tyrant, and the fair and happy *effigies* of the most merciful King.

You *see* the horrendous *effigies* of the cruellest tyrant. Now, if you will, *recognize* with me the *heavenly image* not of an ordinary man, but that of the man that is like God. (my emphasis)]

The words ‘*imago*’ and ‘*effigies*’ were already part of the Latin literary tradition: they were used either as synonyms or as antonyms. In his *Hexameron*, Ambrose uses these terms with the same contrastive meaning that we find in Teive:

‘Secundum hanc imaginem Adam ante peccatum, sed ubi lapsus est, deposuit *imaginem caelestis*, sumpsit *terrestris effigiem*.’ (Ambrose, *Hex.* 6. 7. 42)

In this example, as in the quotation from the nuptial oration, an important aspect of the dichotomy between ‘*imago*’ and ‘*effigies*’ is the opposition between a divine and heavenly element and a worldly material reality. It should be pointed out that earlier in Teive’s career this contrast was somewhat unsystematic. For example, in the first quotation, Teive associates the predicate ‘*perpendere*’ with ‘*effigies*’, even though the verb implies an intellectual action.

II.1 Neoplatonism and Verbal Representation in the *Epodon libri tres*

In the *Epodon libri tres* examples of unsystematic use of the terms ‘*imago*’ and ‘*effigies*’ are absent. There, ‘*effigies*’ is understood as that which can be seen, which possesses visual and material dimension. On the contrary, ‘*imago*’ pertains to the divine world, and it is only perceived by the mind and the intellect. Hence, the use of the verbs ‘*considerare*’ and ‘*recognoscere*’ in the nuptial oration, and ‘*comprehendere*’ in the following quotation from the prologue of book III of the *Epodon libri tres*:

‘Cumque id intelligerem operae precium existimaui, vt hi qui legerent dum multa quae ad absoluendam tantae rei

imaginem desiderarent, ab his quae scribo oculos auerterent et ad te qui proxime adesses, cui haec dedicata sunt conuertent, in quo tanquam *in viua aliqua imagine perfectissimam* pontificis optimi *effigiem* non solum *animorum cogitatione comprehenderent*, sed etiam *oculis perspicerent.*' (III f.a1v)

[When I understood that, I realized that it would be useful for those who read these words to feel the lack of many things which would make the image complete. They should avert their eyes from what I write and instead turn them towards you, the dedicatee of this work, so that you are present. They would thus understand intellectually, and even see with their own eyes, the perfect likeness of a good bishop, as if in some living image.]

It should be conceded that the tone of flattery is present in this passage, given that the portrait of the divine bishop was modelled upon Cardinal Henrique. Nonetheless, this particular excerpt reveals the Neoplatonic conception which underlies in Teive's writings: the 'imago' to be understood in a first instance by thought ('cogitatio') should become 'effigies' to be perceived by sight. Or, as Teive more clearly explains in the *De perfecto Episcopo*, it is the author's duty to stir the reader's imagination to visualize an abstract 'imago' revolved in the mind of the author, to stimulate the audience's imagination so that an abstract 'imago' may be transformed into a living image presented before the readers' own eyes (an 'effigies'). Thus, this abstract 'imago' corresponds to the Platonic Idea or Form:

'Vtinam ipse possem te tuis coloribus
ornare. Tanti id esset, ac summam integri
perfectionem Episcopi si pingerem.
Sed statuam ob oculos te meos tuam,
vt quondam Apelles, collocabo imaginem
quod musa ad illud ducat exemplum manum...' (III f. 3r)

[I wish I could adorn you with your own colours. That would be an achievement, if I were capable of painting the unmatched perfection of the righteous Bishop. But I shall place you, I shall place your image before my eyes, like Apelles once did, because the Muse may be able to guide my hand towards your example.]

Teive is eager to depict Cardinal Henrique as faithfully as possible with his words, but after the first sentence, the subject of poetry is no longer the Cardinal, but his 'summa perfectio', i.e. an ideal image – Teive states that inspiration will be drawn from an abstract image of the prelate. He appears to be following Cicero's

Orator in this passage. Cicero says at the outset of this treatise, that his purpose is to depict an ideal orator who cannot be perceived by the senses, but by the mind and the imagination (*Orat.* 2. 8). Quoting the example of Phidias' sculptures and Apelles' paintings, Cicero continues:

‘Nec uero ille artifex cum faceret Iouis formam aut Mineruae, contemplabatur aliquem e quo similitudinem duceret, sed ipsius in mente insidebat species pulchritudinis eximia quaedam, quam intuens in eaque defixus ad illius similitudinem artem et manum dirigebat. Vt igitur in formis et figuris est aliquid perfectum et excellens, cuius ad cogitatam speciem imitando referentur ea quae sub oculos ipsa non cadunt, sic perfectae eloquentiae speciem animo videmus, effigiem auribus quaerimus.’ (*Orat.* 2. 9 – 10).

Teive could have easy access to Cicero's text, and according to Deswarte, this particular 'passus' was also used by Heitor Pinto²²⁹ in 1563 to present Plato's Theory of Forms in his *Diálogo sobre a Justiça*.²³⁰ It is not my intention to claim that Teive was a Neoplatonist, in a philosophical sense. Even though the author does mention some aspects of Plato's theories, this should not be overestimated in the context of his work, as Teive only seldom refers to Platonic theories or myths and, even then, in broad terms.²³¹ Although Teive does not use specific Neoplatonic vocabulary in his work, he shared a common Neoplatonic outlook, like many authors of his day. As Weinberg remarks, by the mid sixteenth century,

²²⁹ The Hieromite Heitor Pinto (1528? – 1584) was an erudite prose writer and ascetic. Studies on his life and works have appeared by Pereira (1991) and Quint (1995).

²³⁰ Deswarte (1992) 128.

²³¹ The author alludes to Plato, *Symp.* 189d-e, in the 'oratio nuptialis' of 1552 to illustrate the concordia that existed among the couple, and he equally refers to the Theory of Forms in his *Institutio*:

‘Modestiam animum [componere], quem Plato virum vocat,
at corpus ipsum carcerem atque ergastulum
coelestis animi: quem modis nos omnibus
ornare oportet. Corporis non maximam
curam esse habendam, vermibus voracibus
dabit quod escam. ...’ (1565: f. 60v)

[Modesty is the ornament of the soul, which Plato calls man, but the body showing on the outside he calls the prison of the heavenly spirit, which one should adorn in every way. The body should not be looked after, for it will be fed to voracious worms.]

‘there comes to be a *koinê* of Platonic ideas, present universally but unspecifically in the minds of men; and it is to this common fund that reference is made by the critics rather than to the Platonic dialogues themselves.’²³²

Teive is a good example of this, as, despite showing no interest in philosophy, his concept of ‘mimesis’ is clearly informed by a Neoplatonic stance. It is the author himself who in the *De perfecto Episcopo* explicitly confesses his inability to representing Ideas in poetic terms:

‘Nostro ergo nemo quispiam stylo indiget,
ideam vt istam mente perfectissimam
versare et animo possit? An perfectius
cuncta meditari poterit hanc si viderit
effigiem ab imperito opifice conditam,
iudicio et ille multa supplebit suo
simulachro in isto quae videbit supprimi?
Sed nostra quamuis nemini haec sit vtilis
imago. At, oro, quid nocabit pingere?
Forte aliquis etiam doctus excitabitur
absoluere istam imaginem perfectius.’ (III f. 11r)

[Will anyone miss our stylus whilst trying to imagine this most perfect image in his mind and spirit? Or will he be able to meditate perfectly if he sees this effigy elaborated by an inexperienced artist, and contribute with his understanding to many things which have been eliminated in this simulacrum? But, even though this image is not useful to anyone, yet, I pray, why would it do any harm to paint it even so? Maybe some learned man will feel encouraged to complete this image in a more perfect way.]

In the same work, Teive insists yet again on the idea that the non-painter can imagine the perfection of Platonic ‘imagines’ better, and he admits being unable to find the appropriate words to express himself:

‘Euoluat animo quispiam melius suo,
possit magistri quam manus depingere,
quamquam illa numeris absoluta sit omnibus.
Perfecta melius perspica mens concipit.
Fac Helenam Apelles; pingat absolutius
quam quispiam alius artifex. Rerum inscius
et imperitus alius hanc imaginem
perfectiorem mente concipiet sua.’ (III f. 10v)

[Let anyone imagine things in their mind better than the hand of the painter can paint, even though the hand may be perfect in every way. A sharp mind imagines perfection better. Apelles, paint Helen!

²³² Weinberg (1961) 345.

Let Apelles paint in a way that surpasses any other artist. And that an unskilled man, lacking experience, imagine this more perfect image in his mind.]

Teive's reflexions on representation were not raised by some theoretical treatise on literary criticism – he deals with the problem of representing the perfection of Forms in his poetry. When again and again claiming to be an untalented artist, more than a conventional claim of modesty, he is voicing his inability to find the right words to express divine and perfect concepts.

Thus, given that Teive's poetry is an imperfect representation of the model it aims at reproducing, it is understandable why Teive expresses his hope in divine inspiration:

'Sed statuum ob oculos te meos, tuam
vt quondam Apelles, collocabo imaginem
quod musa ad illud ducat exemplum manum
musa arce coeli missa, nostros, spiritus
diuinus ille gratia animos excitans,
huc adsit ille, quo nihil tantum est arduum
nil vtique tam laboriosum et asperum,
quod non sit altis peruiuum conatibus,
modo adsit ille spiritus verus Dei.' (III f. 3r)

[But, like Apelles once, I shall place you, I shall place your image, before my eyes, because the Muse may guide my hand towards your example. The Muse sent from the heavenly citadel, the divine spirit himself, stirring our soul with his grace, may he himself be present, thanks to whom nothing is so toilsome, or so hard or harsh that it will not live on through great undertakings, as long as that true spirit of God is present.]

The uncertainty towards the role of the muse gives way to hope in the 'spiritus diuinus' as the source of poetic inspiration. The slippage from the pagan and feminine muse to the Christian and masculine 'spiritus' is decisive in an author with Teive's profile. This could be understood as flattery towards the dedicatee, but on the several quotations from the poem *De perfecto Episcopo* Teive shows an unusual concern for the reception of his work by his audience. He considers his poetry to be imperfect, but also to have the merit of offering an imperfect representation (an 'effigies', or a 'simulachrum') that will stimulate the reader to

use his own imagination and to engage in active reading (e.g.: ‘An perfectius/ cuncta meditari poterit hanc si viderit/ effigiem ab imperito opifice conditam,/ iudicio et ille multa supplebit suo/ simulachro in isto quae videbit supprimi?’ (III f. 11r) [Or will he be able to meditate perfectly if he sees this effigy elaborated by an inexperienced artist, and contribute with his understanding to many things which have been eliminated in this simulacrum?]).

On the contrary, in the *Epithalamium*, the pagan ‘vates’ is presented as a quite opposite type of poet: he is described as ‘sedulus’, and the readers are told that this pagan poet will omit nothing in his account of the merry festivities (ll. 319 – 20). The subjunctive which predominates in the ‘allocutio sponsalis’ and ‘vota’ (by which Teive encourages Maria and Alessandro to take up the right course of action, and by which he incites his readers to join him in his prayers for a joyful marriage) is substituted by the Indicative, narrative and descriptive, in the mythological fable. The contrast in the poem is clear, and we are led to deduce from the analysis of Teive’s words in the *De perfecto Episcopo* that the readers’ imagination is not stimulated by the writing of such a ‘vates’, nor will the audience have to engage actively with that type of text.

When he associates poetry with painting, Teive is by no means being original. During the Renaissance, such an association was common in works written by authors who theorise on poetry, and quotes such as Horace’s ‘vt pictura poesis’ (*A. P.* 361) and Simonides of Keos’s ‘painting is dumb poetry and poetry is speaking painting’ (recorded in Plutarch’s *De Gloria Atheniensium*, 346f – 347c) became widely popular. As Land states ‘much of Renaissance art theory is derived from such unsystematic, almost casual parallels of poetry and painting to be found scattered throughout the literature of Antiquity’,²³³ and comparisons between

²³³ Land (1994) 3 -4.

poetry and painting gained new impulse in the beginning of the fifteenth century. However, the authors who establish such parallels tend to value poetry for its ability to faithfully and realistically represent objects, people, events, feelings, etc.

The associated rhetorical category of style is that of ‘energeia’ (or the similar form ‘enargeia’) defined by Aristotle in *Rhet.* 1410b33-36 as ‘bringing before the eyes’. According to Newman, by ‘energeia’ Aristotle refers to that which ‘prompts the audience to visualize images within the persuasive process’.²³⁴ The term, however, established itself in the rhetorical tradition in Latin when Quintilian paired ‘enargeia’ and ‘evidentia’ (*Inst.* 8. 3. 61-62). The importance of lifelike, vivid representation associated to the term is furthermore confirmed in book XII of the *Institutio Oratoria* where it is identified as *ekphrasis*.²³⁵ This rhetorical principle continued to be seen as an important persuasive tool, and became central to the Renaissance’s concern for what Cave has defined as ‘rhetoric of presence’.²³⁶ This can be seen in its best expression in Erasmus’s *De duplici copia verborum et rerum*, widely read in sixteenth-century Europe.²³⁷ There, Erasmus explains the use of *enargeia*, saying that this is employed

‘quotiens vel amplificandi, vel ornandi, vel delectandi gratia rem non simpliciter exponemus, sed ceu coloribus expressam in tabula spectandam proponemus, vt nos depinxisse, non narrasse, lector spectasse, non legisse, videatur.’²³⁸

Teive does not share this concern for the ‘rhetoric of presence’ in his work, on the contrary: he openly acknowledges that his poetry falls short of the representation of ideal and abstract concepts, and that he relies on his readers’ engagement with the text for its meaning to emerge completely. Unlike the ‘topoi’ of modesty and poetic inability used in the prologue of book III, which are well-

²³⁴ Newman (2002) 22.

²³⁵ See Scholz (1999).

²³⁶ Cave (1976) 5-17.

²³⁷ Rigolot (2006) 165 – 67.

²³⁸ Erasmus (1988) 202.

established rhetorical strategies, the concerns Teive expresses in the *De perfecto Episcopo* seem simultaneously genuine and unusual at a time when ‘copia’ and ‘euidencia’ were valued.

The *Epithalamium* of 1565 provides excellent illustration of the enactment of this stance. Compared to other epithalamia, Teive’s poem stands out for its simplicity. There is no detailed visual description, nor evocation of strong sensorial impressions in the text. Teive pays no attention to detail, nor does he resort to amplification, as he could have done quite easily, e.g. in the description of the creation of the world and of Man by God. ‘Ekphrasis’ is equally absent (although it was abundantly used by other epithalamists, including prestigious Latin models), as is ‘topographia’, which would provide an excellent pretext for the incorporation of more detailed background information on both bride and groom, or for the glorification of Portugal and its vast empire. Should the *Epithalamium* be compared to a painting it would be reasonable to say that Teive as its painter used broad strokes on canvas. Furthermore, image, metaphor and comparison, although employed, cannot be found in great number.

Unfortunately, the author did not discuss in more detail the reasons for his stance on poetic ‘mimesis’ in his work. He is not, however, unique in his approach. A parallel can be drawn with the Portuguese humanist and painter Francisco de Holanda (1517 – 1585). In his influential treatise *Da Pintura* (1548),²³⁹ Holanda acknowledges the difference which mediates between the perfection of the Idea and the limitations of its representation, either due to the inability of the painter or simply to the impossibility to fully depict intellectual Forms.²⁴⁰ Francisco de Holanda advises simplicity at the level of pictorial

²³⁹ Several modern editions and translations of this work are available. The Portuguese edition by González Garcia (1984) includes ample notes and commentaries. For a critical study of Holanda’s literary production and his important contribution to European art theory in the Renaissance, see Deswarte (1992) and Serrão (2001).

²⁴⁰ Holanda (1984) 95 – 96.

execution in the same way that Teive acknowledges the inevitability of words falling short of Ideas and defends poetic simplicity at the level of poetic ‘actio’:

‘poucas figuras, pouco rumor de paisagem, muito pouco edefício; e porém este pouco feito de maneira com tal proporção e decoro que valha mais que todo aqueloutro muito sem comparação. ... *Assi que a nobre pintura tanto ha de ser feita do que se n’ella deixou de fazer, como do que n’ella se fez.*’ (my emphasis)²⁴¹

Thus, both Teive and Holanda refer to the evocative power and intrinsic value of imperfect verbal and pictorial representation. Teive’s awareness of the limitations of language as a faithful vehicle of mimesis does not operate at the level of the relationship between ‘res’ and ‘verba’, but between ‘Forma’ and ‘verba’. His stance is indicative of the growing consciousness of the difference between ‘signification’ and ‘representation’ in the early-modern period, and of the shifting of emphasis onto the former.²⁴² Moreover, as Sharpling argues, ‘despite the obvious attraction of achieving linguistic plenitude, articulated in Classical and Renaissance handbooks alike, such a possibility soon seems to disintegrate’, as ‘there is the growing recognition, in the Renaissance, that language *constructs*, rather than *reflects* concepts.’²⁴³ In this sense, and although Teive’s comments on the impossibility of achieving mimetic plenitude are rather unusually included into his poetry, they are representative of a shifting attitude towards representation in the Renaissance.

²⁴¹ Holanda (1984) 166.

²⁴² Dubois (1984).

²⁴³ Sharpling (2002) 176 – 78.

Chapter Three

Diogo de Teive and the Epithalamic Tradition

Diogo de Teive wrote occasional literature throughout his literary career. Although today disregarded as minor, occasional literature celebrated important social and public occasions, landmarks in the life of the dedicatees or commissioners of such texts. The negative connotations nowadays associated with literary patronage, namely the panegyric of patrons, made no sense in Antiquity or in the Renaissance, and will be dismissed in this chapter. When using the term ‘occasional literature’ I am referring to its general meaning (that of literature composed on a given occasion), and I do not imply that this should be considered a specific literary genre. If the many ‘orationes’ which Teive delivered in the early stage of his career are examples of occasional prose, he also experimented with drama (the first tragedy of contemporary subject in Portugal, the *Ioannes Princeps*) before he turned to poetry, composing occasional texts, such as epithalamia and epitaphia.

During the Renaissance, nuptial orations and epithalamia were considered important types of occasional literature. Marriage was a significant social event, and a privileged opportunity for royal and aristocratic families to promote themselves and project their political and social aspirations to a wider audience.²⁴⁴ This importance has been progressively acknowledged in the studies that have appeared on the history of the epithalamium in Europe. Although the influence of the classical tradition of the epithalamium upon Renaissance poets had been the

²⁴⁴ The relationship between social context and the revival of the epithalamium in the early modern period has been discussed by Forster (1967, 1969).

subject of previous analyses,²⁴⁵ it was in 1954 that first broad-scope survey of the genre appeared, authored by Thomas Greene. His doctoral dissertation *The Epithalamium in the Renaissance* paved the way for subsequent publications, but the next complete study of the epithalamium came out only in 1970 by Virginia Tufte: *The Poetry of Marriage: The Epithalamium in Europe and its Development in England* was followed by a second study by the same author, *Highwelock Then Be Honoured*, which also appeared that same year. Madeleine Babin's doctoral dissertation *Epithalamia. Classical Traditions and Changing Responses* (1978) added little to the earlier works by Greene and Tufte. These studies draw attention to the development of the epithalamium in Europe, more precisely in Italy, France,²⁴⁶ and England. Surprisingly, in Italy, the cradle of the Renaissance, the number of epithalamia is relatively low. As can be inferred from the study by Brandileone (1906), the most popular literary form of celebrating marriages was the nuptial oration and not the epithalamium. Mauro de Nichilo has called attention to the ideological function of these nuptial orations, as well as the generic principles which codified their composition.²⁴⁷ More recently, D'Elia²⁴⁸ analysed these texts, exploring how humanists constructed their defence of marriage drawing on a myriad of arguments validated by that same tradition. It would be in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century that verse epithalamia began to replace nuptial orations, as Forster points out,²⁴⁹ and both Greene and Tufte devote a significant part of their studies to the development of the genre in Italy.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ Amongst them, are Case (1896), Bush (1932), Lewis (1936), McPeck (1939).

²⁴⁶ On the appearance and early development of the genre in France see the interesting paper by Tournoy-Thoen (1980); for a discussion of the development of the French epithalamium see Richter (1972). Greene (1957) 113 – 162 and Tufte (1970) 105 – 25 first discussed the French epithalamic tradition.

²⁴⁷ De Nichilo (1994, 1995).

²⁴⁸ D'Elia (2002).

²⁴⁹ Forster (1969) 99 – 100.

²⁵⁰ See Greene (1957) 57 – 112 and Tufte (1970) 87 – 105. The most comprehensive bibliography of Italian nuptial literature appeared by Olga Pinto (1971), but no texts on the marriage of Maria of Portugal and Alessandro Farnese can be found amongst her complete list of titles.

Conrady and Jermann, on the other hand, have studied German epithalamic tradition,²⁵¹ and several studies (some recent) have discussed Spanish epithalamia,²⁵² as well as the development of the genre in the Netherlands.²⁵³ Although comparatively little attention has been paid to the significant corpus of neo-Latin poetry, it is now becoming possible to point out tendencies in the evolution of the epithalamium, and to pin down similarities and differences between different national literatures in broader and general terms.

There is no general survey dedicated to the development of the epithalamium in Portugal. The studies which take on a comparative perspective are very rare and never discuss neo-Latin poems,²⁵⁴ as scholarly interest tends to focus on vernacular poetry authored by canonical authors such as Sá de Miranda and António Ferreira. Therefore, one of the aims of this chapter is to contribute to the study of the epithalamium in Portugal. Teive's *Epithalamium* will be analysed from a generic and comparative perspective. During the Renaissance, writers acquired their literary training by direct contact with literary tradition, but it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to discuss this prestigious epithalamic tradition, given that its study has already been carried out. For this reason, I will start by presenting an overview of the history of the epithalamium in Portugal. Particular attention will be paid to the interaction between ancient, neo-Latin and vernacular traditions, and to the defining traits of the genre and its development in Portugal. In the second part of this chapter, Teive's poem of 1565 will then be

²⁵¹ See Conrady (1962), and Jermann (1967) who adopts a thematic approach to the genre in his analysis of neo-Latin poems.

²⁵² Thomas Deveny presented his doctoral dissertation on the development of the epithalamium in Spain in 1967 (with a clear emphasis on the vernacular poems), followed by other articles on specific Spanish writers and broader discussions of literary patronage (see Deveny, 1982, 1985, 1986a, 1986b, 1986c, 1988). Subsequent studies have often drawn from a comparative perspective with other European literatures – e.g. Serrano Cueto (2003) and Ponce Cárdenas (2010). Serrano Cueto has recently published studies on several neo-Latin texts (2006, 2008, 2009).

²⁵³ See specifically van der Dussen (see 1979, 1980 and 1982), van Dam (2009) and Rabbie (1992) 452 ff.

²⁵⁴ Anastácio (1998, 2005), Fardilha (1999).

analysed in close detail. It will be argued that the Portuguese introduces original instances of generic enrichment into his poem, and that these play a key role in Teive's self-representation as a Catholic priest, an advisor of kings and a court poet.

III. 1. The Epithalamium in Portugal (1500 – 1565): an Overview

A prestigious literary tradition presented itself as a source of inspiration to the Renaissance epithalamist. It was, in fact, literary tradition, and not the specific circumstances of any given wedding, which found their way onto the poems.

Greene claims that

‘as the body of Renaissance epithalamia increased, the influence of any single poem decreased; in place of the poem, the epithalamist drew upon a stockpile of *topoi*, commonplaces, similes, epithets, traditional good wishes, common strategies and techniques. The epithalamist seems to have been aware of the genre, not so much as a number of individual poems among which he could choose his own “source”, but rather as a body of poetic material which was itself intricately entangled with borrowings and derivation, a body from which he could draw without necessarily incurring a debt to a given poem.’²⁵⁵

Greene’s claim is, for the most part, correct. Epithalamists worked on the basis of stereotyped techniques, structures, topics and commonplaces, present in literary tradition and textbooks. And yet, the debt in which authors at times incur to entire epithalamia or to specific passages should not be completely dismissed. Greene’s conclusions, to my view, underestimate the importance of epithalamia as textual sources, as will be illustrated with regard to specific Portuguese epithalamia.

The existence of a long literary tradition and of a codified set of generic principles and patterns posed a problem to the Renaissance epithalamist: the tension between the goal of composing a poem which would continue literary tradition on the one hand, and on the other to achieve originality and ultimately success as a poet. As Cairns observes, a ‘writer working in accordance with generic patterns is in general terms necessarily less original than a writer free from the restraints of genre’, as he is ‘confined to the range of subjects proper to the

²⁵⁵ Greene (1957) 220.

genres, and within these genres at least some of his material must be standard if his writings are to be recognizable as belonging to specific genres'.²⁵⁶ Given the above-mentioned restraints imposed on the poet, it was essentially by the process of 'inuentio' that originality could be achieved.

Epithalamists were not expected to be present at the ceremony. If they so wished, they could merely give their texts a slight patina of realism by incorporating references to persons present and details of the celebrations. Pressed by time, poets worked prior to the marriage ceremony and to order. Patronage was particularly important for the development of the epithalamium, and the vast majority of the 'corpus' of Portuguese epithalamia composed up to 1565 celebrate either the marriage of members of the royal family or of very important aristocrats.

In the following overview of the history of the epithalamium in Portugal, poems which are relevant to the understanding of the epithalamic tradition in Portugal but in particular to Teive's epithalamium of 1565 will be discussed. Other texts will be listed, but not analysed, given the constraints typical of this type of academic work.

The history of the epithalamium in Portugal did not begin with the vernacular tradition in 1545, as has been claimed.²⁵⁷ The Sicilian humanist Giovanni Cataldo Parisio Siculo (1455-1517), better known as Cataldus Siculus, came to Portugal in 1485 at the invitation of King João II. It was Cataldo who in 1490 delivered the nuptial oration on the occasion of the 'recebimento' of Princess Isabel, daughter of Isabel of Castille and Ferdinand of Aragon, who married the Portuguese heir,

²⁵⁶ Cairns (1972) 98.

²⁵⁷ See Anastácio (1998: 157; 2005) and Fardilha (1999).

Prince Afonso.²⁵⁸ Ten years later, Cataldo initiated the epithalamic tradition in Portugal: his *Epithalamium ad illustrissimum Alvarum Sapientissimum Hispaniae Praesidem* (in hexameters),²⁵⁹ was composed for the marriage of Prince Jorge de Lencastre (1481-1550), illegitimate son of King João II and Ana de Mendonça.²⁶⁰ The bride was Beatriz de Vilhena, daughter of Álvaro of Braganza, member of one of the most important Portuguese aristocratic families, and the dedicatee of the epithalamium. This was a very important marriage, since in 1500 Jorge de Lencastre was high in the line to the throne: around the time of the marriage King João II was attempting to appoint his illegitimate son as his successor, following the death of the legitimate heir, Afonso, in 1491.²⁶¹

The House of Braganza would see yet another of its members marry into the royal family. In 1537, the parents of Princess Maria of Portugal celebrated their nuptials: Prince Duarte, the son of King Manuel, married Isabel, the sister of Duke Teodósio of Braganza. The second surviving epithalamium to have been composed in Portugal was authored by the jurist Manuel da Costa (1511? – 62):²⁶² the ‘*De nuptiis Eduardi, Infantis Portugaliae, atque Isabellae, illustrissimi Theodosii, Brigantiae Ducis, Germanae Carmen Heroicum*’,²⁶³ in hexameters, was

²⁵⁸ The *Oratio habita a Cataldo in adventu Elisabeth Principis Portugaliae* was printed as part of the *Epistolae et orationes quaedam Cataldi Siculi* (1500, Lisbon). It has been reprinted with an introductory study by Silva (1974).

²⁵⁹ A more recent copy of the text is available in Sousa (1946 – 1954) VI, part 2, 209 – 26, but this does not reproduce the complete text of the 1500 edition, since it was subject to cuts, as Costa Ramalho (1988) 25 has pointed out. The one reliable text is that of the sixteenth-century edition *Poemata Cataldis* (1500, Lisbon) ff. 59 v – 70r. I used the copy held at the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, shelfmark R – 37 – 10.

²⁶⁰ Costa Ramalho (1994) 51 – 68 discusses the education of the young Jorge under Cataldo.

²⁶¹ Ramalho (1989-90) 15 – 16.

²⁶² Costa was a renowned jurist, but his poetic work is minor. Exception should be made to his two epithalamia. For a study of the life and literary career of this humanist, see Marques (1996) 5 – 43.

²⁶³ The poem had two editions in Portugal (Lisbon, in 1552 and 1558), and a third in Salamanca in 1584. Marques carried out a modern edition and translation of the epithalamium: see Costa (1996) 44 – 95. Sánchez Marín (1993) highlights the epic tone of

published only in 1552. The source of inspiration for the opening of da Costa's poem is Claudian's *Epithalamium dictum Honorio Augusto et Mariae*, but the poet also reverts to Catullus's *carmen* 64: a lengthy ekphrasis of the tapestries of the palace of Vila Viçosa encompasses the narrative of heroic battles won by the Portuguese in India – Jason's abandonment of Ariadne has here a sharp contrast. Also, in the revision of the poem, Costa included references to the marriage of Thetis and Peleus and to the prophesies of the Parcae. This is an ambitious poem of almost eight-hundred lines, a good example of the effort epithalamists devoted to the praise of their patrons.

The first vernacular epithalamium in Portugal was composed most probably in 1545 (but certainly before 1552)²⁶⁴ by one of the earliest and most important Portuguese humanists, Sá de Miranda (1481? – 1558):²⁶⁵ his 'Epitalamio Pastoral' was composed in Castilian, for the wedding of Camila de Sá, the daughter of António de Sá de Meneses, to João Rodrigues de Sá.²⁶⁶ Formally, the poem is an eclogue followed by an epithalamium, and this had great influence on subsequent epithalamic production in Portugal: the 'Epitalamio Pastoral' sets the structure for the vernacular poems composed in 1565, in particular for Ferreira's text with which Teive establishes an intertextual dialogue.²⁶⁷

Sá de Miranda's poem functions by contrast: two male shepherds feature in the opening of the eclogue, one, Turibio, suffering for unrequited love, and the other, Nuño, advising him to embrace the company of his fellow-shepherds and to forget

the poem. Mora (1999) presents a study of its secondary sources. Claudian's text has not been identified as a model of Costa's poem.

²⁶⁴ Both dates were established by Silva Terra (1975-76) 33.

²⁶⁵ Amongst Sá de Miranda's most relevant contributions to Portuguese Humanism and Renaissance letters are the introduction of new Italianate poetic forms (e.g. sonnet and eclogue, the decasyllabic verse). The bibliography on the author is vast. For a study of his life, the significance of his cultural contacts with foreign humanists (Sannazaro, Bembo, Garcilaso, Boscán), and his humanist work, see Michaëlis de Vasconcelos (1989) i – xlv, Earle (1980) and Marnoto (1997) *passim*.

²⁶⁶ Sá de Miranda (1885) 501 – 23 (and 858 – 59 notes on the poem).

²⁶⁷ See Chapter 3.2.3 (146).

his love affair. In a process quite typical of the eclogue, Nuño then recalls the songs of a second pair of shepherds, Gil and Ribero. In their amoebian song, Ribero complains of Love, and Gil sings his praise of Love. Nuño's account immediately cheers Turibio up, and at the distance they see two choirs of foreign young men and women, the 'zagales' and the 'zagalas', who come to celebrate a wedding. It is at this point that the text reverts to Catullus's *carmen* 62. Sá de Miranda fills the gaps caused by *lacunae* in the transmission of the ancient text,²⁶⁸ and incorporates innovative material in the stanzas sung by the female choir. The 'zagalas' claim that it is a violent offence to force a young woman out of her home, and that, once married, women become captives. They also complain of the toils of motherhood and of the loss of freedom associated to the married state. The replies of the choir of young men follow Catullus more closely, but Sá de Miranda altered the order of the stanzas, and perfect symmetry is achieved. The 'zagales' start off by pointing out the universal power of Love and that a woman's beauty fades with the passing of time; women, they claim, are known to chide what they most desire. Unlike in Catullus's *lis*, there is not a concluding stanza which clearly gives the victory to the male choir, and the reader is left to make a decision on his own.

Although rejecting the poem as an epithalamium, and despite his claim that this is the first attempt to adapt this classical literary form to Portuguese literature, in his analysis of the 'Epitalamio Pastoril' Fardilha rightly suggests that the poem is an example of literary self-fashioning.²⁶⁹ In the poem, the Sá family is praised: the heir was a highly cultivated humanist, and the wish that he should foster Letters and Poetry like his ancestors is present in the poem. These were the expectations of the poets who were supported by the Sá de Meneses family (including António

²⁶⁸ Between l.32 and l. 33 several lines of Catullus's poem are missing. In his edition, Goold (1983) 124 proposes a restoration of the text.

²⁶⁹ Fardilha (2008) 83 – 89.

Ferreira and Andrade Caminha). The ‘Epitalamio Pastoril’ is very much a statement about the significance of the Sá family in the Portuguese cultural scene of that time.

In 1552 Prince João, the heir to the Portuguese throne, married Juana, the daughter of Charles V. With regards to the history of the epithalamium in Portugal up to 1565, this was the most important marriage: six epithalamia composed on this occasion survive.

The corpus of neo-Latin epithalamia is varied. Manuel da Costa composed a much less ambitious epithalamium this time, entitled ‘Ad Ioannem et Ioannam principes Lusitaniae Serenissimos *Proteus*’, published in Lisbon in 1553, also in hexameters.²⁷⁰

Before heading to the University of Salamanca, Costa had been a pupil in Lisbon, having been taught by another epithalamist, Jerónimo Cardoso,²⁷¹ who also composed a (quite different) poem. The ‘Epithalamion Serenissimae Dominae Ioannae, Caesaris Caroli Quinti filiae’ (in hexameters) was published as part of book I of Cardoso’s *Siluarum libri* published in 1564 in Lisbon.²⁷² Although the poem is entitled ‘Epithalamion’, Cardoso is more concerned with celebrating the ‘thamos et coniugalia festa’ (l. 212), and, unlike in Catullus’s *carmen* 61, the lyric subject never takes on the active role of the master of ceremonies or choragus, but remains a passive spectator and narrator of the events.

²⁷⁰ The poem was published in Lisbon in 1553. A modern edition and translation into Portuguese is available by Marques (1996) 119 – 29, which appeared at the same time as Serrano Cueto’s edition (1996). Mora (1999) discusses the poem, and suggests Silius Italicus’s *Punica* (book VII) as the textual model of the poem.

²⁷¹ Cardoso (1508 – 69) was an important Portuguese humanist, best known as the author of the first Latin – Portuguese dictionary. For the career of Cardoso, see Reis (2009) 5 – 28.

²⁷² A modern edition and translation has appeared by Reis: see Cardoso (2009) 311 – 21.

The humanist Miguel de Cabedo (1525 – 70)²⁷³ also composed a neo-Latin poem in hexameters, more complex than Cardoso's: the 'In nuptias serenissimorum principum Ioannis, et Ioannae'²⁷⁴ explains the nuptials on the grounds of the intervention of the pagan gods. Mars, who was away fighting alongside Charles V, declares that the marriage of the two princes would bring peace to Europe and power to the new Empire.

The young António Ferreira celebrated this wedding with two poems composed in the vernacular. The first is the eclogue 'Arquigamia'.²⁷⁵ The poem encompasses a mythological narrative which frames the celebration of the marriage, but does not explain the wedding on the grounds of the intervention of the pagan gods. The second poem is different. It features in book I of the odes in Ferreira's *Poemas Lusitanos*, and occupies a prominent position (ode 2).²⁷⁶ Earle argues that the poem could be considered an epithalamium, based on the metric structure, which is modelled upon Catullus's *carmina* 61 and 62.²⁷⁷ Anastácio has opposed to this view, arguing that the content of the poem does not conform to that of an epithalamium, since there are no thematic elements in the text to justify its classification as such.²⁷⁸ However, it seems to me that the poem does contain generic elements typical of the epithalamic tradition, namely the praise of the bride and groom and their ancestors, and also the wishes of happiness dedicated to the couple. Moreover, the optative is used throughout the poem, and the 'vota' are adapted to the specific circumstances of a royal marriage. This text is far more political than the eclogue 'Arquigamia', and Ferreira highlights the political

²⁷³ For the literary career of Miguel de Cabedo, see Rebelo (1996).

²⁷⁴ The text was published with a prefatory letter dedicated to King João III – the only known surviving copy, currently at the Biblioteca do Rio de Janeiro, does not present any date. An edition of the text was published by Rebelo; see Cabedo (1996).

²⁷⁵ Ferreira (2000) 157 – 72.

²⁷⁶ Ferreira (2000) 108 – 09.

²⁷⁷ Earle (2000) 518 – 19.

²⁷⁸ Anastácio (1998) 162.

implications of this marriage. That the poet chose to convey an openly political tone to his poem should not be reason to exclude it from the ‘corpus’ of epithalamia, as Anastácio proposes.

For the wedding of Prince João to Princess Juana of Austria, Teive composed a poem of 193 hexameters, which is both briefer than the epithalamium of 1565 and also in a different metre. The ‘Carmen in eorundem Principum’ was first published in 1553 in Coimbra, and later reprinted in the *Opuscula* (ff. 58v – 62r). The text opens with the invocation to the muses of the Helicon and to Apollo (ll. 1-5). Teive then encourages other poets to celebrate the royal wedding, and the optative is used throughout the poem: with their songs, may Discord, Sorrow, Envy, Hatred, War, Vice, Rage and Enmity be expelled (ll. 6-29). The apotropaic passage at the beginning of the poem of the poem, longer and more sombre than one would expect in this type of occasional poem, was likely motivated by a shocking desecration act carried out by the Protestant William Gardiner during the nuptial mass at the royal chapel.²⁷⁹ Contrastingly, may Happiness, Peace, Applause, Rejoicing be present at the nuptials, and may dances, songs and choirs be accompanied by Laughter. In the one reference to the sexual union which marriages sanctions, Teive encourages the ‘casta Venus’ [Chaste Venus, l. 36] and the ‘voluptas nulla macula inculpata’ [Pleasure, innocent of any fault, l. 38] to attend the nuptials. The poet’s attention, then, turns to the bridal couple: they are the living image of their ancestors, distinguished for their beauty, virtue and honour. The eulogy of the bride is a very conventional one (ll. 52 – 70), and in an equally conventional passage, the poet admits to being unable to appropriately

²⁷⁹ During the nuptial mass, Gardiner desecrated the host and the wine, causing a tremendous commotion and the suspension of the official festivities that day. The former Oxford student was stoned and burnt alive a few days later, but the sombre atmosphere remained: the royal family even dressed in black during one of the atonement processions. See Freedman (1996).

celebrate Prince João: that will require a new Homer (l. 73). The lines where Achilles's military prowess is recalled (ll. 71 – 79) offer a mythological parallel to the eulogy of Prince João. He devotes his time to hunting (ll. 80-81), and his military education is overseen by Prince Luis, the hero of Tunis and the uncle who teaches him the 'egregias artes ... bellique, togaeque' [the noble arts ... of war and peace, l. 85]. But João is superior to Achilles, since Cardinal Henrique is in charge of his religious and cultural education (ll. 86-92). The young prince wishes to follow in his uncles' footsteps and imitate their example. João dreams of glory: he pretends to fight wars with his companions, yearning for future victories overseas (ll. 102 – 15). Teive depicts the young groom addressing and encouraging his troops in the battlefield. There follows the eulogy of the Prince's grace, virtue and eloquence (ll. 135 – 41), and Teive then moves on to praise the ideal qualities and virtues of the future king which he already sees in the young heir (ll. 142 – 57): one day, there will be a poet worthy to sing his victories, a new Homer, a new Vergil, who will render him immortal (ll. 158 – 73). Teive, then, encourages other poets to drive away the sorrows and worries of the present with their songs (another reference to the events which took place at the royal chapel), and urges the people to celebrate the happy nuptials (ll. 179 – 84). Finally, Teive prays for God's favour and protection, and expresses his wishes for happiness, and that the couple's offspring beget children of their own.

Teive focuses on the political significance of the marriage in this epithalamium, whilst preserving the structural elements of the epithalamium, such as the eulogy of bride, groom and their respective families, and the traditional good wishes at the end of the text. Although very different from the second epithalamium of 1565, this poem for the marriage of the heir to the throne presents some tendencies which will become more visible in Teive's later career. The section of the poem where Teive eulogises the ideal qualities of a future king will reappear in the

epithalamium of 1565, but under a different guise, as will the prayers addressed to God.

Shortly after the death of King João III in 1557, the vernacular poet Diogo Bernardes (c. 1530 – 1605)²⁸⁰ composed the eclogue ‘Joana’,²⁸¹ in Portuguese, for the marriage of Luís de Álcáçova Carneiro, the son of the 1st count of Idanha, Pedro de Alcáçova Carneiro, to Joana de Vasconcelos.²⁸² Like Sá de Miranda’s, Bernardes’s poem also features a dialogue between two shepherds (Sileno and Melibeu), which introduces the epithalamium sung by a third shepherd, Limiano (Bernardes’ pastoral name).

The vernacular poet Andrade Caminha (1520 – 89)²⁸³ composed his first epithalamium to mark the wedding of Vasco da Silveira and Inês de Noronha. The ‘Epitalâmio no casamento de Vasco da Silveira com a senhora dona Inês de Noronha’²⁸⁴ was composed for Vasco da Silveira’s first marriage. He was a member of the house of Prince Duarte, a friend of Andrade Caminha, and the son of António da Silveira, captain of the important Moroccan fortress of Arzila. Andrade Caminha’s poem, in decasyllabic tercets, is loosely modelled upon Catullus’s *carmen* 61.

²⁸⁰ Ferreira (1952) and Gomes (2009) 8 – 25 present an overview of the poet’s life and intellectual contacts. King Sebastião chose Bernardes as the poet who would celebrate his victories in Morocco – see specifically Berardinelli (2004).

²⁸¹ Bernardes (1945 – 46) 54 – 61.

²⁸² For the date of the composition of the eclogue, see Graça Moura (1987) 53 n. 28.

²⁸³ Andrade Caminha was a member of the house of Duarte, the father of Princess Maria, and later of the house of Braganza, which explains his dedications to the literary patrons of these important families. For a study of his life and career, see the complete introduction to the edition of his works by Anastácio (1998) I. For a discussion of this epithalamium, see I 157 – 69.

²⁸⁴ Andrade Caminha (1998) 829 – 35.

1565 was the year of the important marriage of Princess Maria of Portugal to Alessandro Farnese, celebrated by two vernacular poets (Ferreira and Andrade Caminha) and two neo-Latin ones (Teive and Cadabal Sottomayor).

Both Anastácio²⁸⁵ and Fardilha²⁸⁶ have claimed that Ferreira drew inspiration for his epithalamium from Angelo Poliziano's *Stanze per la giostra di Giuliano di Medici*, an incomplete text in two books, in 'ottava rima', composed to celebrate the victory of Giuliano di Medici's victory at a tournament.

I argue, differently, that Ferreira's poem, in octaves, successfully blends two different traditions of the epithalamium: the narrative model of Claudian's *Epithalamium dictum Honorio Augusto et Mariae* and Catullus's *carmen* 62, the textual source of the 'lis' of Sá de Miranda's 'Epitalamio Pastoril'. The poem encompasses a mythological narrative, which is surprising in a poet who is known for his contempt for Classical mythological stories.²⁸⁷ This epithalamium is, therefore, quite unique in his literary career. The text opens with Cupid producing his powerful arrows, and dipping them in two different fountains (ll. 1 – 32), an idea Ferreira drew from Claudian's poem (C. 10. 69 – 71). There follows the dialogue between Cupid and Venus, who complains that Maria of Portugal is immune to her power. Venus's speech comprises the eulogy of the bride and her family (ll. 33 – 97). Cupid excuses himself, saying that it had been difficult to find a suitable match for the Portuguese bride, no doubt an allusion to Maria's age and to the lengthy marriage negotiations between Portugal and Spain prior to the wedding. Cupid announces that he has finally found someone worthy of Maria, Alessandro Farnese (ll. 105 – 52). As traditionally happens in the post-classical rhetorical epithalamium, Cupid wounded the young Alessandro with his arrows. In

²⁸⁵ Anastácio (1998) 173.

²⁸⁶ Fardilha (1999) 31ff.

²⁸⁷ In the epyllion 'História de Santa Comba dos Vales', the myth of Acteon is described as a 'fábula vã' (l. 293) (Ferreira, 2000: 239 – 51). For a discussion of the modes of use of mythology in sixteenth-century Portuguese lyric, see Earle (2008) and Taylor (2007).

a monologue, the groom confesses he is overwhelmed by love, and laments that there is such a great distance between him and Maria. In Claudian's poem, Honorius is also the protagonist of an opening soliloquy, where the emperor complains that the father of his bride is taking too long to set a date for the marriage (C. 10. 1 - 46). In Ferreira's epithalamium, the Fame, the Graces and the Muses praise Maria's name in Alessandro's ears, while he contemplates Maria's portrait. Venus, Cupid says, should assist in the marriage of the two princes, and so she does by travelling in her chariot of white swans to meet the Princess, in the company of the Nereids and the Loves, yet another occasion in Ferreira's poem where Claudian served as inspiration (C. 10. 144 – 79). Once arrived at the palace of Maria, Venus awakens in her the love for Alessandro, and Cupid finally pierces her heart with his arrows. At this point in the poem, the poet withdraws from the scene (ll. 253 – 55), and Hymenaeus appears bearing a ring to confirm the '*santo ajuntamento*' (l. 258). The love Maria feels for her betrothed is referred as '*chama pura*' (l. 264) – Ferreira's efforts to tone down the paganism and eroticism of the poem become clear in this passage. The bride's joy in the marriage is referred several times, but so is her shyness (ll. 259 – 62). After describing the wedding celebrations in Lisbon and the emotional farewell to the bride (ll. 265 – 312), Ferreira reverts to the mythological world: Venus and her court prepare the chariot which will take Maria to Brussels by sea, in the company of Neptune, and the Nereids and Tritons. They sing, competing amongst themselves in a '*lis*' which is modelled upon Catullus's *carmen* 62, testifying to the foundational importance of Sá de Miranda's '*Epithalamio Pastoril*'.

Similarly to the Latin text, the opening stanza, sung by the Nereids, focuses on the departure of the young bride from the parents' house, and the second stanza sung by the male choir of Tritons equally echoes Catullus's poem: they counter this, claiming that a new love will arise when the bride and groom are married –

that is a ‘hora desejada’, which corresponds to Catullus’s ‘felix hora’ (62. 30). The subsequent pair of stanzas is where in the poem Ferreira draws closest to *carmen* 62: as first pointed out by Earle, ll. 345 – 60 imitate Catul. 62. 39 – 57. The Nereids compare the loss of virginity to the lily which wilts and dies once touched (ll. 345 – 52). The Tritons, contrastingly, compare the unmarried woman to the barren unwed vine which, once joined to the elm, thrives and produces its fruits. The next stanza of the ‘lis’ also draws from Catullus’s poem, but Ferreira adapted his text to the circumstances. The Nereids at this point concede, and recognise that it is the bride’s duty to obey her mother and accept marriage (ll. 361 – 64). In Catul. 62. 59 – 65, the bride is reminded that she owes obedience to both her parents, to whom two thirds of her maidenhead belong. However, Maria’s father, Prince Duarte, had died years before, and therefore Ferreira tactfully introduced some alterations in his poem – Maria must obey her mother and Love. The concluding stanza sung by the Tritons encompasses the ‘allocutio sponsalis’, with the traditional wishes for progeny (ll. 369 – 76). The voice of the narrator emerges at the very finale of the poem, and Earle interprets ll. 378 – 80, to my view rightly, as an allusion to the political interests which had brought about the marriage.²⁸⁸

The other vernacular epithalamium was composed by Andrade Caminha.²⁸⁹ His text encompasses a long mythological narrative followed by a ‘lis’ between competing choirs of Graces and Cupids who accompany the bride on her voyage to Brussels. Anastácio argues that this epithalamium is an ‘amplificatio’ of Ferreira’s poem,²⁹⁰ which can be observed in the striking similarity in the structure of the two texts. Yet, the plot of the mythological narrative is different, Venus’s null role in the marriage is original, and the content of the ‘lis’ is independent from

²⁸⁸ See the Introduction to this thesis.

²⁸⁹ Andrade Caminha (1998) 805 – 28.

²⁹⁰ Anastácio (1998) 162 – 65.

previous textual models. Andrade Caminha certainly had access to Ferreira's epithalamium, and was inspired by it, but he attempted to compose an original poem.

Of the three Latin epithalamia composed on this occasion, two are by the Galician poet Álvaro Cadabal de Sottomayor (1500? -1575).²⁹¹ His epithalamia, published in *Brachylogia* (1568, ff. 15r-20v), were inserted into the account of the celebrations of the wedding. The first poem, in Sapphic stanzas, bears great resemblance to Erasmus's epithalamium to Peter Giles, published in the 1524 edition of the *Colloquia*,²⁹² where each of the Muses takes turns in praising the couple and wishing them good fortune. The second epithalamium is a poem in sixty-four elegiacs, which does not draw from a particular textual source, although the opening line is adapted from the refrain of Catullus's *carmen* 62.

III. 1. 1 General Conclusions

The first conclusion to emerge from the previous overview of the epithalamic tradition in Portugal up to 1565 is that the genre developed very early in Portugal – the earliest epithalamium composed in Europe outside Italy is considered to be that of Gaguin in 1483.²⁹³ Cataldo's poem dates from 1500. However, the genre only implemented itself decisively in Portugal in the late 1530s in the neo-Latin

²⁹¹ One of the first Hellenists of the University of Santiago de Compostela, who established himself at the Portuguese court. The career of this Galician humanist has been studied by Díaz y Díaz (1996), García Oro (1996) and Veléz Latorre (1998).

²⁹² For the poem, see Erasmus (1993a) 356 – 61.

²⁹³ The French poet Robert Gaguin is currently credited to be the first non-Italian epithalamist: he composed a poem for the engagement of Margaret of Austria (the mother of Alessandro Farnese) to Charles VIII in 1483. See Tournoy – Tohen (1980) 92- 93.

tradition, and in the late 1540s or early 1550s in the vernacular. The absence of a continuity in the tradition of the epithalamium in Portugal after Cataldo is a sign of the hesitant start of the humanistic movement in Portugal – the initiator of the genre in Portugal was an Italian who had been invited to the Portuguese court, and the lack of immediate successors to follow in his footsteps reveals how cultural renovation was possible only after the reforms implemented by João III. Corroborating this, it can be pointed out that the second Portuguese epithalamist, Manuel da Costa, had been granted a scholarship to study at the University of Salamanca at the King's expense, and later taught at the University of Coimbra.

Secondly, the development of the epithalamium is directly linked to literary patronage, almost exclusively royal patronage. Unlike what happened in the Netherlands, a peripheral area where the absence of a royal court led to the late flourishing of the genre,²⁹⁴ in Portugal the royal family and the high aristocracy actively promoted the genre, and also influenced the overall tone of the poems: Portuguese poets praise the married couple and their dedicatees as their betters and protectors. This also explains why all the neo-Latin epithalamia celebrate the marriage of members of the royal family, testifying to the prestige and wide-reaching impact of neo-Latin as a privileged vehicle of political propaganda in the international scene.

Thirdly, it should be explained why there is a restricted number of epithalamia. It is important to stress that the texts analysed in this chapter are those whose identification was possible, and which have survived up to the present day – the existence of a wider corpus must remain a hypothesis. The number of epithalamia is evidence of the limited literary patronage practised outside the royal family. There were only two equally important aristocratic houses (of Braganza and Aveiro) whose members were distinguished patrons. The historical circumstances

²⁹⁴ Van Dam (2009) 107.

in which the marriages took place may also account for the reduced number of texts. No epithalamia were composed in 1500 when King Manuel married Princess Isabel – her brother, Prince Juan of Aragon, had died around the same time.²⁹⁵ After the 1530s the royal family was united more at the funerals of its members than at their weddings: in 1565, of the nine children borne by Catalina of Austria to King João III, none survived, and Prince Sebastião avoided any marriage plans.

Portuguese epithalamic tradition presents great homogeneity. The respect for the principles of epideictic rhetoric is a distinctive trait of the genre. Particular textual models, prestigious in the long-standing literary ancient tradition, are recurrently favoured by Portuguese poets. In fact, the only epithalamic tradition which Portuguese poets do not experiment with is that of the Roman Fescennine and the Greek *epithalamios*.²⁹⁶ This is understandable given the very conservative atmosphere of sixteenth-century Portugal.

In countries such as Italy, the epithalamium became increasingly erotic in the course of the sixteenth century.²⁹⁷ D'Elia points out that, albeit commenting on the pragmatical interests which had motivated the weddings, authors 'nevertheless presented an ideal of romantic and sometimes overtly sexual passion', embarking on detailed descriptions of the physical attributes of the bride and groom, as a way of legitimizing sexual pleasure.²⁹⁸ Yet, in Portugal eroticism plays no role in these poems, quite the opposite: women are represented almost as asexual beings, their beauty is praised in abstract, conventional terms, and legitimate sexual pleasure is not mentioned nor even alluded to. The 'erotic prelude to the wedding night'²⁹⁹ voiced in nuptial literature and the treatment of marriage as a sexual experience

²⁹⁵ Sanz Hermida (2004) 384 n. 19.

²⁹⁶ See, respectively, Greene (1957) 50-53 and 27-32.

²⁹⁷ Forster (1969) 105 – 15.

²⁹⁸ D'Elia (2004) 90 – 91.

²⁹⁹ D'Elia (2004) 83.

have no place in Portuguese epithalamia: it is as though no wedding night awaits the married couple. The impact of the Counter-Reformation was felt more strongly in the conservative Iberian Peninsula than in other countries, and writers opt for the ‘restrained treatment of sexual motifs’ in Portugal as do their Spanish counterparts.³⁰⁰

Poets freely and consistently attempt to adapt the epithalamium to the tradition of the vernacular eclogue. This phenomenon is not specific to Portugal, and in Spain and France poets also often compose bucolic epithalamia, as Tufte observes.³⁰¹ The epithalamic eclogues³⁰² which became the most common form of vernacular nuptial poetry, combining the eclogue and epithalamia often modelled upon Catullus’s *carmen* 62, are an excellent example of the adaptation of Classical tradition to the vernacular literature – a process which was in turn possible by the mediation of another Classical form, that of the amoebaeon song.

Finally, it is possible to observe an important change in the vernacular tradition, which occurred in 1565. For the first time, the structure of Sá de Miranda’s ‘Epitalamio Pastoril’ (eclogue followed by ‘lis’) is transformed, and the bucolic text was replaced by the rhetorical epithalamium encompassing a mythological narrative. Fardilha explains this claiming that the epithalamic eclogue was inadequate for the celebration of royal marriages.³⁰³ However, throughout Europe bucolic epithalamia were composed for important royal nuptials,³⁰⁴ and in Portugal

³⁰⁰ I am borrowing Deveny’s words: (1986) 90.

³⁰¹ Tufte (1970) 105.

³⁰² The terminology adopted by Portuguese scholars presents minimal variation: ‘éclogas com função epitalâmica’ (Anastácio (2005) 235) and ‘éclogas epitalâmicas’ (Fardilha (1999) 31; (2008) 87).

³⁰³ Fardilha (1999) 46.

³⁰⁴ E.g. in France, Ronsard’s 1558 *Chant Pastoral* for the marriage of the daughter of Henry II, Claude, and Charles, Duke of Lorraine, or Du Bellay’s 1559 *Epithalame* for the wedding of Princess Marguerite to the Emmanuel-Philibert, Duke of Savoy.

Ferreira had previously composed the eclogue ‘Arquigamia’ for the wedding of Prince João in 1552 – then, an accomplished poet like him did not hesitate in composing an eclogue to celebrate a marriage which was far more important than that of Maria and Alessandro Farnese. On the contrary, the bucolic universe confers grandeur in the celebration of the wedding. As Deveny notes, ‘the timeless, archetypal world of the pastoral constitutes a fundamental part of the process of poetic uplifting which is fundamental to the genre.’³⁰⁵ The fact that bride and groom are members of the royal family does not prevent poets from composing pastoral poems. That in 1565 vernacular poets turned to the rhetorical epithalamium in detriment of the eclogue may be a sign of a growing maturity of Portuguese Humanism and the desire to experiment with new poetic forms after the publication of Scaliger’s influential *Poetices libri septem* (1561).³⁰⁶ He included an extensive discussion of the epithalamium in book III.101, of which I quote a relevant passage:

‘Eius carminis argumentum consistit e sponsi sponsaeque desideriiis. Verum illius aperte dices studia, curas, celebritates cantionum, ludorum, armorum: virginis gratia facta omnia. Huius autem animum tectis indiciis, conditis suspicionibus innues potius quam profiteberis. Expugnatum castissimum pectus pietate erga iuvenem tabescentem, cuius virtutes commemorando excitabis excusationem. Aliquando finges a Venere aut Cupidine vi coactam, quae pridem eorum regnum contemptui habuisset. Secundo loco, explicabuntur laudes utriusque a patria, genere, animi studiis, corporis praestantia. Tertius bene ominabitur. Quarti lascivia lususque est totius alterutrum aut utrumque blande appellando, modestius virginem, haud modestissime tamen obiciendo quaedam, puta proelii futuri metum, victoriam, e lacrimis risum, e spe laetitiam certam. Quinto loco sobolem pollicetur, vota facit, vaticinatur. Postrema pars exhortationem continet ad somnum, ac somnum quidem aliis, illis vero vigiliam.’³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ Deveny (1986) 90.

³⁰⁶ A similar influence of Scaliger’s work has been suggested by van Dam (2009) 107 with regard to the development of the epithalamium in the Netherlands.

³⁰⁷ Scaliger (1994) 64 – 66.

The influence of Petrarchism is visible in the prescriptions concerning the description of the groom as a languishing lover.³⁰⁸ In addition, equally important in the epithalamium is the portrait of the bride as the virtuous Petrarchean maiden, who is immune from passion. Apart from a form of eulogy, such description raises a problem: if the virtuous bride chides love and does not consider marriage, then how can the union of the couple be explained? In other types of poetry, the maiden is adamant in her resistance to love, but in the epithalamium for obvious reasons this resistance must be overcome. It is here that the role of the pagan deities becomes of great importance. Recalling the prescriptions put forth by Scaliger, Thomas Greene argues rightly that it is ‘the emphasis on the virtues of the bridegroom [... and] the operation of the higher powers of Venus and Cupid in breaking down [the bride’s] conventionally correct attitude’.³⁰⁹ Therefore, rather than being considered decorative items, pagan gods have an important functional role to play in the Renaissance epithalamium.

Greene, who is particularly critical of Scaliger’s treatise, dismisses the significance of this work to the Renaissance epithalamists.³¹⁰ Yet, it was most likely the publication of this work which influenced the development of the genre in Portugal. After the appearance of the treatise, the three epithalamists who had previously experimented with the genre adopt Scaliger’s recommendations more or less freely in their poems, and Ferreira has here a pivotal role. His use of Claudian as a textual model was most probably suggested by Scaliger, who recommends the *Epithalamium dictum Honorio Augusto et Mariae* to his readership. Also, Scaliger prescribes that the groom should be represented as a love-struck lover, and this is the portrait of Alessandro Farnese in the poems by

³⁰⁸ Tufte (1970) 134.

³⁰⁹ Greene (1957) 225.

³¹⁰ Greene (1954) 65 claims that Scaliger’s ‘unimaginative and pedantic chapter demonstrates what a mind over-trained in classical poetry made of the epithalamium at the mid-century’.

Ferreira, Teive and Caminha. In addition, these three poets revert to the intervention of pagan deities to explain the antecedents of the marriage, a recommendation also put forth by Scaliger which was used amongst vernacular poets in Portugal *only after* his treatise was published.

This summary presentation of the epithalamic tradition up to 1565 has prepared the grounds for the analysis of Teive's epithalamium. The need to embark on a chronological approach to the epithalamium which pays attention to the neo-Latin and vernacular traditions will render possible the understanding of the unique character of Teive's poem, in the way it stands in relation to literary tradition and simultaneously establishes an intertextual dialogue with one other poem in particular composed on the same occasion.

III. 2. The *Epithalamium in laudem nuptiarum Alexandri et Mariae*:

Generic Enrichment and the Portrait of the Mature Author

In 1552, the younger Teive addressed a respectable audience in Coimbra where he delivered a nuptial oration followed by a brief epithalamium in the presence of the heir to the throne and his new wife. Then, he saw no need to justify himself before his readership, as he had been commissioned to do so. Many years had passed since that prestigious occasion, and many changes had occurred in Teive's life. In different ways, this epithalamium of 1565 is more ambitious and superior to that which he composed for the marriage of Prince João. Teive was a man in his early fifties, decided to make the best of the opportunities available at court to an intellectual of his calibre, and this epithalamium brings together different aspects of his literary career, which are represented in the *Epodon libri tres*.

Unlike his Portuguese predecessors and contemporaries, Teive makes freer use of the generic conventions of the epithalamium, adapting them to create a poem which has no parallel in the epithalamic tradition in Portugal. The following commentary will discuss the poem from a generic point of view. My analysis of Teive's poem draws from the theoretical analyses of Stephen Harrison (*Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace*) and Francis Cairns (*Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry*). The originality of the *Epithalamium* will be explained on the grounds of the concept of 'generic enrichment', which was proposed by Harrison as 'the way in which generically identifiable texts gain literary depth and texture from detailed confrontation with, and consequent inclusion of elements from, texts which appear to belong to different literary genres'.³¹¹ This concept draws from the fundamental realisation that literary genres broaden and develop creatively in contact with other literary genres, 'generic interaction' playing a

³¹¹ Harrison (2007) 1.

central role in the process of ‘generic enrichment’. Also, the identity of individual poems where the inclusion of different literary genres occurs does not lead to the creation of either new genres or hybrid poems, but instead to variation and broadening of the main genre. Harrison describes this relationship between dominant and subordinate genre applying the term ‘host genre’ to the former and ‘guest genre’ to the latter. The ‘guest genre’ is, therefore, introduced into the text without a main external structure and only in an incomplete form, not displaying its generic (external and internal) features in their entirety. I will resort to Cairns’ terminology only when discussing specific cases of topical experimentation.

As will be seen in the following analysis, Teive’s *Epithalamium* displays examples of generic enrichment. The occasional poem gains doctrinal depth in the proemium, several passages are framed as hymns to God and to the Virgin Mary,³¹² and the ‘*allocutio sponsalis*’ goes much further than that conventionally expected – Teive successfully included a didactic passage indebted to the tradition of the ‘*speculum principum*’ at this point in the poem. The *Epithalamium* establishes a creative relationship with different literary genres which Teive had experimented with in the course of his career, and which are represented in the *Epodon libri tres*: book I comprises two didactic poems dedicated to the education of the prince and princely rule, whereas book II contains hymnal poetry. Nonetheless, and despite the presence of somewhat conflicting elements (a mythological narrative occupies the central section of the poem), the generic identity of the poem remains clear throughout, as there is no conflation of genres, but simply inclusion in separate moments.

The structure of the *Epithalamium* can be divided as follows:

³¹² See Chapter 5.5, commentary to ll. 16 – 18, 163, 331.

- .1 Proemium (ll. 1 – 92)
- .2 ‘allocutio sponsalis’ (ll. 105 – 158)
 - i) Hymnal passage (ll. 93 – 104)
 - ii) Wedding sermon (ll. 105 – 124)
 - iii) Political advice (ll. 125 – 158)
- .3 Mythological narrative (ll. 170 – 323)
 - i) Hymnal passage (ll. 159 – 169)
- .4 Final ‘vota’ (ll. 324 – 390)

Teive goes far beyond the immediate purpose of praising his patron and the Portuguese royal family. In fact, this epithalamium is as much about that as it is about Teive, the writer. He sets out to represent himself before his readers as the respectful courtier but also as the priest, the advisor of kings, and the ideal Catholic poet. The poem is, therefore, a good example of the appropriation of occasional poetry for the purpose of self-representation, demonstrating how this type of texts can go beyond the mere panegyrics of dedicatees.

III. 2. 1 The Proemium:

Taking the Readers by Surprise

Cardinal Henrique is the dedicatee addressed by the 1st person lyric-subject (a projection of Teive) in the opening lines of the text (l. 4). Whereas the plot of Ferreira’s and Andrade Caminha’s epithalamia is situated in the fictional world of mythology, Teive opts for the opposite strategy. In the proemium, he first and foremost seeks to justify the very inclusion of the epithalamium in the *Epodon*

libri tres, referred as ‘regium opus’ at the very outset of the text (l. 1). Teive’s poem is an exercise in nuptial oratory, and therefore superficially of no relevance to the celibate cardinal, but Teive is quick to reassure the reader about the regent’s involvement. To justify the decision of coming forth to celebrate a wedding is itself a topic of the proemium in nuptial oratory, as Menander Rhetor advises (II. 399.20 – 25).

Teive adapts it to his particular circumstance in what is the first example of topical alteration in the poem, which is defined by Cairns as the ‘altering [of] the standard forms of topoi in such a way that the new forms remain recognizable as variants of the old’.³¹³ Teive does not limit himself to flattering the couple and his patron as would normally happen. Whilst maintaining the topic recognizable to his readership, he goes further in legitimising his decision to compose nuptial poetry, something which, in 1552, he had not felt compelled to do.

He was not the only priest and court writer to feel this obligation to explain why composing nuptial poetry was appropriate for a man of the cloth. Giovanni Gigli, an earlier epithalamist and priest, also defended himself in the dedicatory letter which precedes his epithalamium composed for the marriage of Henry VII to Elizabeth of York (1486). There, he counters potential objections, pointing out that marriage is one of the sacraments of the church, and that Jesus himself not only attended the wedding at Cana but also performed a miracle on that occasion.³¹⁴ Judging from the proemium, Teive must have also felt very strongly the need to justify his wanderings in the realm of nuptial poetry. His defence is skilfully structured in the poem.

The first reason put forth is the fact that Princess Maria is a member of the royal family. The insistent use of the adjective ‘regius’ in the proemium associated

³¹³ For the concept of topical alteration see Cairns (1972) 118 – 23. The quote can be found on page 123.

³¹⁴ The neo-Latin text has been edited and commented by Gilbert and Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen (2000); the passage of the dedication letter can be found on page 153.

to the bride (especially in the first, long sentence of the poem, ll. 1 – 10) emphasizes that this is a political occasion. But equally important is the fact that Teive's *Epodon libri tres* are a 'regium opus'. The reader is, therefore, to infer that, on the contrary, it would be surprising if Teive did *not* celebrate this marriage with a poem. His self-professed inability as a poet, put forth in conventional and rhetorical terms in the poem (ll. 11 – 15), prepares his readership for a second reason. This is a powerful argument, and one which would certainly please Cardinal Henrique: since it is composed in Latin, this epithalamium will be read by a wide European audience (ll. 16 – 17). Thirdly, and more according to what would be expected of the proemium, the noble qualities of the couple are worthy of praise, Teive here drawing attention to the epideictic rhetoric central to the epithalamium. Finally, to compose this epithalamium and to dedicate it to the Cardinal conforms to literary 'decorum', since the poem is appropriately filled with the words of God (ll. 24 – 26). Indeed, the next section of the text, comprising ll. 27 – 82, is a defence of marriage, which Teive puts together in entirely Christian terms. In the opening of the poem Teive elaborates his defence in terms which establish a link between his status as a Catholic priest and his position as a court poet. As the Commentary to the poem shows, the use of Christian vocabulary in the proemium and hymnal passages strengthens Teive's image as a Catholic poet, as does the paraphrase of biblical and liturgical texts, and the allusion to biblical episodes.

The defence of marriage is a recurrent topic in both nuptial orations and epithalamia. Although never acknowledging that he drew heavily from Menander Rhetor,³¹⁵ in the *Poetices libri septem* (III. 101) Scaliger also proposes that after the proemium there should follow a passage on the value of marriage (which in

³¹⁵ See Cairns (1986, 1987).

Menander's treatise corresponds to the *peri gamou*, II. 400.29 – 401.12). Scaliger equally advises that a section of the epithalamium should demonstrate how Love was present from the beginning of the world, and how it had been thanks to him that the marriage of earth and heaven had been celebrated, and how from their union the species of all living creatures had been generated and had propagated throughout the Earth.³¹⁶

Teive adapted the 'topos' to suit his status as a Catholic writer, in a second example of topical alteration in his epithalamium. First, the reader is presented with a paraphrase of the biblical narrative in Genesis, corresponding to the account of the Creation of the world by God (ll. 27 – 52).³¹⁷ Teive draws closely from the Bible in his account of the Creation, but he does not quote directly from the Scriptures. The fourth session of the Council of Trent had issued a decree regarding the edition and use of the Sacred Books,³¹⁸ and although the decree targeted especially heterodox and heretical interpretations of the Bible, it includes also a reference to the profane use of quotations from the Bible. Given the enthusiastic reception and implementation of the Tridentine decrees in Portugal,³¹⁹ Teive is careful to respect the prescripts and avoids quoting from the Bible.

More relevant is the long passage which presents marriage as a sacrament (ll. 53 – 81). The anaphora in ll. 67 – 70 introduces the final rhetorical question whereby Teive justifies the decision to sing of wedlock. Marriage was the first sacrament ordered and instituted by God by means of an eternal law (ll. 67 – 71). This sacrament instituted by divine will was confirmed on earth by Jesus Christ, the son of God,³²⁰ who performed his first miracle at the wedding at Cana (ll. 77 –

³¹⁶ Scaliger (1994) 68.

³¹⁷ See Chapter 5.5, commentary to ll. 27, 50 – 52.

³¹⁸ Schroeder (1960) 298.

³¹⁹ Immediately in 1564 the *Canones et decreta sacrosancti oecumenici et generalis Concilii Tridentini sub Paulo III, Iulio III et Pio IIII, Pontificibus Maximis* were published in Lisbon, which was translated into Portuguese and equally published in Lisbon that year.

³²⁰ An important doctrinal point, see commentary to l. 78.

81). Furthermore, Teive, a priest, is merely following in the footsteps of Jesus by celebrating this marriage with his poem, and dedicating it to the Cardinal. Far from trivial or reproachable, to sing of wedlock is appropriate for a priest, Teive argues.

Although unique in Portugal, to present a defence of marriage in purely Christian terms was not original. Francesco Filelfo delivered a nuptial oration at the wedding of Beatrice of Este and Tristano Sforza in 1455. There, he discusses the origin of marriage: it was instituted by God, and Christ, His son, born in wedlock, showed his approval of it by attending the wedding at Cana and performing his first miracle there.³²¹ Erasmus too referred to both facts in his *De Conscribendis Epistolis* (1522) in a long ‘epistula suasoria’ advising a young man to marry, a text with autonomous previous circulation, and best known as the *Encomium matrimonii* (1518). Erasmus presents a myriad of Greek, Latin and Biblical examples to build his argument, amongst these that God created marriage and that Jesus attended the wedding at Cana where he performed his first miracle.³²² However, in the epithalamic tradition, *carmen* 25 by the bishop Paulinus of Nola (354 – 431) was the first to incorporate such references into the body of poetic material.³²³ The majority of epithalamists had little interest in Paulinus,³²⁴ but, as a priest, Teive did. Like Paulinus, he also presents the aetiology of the sacrament of marriage by going as far back as the moment of Creation, and equally points out that marriage was sanctioned by Jesus Christ himself by both attending the wedding at Cana and performing his first miracle there.

³²¹ According to Case (1896) xvii. I was unable to trace this text.

³²² For Erasmus’s views on marriage see Telle (1954).

³²³ Paulinus’s poem was edited by Bouma (1968). Critical studies on Paulinus’s *carmen* 25 have appeared by Crouzel (1983a, 1983b), Gelsomino (1983) and Herzog (1976).

³²⁴ Jermann (1967) 55 – 62. The author points out that from the thirty neo-Latin epithalamia selected for his study, five poems (with no relation to the epithalamium by Teive) revert to Paulinus and his paraphrase of the Genesis to demonstrate that marriage was instituted and sanctioned by God.

There is, however, one particular aspect of Teive's epithalamium which is unique: the emphasis placed on the sacramental nature of marriage, best seen in ll. 67 – 74 of the text. To highlight that marriage was a sacrament was very appropriate for an epithalamist and Catholic priest. In 1563, the twenty-fourth session of the Council of Trent had established the doctrine on the sacrament of matrimony, reaffirming that marriage was perpetual and indissoluble, and that it had been instituted by God in the Creation,³²⁵ aspects which Teive insists upon in the poem. More significantly, Teive partially addresses the criticism of the Reformation movements by including a reference to the biblical episode of the Marriage at Cana. To counter Luther's claim that marriage should not be considered a sacrament because it had been instituted by God and not Jesus,³²⁶ the Catholic Church responded with a canon which stated that it had been instituted by Christ and conferred grace.³²⁷ Aware of the doctrinal implications of the Biblical episode of the wedding at Cana, Teive does not fail to include it in his poem. Teive's defence of marriage is ideologically motivated, and attuned to the ideological context of the Counter-Reformation.

In summary, at a generic level the proemium presents two examples of topical alteration, the justification to compose nuptial poetry and the defence of marriage presented in post-Tridentine terms. The selection and combination of such 'topoi' in the proemium suits Teive's status as a priest, and play a structural function in the text, Teive presenting himself as a Catholic priest writer from the outset of the epithalamium, an image he successfully associates to that of court poet.

³²⁵ Schroeder (1960) 451.

³²⁶ Carlson (1994) 3 – 8.

³²⁷ Schroeder (1960) 452.

III. 2. 2 The ‘Allocutio Sponsalis’:

Teive, the Advisor of Kings

Whereas in the proemium the important figures are those of the dedicatee and the lyric-subject (a projection of the author), in this second section of the epithalamium, Teive focuses his attention on the royal couple for the first time, but they are the protagonists only at the surface. The ‘allocutio sponsalis’ proper (ll. 105 – 158) is framed by two hymnal passages (ll. 93 – 104 and ll. 159 – 69) in which Teive subtly establishes the equivalence between prayer and poetry:

‘Clarum ac micantem lucidis stellis polum
 oneremus ergo precibus, et cantu pio,
 propicia vt istis numina adsint nuptiis
 Christusque sancto faueat vt connubio.
 Illi offeramus pectore ab humili preces,
 sancto offeramus sancta vota Numini,
 cantus suaues, dulcia modulamina.
 Nunquam recusat supplices Deus preces,
 nec dulce carmen perbenignus respuit
 cui vatum ab ore profluens cantus placet.
 Pectus requirit humile, pectus candidum,
 pectusque purum, pectus expers sordium.’ (ll. 93 – 104)

[So, let us fill with prayers the bright sky, shining with brilliant stars, and with a pious song, so that a divine spirit favours these nuptials and Christ protects the sacred wedlock. Let us offer Him our prayers with a humble heart, let us offer sacred vows to the sacred God, gentle songs, sweet melodies. God never refuses the prayers of a suppliant, nor does He, in his great kindness, spurn a sweet poem, He Who is pleased by the song which flows from the lips of poets. He asks for a humble heart, an immaculate heart, a pure heart, a heart free from filth.]

God is beseeched with prayers (‘supplices preces’) and songs (‘suavis cantus’; ‘dulcia modulamina’, ‘dulce carmen’). The usage of the adjectives too contributes to this identification between poem and prayer (e.g. ‘cantu pio’, l. 94). This is reinforced by the suppliant attitude of the lyric subject and his portrait as the humble and devout Christian poet. These lines transfer the pagan epithalamium into a Christian prayer. Similar hymnal passages throughout the poem play an important role, providing an original structure for this epithalamium whose generic

identity remains, nonetheless, entirely recognisable. As I pointed out, in 1552 Teive also expressed his good wishes to the royal couple and requests God's favour and protection. In an embryonic stage, the inclusion of a hymnal passage limited to ll. 184 – 193 of the *Carmen* was significantly furthered in the *Epithalamium*.

Traditionally occupying the closing section of the epithalamium (as in the *Carmen* of 1552), the 'allocutio sponsalis' is incorporated immediately after the proemium. This is not its unique feature. Since Alessandro Farnese was not present at the wedding in Lisbon, Teive does not address the couple directly. The wishes for good fortune and happiness to the couple (and note the insistent use of the optative subjunctive in the hymnal sections of the text) are, to a great extent, a wedding sermon (ll. 105 – 23), Teive emphasizing how harmony and conviviality amongst husband and wife should always be present. Performing the role of speaker for the community, Teive's wishes represent the ideal of conjugal life.

But soon Teive emerges in the text as the advisor of kings. This marriage was an important political alliance, and, thus, Teive devotes more attention to the role of the Dukes of Parma and Piacenza as heads of government. The responsibilities which are expected from Alessandro and Maria as rulers are laid out in ll. 124 – 58, again in the subjunctive, no longer optative, but jussive. This passage presents a summary of Teive's political thought which will be analysed in detail in Chapter Four. Understandably, the Portuguese poet does not go into as much detail in the epithalamium as he does in some of his other works: here he presents general remarks, maintaining the balance with the topics of the traditional 'allocutio sponsalis'. The incorporation of such advice suggesting the right course of action to the future Dukes of Parma is unique in the tradition of the Portuguese epithalamium of the Renaissance, and an example of generic enrichment. In this

epithalamium of 1565, Teive successfully brings the tradition of the ‘speculum principum’ into the *Epithalamium*. Nonetheless, the material is not mixed, but kept separate.

III. 2. 3 The Mythological Narrative:

Pagan Gods in Portuguese Counter-Reformation

Resuming the commentary on the text, the equivalence between poetry and prayer is again restated in a second hymnal passage in the epithalamium:

‘Haec obsecramus: has preces aure excipe
Deus benigna, haec nostra vota perface.
Haec nostra plectro personante carmina,
hos musa modulos fuci inanes concinit.
Haec simplici oro voce: nec sanctis libet
nec forte possum rebus alios quaerere
simplex colores. Omnis hinc fucus procul
exterminetur, omnis ornatus procul,
comptique crines, nimiaque elegantia
pulchra calamistris: eruditibus vatibus
quos Itala terra nutrit, haec relinquimus.’ (ll. 159 – 69)

[This we beseech: God, hear these prayers with a benign ear, fulfil these wishes of ours. The muse sings this song of ours as the plectrum plays, these melodies devoid of artifice. I pray for this with simple words: neither does it please me nor perhaps can I, a simple man, seek other tints for holy subject-matter. May all artifice be banished from here, away all fine attires, and braided hair, and excessive elegance made beautiful by curling irons: to the learned poets whom Italy nurtures we leave such things.]

Teive stresses how his poetry is devoid of artifice and suitable for holy subject-matter (ll. 163 – 65), reinforcing the argument that to sing of wedlock is suitable for a priest. The implications of this passage have been discussed in greater detail

in Chapter Two. Presently, I wish solely to point out how these lines operate as a hymnal transition to the mythological narrative.³²⁸

This narrative, extends itself for more than a third of the poem (ll. 170 – 324), and occupies its central position, a sign of its significance in the overall structure of the text. Given that in the epithalamium of 1552 there was no such mythological narrative, it is important to explain this innovation.

It has been argued in the course of this chapter that the publication of Scaliger's *Poetices libri septem* in 1561 explains the decisive changes which the vernacular epithalamium underwent: in Ferreira's and Andrade Caminha's poems, the epithalamic eclogue is abandoned in favour of the rhetorical epithalamium, and many of Scaliger's prescriptions are put into practice. This is especially the case with regard to the intervention of mythology. Secondly, in the *Epithalamium* Teive alludes to Ferreira's poem, establishing with it an intertextual relation. This explains the inclusion of the mythological narrative which gives the poem the fictional and poetic note absent from his first (somewhat dull) epithalamium of 1552.

The fable is interesting, on the other hand, because it is not narrated by the 1st person lyric-subject, but by a new character, vaguely referred as 'poeta' and 'vates'. This shift from the 1st person to the 3rd person is revealing of the challenges faced by humanists in the climate of increasing intolerance which characterized the Portuguese Counter-Reformation.

In the passage which served as a transition to this important section of the epithalamium, the lyric-subject credits Italian(ate) poetry with artifice, excessive elegance and sophistication (ll. 168 – 69). This 'recusatio' is merely topical but, allied to the shift to the 3rd person narrator, it completely separates the truthful

³²⁸ See the Commentary, l. 163.

world of Teive's Catholic prayers and poetry, and the fictional and pagan universe the reader is about to embark in. For flattery towards the royal couple, Teive suggests this poet may come from one of the cities under their rule, either Parma or Piacenza, but goes on to suggest that Mantua and Naples, respectively the home of Vergil and Sannazaro, could be the cradle of such a poet. Maria of Portugal travelled to Brussels after the marriage ceremony was performed in Lisbon, and only set foot on her Italian domains well after Teive composed this poem, and when she was already expecting her first child. This may account for the absence of epithalamia by Italian poets dedicated to this marriage.³²⁹ Therefore, there is no ground to suspect that Teive is at this stage in the poem alluding to epithalamic poems composed by Italian authors for the wedding. Instead, Teive is merely referring to the poetry of classical and contemporary authors whose poetry resorts to the pagan supernatural. Of Vergil the obvious example is the *Aeneid*. Of Sannazaro, his *De Partu Virginis* was a much-debated work. In his *Ciceronianus*, Erasmus pointed out, critically, that 'decorum' had been infringed when pagan deities had been depicted as witnesses to the birth of the Saviour.³³⁰ In Teive's epithalamium, on the other hand, there is no overlapping of the real and pagan supernatural planes. Neither at the level of enunciation, nor at the level of the plot of this narrative: human characters do not interact with the pagan gods, and are unaware of their existence. By alluding to Ferreira's poem at the end of the mythological narrative (ll. 321 – 326), Teive represents himself as critic of the freer classicism of a generation of Italianate poets, whose members in Portugal included, amongst others, Sá de Miranda, Ferreira, Andrade Caminha and Bernardes.³³¹

³²⁹ Based on the bibliographical data collected by Pinto (1971).

³³⁰ See Erasmus (1974) I-2: 700 – 701.

³³¹ See Marnoto (1997), the broadest in its scope, Pina Martins (1971) and Cidade (1975). Neiva (1999) discusses the literary relations of this generation drawing from an

It is the respectful Hymenaeus who summons the council of the gods, and the narrator carefully describes it as if it were a royal court – the strict code of precedence is respected (ll. 189 – 202). After the opening speech by Jupiter, Hymenaeus claims he had for long wished to summon the gods, but had been delayed, an allusion to the intense and long marriage negotiations leading up to the nuptials (ll. 221 – 26).

Maria's eulogy is carried out in conventional terms by the god of marriage, and not by Venus as one would expect. In 1565, the Portuguese princess was already 27 years of age, and that Hymenaeus should refer to her as 'matura iam viro' (l. 250) is a good example of how literary tradition imposes itself on reality in this type of texts.³³² Maria is described as a descendant of kings, renowned by her grace, honour and gifts (ll. 230 – 39). She is also said not to contemplate marriage plans (ll. 249 – 51), a traditional image which does not conform to the truth. The epigrams Teive composed at the time when the marriage negotiations were taking place suggest, on the contrary, that she felt some anxiety as to their outcome. Teive appears in the epigrams offering encouragement.

Hymenaeus eulogises the bride and her mother, Isabel of Braganza (ll. 251 – 59) before the final appeal to the gods. Finding a suitable husband for Maria proved impossible for the god (ll. 243 – 45) who disappears from the poem after his speech. It is Phoebus who replies, praising the learned Princess: she is now the first amongst the extended group of ten Muses (ll. 261 – 69). The Graces also hail Maria as the fairest of them all (ll. 270-72). That Teive should have preferred to celebrate Maria's culture first and only then her beauty gives the reader a hint that the bride was not as graceful as the poet (feebly) attempts to suggest. But it is

analysis of the corpus of epistles. See Anastácio (1998) I 251 – 50 for a study of the Italianate poetry of Andrade Caminha.

³³² See the commentary, Chapter 5.5.

important to recall that Maria of Portugal belonged to a generation of very learned ladies at the Portuguese court. Her aunt, Princess Maria (b. 1521) was a renowned patron, and at the Portuguese court highly learned ladies such as the humanists Luísa Sigeia and Joana Vaz carried out their literary activities thanks to the support of the royal house, and earned the respect and admiration of their male counterparts.³³³ The education of future brides of the ruling elites became important in Renaissance nuptial literature, against an earlier misogynistic tradition.³³⁴ This emphasis on the culture of the bride may be seen as a sign of how the intellectual formation of the future wives became increasingly important in Europe, and Portugal was no exception.

The portrait of Maria's physical appearance could not be more abstract and conventional. It could be argued that Teive's status as a clergyman prevented him from carrying out an erotic or merely suggestive description of the Princess. Yet, neither Ferreira nor Andrade Caminha describe the bride's beauty in detail, similarly to the other Portuguese epithalamists. This is one of the tendencies of the genre in Portugal, and one which is certainly linked to the conservative tone of these poems, which deny room for eroticism. Brides appear as de-sexualised characters, they are portrayed as silent women, as future wives and mothers to unborn children, but never as potential lovers of the men they have married. Such de-sexualisation is also observed in the representation of pagan gods: in Teive's poem there is no hint of sexuality or lust in Venus, who is reduced to the status of mother of Cupid and remains silent throughout the poem (ll. 193 – 94), very much unlike the post-Augustan epithalamium, where Venus plays an important role.³³⁵

³³³ See Michäelis de Vasconcelos (1902) and Alferes Pinto (1998).

³³⁴ D'Elia (2002) 414-21.

³³⁵ Greene (1957) 48 – 53.

The defiant Cupid, who had been denied a seat, boasts of his power, and Jupiter reveals the true meaning of his words: with his arrows he had pierced the heart of Alessandro Farnese. The eulogy of the groom is quite succinct in this passage of the epithalamium: Jupiter explains that Alessandro lives in the Spanish court (ll. 290 – 92) and, although the prince is said to have been born in Italy, no mention is made as to who his parents were. This offers a contrast with the more detailed eulogy of the bride. In his speech, Hymenaeus had admitted being unable to find an equal match for the Portuguese princess, which, albeit an indirect form of encomium, raises doubts as to whether Alessandro was, indeed, seen as an equal match for Maria.³³⁶

He is portrayed not as the yearning anxious groom of the post-Classical epithalamium,³³⁷ but as a languishing Petrarchan lover. Jupiter reveals that Cupid has also pierced Maria's heart with the same arrow, and that the chaste princess suffers her love in silence (ll. 297 – 300). Although brought about by Cupid, the decision to celebrate the nuptials is made by Jupiter. In fact, Cupid also disappears from the text as soon as he has made his speech (l. 282).

This mythological narrative presents a fictional explanation for the marriage of two members of royal families who had never seen each other, serving as an effective means of poetic uplifting. The mythological narrative contributes in great extent to the success of the epithalamium of 1565. Yet, it is not entirely well planned, and some aspects are poorly executed. How the two princes came to know of each other's existence remains a mystery. Also, there is no interaction between the gods, and the dramatic structure is quite rigid – there is no true dialogue amongst the characters. In Teive's works pagan gods are incorporated

³³⁶ For the initial resistance of the Portuguese to Phillip's marriage proposal, see the Introduction.

³³⁷ And yet this image of sexual desire is frequent in other Renaissance epithalamists, including the earlier *Carmen Proteus* by Costa. See Serrano Cueto (2003).

into similes and mythological allusions, but the *Epithalamium* is the one occasion where they are represented as speaking and acting characters. The poem's flaws and shortcomings indicate that Teive is not comfortable writing in a purely fictional register.

Returning to the analysis of the poem, the 'elegans vates' then sings how the gods celebrate Jupiter's decision: the Olympian gods offer their gifts to the Portuguese princess, her divine dowry rather conventionally consisting of the gifts she already possesses (ll. 310 – 16).

The 1st person lyric-subject returns subtly to the poem in l. 320, when the 3rd person narrator is referred to as '*noster poeta*':

'Ab his ad alia transitu grato effluet,
noster poeta, ac nil omittet sedulus.
Cum classis altum radet aequor Belgicas
dum quaeret vrbes, occinent Nereides
Tritonque laetus laeta panget carmina.
Nos ista at aliis deseramus vatibus,
figmenta veterum queis poetarum placent,
queis floret aetas, pectoreque sanguis viget
nostroque more deprecemur omnia
Mariae secunda.' (ll. 319 – 28)

[Our poet shall fluently go from them to other matters in a pleasant transition, and he shall be careful to omit nothing. When the ship crosses the deep sea whilst heading to the cities of Belgium, the Nereids shall sing and the joyful Triton shall compose joyful songs. But let us leave this to other poets, who are pleased by the fictions of the ancient poets, who are in the flower of their youth, and whose blood thrives in their hearts, and, according to our usage, let us pray to Mary that all things be favourable.]

The mention of the choirs of Tritons and Nereids who accompany Maria on her voyage to Brussels is an allusion to Ferreira's epithalamium. Teive appears before the reader as the poet who refuses these vain stories, but his refusal to reproduce the sea deities' songs cannot be explained by the fact that these are 'figmenta veterum poetarum'. The mythological narrative which precedes this passage is precisely that, pure fiction inspired in the ancient literary tradition. Instead, the

reason why Teive felt the need to distance himself at this particular moment in his poem from Ferreira's epithalamium concerns the very content of Ferreira's 'lis'.

As was argued earlier in this chapter, the final sequence of Ferreira's poem was modelled upon Catullus's *carmen* 62, like Sá de Miranda's 'Epitalamio Pastoril'. This passage is so closely indebted to Catullus that at times it is a version of the Catullian epithalamium which, amongst other things, refers to the imminent loss of the bride's maidenhead and to the couple's sexual life. A priest like Teive could hardly recreate a similar 'lis' in his conservative poem. Were Teive to refer or allude to such realia, this would not suit his status as a clergyman and 'decorum' would be infringed. Therefore, after providing a poetic explanation for the nuptials, Teive feels the time has come to put an end to fiction in his epithalamium.

Lines 319 – 28 function as a transition which allows Teive to yet again distance himself before his readership from the classical mythology. As time went by in Portugal, intellectuals and writers in particular became under increasing pressure to demonstrate strict orthodoxy openly. Naturally, I do not imply that the mere use of pagan deities in poetry invited condemnation at the hands of the Inquisition. But there should be no doubt as to the careful reading of the texts by the inquisitors, both in printed and in manuscript form. As a matter of example, Codex LI, an autograph manuscript containing Andrade Caminha's poetry,³³⁸ displays a note by the censor Bartolomeu Ferreira:

'forão aprovados estes dous Epithalamios
do Sõr pero dãndrade cõforme ás regras do
catalogo do cõçilio. frei bertholameu ferr^a' (f. 178v)

³³⁸ For a description of this Codex, see Anastácio (1998) xiv – xxxv. The quotation of Bartolomeu Ferreira's 'licença' can be found on page xxx.

The editor of Andrade Caminha's works, Vanda Anastácio, rightly argues that by 'cõforme ás regras do catalogo do cõçilio' is an allusion to the prescription that all manuscript books should be subject to the approval of the Inquisition prior to their circulation.³³⁹ Andrade Caminha's epithalamia were carefully read and approved by one of the most active censors in the second half of sixteenth-century Portugal, Bartolomeu Ferreira, best known as the first censor of *Os Lusíadas*.³⁴⁰ Epithalamia could easily attract censorship by their mixture of Christian and pagan content, especially in a country which was a stout defender of Catholicism. The freedom which had characterized the work of humanists of the earlier generations in Portugal had gradually faded.

Cataldo's epithalamium is a good example of the creative freedom which earlier humanists enjoyed in Portugal. The poet shows off his erudition in an opening catalogue of heroines of Classical antiquity, who pay their homage to the bride. Amongst them are the ill-reputed Helen, Phaedra and Medea, but also the exemplary Penelope, Alcmena, Hecuba, Lucretia and Alcestis. The female characters of Roman elegiacs too appear: Catullus's Lesbia, Propertius's Cynthia and Ovid's Corinna, but also Violentilla, immortalised in Statius's *Epithalamion in Stellam et Violentillam* (*Silv.* 1.2). Equally, references to the Old and New Testament provide an encomiastic background to the eulogy of Beatriz and Jorge: the birth of both bride and groom had been determined by heavenly intervention. As Costa Ramalho has pointed out, published in 1500, Cataldo's epithalamium was subject to censorship only later in the eighteenth century by the historian Caetano de Sousa (1674 – 1759) when he assembled his monumental *Provas da História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*.³⁴¹ Also in his epic *Arcitinge* Cataldo shows no constraints in his use of Classical mythology: as Alves argues,

³³⁹ Anastácio (1998) xxx.

³⁴⁰ For Bartolomeu Ferreira's highly influential activity as a censor in sixteenth-century Portugal, see the study by Anselmo (1982).

³⁴¹ See Sousa (1946-1954)VI, part 2: 209 – 26 and Costa Ramalho (1988).

pagan deities are not used as allegories, nor do they clash with the historical events and characters whom the poem represents. Instead, mythology shows how the embellishment of paganism associated with Classical literary tradition posed no problem to the earlier Christian humanists in Portugal.³⁴² Those had been the days when authors felt free to resort to mythological apparatus as an openly fictional construct made prestigious by literary tradition, and to use it as an equally prestigious element in their works. In 1537, the epithalamist Manuel da Costa represented Venus addressing the Duke Teodósio of Braganza in his epithalamium, in a mingling of pagan and historical planes whose purpose is the poetic uplifting of the occasion and the respect for the generic conventions. The human and the pagan planes overlap, there is direct interaction between real, historical personages and fictional, pagan gods with no excuse for this mingling being even sought by the author.

Nearly twenty years later, epithalamists do not enjoy such freedom. Teive's self-proclaimed rejection of mythological machinery, and the solutions found by Ferreira and Andrade Caminha are a sign of how the prevailing intellectual atmosphere had become increasingly conservative and intolerant to the point where poets felt compelled to eliminate any shadow of heterodoxy, even when this could surprisingly arise from the use of pagan deities in literary texts. These writers had, nonetheless, acquired their formation in times of intellectual freedom and in contact with a prestigious literary tradition where paganism was omnipresent. The fact that this tension is visible in the epithalamium can be attributed to the doctrinal implications of marriage.

To attenuate the paganism of some passages of their poems, Ferreira and Andrade Caminha use adjectives with moral and religious connotations applied to the gods, e.g. Andrade Caminha hails Hymenaeus as 'sagrado' (l. 289). But later in

³⁴² See Alves (2006) 85 – 96 for a discussion of the pagan supernatural in Cataldo's epic *Arcitinge*.

the sixteenth century not even this would be tolerated by inquisitorial censorship: the use of such epithets suggestive of divine powers when applied to pagan deities was also rejected in *Os Lusíadas*.³⁴³ Alternatively, the lyric-subject may also distance himself from the events narrated. In Ferreira's epithalamium of 1565, when Hymenaeus comes forth to perform the marriage, the lyric-subject withdraws from the scene, and challenges Cupid to become the narrator. In Andrade Caminha's epithalamium, after shooting his arrows, Cupid surprisingly and incongruently admits to having played no part in the marriage of Maria and Alessandro, and concedes that his power is null: Reason and Virtue alone are to be hailed as responsible for the love uniting the couple, and, ultimately, for their wedding. Albeit the purpose of Ferreira's and Andrade Caminha's proviso is clear, the final result compromises the coherence of their poems. Teive opted for a more sophisticated level of narrative technique, certainly obliged by the status he enjoyed at a court where ecclesiastical figures were prominent. To a greater extent, he was more successful than other contemporary poets. When proclaiming that

'Nos ista at aliis deseramus vatibus,
figmenta veterum queis poetarum placent' (ll. 324 – 25)
[But let us leave this to other poets, who are pleased by the fictions of the
ancient poets]

, Teive alludes to Ferreira's epithalamium, and so justifies the inclusion of a mythological narrative in his poem which appeared to be entirely Christian from its outset. Teive deliberately points to the fictional nature of the pagan deities ('figmenta') and to their presence in the poem as a generic convention resulting from literary tradition ('veterum poetarum'). Finally, the inclusion of the mythological narrative is justified on the grounds of aesthetic pleasure, perceived only in the allusive use of 'placent' which points to the Horatian 'delectare'. No

³⁴³ For the workings of inquisitorial censorship on Portuguese sixteenth-century epic, see Alves (2001) 341 – 43. It appears, then, that Bartolomeu Ferreira was more tolerant when he read Andrade's poems.

other Portuguese epithalamist comments on or justifies the use of pagan narratives on purely aesthetic terms as Teive does. This self-referential passage explicitly justifies the usage of the pagan supernatural as poetic embellishment and respect for the generic conventions.³⁴⁴

Thus, the concept of poetic fiction bears directly upon the role of the pagan gods in the epithalamium of 1565. The mythological fable offers a poetic explanation for the royal wedding, disguising the underlying political interests and serving as a means of poetic uplifting, but it rests entirely on a fictional plane. Teive, thus, reaffirms the ‘truthfulness’ of his own poetry (a claim previously discussed in Chapter Two), *appearing* to refuse the paganism of fictitious and vain fables of the ancient poets and of the contemporary poets who had followed in their footsteps. Teive respects an important convention of the Renaissance epithalamium all the while safeguarding his status as a Catholic poet.

³⁴⁴ Teive’s strategy bears a resemblance to Camões’ interventions in canto X of *Os Lusíadas*, where the use of pagan mythology in the epic is exposed twice on the grounds of aesthetic embellishment within an allegorical justification: the first is when Thetis, the nymph, reveals to the Portuguese captain Vasco da Gama that the gods ‘fingidos de mortal e cego engano. / Só pera fazer versos deleitosos / [servem]’ (X. 82. 2-4). Continuing almost immediately in the poem Thetys again states that ‘Quer logo aqui a pintura que varia/ agora deleitando, ora ensinando/ dar-lhes nomes que a antiga Poesia/ a seus Deuses já dera, fabulando’ (X. 84: 1 – 4). Camões also explained references to mythological gods in his epic either resorting to an euhemeristic interpretation (IX. 90 - 92) or to an allegorical one (X. 82 – 84). For a discussion of pagan mythology in *Os Lusíadas*, see Alves (2001) 607 – 42.

III. 2. 4 The Final ‘Vota’:

Praise of Royal Patronage

The ‘recusatio’ prepares the transition to the final section of the epithalamium, which traditionally comprehends the ‘allocutio sponsalis’, a passage where ‘the couple is addressed directly and the traditional wishes are made for their future, typically in the optative’, in Greene’s words.³⁴⁵ But, as pointed out earlier, this was incorporated earlier into the poem. Instead, Teive reverts to the image of the Christian writer, and expresses his wishes (‘vota’, l. 341) for the future happy life of Maria and Alessandro in yet another hymnal passage (‘nostroque more deprecemur’, l. 327). And what better way to resume the image of Christian epithalamist than to replace Juno and Venus by the Virgin Mary as ‘pronuba’ (l. 329) and protector of Maria of Portugal during her voyage to Brussels? Contrastingly, in 1552 Teive had invited the ‘casta Venus’ (l. 36) to attend the nuptials.

Teive here employs wordplay, so typical of neo-Latin poetry, involving the Latin ‘mare, -is’, the names of the Virgin Mary and of the Portuguese Princess, Maria. The usage of maritime metaphors associated with the Virgin Mary in the epithalamium (ll. 330 – 31) also suggests that Teive knew the works of the ‘Christian Vergil’, Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli (1448 – 1516), known as Mantuan. This widely popular Carmelite author enjoyed great fame throughout the whole of Europe in the sixteenth century, and knowledge of his work amongst Portuguese intellectuals has been demonstrated. Eugenio Asensio has highlighted the presence of echoes of Mantuan’s texts in the *Auto da Sibila Cassandra* by Gil Vicente,³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵ Greene (1957) 221.

³⁴⁶ Asensio (1975) 79 – 80, where the Spanish scholar identifies direct and indirect use of the imagery employed by Mantuan in his *Parthenice Prima* in the characterization of Sibila and of the Virgin Mary.

and in Ferreira de Vasconcelos' *Comedia Aulegrafia*,³⁴⁷ whereas Tavares de Pinho³⁴⁸ has argued that Mantuan influenced the works of Azpilcueta Navarro, Amador Arrais³⁴⁹ and Lopo Serrão. Unlike the latter, who quotes extensively from Mantuan, Teive does not borrow directly from the Carmelite in his epithalamium. There, the Virgin appears as the protector of the young bride and her party on her sea voyage, an image which had been developed by Mantuan in the opening of book I of his *Parthenice Prima*.³⁵⁰

The prayer to the Virgin precedes the description of the farewell to the bride, Teive turning his attention to the bride's family: first, a reference to Isabel of Braganza, who never again saw her daughter once she departed to Brussels, and then to Duarte, her brother, of whom military glory is expected in the fight against the Turks (ll. 335 – 38). The long voyage by sea is mentioned briefly, and the poet imagines the happy reception of the bride in the court of Margaret of Austria and, afterwards, in Italy.

From this moment onwards Teive carries out in the poem a careful eulogy of the ancestors of Alessandro Farnese and of the Portuguese royal family. Teive replaces eroticism with the political implications of the marriage: the celebration of the powerful houses joined in marriage is intertwined with the more traditional good wishes of happiness and offspring.

The careful reader will notice that no reference whatsoever can be found in the text to the parents of Alessandro Farnese. Teive tactfully omits any mention of them, and, instead refers back to the illustrious ancestry of Alessandro's

³⁴⁷ Asensio (1975) 469.

³⁴⁸ Tavares de Pinho (1990).

³⁴⁹ Tavares Pinho (1990) 40 argues that Amador Arrais borrowed his maritime metaphors from Mantuan's *Parthenice Prima*, so Teive would not be the only Portuguese writer to do so.

³⁵⁰ Spagnuoli (1510) ff. 7v – 8r: 'tu placidum terris sydus: quod liberat omnes/ a pelagi feruore rates: quod luce benigna:/ Saturni Martisque graues eliminat iras./ Tu nobis Elice: nobis Cynosura per altum/ Te duce vela damus portus habitura secundos:/ Tu mare: tu ventos: tu sydera cuncta: deumque/ concilias: tu tuta salus: tu pacis origo. / Tu commune bonum: generis tu gloria nostri:/ Huc ades: et coeptos presenti numine cursus/ dirige: et infirmam rege per vada caerulea puppim.'

grandfather Charles V (father of Margaret of Austria) and his great-grandfather Pope Paul III (grandfather of Ottavio Farnese). This is also the moment when Alessandro's grace is praised, and Teive prophecies supreme fame for the groom thanks to his military achievements and religious piety (ll. 343 – 51). The eulogy of the Farnese and their ancestry is contained in nine lines, but Teive adopts a more enthusiastic and encomiastic attitude towards the Portuguese royal family.

The traditional wishes of happiness and prosperity are renewed, but amplified with grandeur in the poem. The poet prays for cosmic protection: may negative and evil forces be warded off and disappear. May the marriage of the future Dukes of Parma be a happy one, thanks to the assistance of the nobility and the people (ll. 364-65), but especially of the Portuguese royal family. This is the final eulogy of the epithalamium, and it significantly appears in an important position in the text, before God's protection is once invoked a final time for the young couple. Lines 365 – 79 are to be understood as balancing the earlier eulogy of the ancestors of Alessandro Farnese.

Teive first praises the female members of the royal family: Queen Catherine, the former regent, by birth and marriage an important figure in European politics (ll. 365 – 68), and then Princess Maria (b. 1521 - 1577), one of the richest European princesses at the time, a patron of the arts and letters. Teive justifies her unmarried state in the epithalamium in similar terms to those he uses in the manuscript epigrams discovered in the course of this research:³⁵¹ there was no true match for the Portuguese princess, Teive says, disguising the real motives for the celibacy of Maria of Portugal: should she marry, her dowry would represent a

³⁵¹ Ms. BMII 279, Incipits: 1: 'Cur Maria Illustri Regum de stirpe creata'; 2: 'Ducere te multi, tu nubere nulli,'; 3: 'Miratur quidam nulli quod sponsa marito'; 4: 'Cur Maria Princeps orta claris Regibus'. See Chapter 5.1 (208 – 09).

serious financial loss for the Portuguese crown.³⁵² The regent, Cardinal Henrique, and the future king are saved for last, each of them given more space in the text than their female counterparts. Henrique is represented as the regent who carries a great number of responsibilities upon his shoulders – at the time Henrique was also Cardinal, Archbishop of Lisbon and General Inquisitor. The final mention is to Sebastião, the promising young man of precocious maturity, a portrait which does not conform to the truth.

Although Teive portrays the core of the royal household as a united family, the historical facts contradict such an image of harmonious unity. More than masking the tensions at court, Teive appears as the respectful courtier who wishes to put such conflicts aside,³⁵³ and calls for unity at a time of hope embodied in Sebastião, whose birth had put an end to the political crisis following the demise of the heir, Prince João, and of King João III.

The poem closes with a final prayer to God, the last hymnal passage of the epithalamium. His role as the ‘institutor’ of everlasting marriage is recalled. God’s favour in rendering Maria and Alessandro’s marriage a happy and harmonious one is asked, as is his blessing to the future descendants of the couple in the two last lines of the poem, as often in epithalamia. It cannot be denied, however, that this final section of the epithalamium conveys a very powerful political message. Teive celebrates the Portuguese royal household, its family connections, power, affluence, and hopeful future to a wide European audience.

To conclude, the original features of Teive’s text play a key role in the fashioning of his authorial persona: in the proemium and hymnal sections both as the writer of occasional poetry and as the Catholic poet who brings the

³⁵² Ramalho (1988).

³⁵³ As can also be seen on other occasions in the *Epodon libri tres*. See Chapter 1. 4 (51 and 54 – 55).

epithalamium back to the Christian tradition of this genre; in the ‘allocutio sponsalis’ as the author of didactic poetry who advises kings; and in the mythological narrative as the priest who attempts to reconcile his humanistic background and the orthodoxy of post-Tridentine Catholicism. For all these reasons, Teive’s *Epithalamium* is truly unique in the history of the epithalamic tradition in Portugal up to 1565.

Chapter Four

Images of Kingship

This chapter will focus on one of the innovations displayed by the *Epithalamium*: the inclusion of political advice to the newly-weds. The poem was written and published in the immediate aftermath of an important political event and Teive openly comments on the political implications of the event, unlike other Portuguese poets.

The advice given to the royal couple on the topic of good government contributes to the significant lessening of the erotic content in the *Epithalamium*, and to a similar, but yet lesser, extent, Teive had experimented with this strategy in his earlier nuptial poem of 1552. But there what can be identified as the didactic section of the poem is limited to a few lines. The furthering of this innovation in the 1565 poem will be explained as a consequence of Teive's growing interest on political matters and associated self-representation as an advisor of kings. Although this can be traced back to the *Opuscula*, it is best exemplified in book I of the *Epodon libri tres*, which includes the *Sententiae* and the second edition of the *Institutio*.

Part One of the present chapter will explore how in book I of the *Epodon libri tres* Teive builds this aspect of his persona by means of 'imitatio' and 'aemulatio'. Part Two will analyse the political content of the *Epithalamium*, arguing that it is representative of the author's political thought and opinions.

IV. 1 Writing on Kingship:

Plutarch and Erasmus as Figures of Authority in the *Epodon libri tres*

The prologue of book I of the *Epodon libri tres* is an eloquent testimony to Teive's ambitions as a court writer seeking to secure royal support for the continuation of his literary career. There, Teive represents himself before his readers as a useful author when explaining the purpose of the opening text of this collection, the *Sententiae*:

‘Excogitavi breuiusculas quasdam sententias, quae imprimis rerum publicarum moderatoribus vtilis ac salutaris existerent, quas breuissimo carmine Iambico dimetro complexus sum vt memoriae facilius mandari possint, et in classes distribui, vt eo modo distinctae legentem minori taedio afficerent. ... quae in hendecasyllabum Lusitanicum ab hominibus doctissimis traduci curavi, vt si Rex per teneriorem aetatem nondum satis latina, vernacula plane intelligeret.’ (ff. a3v-a4r).

[I devised a number of short maxims, which might be especially useful and beneficial to the rulers of the republic, which I composed in a very brief poem in iambic dimeters, so that they can be memorised more easily, and I distributed them into groups, so that grouped separately in this way they might be less taxing for the reader. ... I took care in having them translated into Portuguese, in hendecasyllables, by most learned men, so that the King could clearly understand it in vernacular, if he cannot understand sufficient Latin yet given that he is of a very young age.]

It is also on the grounds of utility that Teive explains the reasons behind the composition of the *Institutio* in the *Opuscula*:

‘Quae me praesertim causa mouit, vt breuissimam hanc institutionem carmine conscriberem, quod scribendi genus praeceptiunculis tradendis aptissimum nec longitudine taedium, nec obscuritate, vt arbitror, molestiam afferet.’ (f. 5r)

[This reason [the importance of education from a very young age] stirred me straight away to write this very brief institution as a poem, because this kind of writing is good for the teaching of elementary precepts, and does not induce boredom because of its length nor irritation because of its obscurity, as I think.]

As both quotations illustrate, Teive made several concessions to Prince Sebastião so he would have at his disposal the ideal conditions to read his works: the iambic dimeter is of pleasurable and easy reading, and it favours the

memorisation of the text; the preoccupation to avoid obscurity in the poem, or any other cause of tedium are explicitly mentioned by Teive who even goes as far as to include translations into Portuguese of both didactic poems, so that the young Sebastião may read the text in the vernacular, if he so wishes to – this was so given the Prince's insufficient command of Latin.³⁵⁴ The contrast with Jerónimo Osório's long and highly abstract prose treatises could not be greater. Such concessions are illustrative of Teive's keen interest in guaranteeing that Sebastião could have direct access to his texts, and hence reward him as his patron.

The literary models upon which Teive composed the *Institutio* and the *Sententiae* were carefully chosen, and are an important legitimising strategy.

IV. 1. 1 Plutarch

The political thought of Diogo de Teive was first analysed in detail in Part One of *Immagini del Principe* by Davide Bigalli (1985), which discusses both the *Sententiae* and the *Institutio Sebastiani Primi*. Bigalli was correct when he identified points of similarity between Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani* and the *Institutio Sebastiani Primi*. Yet, the Italian scholar does not set out to explain why and how Teive engages with the Dutch humanist. I will return to this point later. Bigalli also compares the *Sententiae* with Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani*,³⁵⁵ seeming to imply a relationship between the two texts. But it is, in fact, Plutarch who serves as inspiration to the *Sententiae*, and the key to the identification of this prestigious writer as the source of inspiration for the didactic

³⁵⁴ In the chapter dedicated to the education of Sebastião, Lima da Cruz discusses the king's 'superficial knowledge' of Latin. See Lima Cruz (2009) 98 – 100.

³⁵⁵ Bigalli (1988) 193ff.

poem can be found in one of the two liminary poems dedicated to Sebastião, which are not discussed by Bigalli.

In the first of these liminary poems, Teive stresses the value of his poetry, namely its moral content and its usefulness to the cultivation of the soul, as opposed to the ephemeral and material riches offered to kings, which serve only for the adornment of the body.³⁵⁶ In the second poem,³⁵⁷ Teive goes further:

‘... sed illud adeo tenue, quod Regi suo
donavit olim rusticus,
propinquo ab amne, vtraque concaua manu,
puraque mente et candida:
consumet aetas nulla, nec quidem hoc meum,
si dantis animum inspexeris.’ (ll. 5-10)

[... but that very poor gift which once the peasant presented to his king, from the nearby river, with both his hands cupped, and with a pure and innocent intention: time will never erase it, nor will my own gift to you, if you search the soul of the offerer.]

Here, Teive chose a particular story which Plutarch used in the dedication of his *Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata* to Emperor Hadrian (*Mor.* 172b). In the opening of his dedication, Plutarch narrates how the poor peasant Sinetes offered water from a nearby river to the great Artaxerxes, finding no other gift to present to the great king. Moved by his subject’s good will, the king, rewarded Sinetes handsomely, so we learn from Plutarch (*Art.* 5a). In the dedication, Plutarch presents himself before Hadrian as Sinetes before Artaxerxes: modesty aside, Plutarch stresses how he had been moved by the best of intentions to compose a work which would be of use to the emperor. Plutarch continues his dedication to Hadrian saying that the compilation of sayings is divided into brief sections so it can be read at the Emperor’s leisure, and not be too taxing on his time.

³⁵⁶ I am paraphrasing the poem (incipit: ‘Omnes omnia summa largiuntur’), which can be found in f. a6v and flr.

³⁵⁷ Teive (1565) f. 1r, Incipit: ‘Torques, coronas, scepra, gemmas inclytis’.

These are the exact same points Teive makes in the excerpts of the prologue quoted earlier. In six allusive lines, Teive succeeds in portraying himself as the ‘rusticus’ writer who dedicates his poetry to the king, poetry which, he says, will be useful to Sebastião. Indeed, only three years later the Prince was crowned king at the age of fourteen, so Teive’s purpose was in tune with the course of political life. In the liminary poem, Teive’s self-representation as the ‘rusticus’ falls within the conventional ‘topos’ of modesty, but in fact, at a deeper level, it plays a more complex role, thanks to the intertextual dialogue it establishes with Plutarch: the poem is a ‘captatio benevolentiae’, but more importantly the reader is led to see Teive as a humble advisor of kings thanks to the web of allusion linking Sinetes/ Plutarch/ Teive.

Plutarch was widely read in the Renaissance, his *Vitae* being more popular than the *Moralia* from an early stage. Nonetheless, the sixteenth century saw great humanists directly engaging with the *Moralia*: Erasmus was involved in the Aldine edition of this text printed in 1509 (the *Plutarchi Opuscula LXXXII*), and amongst those who translated the text into Latin were Politian and Melanchthon. Teive’s interest in Plutarch in the mid 1560s is a sign of a broader interest in this writer throughout Europe. Three of the most influential translations into Latin of Plutarch’s complete works were being carried out at the time: Xylander (the German W. Holtzman) published his translation in 1570; Henri Étienne printed his edition of the complete works of Plutarch with a translation in 1572; and Crusenius (also German) published his translation in 1573.³⁵⁸ On the other hand, the usefulness of this type of literature for kings and princes is a topic which another translator of Plutarch, Jacques Amyot, focuses on in the prologue of his vernacular translation of the *Vitae*.³⁵⁹ Significant also are the words of distinguished men of

³⁵⁸ For a complete survey of these translations into Latin see Aulotte (1965) 21-38; for the translations into the vernacular see 39-52.

³⁵⁹ Russell (2001) 150.

letters such as Erasmus and the Spanish Luis de Granada who do not hesitate to consider Plutarch as an essentially Christian author, testifying that, in the words of Robert Aulotte, in sixteenth-century Europe, Plutarch was ‘le moraliste ancien le plus qualifié pour disposer à un christianisme authentique reconcilié avec l’Antiquité classique’.³⁶⁰ Thus, Teive was attuned to the broader European tendencies.

The *Sententiae* are a perfect example of Teive’s stance towards literary tradition. He here did not limit himself to direct borrowings from Plutarch. The *Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata* are a compilation of anecdotes and sayings, roughly organised chronologically, divided into brief sections according to the protagonist of the episodes narrated. The tone is mainly narrative, and there is no explicit moral teaching in the stories or in the quotations of the sayings of the great kings and emperors. The ‘sententiae’ recorded in Plutarch’s work are not his, but of others. Teive, however, does not translate from or adapt Plutarch’s work, he transforms it entirely. There is no narrative in the *Sententiae*: instead, the poem is formed by a juxtaposition of maxims where the imperative is used frequently, conveying a preceptive and gnomic tone to the poem, which is divided into brief sections, like Plutarch’s text. It is Teive who advises the King, his is the voice heard in the *Sententiae* although, whilst advising the young Sebastião on various topics, he quotes both Classical and Christian sources, like any other neo-Latin writer (e.g. Horace, f. 14v; Plutarch, f. 34 v; Solomon, f. 43v; Paul, f. 46v; the Gospels of Mathew, ff. 2v-3v, and Mark, f. 46v). The *Sententiae* are original and personal, both in subject-matter and expression, and Teive succeeded in creating a text simultaneously rich in textual allusion, innovative in the approach to his literary model, and open to his own time: when discussing the consequences of the wrongdoing of tyrants for their people, Teive warns Sebastião that they are far

³⁶⁰ See Aulotte (1965) 36-37.

worse than the theft and pillage carried out by pirates, a contemporary example at a time when French piracy was causing significant losses for the Portuguese crown (f. 46v).

I have established here the importance of Plutarch as a literary model to the construction of Teive's image as an advisor of kings in the *Epodon libri tres*. Plutarch was highly popular, beyond any dispute a central author in Renaissance Europe. However, at the time when Teive published the two editions of his *Institutio*, Erasmus was not a universally acclaimed writer.

IV. 1. 2 Erasmus

In his study *Immagini del Principe*, Bigalli identified an 'affinità',³⁶¹ an 'adesione del testo teviano all' *Institutio* erasmiana'³⁶² in occasional passages of Teive's *Institutio*. Yet, and because there is no textual comparison in this study, Bigalli did not succeed in establishing Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani* as an important source of Teive's poem. Castro Soares expressed her scepticism on such a textual relationship, claiming it impossible to determine whether Teive had in fact used Erasmus as his literary model. Her reasoning is the existence of similar ideas and quotations in a variety of works by European humanists which make it impossible to trace a particular influence.³⁶³ This is an important point: it would be simplistic to undervalue the role played by memorisation and involuntary reminiscence in literary writing, given the nature of teaching methods of Renaissance education. Nonetheless, contrarily to Soares' claim, it will be

³⁶¹ Bigalli (1988) 177.

³⁶² Bigalli (1988) 176.

³⁶³ Castro Soares (1985-86) 372-75.

argued that Bigalli is correct in his identification of this literary source, although not so in his interpretation of the reasons for its use or in his subsequent explanation of Teive's status as a court author.

Textual evidence cannot be denied: in both Erasmus's *Institutio* and Teive's *Institutio* there are a number of coincidences in the sources, similes and quotations, *in the exact same order of appearance in the two texts*. Also, similarly to Erasmus in his *Institutio*, Teive does not address the prince directly, but rather the tutor of the prince, giving him advice on how to carry out this important mission. In 1558, it was expected that Sebastião would be tutored by Sá de Meneses, a prominent figure of Portuguese Humanism who had overseen the education of Prince João. Addressing the prince's tutor, Teive advises Sá de Meneses:

‘Cum se ipse princeps principem nondum capit,
digna est docendus principe, vt discat prius
regna moderari, se esse quam regem putet.’ (f. 53v)

[While the prince is not aware of his condition, he should be instructed in matters worthy of his princely status, so that he may learn to govern his kingdom before he understands that he is a king.]

Erasmus refers to the ideal age to start the young prince's education in rather similar terms:³⁶⁴

‘Non aliud aeque idoneum formandi corrigendique principi tempus, quam cum ipse nondum sese principem intellegit.’ (138)

The relationship between tutor and pupil is a topic discussed by both authors.

Erasmus quotes the authority of Seneca (*Breu.*, 15.2) in this respect:

‘Eiusmodi debet esse futuri principis institutor, ut (quemadmodum eleganter a Seneca dictum est) et obiurgare norit citra contumeliam et laudare citra adulationem, quem ille simul et reuereatur ob vitae seueritatem et amet ob morum iucunditatem.’ (138-39)

³⁶⁴ I follow the edition of the *Institutio Principis Christiani* by O. Herding (1974).

Teive expresses the same idea using the same Latin construction ('*citra... citra...*') as well as similar vocabulary (in italics), but omitting any reference to Seneca:

*'Iurgare citra iniuriam qui norit, et
qui citra adulandi venenum, laudibus
ornare ... quem
tenellus Rex amet
ob comitatem, gratiam, ac modestiam,
quemque vereatur ob seueros ac pios
sanctosque mores, vita
quos fert integra.'*(f. 53r.)

[May he know how to reprimand him with no scandal, and to praise him without the poison of flattery.... May the tender young king love him for his kind nature, his grace and his modesty, and may he respect him for the strict and pious and holy behaviour which is associated with his righteous life.]

A point where Erasmus is original in his work is the concern for the need to correct some of the pupil's natural inclinations from an early age:

'Primum igitur sagaciter animaduertat is, cui suum puerum in gremium dedit respublica, quorsum iam tum vergat. Quandoquidem potest hoc quoque in ea aetate notis quibusdam deprehendi, num propensior sit ad iracundiam aut arrogantiam, nunc ad ambitionem aut famae sitim, num ad libidinem aut aleam aut pecuniae studium, num ad vindictam aut bellum, num ad impotentiam aut tyrannidem.'(140)

Teive too expresses the same concern in his *Institutio*, highlighting the same faults in the child's character, and frequently using the same words:

*'Perspicacibus oculis
debet tueri ... studia quae placeant magis
quibus ille mentem rebus intendat suam
quo vergat animus. Quod satis notum patet,
quod ipsa certis indicat signis parens
natura ...: alter est propensior
caecum ad furorem mentis, iracundiam
alter tumentes spiritus superbiae
prae se videtur ferre, in alio cernitur
fames habendi maior, alium gloriae
trahit cupido, forte in alio perspicis
ad aleam, libidinem, tyrannidem
proclive pectus.'* (f. 56v)

[[The tutor] must always look with observant eyes at what occupations please him most, where his spirit leads him, what his tendencies are. What is sufficiently clear, what mother nature herself shows with clear signs [is that]... one [pupil] is prone to blind fury and anger, another shows his spirit swollen

with pride; in one of them you can see a growing hunger to possess, in another the desire for glory, and in yet another maybe a heart prone to gambling, sensuality or tyranny.]

Both authors express the trust that the tutor will always succeed in educating his pupil, for there is not such an ‘*effera bellua*’ (the same expression is used by Erasmus and Teive) that will not be tamed. Here Teive is clearly following Erasmus in his use of Plutarch (*Mor.* 2e-f).

Also, later in book I of the *Institutio Principis Christiani*, Erasmus explains what type of stories the tutor should tell his pupil, and he suggests Aesop’s fables of the lion and the mouse, of the dove and the ant and finally of the eagle and the beetle.³⁶⁵ After that, Erasmus presents a number of educational examples taken from mythology (Phaethon, Ulysses and the Cyclops), and moves on to compare the society of bees with the community of ants: Erasmus stresses that the sovereign of the bees does not have a sting and, therefore, should be considered an example of mercifulness, a very popular image of royal mercy to be found in Seneca (*Cl.* 1.19.3). Finally, to stress how kings should weigh up all matters with great care and not rely on uninformed opinions, as the masses do, he draws a parallel with Plato’s theory of Forms (relying heavily on *Rep.* 7.514-18).

Teive’s *Institutio* follows the exact same structure. The only difference is that the reference to Plato is incorporated after the account of Aesop’s fables (the same suggested by Erasmus), and before the narrative of the myths of Phaeton, Ulysses and the Cyclops. It is worth noticing that, unlike Erasmus who simply refers to these stories and their pedagogical usefulness, Teive seeks to ‘*delectare*’ Sá de Meneses’s pupil, and he narrates the stories himself in more detail, putting into practice the advice he gives to his addressee.

³⁶⁵ Respectively, fables 155, 176 and 3 of the *Corpus fabularum Aesopicarum*.

Although similarities in the pedagogic and preceptive tone of both texts can be pointed out, there are striking differences between the two works and the personal circumstances of both authors. Teive is fully aware of the national context he is set in and of the international dimension of the Portuguese empire, ideas alien to Erasmus's life experience. Both authors express different (and even opposite) opinions on several topics. It becomes clear that whilst Teive used Erasmus as his literary model, that does not mean the author is Erasmian. Teive is very much concerned with his status as a court writer while seeking to please patrons like Cardinal Henrique, and there is no room for criticism of the Church, its institutions and role, or its rituals. Furthermore, Teive recognises war as a negative but often necessary part of the political life of the Portuguese empire, as will be seen later in this chapter. Finally, he also tries to tone down criticism of the corruption in court, simply referring to the constant peril posed by the flatterers (and he does so several times in his *Institutio*, as Erasmus does).

Although not explicitly, Bigalli suggests that the existence of the textual relationship between Teive and Erasmus is a sign that the Portuguese humanist had been sent to the remote north of Portugal due to his heterodoxy, confirmed by his conviction at the hands of the Inquisition. In his interpretation of the later stage of Teive's literary career, Bigalli argues that he was a marginalised author in 1558 when he published the *Opuscula*, and subsequently in 1565 when he authored the *Epodon libri tres*.³⁶⁶ Thus, Bigalli supports the view that the 'processos' against the teachers at the Colégio das Artes had, in fact, religious motivations. However, it has been firmly established by the historian Mário Brandão that such trials were more the product of rivalry amongst the teaching staff, and a warning to the

³⁶⁶ Bigalli claims that in 1565 Teive 'è ormai consapevole che ... la sua vicenda personale si è conclusa nell' emarginazione e nella sconfitta.' (1985: 162).

intellectual and cultural elite that no deviation would be tolerated.³⁶⁷ Of the three defendants only Buchanan had true Protestant beliefs, later confirmed on his return to Scotland. Instead, Teive's status as a writer should be interpreted differently.

That an author so close to the court in Counter-Reformation Portugal should have chosen Erasmus as a textual model may seem surprising. Yet, thanks to the work of generations of scholars it is now possible to advance the idea of a discrete reception of Erasmus amongst the Portuguese intellectual elite in the second half of 'Quinhentos'.³⁶⁸ This, however, deserves further exploration. The presence of Erasmus and Erasmianism in Portugal should be set in the wider European context. Also relevant to my point will be to ascertain how censorship by the Inquisition shaped the reception of Erasmus amongst the Portuguese readership. By exploring these questions, it will become clear that Teive's choice of Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani* as a literary model was accepted by the Portuguese cultural elite, and should not be interpreted as a sign of covert heterodoxy.

IV. 1. 2. 1. The Reception of Erasmus in Portugal (1500-1599):

a New Contribution

Seidel Menchi's analysis of the reception of Erasmus in Italy will be of great relevance to my study.³⁶⁹ Her method of studying 'Erasmus ex Erasmi lectore'

³⁶⁷ Brandão (1948).

³⁶⁸ Bataillon's pioneering publication on Erasmus and Erasmianism in Spain (1937) [here quoted in a later edition of 1991] led to greater attention to the reception of Erasmus in Portugal, and understandably influenced subsequent research. Authors such as Hirsch (1967), Sauvage (1971), Révah (1983), Torres (1982), Pina Martins (1969) and Ramalho (1988), contributed to a greater understanding of the impact of Erasmianism on individual Portuguese humanists, such as Damião de Góis, André de Resende and João de Barros. Wider-scope studies have appeared, authored by Bataillon himself (1956), Silva Dias (1960), Pina Martins (1973), Osório (1974) and Moreira de Sá (1977), who have discussed different aspects of Erasmianism in Portugal, drawing attention to the complex relationship between Erasmianism and Humanism.

³⁶⁹ Seidel Menchi (1987).

will be applied to the Portuguese case. To ascertain the specific trends and patterns of the reception of Erasmus, I will draw from: textual evidence in the liminary texts of the editions of Erasmus published in Portugal; from the analysis of Portuguese editions of Erasmus; from the number of sixteenth-century editions of Erasmus in Portuguese libraries; and from the use of Erasmus in the Latin-Portuguese dictionary of Jerónimo Cardoso. The Portuguese case will be compared to the Spanish and the Italian ones, thus situating Portugal in the broader context of Counter-Reformation Europe.

The bibliographical data of this study have been collected at the most important Portuguese collections held by the Biblioteca Nacional (Lisbon), the Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon), the Biblioteca Pública in Évora, the Biblioteca Pública e Municipal in Oporto, and the Biblioteca Geral e Universitária in Coimbra. The editions of Erasmus which entered Portugal after 1599 were excluded.³⁷⁰ Given the historical background of this period, there are, of course, limitations to this study. The role of Inquisitorial censorship is an important factor to bear in mind in the analysis of the extant sixteenth-century copies of Erasmus currently in Portuguese libraries. But this will serve to my advantage, as it will be possible to see how censorship influenced the reception of Erasmus in Portugal.

Overall, I was able to identify 441 copies of different sixteenth-century editions of Erasmus. The majority of these are editions of Classical and Christian authors (slightly over 60%). Portuguese readers were predominantly interested in the philological works: almost two thirds of the bibliographic evidence corresponds to Erasmus's editions of Pliny, Seneca, Cicero, the *Disticha Catonis*, Jerome, Cyprian, Augustine and even his own *Nouum Testamentum*. The second largest group of editions of Erasmus found in Portuguese libraries includes rhetorical

³⁷⁰ Amongst these are editions in the Pina Martins private collection, bought mainly in Italy.

treatises and compilations (approximately 25%). The *De duplici copia verborum*, the *Apophthegmata*, the *De constructione octo partium orationis* and the *Paraphrasis in Elegantias Laurentii Vallae* were the most popular titles, widely used in educational contexts.

Finally, the least representative group of Erasmian works (under 15%) include the moral and literary works, such as the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (only five copies can be found in Portugal) and the *Epistolae*; only two copies of the *Encomium Moriae* exist in Portuguese libraries, and no copy of the *Institutio Principis Christiani* survived. This smaller corpus of controversial works also testifies to the effective use of censorship by the Portuguese Inquisition: no titles published after 1555 included in this group of works entered the country.³⁷¹

The analysis of the bibliographical data also demonstrates that there is a significant drop in the number of philological and pedagogical works by Erasmus published after 1555 in Portuguese libraries; only a fifth of the overall number of these works entered the country in the second half of the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, the public could still have access to this type of editions published abroad, and they continued to be read and used, namely, in an educational context. The number of editions of classical and Christian authors by Erasmus also dropped significantly after 1555: almost 80% of these editions entered Portugal in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Finally, the number of extant translations of Erasmus into Spanish (there are none into Portuguese) is quite low: the data demonstrate that under the Inquisition the Portuguese public read Erasmus in Latin, which implies that his readership was a restricted elite.

³⁷¹ The complex question of Erasmian spirituality and its impact in Portugal is in need of revised study. At a broader level, it would be important to explain why certain works by Erasmus were more appealing to certain European audiences, and why some spiritual works by Luis de Granada, Juan de Ávila or Francisco de Borja were permitted to circulate in Portugal, but forbidden in Spain.

With regard to works of Erasmus published in Portugal, Pina Martins has pointed out that the chronology and type of publication reveals an unusual tolerance of Erasmus at a time when he was widely regarded with suspicion in Counter-Reformation Europe, and when his prestige was clearly fading.³⁷²

In the 1540s four editions of Erasmus were published in Portugal: the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* in a Spanish translation, in 1541 in Lisbon³⁷³ and the *De copia verborum et rerum* in Coimbra, possibly in 1542, although the date and the name of the editor are unknown.³⁷⁴ The *Colloquia ad meliorem mentem reuocata* were published in Coimbra c. 1545?-1552?,³⁷⁵ most likely after the text had been included in the Index of 1547.³⁷⁶ Finally, the *Index rerum et verborum copiosissimus ex Des. Erasmi Roterodami Chiliadibus* by Was was published in Coimbra in 1549. The last work by Erasmus to be published in Portugal was the *Primera parte de las Sentencias...* published in Spanish in 1554 and 1555.³⁷⁷ With the exception of the edition of the Spanish translation of the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, which has intrigued researchers, the remaining titles had a practical use in teaching.

In Portugal, the *Colloquia* were prohibited in 1547; the *Enchiridion* was included in the Index of 1551, and Paul IV's Index of 1559 included all titles by Erasmus. In 1554-55, Erasmus was labelled as 'auctor damnatus'. However, when compared to other European countries, Portugal was very receptive and tolerant towards Erasmus.

³⁷² Pina Martins (1973) 159 – 65.

³⁷³ A copy of this rare edition can be found at the Biblioteca Pública e Municipal in Oporto (X1-7-12).

³⁷⁴ A copy of this rare edition can be found at the Biblioteca Pública e Municipal in Oporto (Y1-3-68). The date on the manuscript's first page is 1592, but Silva Dias (1966) 497-98 points out a possible misreading in the manuscript.

³⁷⁵ Possible dates of this edition are discussed by Bataillon (1952), Silva Dias (1966) 499-500, and Osório (1974) 239.

³⁷⁶ For a discussion on the censorship of Erasmus' works by the Portuguese Inquisition in the sixteenth century, see Bujanda (1994).

³⁷⁷ A copy of this rare edition can be found in the Biblioteca Geral e Universitária in Coimbra, sig. R-2-19 and V.T. 18-8-6.

Evidence of that can be found in the profound admiration for Erasmus expressed by renowned Portuguese intellectuals, among them, the humanists who were members of the cultural circle of Cardinal Henrique, such as Damião de Góis, André de Resende, João de Barros, Cleynaerts, Was and Juan Fernández, editor of the *Colloquia*. The value of Erasmus's work to Portuguese intellectuals can be inferred from the analysis of the liminary texts of the Portuguese editions.

Was, the editor of the *Index rerum et verborum copiosissimus ex Ded. Erasmi Roterodami Chiliadibus*, addresses Martin de Azpilcueta Navarro in the prologue of his book, praising Erasmus and his work:

‘Quanta illic sylva vocabulorum tum Graecorum, tum Latinorum? Quanta rerum varietas? Quantum historiae, quantum antiquitatis? Quot lepidissimae fabellae? Quam varii physicarum quaestionum nodi explicati? Quot ... loci restituti? Quot illustrati? Sane aut vehementer caecutiunt oculi mei, aut hic ipsissimam ... □γκυκλοπάδιαιμ video.’

The stress here is on Erasmus's eloquence and encyclopaedic learning, something which even his critics acknowledged: in 1536 Aires Barbosa, the author of *Antimoria*, a poem which directly engages with and criticises the *Encomium Moriae*, concedes:

‘Quamuis enim *Moriae Encomium* summa cum delectatione ab eruditis legatur, intelligentibus scilicet leporem illum suauiussum ipsis innoxium: tamen ab aliis, quae turba maxima est: non sine noxa legi potest.’ (f. 5v)

Aires Barbosa admits his opponent is a learned humanist, and that he is an ingenious, cultivated and eloquent writer. In his dedication to Prince Afonso (1509-1540, brother of King João III), Aires Barbosa is clearly referring to the distinction between the learned and restricted elite who read Erasmus in Latin and the masses who read vernacular editions of the Dutch author. The danger Aires Barbosa alludes to is that Erasmus could be misinterpreted by the uneducated majority. Again, this accounts for the fact that virtually no copies of vernacular translations of Erasmus survived thanks to the efficient control of the Inquisition.

The edition of the *Colloquia Erasmi ad meliorem mentem reuocata* is a revealing case in the study of the reception of Erasmus in Portugal. As mentioned above, the *Colloquia* were included in the Index of 1547, but nonetheless this work was published in Portugal around that time: this edition of the *Colloquia* was dedicated to the heir to the throne, Prince João, and it was designed to be used by the students of the University in Coimbra. In his comprehensive study of this edition, Osório drew attention to the fact that the editor, the Sevillian Juan Hernández, carried out a careful selection of the text, leaving out the most controversial topics, and rewriting parts of the text.³⁷⁸ Cardinal Henrique was involved in the publication of the edition, as he revised the final draft and gave his permission for the book to be published. Whilst addressing the Cardinal in the opening epistle, Hernández stressed Erasmus's eloquence and said that it was the author's purpose to use that to promote piety. This improved edition (*ad meliorem mentem*) corresponds to the official position of the Portuguese crown, and Juan Hernández was, in fact, simultaneously both editor and censor when he revised and adapted Erasmus's text for publication in Portugal. As Osório points out, Hernández carried out the revision of the *Colloquia*, bearing in mind the need to provide a version of the text which would be acceptable to the humanist elements of the bureaucratic, aristocratic and religious elite of his day; an elite which had acquired a competent education in Latin, a tradition which dated back to the time when Cleynaerts was Cardinal Henrique's tutor.³⁷⁹

There is another interesting use of a different work of Erasmus in sixteenth-century Portugal: the Latin-Portuguese dictionary by Jerónimo Cardoso (1508-1569), published in Coimbra in 1569 – 70 and dedicated to the heir to the throne, Prince Sebastião. The dictionary, which was published posthumously, was

³⁷⁸ See Osório (1974), which summarises the conclusions of the author's doctoral dissertation on the text of the Coimbra edition of the *Colloquia*.

³⁷⁹ I am paraphrasing Osório's conclusion (1974: 243).

completed by the German humanist Sebastian Stockhammer. An important characteristic of the dictionary, first identified by Teyssier,³⁸⁰ is the great number of Latin nouns illustrated by quotations from the *Adagia*, which are clearly identified in the text by a pointing finger before the quotation in Latin and its translation into Portuguese. According to Teyssier, more than 4000 adages were included in Cardoso's dictionary. Nonetheless, despite the fact that the use of Erasmus and his *Adagia* in Latin dictionaries was common in Europe, Erasmus is not mentioned anywhere in the Latin–Portuguese dictionary, which was published quite late in the sixteenth century. In the dedication to Sebastião, Stockhammer considered them as ‘paroemias elegantes, utiles, scituque dignissimas,’ though Erasmus is never mentioned nor the ‘paroemiae’ identified as the *Adagia*. Nonetheless, despite the controversy surrounding Erasmus and this particular text, Cardoso and later Stockhammer still used it, and it would be unlikely that the elite could not identify these ‘paroemiae’ as quotations from Erasmus's work.

In sum, from the bibliographical data, the discussion of Portuguese editions of Erasmus and the examples of the use of Erasmus's texts by Portuguese authors, we can conclude that the Dutch humanist's texts circulated in the country, despite Portugal's peripheral location. The interest of the Portuguese readers was diverse, but in the second half of the sixteenth century concentrated mainly on the philological and pedagogical Erasmus. Other works were also read in Portugal by the elite, but the censorship imposed on this type of text led to a gradual decline in their circulation after 1555. Finally, under the Inquisition the Portuguese continued to read Erasmus, but almost exclusively in Latin, exception made for rare editions in Spanish.

³⁸⁰ Teyssier (1992) 127-136.

Whereas in Spain censorship imposed on Erasmus and his work was motivated by both religious and political reasons,³⁸¹ in Portugal Erasmus was never associated with social uprising in Portugal, hence a more lenient and accepting attitude towards this important humanist there. In Italy, on the other hand, censorship of Erasmus was strictly religious and theological. Between the 1520s and the 1530s there was a well-designed strategy laid out by the Italian theologians who promoted the ‘reductio Erasmi ad Lutherum’.³⁸² Evidence of this can be found in the fact that the number of editions of Erasmus’s works published in Italy slowed down after 1525, and dropped significantly after 1555. Also, the Inquisition successfully controlled the circulation of editions of Erasmus in Italy.³⁸³

The number of editions of works by Erasmus published in Italy in the sixteenth century is as large as in Spain. However, there are differences regarding the type of works published in both countries. In Spain the public seemed to be more interested in the ‘religious’ Erasmus,³⁸⁴ and more than two thirds of the books published in Spain had a religious content. In Italy, on the other hand, the public was equally interested in the religious and humanist works.

Seidel Menchi points to a plausible explanation for the higher percentage of editions of philological works in Italy: works such as the *De copia verborum ac rerum*, the *De conscribendis epistolis* and the *Adagia* had no match in the Italian book market. Erasmus’s pedagogic and humanistic works met the growing needs of the highly intellectual and demanding cultural elite. This elite was eager to achieve a high level of proficiency in Latin as a means of social promotion, and, to this end, Erasmus was amongst the very best and prestigious authors. This

³⁸¹ See Bataillon (1991) 77-88, and more recently Garcia Cárcel (2001) 259 – 66. There was a period of admiration for Erasmus which lasted until the 1520s, but soon faded.

³⁸² Seidel Menchi (1987) 39-65.

³⁸³ Seidel Menchi (1987) 309-48.

³⁸⁴ See Bataillon (1937).

hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that the number of editions of works by Erasmus in Latin is greater than those in Italian.

I would add to this explanation the fact that Italy was then an important centre of active and enthusiastic philological work. Italian editors were undoubtedly in the forefront of the recuperation of Classical and medieval authors, and Erasmus was of key importance. It is in this respect that the Portuguese case is different from the Italian. Italian readership was interested both in the practical benefits of mastering Latin as well as in the philological method behind Erasmus's editions of Classical and Christian authors. In Portugal, readers were more interested, it seems, in the *result* of this philological method. As Borges Macedo points out, this lack of stimulus went hand-in-hand with the monopolization of the press by the royal family and the clergy, who used the press to suit their institutional and political interests.³⁸⁵ There were few classical manuscripts in Portugal, and printing and editing were not highly developed there. Consequently, Portuguese humanists rarely carried out this type of work, and, if they did so, it was outside Portugal.³⁸⁶

Despite the ideological *démarche* of the 1550s, Erasmus continued to be accepted in Portugal as a prestigious literary and linguistic model, a paradigm of eloquent and elegant use of Latin: his works were read in Latin by a restricted elite, interested in his philological and pedagogical works, which were tolerated by Inquisitorial censorship. Moreover, in neo-Latin circles, Erasmus remained, among other things, an important political thinker, and an essentially Christian author responsible for the editions of Augustine, Jerome and Cyprian. There is no element of heterodoxy in Teive's appropriation of Erasmus's *Institutio Principis*

³⁸⁵ Borges Macedo (1975) 188-90.

³⁸⁶ Unsurprisingly, a good example of the rare philological work carried out by Portuguese humanists is the work of a dear friend of Erasmus: Damião de Góis published a commentary of the *Ecclesiastes* in Venice in 1538. This has been only recently discovered at Oxford by T. F. Earle who carried out a critical edition and study of this text: see Góis (2002).

Christiani. By bringing Erasmus into the *Epodon libri tres*, Teive reinforces his image as an advisor of kings, and bearing in mind that Erasmus's dedicatee, the Emperor Charles V, was Prince Sebastião's grandfather, Teive's *Institutio* projects the hopes of future glory that many of his Portuguese contemporaries had in the young prince.

Textual analysis has revealed how Teive fashions his image of advisor of kings inspired by Plutarch and Erasmus. Teive's peers were sensitive to the didactic aspect of the Teive work, and a clear example of that can be seen in a poem by Andrade Caminha which occupies a central position in book I of the *Epodon libri tres*, after the *Sententiae* and before the second edition of the *Institutio*:

'Dàslhe para isto exēplos e doutrinas
com que a toda virtude se leuante,
para nós a elle, e a nós para elle ãsinas.' (f. 50r) ³⁸⁷

Andrade Caminha's appraisal of Teive's work is consistent with the title Teive gave to the opening text of the *Epodon libri tres*: *Sententiae vtilis quidem omnibus hominibus, sed regibus ac regum moderatoribus praecipue*. Teive's work, despite being of use to all courtiers, was especially intended for kings and political leaders, as the following analysis of the *Epithalamium* will illustrate.

³⁸⁷ For a modern edition of this poem, see Andrade Caminha (1998) II 1096.

IV. 2 The Epithalamium of 1565 and Teive's Political Thought

As a humanist, Teive felt the urge to engage with the political life of the world around him. Teive's interest in matters of state is present from the very beginning of his literary career in the 1540s, and, as Teive continued to publish in the twenty years that followed, this interest never ceased. At the time of the publication of the *Epodon libri tres*, there was a long-standing literary tradition of political treatises in Europe, and Teive was one of several humanists to have dedicated political poetry to the members of the Portuguese royal family.

The literary tradition of political treatises was formed by a prestigious body of works related to the 'mirror of princes' literature, which in the first instance dated back to the Middle Ages, but which can, in fact, be traced back further to the writings of Classical authors such as Xenophon, Plutarch or Seneca. The Renaissance, with its enthusiasm for the recuperation of the Classical past, did not substitute the medieval tradition, but instead renovated it. Simultaneously, editions of classical authors, and translations, both into Latin and into the vernacular languages, made the important legacy of Greek and Roman writers available to an ever-growing readership. It was in this seedbed of cultural renovation that the production of political and didactic treatises proliferated in Europe, no doubt linked to the rise of the modern states and the strengthening of royal power throughout Europe. The body of political treatises published in the early-modern period is vast and varied a great deal in subject and scope.

The recurrence of 'topoi' and 'exempla', of imagery and quotations of authorities in this type of texts has been one of the reasons for their dismissal in the study of the intellectual history of both medieval and early-modern societies. It is undeniable that they can be seen as a by-product of Renaissance teaching methods, and yet, as Ann Moss argues, these were of capital importance to the

very structuring of Renaissance thought, a tool ‘which could be activated to verbalize present experience in the language of familiar moral paradigms and with reference to a cultural history shared by writer and reader’.³⁸⁸ The use and appropriation of literary tradition by early-modern writers should instead be seen as an important mechanism of communication, discussion and persuasion.

The variety of discourse employed in this type of texts has been highlighted as have their ideological implications, which are particularly important in the context of Renaissance humanism³⁸⁹ and Counter-Reformation.³⁹⁰ With regard to Portugal, recent contributions in this particular field are scarce, and no monographs have appeared in English. Martim de Albuquerque’s *O Poder Político no Renascimento Português* (1968) is in need of a thorough revision, but remains an important study – in fact, it is the broadest in its scope. Portuguese political thought of the Renaissance has been recently revisited in the second volume of the *História do Pensamento Filosófico Português*.³⁹¹ Other studies have been limited to the analysis of specific authors, namely Camões,³⁹² Jerónimo Osório,³⁹³ Lourenço de Cáceres,³⁹⁴ André Rodrigues de Évora.³⁹⁵ An exception to this is Ana Isabel Buescu’s monograph *Imagens do Príncipe: Discurso normativo e representação (1525-49)*, which draws from a number of prose texts, and discusses their individual importance to the construction of the ‘image of the prince’. Still, Buescu’s analysis is limited.

³⁸⁸ Moss (1996) vi.

³⁸⁹ Skinner (1978) 213-43.

³⁹⁰ Recent and important discussions of political thought in the Spanish dominions in the early-modern period have appeared by Truman (1999) and Fernández-Santamaria (2005-06). Particularly relevant with regard to the model of the perfect prince in different Italian states is Stacey (2007). Bireley (1990) is the broadest in its scope, encompassing several Counter-Reformation countries.

³⁹¹ Edited by Calafate (2001), pages 102-22 are devoted to Osório’s theories of kingship, and 663-76 to sixteenth-century political treatises.

³⁹² See, e.g. Calmon (1962), Albuquerque (1988), and recently, Willis (2010).

³⁹³ Castro Soares (1994).

³⁹⁴ Eugenio Asensio (1961).

³⁹⁵ Matos (1983) vii-xxviii.

In fact, with the exception of *Os Lusíadas*, critics have dismissed poetry, despite the significance of the corpus of poetical texts which deals with matters of the state in this period. Furthermore, and notwithstanding the acknowledged importance of Teive's work for Portuguese political thought,³⁹⁶ for long limited attention was paid to his writings. The only study of Teive's political thought is that of Bigalli. His *Immagini del Principe* is for the most part accurate, but its conclusions as to the final stage of the author's life and literary career are not plausible. The understanding of Teive's approach to important questions of the political debate of the time is undermined by Bigalli's description of the Portuguese humanist as a marginalised author.

In the following section of the dissertation, the *Epithalamium* will be presented as a summary of Teive's main ideas on kingship, and for this reason the analysis of the poem will be the starting point of a broader discussion. I will point out how Teive's political thought was informed by a humanistic background, and how his political opinions reveal a sound knowledge of European and Portuguese political life. This too will contradict Bigalli's claim that Teive ended his days as an outcast. This discussion equally intends to address a gap in the study of the concept of kingship in sixteenth-century Portugal by analysing Teive's *Epithalamium* as representative of the contribution of poets to the political debate. This analysis will be set against Teive's works and it will draw comparisons with other sixteenth-century poets, like Sá de Miranda, António Ferreira, Andrade Caminha, and Camões, to ascertain Teive's significance in the general literary production of this period in Portugal.

³⁹⁶ Buescu (1996) 253, where Teive is seen as an example of the vitality of political literature in the second half of the century.

IV. 2. 1 The system of government

Despite not featuring in an important position in the overall structure of the *Epithalamium*, the section of the text where Teive discusses the ideal of kingship significantly occupies more than 10% of the text:

‘Gignantque natos patribus et claris auis
 similes, nec ausim postulare maximis
 maiora votis. Si cui ad summum gradum
 penetrare liceat, altius procedere
 non vtique dabitur. Si parentes inclyti
 summa attigerunt, liberis consistere
 in gradibus illis nil erit praeclarius.
 Moderentur illi subditos populos sibi
 summa aequitate, forti et alios dextera
 ab hoste demant Turca, et augeant fidem
 virtute Christi et augeant prudentia,
 claris vt atavis ac piis maioribus
 plerumque validis cum hostibus quondam accidit:
 fudere saeva Marte qui inuicto agmina.
 Rerumque sceptrum firma teneat dextera,
 neutrumque vergat in latus. Constantia
 inuicta forti perstet vsque in pectore.
 Sint constituta certa honesto praemia,
 supplicia vicio. Caeco amore nil agant,
 nil odio, et ira quae mala male consulit.
 Sit recte agendi norma virtus, sit scopus
 eadem ipsa virtus, sit sacer cultus Dei
 in honore summo, sancta sit custodia
 legum sacrarum. Vt chara natos pignora
 amant parentes, sic suos populos ament.
 Ac populi in oculis principes gerant suos
 illisque se debere cuncta intelligant:
 illis honores, vitam, opes, nomen, decus,
 accepta referant. His tamen superbia
 non vlla crescat, crescat at modestia.
 Non ergo plebis intumescant plausibus,
 nullis agatur mens item terroribus,
 quae infracta venti saeuientis impetu
 nequit moueri, ceu scopulus immanibus
 hinc inde et vsque concitatus fluctibus.’ (ll. 124 – 58)

[And may they beget children equal to their illustrious fathers and forefathers, nor could I dare to wish for greater things in my utmost wishes. If someone is allowed to reach the highest step, he will not be permitted to go any higher. If one’s renowned fathers reached the summit, nothing will be more prestigious for their children than to stand in that step. May they govern the people under their rule with supreme justice, and remove others from the Turkish enemy with their strong right hand, and may they expand Christ’s religion with their courage and with their wisdom, as generally happened in the past to their illustrious

forefathers and pious ancestors against strong enemies: never defeated in war, these routed savage troops. May their strong hand wield their sceptre over things, and not incline to either side. May invincible constancy stand forever firm in their hearts. May fixed rewards be set for what is honest, punishment for vice. May they do nothing out of blind passion, nor hate, or evil fury which evilly deliberates. May virtue be the measure of correct action, may virtue itself be the goal, may the sacred reverence for God be held in the highest honour, and the holy keeping of the sacred laws too. As parents love their children as beloved tokens, may they likewise love their people. And may the people keep the princes in their eyes and understand that they owe everything to them: may they account to their credit their honours, life, wealth, fame, glory. In them, however, let no haughtiness arise, but rather modesty. So, may they not be elated by the applause of the people, and similarly may no fear drive their mind, which cannot be moved, unbroken by the assault of the raging wind, like a rock disturbed by giant waves which continuously come on this side and that.]

The epithalamic genre falls within epideictic rhetoric: the praise of the bride, groom and their ancestors is one of its defining elements. However, the passage quoted above is an example of deliberative rhetoric: it presents an oblique prescriptive tone. Teive does not use the imperative (he could have addressed the royal couple directly in the 2nd person plural) as he had done in his *Sententiae*,³⁹⁷ but he opts instead for the subjunctive to convey a twofold message: Teive's words can be interpreted both as an expression of his wishes for the future of the royal couple, and (more significantly) as an expression of the duties and obligations which impend upon them. The optative subjunctive becomes jussive: Teive represents himself in this text as the rejoicing, hopeful courtier and, once again in the *Epodon libri tres*, as the advisor of kings. The *Institutio* and *Sententiae* are prescriptive texts, and therefore this section of the *Epithalamium* is quite representative of Teive's literary career. Also, favouring a prescriptive approach in this type of texts was quite common at this time in Europe, especially in the context of Counter-Reformation countries.³⁹⁸

By incorporating such advice to the royal couple in his poem, Teive deliberately brings the political implications of the royal alliance to the fore,

³⁹⁷ The first two lines set the tone for the whole poem: 'Si vis beatus viuere,/ supremum et unicum Deum/ adora...' (f. 1v). [If you wish to lead a blessed life, adore the supreme and true God].

³⁹⁸ Truman (1999) 14.

something which he had already done in the *Carmen* of 1552. Yet, in that earlier work, Teive opted for a different strategy, and rather than explicitly presenting his advice to the heir to the throne, he listed the ideal qualities of the perfect king, prophesying how Prince João would embrace them in the future:

‘Sed tanto succumbo oneri, nostramque Thalam
 inuitus tenuem agnosco. Nunc maxima rerum
 se mihi spes offert, nunc se mihi gloria auita,
 aeternumque decus patris, virtuteque patrum
 eximium nomen quod nullo intercidet aeuo:
 Nunc mihi se in superos pietas, magnumque Tonantem,
 nunc amor in populum, legumque verenda sacrarum
 maiestas, qua concordi regit omnia pace,
 prouidaque et constans animi vis, primaque rerum
 iustitia, et nullis virtus infracta periculis:
 Atque illa in primis, qua rex sibi pectora iungit
 cunctorum tam larga manus, tam prompta voluntas,
 innumeraeque aliae virtutes se mihi ponunt
 ante oculos, quas tu felix imitabere princeps.’ (ll. 145-58).

[But I succumb under such a burden, and I unwillingly acknowledge that our Thalia is slender. Now the supreme hope in things presents itself to me, and the glory of his ancestors, and the everlasting honour of his father, and the excellent name which will never perish in time thanks to the virtue of his grandparents: Now also presents itself to me the piety towards the gods above and great Jove, now the love for the people, and the venerable majesty of sacred laws, by which he governs all things in harmonious peace, and prudent and constant fortitude, and justice, first amongst all things, and virtue which is never broken by any dangers; and especially that most liberal hand, and that inclination to goodwill by which the king joins the hearts of all to himself, and many other virtues put themselves before my eyes, virtues which you, most happy prince, shall imitate.]

Therefore, in both epithalamia Teive puts forth his ideal of kingship. The first aspect mentioned in 1565 is the very purpose of the marriage alliance: the birth of heirs who will secure the transmission and preservation of political power (l. 124). Teive’s words presuppose the general frame of a hereditary monarchy, something which his readership would assume. Monarchy was considered the most perfect form of government: Aristotle’s distinction between pure and degenerate forms of government in the *Politics*, adopted later in the Middle Ages by Aquinas in *his De regimine principum*, continued to be highly influential in the sixteenth century.

This distinction is discussed in Portuguese prose treatises (e.g. by Osório³⁹⁹), but in comparison Teive does not examine the question of the perfect system of government, nor do any of the Portuguese poets who support the divine right of kings. In the *Institutio*, however, Teive acknowledges the existence of an alternative model of monarchy:

‘... Vel legi,
vel educari regem oportet a suis,
sed educari satius esse existimant’ (f. 53v)
[The king should either be elected or educated by his own people, but they think it is preferable that he should be educated]

In the opening of his *Institutio Principis Christiani*, Erasmus had stated his preference for the system of elective monarchy, stressing the importance of the education of the prince in the countries (the majority in Europe) where hereditary monarchy was in place. Teive’s bland defence of hereditary monarchy is not supported by a single argument or authority. Yet, given that the birth of prince Sebastião had been hailed as a miracle at the time in Portugal, it is not surprising that Teive dismisses this question so quickly.

The imagery used by Portuguese poets to represent the system of government is associated with monarchy, but not with a specific model of monarchic rule: some poets seem not to notice the different implications of the different images. Amongst the most popular is the reference to the community of bees (to be found in Sen. *Cl.* 1.19.2-3), which stresses the existence of mutual ties of dependence between ruler and his subjects. Both Teive (in the *Institutio*, f. 60v) and Sá de Miranda (‘Epistle to João’, l. 60) adopt this image in their work. The anthropomorphic representation of the body politic, developed at length by John of Salisbury in his *Policratus*, has slightly different implications,⁴⁰⁰ given the pivotal

³⁹⁹ Osório (2005a) 148-58.

⁴⁰⁰ Nederman (2005) 56-58.

role played by the king as regulator and unifier (he is often represented as the heart or the head of the republic): Sá de Miranda resorts to this image twice in the ‘Epistle to João’ (ll. 40, 59). Teive goes further than his Portuguese predecessor, and identifies the ministers of the king as the eyes and hands of that body (*Sententiae*, f. 46v), whereas António Ferreira represents king and kingdom singularly as soul and body in his ‘Epistle to Andrade Caminha’ (ll. 67-69), a representation of the mystical body politic.⁴⁰¹ Quite differently, the representation of the king as the sun highlights his capital importance in the context of the republic – both Teive (*Sententiae*, ff. 34v-35v) and Sá de Miranda (‘Epistle to João’, l. 55ff.) employ this image, although they also represent king and republic as the community of bees.

In the *Epithalamium*, the model of hereditary monarchy is simply assumed, but Teive is more explicit when it comes to its implications in ll. 124 – 30. Hereditary power is central to both the legitimization of political authority and to the continuity of good government: the imitation of ancestors, a continuous effort to achieve perfection, has political and ethical significance. In 1552, Teive insisted upon the ‘glory of ancestors, the everlasting honour of the father [King João III], and the virtue of the forefathers’ as the ideal to achieve. In 1565, pointing to Manuel and Charles V as examples may seem rather conventional but it is important to stress that Portuguese poets of this time often refuse to present Classical paradigms when Portuguese history was so rich in examples. This is the stance of Andrade Caminha in his ‘Epistle to Prince Duarte’ (III.14, ll.145-47). Teive insistently recommends the example of João III to Sebastião, in the hope that he will follow in his footsteps (*Institutio*, f. 53r, where Teive uses the word ‘aemulatio’). Ultimately, Camões’s *Os Lusíadas* draws from the similar idea that

⁴⁰¹ Buescu (1996) 241.

the best examples of good (and bad) government are to be found in the history of Portugal.⁴⁰²

IV. 2. 2 The Virtuous Prince

From the significance of hereditary power Teive moves on to present the four cardinal Stoic virtues which should guide the Dukes of Parma – ‘aequitas’ (l. 132), ‘prudentia’ (l. 134), ‘constantia’ (l. 139) and fortitude (‘forte pectus’, l. 140) –, as he had done in 1552 (‘prouidaque et constans animi vis, primaque rerum/ iustitia, et nullis virtus infracta periclis’, ll. 153-154). The influence of Stoicism is significant in Renaissance Europe in this period,⁴⁰³ and humanists could imbibe the Stoic heritage via the works of Seneca, Horace and Cicero. Although a philosophical system which owed much to the Classical pagan tradition, the content of Stoicism was highly compatible with Christianity. As a humanist, Teive proved highly responsive to its civic dimension. In her introductory study of Teive’s *Ioannes Princeps*, Nair Soares highlights the influence of Seneca on the Portuguese humanist,⁴⁰⁴ confirming Peter Stacey’s broader argument that ‘the articulation of Senecan precepts to princely audiences had ... become a highly familiar and self-consciously imitative activity’, reinforced by the fact that ‘Seneca’s Christian authority remained intact’.⁴⁰⁵ Composed by Teive immediately after the death of Prince João, the play represents King João III and Queen Catherine as models of fortitude and temperance when they endure the loss of the heir to the throne, their only surviving child.

⁴⁰² Willis (2010) 99.

⁴⁰³ For a comparative discussion of princely virtues, see Skinner (1978) 228-36 and (2002).

⁴⁰⁴ Soares (1977) 81-96.

⁴⁰⁵ Stacey (2007) 197.

Teive's Stoicism is furthermore evident in the *Epithalamium*: Maria and Alessandro are advised to abstain from passions (ll.142-43), such as anger, hatred and cruelty, which are especially harmful for the prince (*Sententiae*, f. 1v). Teive continues in his *Epithalamium* to propose virtue as guidance, as he had equally done in the *Sententiae* (f. 23v): virtue is the very measure of good government ('recte agendi norma', l. 144) and the purpose of governance ('sit scopus/ eadem ipsa virtus', ll. 144-5). The reason is that the king is also a man whose soul should be saved, and whose sins will fall upon his people (*Sententiae*, f. 18v). But, above all, he is God's representative on earth, and his very image. On the contrary, the vicious prince is a tyrant and a likeness of the devil himself (*Sententiae*, ff. 33v-34v, quoting Plutarch, *Mor.* 780e). In this passage, Teive follows Erasmus's *Institutio* closely both when he quotes Plutarch (as Erasmus himself does), and when the Christian writer compares the tyrant to the devil – certainly a very appealing image to a humanist like Teive.⁴⁰⁶

The opposition between the virtuous king and the tyrant is a common 'topos', but unlike in other European countries, there had not been a single example of tyrannical rule in Portuguese history. Notwithstanding, Camões in canto III of *Os Lusíadas* puts forward the anti-example of Sancho II and Fernando, two kings who had utterly failed in ruling the country due to their inability to control their passions and appetites. As Willis argues, Camões seems to imply that the deposition of monarchs is a possible solution if a country is confronted with a potentially dangerous and incapable king.⁴⁰⁷ Teive, on the other hand, is rather vague when explaining the ill-consequences for the prince who abuses his power: in his *Institutio* he merely refers to God's punishment (f. 89v), a sign of how compromising it was to answer this important question in practical terms.

⁴⁰⁶ Plutarch compares the king to god, and Erasmus deduces: 'E diuerso malus ac pestilens princeps mali daemonis imaginem repraesentat' (1974: 150).

⁴⁰⁷ Willis (2010) 134 – 35.

There is yet another criterion to distinguish between the virtuous king and the tyrant, first explored by Aristotle (*Pol.* 1279a33; 1295a18-24): the latter acts out of his own interests, whereas the former aims at preserving and enhancing the common good (*Sententiae*, f. 29v). It follows, then, that the best course of action for the perfect king will always be that which is morally correct. Kings should, therefore, guide their actions by virtue, but also by reason, a point Teive does not mention in his *Epithalamium*, but which he makes elsewhere: to Sebastião he recommends wisdom (‘sapientia’), warning him that without it, power (‘potestas’) and goodness (‘bonitas’) are not enough to rule over the kingdom (*Institutio*, f. 62r; *Sententiae*, f. 31v).

Stoic virtues of temperance, fortitude and virtue are also actively recommended to the prince. Although these may appear conventional common-places, they gain a new meaning when confronted with the character of the future king of Portugal: he was known to be impetuous, prone to rage, ill-tempered and stubborn.⁴⁰⁸ In the *Sententiae* admonition against the negative consequences of ‘ira’ is present from the very outset of the text, and is renewed again and again (f. 1v, 10v, 16v). More significantly, in the *Institutio* (f. 60v), Teive narrates the story of Phaeton in greater detail than Erasmus, but carefully omitted the reference to Phaeton’s youth – Teive must have felt his criticism would be explicit.

Amongst the other virtues the king should possess, in the *Epithalamium* Teive mentions mercy and liberality (subject matter of Seneca’s *De clementia* and *De beneficiis*), modesty and benignity, princely qualities also explained in Teive’s *Institutio* (ff. 57r-v) and *Sententiae* (ff. 3v, 4v). Praise of royal virtues is one of the recurrent topics of the texts selected for this comparative analysis, and the work of other poets is equally informed by Stoicism: Andrade Caminha presents a complete catalogue of Stoic virtues in his ‘Epistle to Prince Duarte’ (III. 14,

⁴⁰⁸ Lima Cruz (2009) 101.

especially ll. 94-135), and Ferreira incites the tutor of Sebastião to instil these virtues in his young pupil ('Epistle to Luís da Câmara Gonçalves', l. 73ff.).⁴⁰⁹

Justice is central to the political debate on the limits of kingship.⁴¹⁰ Bigalli summarises the importance of 'iustitia' in Teive's work by defining the prince as the personification of justice,⁴¹¹ a representation which, as Sousa Rebelo points out, Erasmus had explored in his *Institutio Principis Christiani*.⁴¹² Sá de Miranda addresses King João III as 'nossa viva lei' ('Epistle to João III', l. 15), in a turn of phrase which bears great resemblance to the Erasmian 'viva quaedam lex' of *Institutio Principis Christiani*.⁴¹³ If in the epithalamia Teive does not state that kings are subject to the law, both in the *Sententiae* (f. 41v) and *Institutio* (ff. 65r-v) this point is vigorously made. Poets repeatedly recall the need for kings to abide by the laws of the kingdom: Sá de Miranda stresses this point to the king ('Epistle to João III', l. 91ff.), and António Ferreira to the regent Cardinal Henrique ('Epistle to Anrique', l. 127ff.) and to Sebastião ('Epistle to Sebastião', l. 145ff.).

The ideal of the virtuous prince cannot be dissociated from religion: ll. 144-45 of the *Epithalamium*, on the importance of virtue, and ll. 145-46, where Teive defends the value of religion, form one single sentence, and its four different clauses present a parallel structure which establishes the link between them. Catholicism played a significant role in Portuguese national identity, and given the religious schism in Europe, the epithalamia reveal Teive's stance in this respect. In

⁴⁰⁹ For a discussion of Ferreira's Stoicism, see Earle (2000) xii-xvi and Earle (1996).

⁴¹⁰ See Albuquerque (1968) 144-57.

⁴¹¹ Bigalli (1985) 91-92.

⁴¹² Sousa Rebelo (1988) 171.

⁴¹³ Erasmus (1974) 194, in the opening lines of chapter VI: 'Bonus sapiens et incorruptus princeps nihil aliud est quam viua quaedam lex'.

1552, Teive had included the ‘in superos pietas, magnumque Tonantem’⁴¹⁴ and the ‘legum verenda sacrarum maiestas’ amongst the virtues to emulate. Portraying himself as a Catholic writer throughout the *Epodon libri tres*, Teive mentions the ‘cultus Dei’ and the preservation of the Catholic customs and ways at a time when religious rituals were under severe criticism by Reformation movements. Yet, given the climate of orthodoxy experienced in Portugal, he could have chosen more militant words. Unlike Camões who criticises Protestants and Anglicans for their separation from the Church of Rome and involvement in wars in Europe (VII. 4-5), Teive merely refers to them on one occasion in his entire career: in the *Oratio funebris*, he praises King João III’s decision to bring the Inquisition to Portugal, but he is bland.⁴¹⁵ It is natural that Teive did not feel at ease to discuss any aspect related to religious heresy, given his past with the Inquisition, but for a humanist so committed to presenting himself as a Catholic writer, this is surprising.

The poets selected for this comparative study agree on the importance of governing according to virtue and none of them show explicit or implicit admiration for Machiavelli. Teive is quite clear when he says in his *Sententiae* that the king’s attributes should be those of God. Lying is explicitly discouraged and ‘fides’ should be maintained at all times, even to one’s enemies (*Sententiae*, ff. 12v-13v).

On the other hand, Teive makes use of a recurrent common-place in political theory – the representation of the republic as a family: in the *Epithalamium* he

⁴¹⁴ In 1552, Teive still allowed himself the freedom to use for this pagan phrase, something which no longer happened in 1565. He refers to God using either ‘Deus’ or ‘numen’.

⁴¹⁵ Teive (1558) f. 35r, where he elliptically refers to the ‘haeticorum peruersi errores’ [the perverse errors of the heretics], the ‘caecitas ac pertinacia Iudaica’ [the blindness and stubbornness of the Jews], and to the ‘stultissima ac corruptissima Mahumetis secta’ [the most foolish and corrupt sect of Muhammed].

highlights the need for reciprocal love between rulers and subjects (ll. 147-48), a point he also stresses in the *Sententiae* (f. 46v) and *Institutio* (f. 58r), before underlining how the king should be accepted by his own people (f. 60r). This is an important point, as Portuguese political thought (informed by Thomism)⁴¹⁶ always attributed an important role to the mediation of the people,⁴¹⁷ though endorsing the theory of divine power of kings. In his narration of the foundational moment of Portuguese monarchy, Camões significantly refers to the ‘levantamento’ of King Afonso Henriques by the rejoicing people (III. 46).⁴¹⁸

Other poets too stress the importance of love for the political stability of the kingdom (e.g. Ferreira’s ‘Epistle to Pêro Alcáçova Carneiro’, ll. 88-90). However, ‘timor’ is equally valued by some (although fewer) poets. Sá de Miranda in his ‘Epistle to João III’ hails the king as ‘amado e temido’ (l. 365), and Camões refers to King Manuel as ‘temido e amado’ in *Os Lusíadas* (X. 144). The ideal king should, therefore, be loved and feared. In chapter 17 of *Il Principe*, most likely with the Classical precedent of Cic. *Off.* 2. 7. 23-24 in mind,⁴¹⁹ Machiavelli had argued that it was difficult for the prince to be both loved and feared; for that reason, it was safer to be feared than loved.⁴²⁰ At least for Sá de Miranda and Camões, Manuel I and João III had achieved that perfect equilibrium. As Albuquerque has rightly pointed out, this is not to say that the two authors were influenced by Machiavelli,⁴²¹ since the phrase ‘temor e amor’ occurs in political treatises of the fifteenth century. Yet, ‘amor’ and ‘timor’ are generally opposed to

⁴¹⁶ According to Calafate (1999), ‘o poder exercido pelos soberanos tem origem imediata no povo e mediata em Deus, à luz das fórmulas *omnis potestas a deo per populum e populo faciente et deo inspirante*’.

⁴¹⁷ Albuquerque (1968) 23-45; for a discussion of the role of the people, see Bigalli (1985) 77-85. Bigalli (1985) 92 also discusses the importance of ‘amor’ and ‘consensus’ of the people for the king’s authority.

⁴¹⁸ Albuquerque (1988) 139-40.

⁴¹⁹ Skinner (1988) xv-xxii, where a comparative analysis is made between *Il Principe* and the Classical tradition, namely Cicero (*De officiis*) and Seneca (*De clementia*).

⁴²⁰ Machiavelli (1988) 58-61.

⁴²¹ Albuquerque (1968) 200-03, subsequently developed in Albuquerque (1988) 179-203.

one another in sixteenth-century political debate: if the king is to choose between the two, the better course is to be loved, as Teive himself recommends to Sebastião.

Nonetheless, the impact of Machiavelli on Portuguese intellectuals was real, unlike what critics such as Albuquerque and Nair Soares have argued in the past.⁴²² Recent studies have demonstrated how the reception of Machiavelli's works caused an important debate at court. Anglo has shown that when writing the *De regis institutione*, Osório 'found some of Machiavelli's views valuable as a focus of debate, and made skilful though unacknowledged use of them'.⁴²³ Osório's prestige and unquestionable orthodoxy, as well as the fact that he had prominently opposed Machiavelli in book III of his 1542 *De Nobilitate Christiana*,⁴²⁴ put him above all criticism and suspicion, but others were not so fortunate. Giuseppe Marcocci has argued that Machiavelli's *Discorsi* and *Il Principe* attracted the attention of Portuguese intellectuals, and that the impact of his ideas is visible in a particularly important and sensitive area of the political debate: the overseas empire and the maritime expansion. Some humanists of the 1530s and 1540s tried to incorporate Machiavelli's arguments into the imperial debate, but this attempt to reconcile Catholic imperialism and the defence of the religion of the Romans became unacceptable in an orthodox court. Marcocci's well-documented examination of the reception of Machiavelli by Portuguese humanists points to a first stage of relative liberty which ended in the 1540s, when the atmosphere of orthodoxy began to close in on Portuguese intellectuals. The royal chaplain Francisco de Monzón was silenced at court after he made use of Machiavelli's *Discorsi* in his *Espejo del principe cristiano* (published in 1544,

⁴²² See Albuquerque (1968) 160-64, but especially Albuquerque (1974); and Soares (1994) 202-08.

⁴²³ Anglo (1995) 156. For a detailed discussion see 143-63.

⁴²⁴ Osório (1995) 202-16.

dedicated to King João III).⁴²⁵ The reactions to Monzón came from the most prominent theologians at the Portuguese court, amongst them Martin de Azpilcueta Navarro, professor at the University of Coimbra to whom Teive and George Buchanan had dedicated liminary epigrams in 1548.⁴²⁶ Portuguese humanists, therefore, knew Machiavelli's work, but as in other aspects of the cultural and intellectual life of the country, orthodoxy prevailed forcing intellectuals to be cautious. By 1565, Machiavelli had been included in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* of Pius IV (1559), and subsequently included in the Portuguese *Index* of 1561.⁴²⁷ The mere fact of knowing Machiavelli's work (even to criticise it) would have resulted in condemnation. Thus, the absence of references or even allusions to Machiavelli in the cultural production of this period in Portugal merits a more nuanced interpretation.

Having been convicted by the Inquisition, Teive's texts were subject to careful examination by censors, and it is interesting to notice how in his work, Teive avoids exploring questions which would expose the strain put on monarchs who wished to rule according to ethics at all times. A clear example of this is the fact that Teive does not address the issue of whether the king should keep his word even if the common good were endangered, a point explicitly answered by Machiavelli in *Il Principe*.⁴²⁸ Teive does say in his *Sententiae* that the king must keep his word at all times (even to his own enemies), but he also says that the good king will always rule according to the common good. So, in fact, Teive abstains from discussing the question. Osório, on the other hand, in the *De regis Institutione*, argues for the value of keeping 'fides', but allowing for Machiavelli's arguments to feature in his work in the words of a character.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁵ Marcocci (2008) 62-67.

⁴²⁶ In Azpilcueta Navarro's *Relectio ... de iudiciis* (first published in Coimbra, 1548).

⁴²⁷ Bujanda (1995) 476-77.

⁴²⁸ Machiavelli (1988) 61-63, corresponding to chapter 18.

⁴²⁹ Osório (2005a) 148 – 58.

IV. 2. 3 War: Europe and the Empire

Teive and his contemporaries dedicate a great deal of attention to the question of war, and the *Epithalamium* is a very good example of this interest on the topic. This is not surprising given the conflicts which devastated Europe in the sixteenth century. The most prolonged conflict was that of the Italian Wars, opposing Charles V and Francis I, culminating in the shocking alliance between the French and Suleiman in 1525, in the heavy defeat of the Hungarian army (ally of Charles V) at the Battle of Mohács (1526), and in the no less shocking sack of Rome by the armies of Charles V (1527). The conflict saw a second stage of hostility in 1542 when the French-Ottoman alliance was renewed, at a time when the Turks posed an increasing threat.

It is on similar lines to other European humanists that Teive perceives war, and his condemnation of this disruptive phenomenon, frequent in his literary work, is informed by Stoicism (e.g. *Institutio*, ff. 61-61v). Also, like Erasmus,⁴³⁰ More and Colet,⁴³¹ Teive spares no criticism with regard to war amongst Christian kings, sharing this unanimous stance within the European cultural elite, despite Portugal's unique neutrality in the conflict during the reign of João III. Instead, Portugal concentrated its military power fighting the enemies of the faith in the overseas territories. This strategic political decision of non-belligerency and neutrality within the European context is an important fact to bear in mind. The historical circumstances presented Portuguese authors with a unique occasion to blame vice in the figures of Charles V, Francis I and the papacy, and to praise the

⁴³⁰ Fernández-Santamaria (1973) 220-26.

⁴³¹ Skinner (1978) 244-54 analyses their stance towards war in comparison to their Italian predecessors of the Quattrocento.

virtues of the peaceful João III and, hence, of the Portuguese people themselves. The scheme of epideictic rhetoric suited the historical circumstances, and the terms in which Portuguese intellectuals react should be understood as a result of the ‘studia humanitatis’ which they had imbibed in their formative years.

It is true that in the work of Portuguese intellectuals criticism of the internecine wars in Europe and the praise of João III often go hand in hand. However, and unlike what Silva Dias suggests,⁴³² this is not to say that Portuguese authors are merely interested in rebuking European leaders for their engagement in war as a way of praising Portuguese expansion. Teive expresses his opinions on war in Europe on a number of occasions and with such vigour that even Silva Dias concedes that the author is an exception in what he considers to be an otherwise widely conventional approach to the discussion of war amongst Portuguese intellectuals.⁴³³ In his epithalamia Teive does not refer to the situation in Europe: in 1552 the heir to the Portuguese throne married the daughter of Charles V, and Teive sensibly avoids any comments. In 1565, on the other hand, the Italian Wars had ended with Henry II accepting the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis (1559), and there was no reason why he should evoke such grim events on that festive occasion. Moreover, intense negotiations regarding Sebastião’s marriage were in course, so Teive avoids making any comments that could cause embarrassment for the Portuguese crown.⁴³⁴

Yet, in Teive’s *Opuscula* of 1558 there are good examples of his stance on the topic of war amongst Christian kings. In the *Oratio funebris*, he is critical of Charles V, Francis I and even Pope Clement VII: ‘Principes christiani in christianos Principes’, Teive summarises, denouncing the behaviour of the kings

⁴³² Silva Dias (1969) 811-17.

⁴³³ Silva Dias (1969) 815.

⁴³⁴ Azevedo Cruz (1992) II: 170-72, and Lima Cruz (2009) 127-32. The sought brides were Philip II’s niece, Isabel of Austria, and Margaret of Valois, daughter of the late Henry II and of Catarina of Medici.

and papacy as unworthy of true Christian rulers (ff. 26r – 27r). However, more than presenting João III as the head of an expansionist belligerent nation, the emphasis rather lies on how João III ('imitator Christi pacis authoris'[imitator of Christ, the creator of peace]) abstained from waging war against other Christian kings, despite the many reasons to do so (f. 26v).

Sá de Miranda too commented on these events. He had travelled to Italy, where he spent several years at the time of the Italian Wars. On his return to Portugal, he commented on the devastation brought about by war in Europe on more than one occasion. In the eclogue 'Montano',⁴³⁵ the pastoral world serves as the perfect guise for the fictional representation of the conflict between Francis I, the papacy, and Charles V. Contending kings are represented as capricious shepherds who abuse the poor peasantry. Perilous dogs (the Turks) draw closer and closer by the day. The eclogue also alludes to the disastrous defeat of Mohács (ll. 195-200) and possibly to the sack of Rome (ll. 171-80; 201-10), Sá de Miranda sparing no one, not even the Pope. The second section of the eclogue is a praise of solitary life away from the city (l. 221 ff.). Sá de Miranda does not actively praise the Portuguese for their involvement in war against the Turks, but quite differently denounces the 'desconcerto do mundo', and the passage carries an oblique innuendo against Portuguese society (ll. 76-80).

Therefore, to say that when Portuguese authors write about such disturbing events they are merely reacting within a conventional, rhetorical frame of condemnation of war is far from true. Portuguese authors merely express the same concerns as their European counterparts. Nor is it true that their condemnation of war in Europe is merely ancillary to the defence of the ideal of crusade. Despite the fact that authors such as Sá de Miranda and Teive agree with military action against Muslims, as will be discussed, it does not imply that they are less

⁴³⁵ Sá de Miranda (1989) 403-14. For an analysis of this eclogue, see Busnardo-Neto (1974) 42-57.

concerned with European politics. This is especially the case since other European humanists (e.g. Vives, Paolo Giovio) also associate the appeal for peace among Christian nations to the call for an offensive against the Turk, showing how this should not be considered a particular tendency amongst Portuguese intellectuals.

Before moving on to compare Teive's opinions on the particular topic of war against the Turk with that of his contemporaries, three important concepts associated with warfare should be defined: just war, holy war and crusade. The subtle differences between them would have been known to a man like Teive, who had studied law, and the accurate terminology which he uses in the *Institutio* is a good indication of this.

According to Seixas, just war and holy war are not one and the same, given that the basis and arguments for engaging in holy war are exclusively spiritual.⁴³⁶ It is the 'rhetoric of spiritual antagonism',⁴³⁷ which dominates the debate, even if, naturally, it masks pragmatic reasons. A crusade would, then, be a sub-type of holy war, officially approved by the Church, which granted indulgences to those engaged in it.⁴³⁸ Amongst the goals of a crusade were the defence of Christendom, possible attacks upon the non-Christian enemy so as to stop their faith expanding, and the expansion of Christendom by conversion of non-believers. The array of arguments and authorities in the intricate debate on warfare included Augustine, Isidore of Seville and Aquinas, who would be known to Teive, given his juridic background. It was in Aquinas (*S. T. 2.2. q. 40*⁴³⁹) that Teive found the basis for his discussion of the legitimacy of war in the *Institutio*:

⁴³⁶ Seixas (2006) 118.

⁴³⁷ Blackmore (2009) 12. The author explores how the concept of 'guerra dos mouros' evolved from the recuperation of territories within the Iberian Peninsula to the justification of aggressive military campaigns in Morocco (9-12).

⁴³⁸ Seixas (2006) 118.

⁴³⁹ The text of the 'quaestio' is too long to offer a comparative analysis here. See Aquinas (1964) 80 – 93.

‘Sed bella nonnunquam geri, vt mitissima
 oriatur inde pax, et esse plurimas
 causas gerendi belli, eas iustas tamen
 esse eligendas. Impios hostes Dei
 causa aliqua honesta, ad dulce pertrahi iugum
 fidei decere. Si tuis sint finibus
 illata damna, sarcienda praelio,
 quis audeat negare? Priuati suas
 vt iure lites legibusque transigunt
 sic Marte reges. Vim quidem repellere,
 non esse iniquum, inferre saeuum et impium.’ (f. 61v)

[But tell him that sometime war should be waged, so that most sweet peace may come from it, and that there are many reasons to wage war, but that only those which are just should be chosen: it is appropriate to bring the impious enemies of God to the sweet yoke of faith with an honest cause. If loss and damage is caused to your frontier regions, who will dare deny that they should be repaired by war? Just like individuals settle their disputes according to justice and the laws, so kings do it by fighting in war. For it is not iniquitous to repel force, but to attack is cruel and impious.]

Like Aquinas, Teive endorses the concept of just war in broad terms as the prerogative of the king, showing how war is part of his conceptualisation of kingship.⁴⁴⁰ Aquinas states war should be waged only against those who are guilty of injustice, and that the gravity of their offence should justify the use of force. Teive implies that war against the ‘*impii hostes Dei*’ can only be considered provided that there is a legitimate cause (‘*causa honesta*’), and not that war against the infidel is just per se. Hence the subsequent reference to the possibility of attacks by external enemies on the kingdom, which would provide such legitimate cause for war. Teive significantly refers to the Turks as external enemies (‘*hostes*’). On another occasion, Teive comments more specifically on the topic of war:

‘Pressumque densis nubibus tollat caput
 Regni potentis, quod trophaeis extitit
 Lybicus beatum, dum noui orbis barbara
 nondum reperta gaza, nec libidinis
 opes alumnae, nec piper et aromata,
 et pharmaca alio ab axe per vasta aequora
 auecta, in aliud coelum, vt aliis hominibus,

⁴⁴⁰ Thus, unlike Erasmus, who had dedicated the final section of his *Institutio Principis Christiani* to the refutation of the theory of just war, engaging with Augustine, amongst others. See Erasmus (1986) 282-87.

natura et ipsis differentibus cibus,
 prodesse possent, quam bene, ipsi viderint,
 sed his carere Christiana gens sine
 dispendio ullo, commodo magno potest.
 At suaue gentes sic ferant Christi iugum,
 et aduocentur ad gregem summi Dei.
 Nunc ille nobis Rex datus miraculo,
 late patentis Indiae fines sua
 virtute terminabit, orbis finibus.
 Huic clarus olim victor addet Aphricae
 nobis molestae fertiles et uberes
 glebas, ut illis vacua possit horrea
 implere Lysa possit et genti suae
 cum laude summa, parere summa commoda.’ (f. 52r-52v)

[And he [Sebastião] will raise the head of the powerful kingdom, burdened with dense clouds,⁴⁴¹ once blessed by her triumphs in Africa, when she had not yet discovered the barbarous treasures of the new world, nor the riches which nourish greed, nor the pepper nor the spices nor the drugs transported through the vast sea from another pole of the earth to another region of the sky, so that they could be of use to other men with these foods which are so different from their nature. How well, they will have seen, but the Christian folk can do without these without any expense, but with great convenience. But may the people take up the sweet yoke of Christ, and be summoned to the flock of the supreme God. Now with his courage that King who was given to us by miracle⁴⁴² shall set the boundaries of the vast and spacious India where the world ends. To this the conqueror will one day add the fertile and productive lands of Africa, hostile to us, so that he may fill the empty Lusitanian granaries, and that he may give great profit to his people with great glory.]

The first aspect to merit attention is the fact that Teive does not mention religious motives for an offensive campaign in Africa, but he rather states that the Portuguese should continue to convert the local populations of India to Christianity. Even so, Teive does not justify the Portuguese presence in India on the grounds of the expansion of faith.

We know from Teive’s own account of the siege of Diu how this image of peaceful conversion does not correspond to the truth. The respect for the historical ‘fides’ is an important element in Teive’s *Commentarius*⁴⁴³ where the economic factors behind Portuguese presence in India are alluded to. In fact, apart from the

⁴⁴¹ Teive is referring to the political situation in Portugal: the king had died the year before, and it would be another fourteen years before Sebastião became king.

⁴⁴² Sebastião was the posthumous child of the heir to the throne, João, the only surviving son of King João III and Queen Catherine. His sudden death (2 January 1554) caused great consternation in the country, and Sebastião’s birth (20 January 1554) was hailed as a miracle. The sovereignty of the kingdom was secured.

⁴⁴³ Sousa Rebelo (1984) and (1993).

moral superiority of the Portuguese which arises from their faith, religion does not play a significant role in the outcome of events, as Teive refuses to explain the victory of the Portuguese on the grounds of a divine miracle,⁴⁴⁴ unlike other contemporary writers. Teive also portrays the enemy in his *Commentarium* as a worthy opponent, and exposes their (critical) views on the abuses committed by the Portuguese.⁴⁴⁵ He also did not silence the massacre of the local populations, facts which he did not seek to justify.⁴⁴⁶

In the passage of the *Institutio*, Teive is critical of the changes to the Portuguese way of life brought about by trade, but he opts for a highly oblique stance, most likely because he depended on royal patronage, and his works were subject to censorship prior to publication. He did not enjoy the freedom which Sá de Miranda had many years before when he half-humorously, half-seriously condemned the impact of spice trade on Portuguese society ('temo-me de Lisboa que ao cheiro dessa canela, o reino nos despovoa', 'Epistle to António Pereira', ll. 14-15). Teive and Camões opt for more subtle approaches when referring to the overseas expansion. The Portuguese crown was deeply committed to this enterprise, and in the early 1520s Erasmus himself had seen his invitation to the Portuguese court fall through due to his questioning the legitimacy of royal monopoly over spice trade in the dedication of his *Chrysostomi Lucubrationes* (1527) to King João III.⁴⁴⁷

Teive opts for ambiguity. The moment in the *Institutio* where he appears to be more actively committed to the political mainstream in calling for a military campaign in Africa is, in fact, where he unmaskes the crude reality behind the

⁴⁴⁴ Teive (1548) 49 and 87.

⁴⁴⁵ See the very outset of his account: Teive (1558) 2-3.

⁴⁴⁶ Teive (1548) 89-90. Regardless of age and sex, the local population was slaughtered, and beheaded, an episode which is preceded by Teive's remark that the Portuguese soldiers were not moved by glory or power, but by their wish to destroy the enemy.

⁴⁴⁷ For a discussion of the dedication and its reception at the Portuguese court, see Bataillon (1972) 74-89.

Portuguese maritime expansion. He starts by listing the products which brought profit for the Portuguese crown. Yet, he then alludes to the risks involved in maritime trade (echoing Verg. *A.* 7. 228), and denounces the greed which motivated the Portuguese. The excessive luxuries of the eastern way of life had corrupted the Portuguese, Teive claims. Yet, he does so using the 3rd person plural ('*ipsi viderint*'), as if he were not commenting on these facts, and were not Portuguese like the '*ipsi*' he refers to. This passage is unique for Teive's criticism of the Portuguese: in the *Institutio* anti-examples are to be found either in abstractions (such as the tyrant or the flatterers) or in historical or mythological characters (e.g. Nero, Caligula, Phaeton). The need to distance himself from his criticism by attributing his comments to vague '*ipsi*' is a sign of Teive's cautious approach.

Camões too in *Os Lusíadas* opts for a similar, yet more sophisticated, textual strategy to expose the real motives for the expansion. Featuring prominently at the heart of his epic, the episode of the 'Old Man of Restelo' is a sign of how Portuguese humanists in the second half of the sixteenth century resorted to subtlety. Camões portrayed the Old Man as a figure worthy of respect: authority, wisdom and sound knowledge of the world are attributed to him from the first moment he appears in the poem (IV. 94). This character questions the benefits of the Portuguese presence in India. Under the mask of the pursuit of fame and glory (IV.103-04), the Old Man criticises the greed and vanity which make men risk their lives on distant and perilous shores (IV. 95-103); moreover, the country's depopulation is matter for concern (IV. 101), and the benefits achieved in this process are highly questionable when compared to those which could be more easily obtained in the nearby Africa, without jeopardising the country's security (IV.100). There is no reason to believe Camões was critical of Portuguese presence in India, especially when the remainder of the poem clearly celebrates

Gama's voyage and the arrival of the Portuguese to such distant shores. Instead, as Alves argues, the main thrust of the Old Man's speech is the denunciation of the use of epic language to disguise the real reasons behind the overseas expansion in the East.⁴⁴⁸

Criticism aside, the *Institutio* is also revealing of Teive's political opinions and his status as a court writer. Sensing that the future of the overseas empire was a matter too significant to be dealt in such broad terms, Teive clearly advises Sebastião to continue to see India as a priority, whilst reinforcing military presence in Africa. After the humiliating retreat from the Moroccan fortresses of Safim, Azamor (1541), Alcacer Ceguer (1549) and Arzila (1550), it was clear that the crown had no solutions for the challenges the extensive overseas empire was facing, namely the costs of guaranteeing the presence in India and the control over trade.⁴⁴⁹ Suleiman's troops frequently launched attacks in the east, the shipping of goods by sea was full of risks,⁴⁵⁰ and the Atlantic routes were under the threat of piracy. Therefore, at court there was a strong group of noblemen who considered Africa to be a true alternative to India.⁴⁵¹ Publishing the *Institutio* after João III's death, and four years before Cardinal Henrique became regent, Teive is well-informed on the political debate, and his opinions are in tune with the policy which prevailed at court, which favoured the maintenance of complementary overseas territories. Under the regency of Cardinal Henrique, the Portuguese continued in

⁴⁴⁸ Alves (2001) 513-50.

⁴⁴⁹ Buescu (2005) 224 – 34 offers an overview of the transformations of the empire under João III. See Pedreira (2007) 54-59 on the costs of maintaining the empire.

⁴⁵⁰ On the encounters between Portuguese troops and Suleiman's forces, see Clot (1989) 189-98.

⁴⁵¹ García da Cruz (1997) discusses the opinions of several Portuguese aristocrats, and compiles the documentation regarding the abandonment of the Moroccan possessions.

India, and Portugal did not withdraw from Morocco,⁴⁵² unlike what had been planned during the regency of Queen Catherine.⁴⁵³

Teive stands out from his contemporaries: he does not set out to justify a military offensive in Africa on the grounds of religious antagonism, but for strategic and economic reasons. Portugal faced frequent famines, and cereal was scarce. Moreover, the reinstatement of the prohibition of selling horses and cereal to non-Muslims in Morocco had a severe impact on the Portuguese.⁴⁵⁴ the solution for this chronic problem was conquering land in Africa.

As Teive's literary career progresses, his stance on war in Morocco remains unchanged, but the terms in which he presents such military campaign became subtly different, an evolution which has more to do with the pressure felt by a man like him to comply with the prevailing mainstream than to a genuine adherence to the idea of crusade.

The terms in which Teive refers to the Ottomans in his work do not mirror the virulence of more militant intellectuals who depict the Turks as barbarians living off piracy and plunder, an image which is quite common amongst humanists, especially after the fall of Constantinople.⁴⁵⁵ Such representation is echoed in Sá de Miranda's dedication of eclogue 'Celia', where the poet compares the victory of Charles V and Prince Luis to that of Hercules over Cacus (ll. 17-24). The victory of Charles V over Suleiman, was a victory of civilization over barbarity. The poet also represents the Turks as simple enemies of the faith, and the gory appeal to a 'laguna/ de sangre infiel vertido' (ll. 44-45) is representative of the bellicose tone of the dedication. Yet, Sá de Miranda also hails Prince Luis as one of the two Scipios (ll. 29-32), which automatically transforms the Turks into Carthage. The implications of this representation are subtle, since the Ottoman Empire is, thus,

⁴⁵² Polónia (2005) 165.

⁴⁵³ Disney (2009) II 16-17.

⁴⁵⁴ García Arenal (1992) 95.

⁴⁵⁵ Bihasa (2004), especially 60-78, who draws exclusively from Italian sources.

implicitly equalled to a military power which could measure up against Rome/Christian Europe.

It is in fact this depiction of the Turks as worthy opponents that we find in Teive. His representation of the Ottoman Turks is one which consistently recognises the civilizational value of the territories under their influence, both in India and in Africa. In his *Commentarius* Teive's positive portrait of the military leader, the Turk Coge Sofar, draws heavily from Livy's depiction of Hannibal, as Sousa Rebelo argued.⁴⁵⁶ The same idea is again present in the *Epithalamium* of 1565, where the Turks are also alluded to as 'validi hostes' (l.136).

The *Epodon libri tres* are, to a certain extent, a turning point in Teive's career. In 1565, for the first time, the rhetoric of spiritual antagonism is used to defend a military campaign in Morocco. In the *Epithalamium*, religion is the only motive for waging war against the enemies of the faith. In lines 135-37, Teive alludes to Maria and Alessandro's ancestors, Prince Luis and Charles V, and their memorable victory in Tunis in 1535. Maria and Alessandro should therefore imitate their forefathers, and Prince Duarte should pursue the same goal (ll. 335-38).

As was discussed in the Introduction of this dissertation, Maria's marriage to Alessandro Farnese had been a strategic decision made by Cardinal Henrique, in the hope that Portugal's position in the European diplomatic circles would be strengthened. A long pursued goal of Portuguese diplomacy since the 1530s had been to open a Christian military front against Muslims in Eastern Europe, so as to redirect Suleiman's troops in the North of Africa towards the east, giving Portugal the opportunity to reinforce its presence in Morocco. Such diplomatic negotiations were fruitless throughout a significant part of the sixteenth century, but in 1565,

⁴⁵⁶ Sousa Rebelo (1984) 470-71.

the papacy was re-directing its military efforts. For long directly engaged in the European political chessboard, and in the aftermath of Trent, in the mid 1560s '[military] papal policy was being aimed in practical ways against religious enemies, Protestants and Muslims', Chambers notes.⁴⁵⁷ In the *Epithalamium* Teive recalls the successful military alliance which had given the Christians their first significant victory over the Ottoman enemy. Also, in the 'Ode de Victoria Melitensi contra Turcas' which celebrates the victory of the Christian armies in the siege of Malta, Teive no longer criticises the papacy as in 1558. Pius IV is instead portrayed as the vigilant head of the Church (f. 65v). Teive shows signs of being well-informed: the papacy's aid had been decisive for the Knights Hospitallers.⁴⁵⁸ Suleiman is portrayed as a cruel tyrant who had planned to conquer Italy, Germany and the Iberian Peninsula once Malta had been burnt to the ground. The ode portrays Christians engaging in *defensive* military operations. One of the opening poems of book II of the *Epodon libri tres* (dedicated to Sebastião, short title: 'Qualem oportent esse Regem in suos'), also insists that a military campaign in Africa is a reaction to the attacks of the Turks:

'At bella si hostis impius
iniqua forsan inferat,
et conserendi dexteram
sit iusta causa, moenia
regnumque florentissimum
defendat, inque hostem trucem
suscipiat arma, et patriam
tueatur inuicta manu,
suosque fines porrigat
sine alterius iniuria.' (ff.106v-107r)

[But, if the impious enemy perchance undertake an unjust war, and if it is a just cause to engage in combat, let him not only defend the walls and the most prosperous kingdom, but also take up arms against the fierce enemy, and protect the homeland with his invincible hand, and expand the boundaries of his kingdom with no unlawful violence towards the other.]

⁴⁵⁷ Chambers (2006) 165.

⁴⁵⁸ Chambers (2006) 169-70.

Despite the fact that religion had become part of Teive's discourse of legitimization of war, he never abstains from referring to the strategic and economic reasons for a military campaign, as he had done in 1558:

'Vicina cur regna Africae
armis equisque insignia,
glebaque foecundissima
infesta Christi nomini
virtute non vinces tua?'

(Short title: 'Africa a Sebastiano Rege superabitur', f. 107v)

[Why will you not conquer with your courage the nearby kingdoms of Africa, illustrious for their arms and cavalry, and the most fertile lands, hostile to the name of Christ? Will you not subdue the impious enemy?]

Contrarily to Silva Dias's claim, it is not possible to name Teive amongst the group of Portuguese intellectuals who adhered to the ideal of crusade.⁴⁵⁹ Drawing from the present state of research into the debate surrounding the empire amongst Portuguese writers, it is possible to state that Teive and Camões stand alone in the group of Portuguese poets for their realistic approach to the questions related to the overseas expansion. Moreover, religious antagonism, which is mentioned as a reason for military offensive, does not wholly substitute Teive's pragmatic view of the topic, and instead complements it. Teive's insistence on the strategic and economic reasons for such military action indicates that he was amongst those who saw it as a necessity for the stability of the empire rather than an end in itself.

Teive's humanism and his status as a writer had a significant impact on his political writings. It is as a humanist that he portrays himself as the advisor of kings, following in the footsteps of Plutarch and Erasmus; that he presents his ideas on kingship and good government; that he engages with national and

⁴⁵⁹ Silva Dias (1969) 822-25.

international politics. The *Epithalamium* offers an insight into Teive's political thought, but it also provides important information on his status at court.

Throughout his literary career he remained the respectful courtier, and it is with this in mind that we are to understand the contrast between the gloomy tone of Teive's *Carmen* of 1552, and this hopeful second *Epithalamium* of 1565. The prevailing atmosphere of political antagonism and dispute at court contrasts with the final lines of the 1565 *Epithalamium* (ll. 365 – 79), where Teive portrays the Portuguese crown as a strong, united and powerful family. Dedicating each of the three books of the *Epodon* to the different main political protagonists of Portuguese life, and by bringing them again together in his *Epithalamium*, Teive emerges as the reconciling courtier who calls for unity and harmony, in the hope for a better future for Portugal.

Chapter Five

V. 1 The text of the *Epithalamium* and *Epodon libri tres*

Transmission

No manuscript copy of the *Epithalamium* has been found. However, other manuscripts of sections of the *Epodon libri tres* have come to light.

Mss.:

BMI 279

Bound in a copy of Teive's *Deploratio* (1564), there is a manuscript copy of the 'Ode in exultationem victoriae Melitensis contra Turcas' (published in ff. 63v-66r of the *Epodon libri tres*). The poem is followed by a series of epigrams, four dedicated to Princess Maria (b. 1521) and three to her niece, Maria (b. 1538), wife of Alessandro Farnese. The watermark (crown and fleur de lis) and the type of paper suggest that this copy was made in the eighteenth century. The poems are introduced by the following note:

'Esta ode conserva-se ms na livraria do Col[egio] da Graça de Coimbra depois de algumas obras do mesmo Autor. A Letra e antiga, a ortografia também res[peita] o costume daquelle tempo. Vem mais manuscriptos 4 epigramas do mesmo autor, segundo nos parece, ainda que não trazem nome. Essa mesma Ode vem impressa entre algumas obras de Teive em 12[º] impressos em Lisboa 1565 com o titulo: Epodon siue Iambicorum Carminum Lib. 3. só diversificada nas palavras que vão riscadas.'⁴⁶⁰

The poems include:

'Epigrammata. Ad Mariam Infantem Regis Emanuelis et Eleonorae Filiam.'

Incipit. 1: 'Cur Maria Illustri Regum de stirpe creata'; 2: 'Ducere te multi, tu nubere nulli,'; 3: 'Miratur quidam nulli quod sponsa marito'; 4: 'Cur Maria Princeps orta claris Regibus'.

⁴⁶⁰ In fact, the text of the *Ode* presents more variants than those which were underlined by the author of this copy.

‘Epigrammata Ad Mariam Eduardi et Isabellae Infantum Lusitaniae Filiam’.

Incipit. 1: ‘Catarina nupta maximo Brigantiae’; 2: ‘Sit tua nupta soror, sit Dux, populisque beata’; 3: ‘Si nubas, Regi nubes, sic fata jubebunt’.

The manuscript copy ends thus:

‘Estes epigramas vem manuscriptos logo imediatamente à Ode De Victoria Melitensi que traz o mesmo nome de Diogo de Teive, ainda que os epigramas não trazem o seu nome. Acha-se tudo na livraria do Colégio da Graça de Coimbra encardernado em pergaminho em 4º depois de algumas obras de Cadaval Gravio “De Conimbricæ Encomium”, de Ignacio de Moraes e de Deploratio consolationis admixta do mesmo Teive. Acha-se em Caza 5 Letra F.’

In twentieth-century handwriting the following note was added: ‘O volume a que se refere a nota na pagina anterior, está actualmente em poder do Dr. Augusto Mendes Simões de Castro.’⁴⁶¹

UCL ms. 1119

Nineteenth-century partial copy of the Portuguese translation of the *Institutio*: ‘Instituiçam del Rey Nosso Senhor’ with a series of other manuscript poems from the *Parnaso de Vila Viçosa*, an anthology of Baroque poetry compiled by Francisco de Morais Sardinha.

Printed edition:

The *Epithalamium* has only been printed once, in the *Epodon libri tres* (1565).

⁴⁶¹ Castro was a librarian at the University of Coimbra.

Bibliographical Description

Author: Teive, Diogo de (c. 1514 – 1569?)⁴⁶²

Title Page: IACOBI TEVII| Lusitani. Epodon siue Iã|bicornum carminum Libri
tres.| Quorum indicens sequens| pagella continet.| Ad Sebastianum primum,|
inuictissimum Lusi| taniae Regem.

Printing Authorization: Hoc opus examinatum et approbatum| est tum sanctae
Inquisitionis [sic], tum ordina| ria autoritate.

Printer and Date: Francisco Correia (Lisbon), 1565.

Olysipone [sic] excudebat Franciscus| Correa Typographus Serenissi|mi Cardinalis
Henrici.| Anno. 1565.

Physical description: [6], 2-171, [2], 2-66 leaves

Format: 12 cm [12°]

Signatures: a6, B-O¹², P4, Q², a-e¹², f6.

Notes: 24 ll. per page on average. Pagination jump from f. 69 to f. 80 and to f. 83; further occasional pagination errors throughout. Book I presents the *Sententiae* with the Portuguese translation facing the Latin until f. 49. Book II has a divisional title page, followed by table of contents (ff. 102v-103r). Book III has a separate title page (followed by a table of contents, f. Q1v), but, unlike Book II, has independent pagination.

⁴⁶² The Latin form of the author's name, 'Iacobus Teuius', frequently causes problems of identification. For instance, in the most recent catalogue of Iberian books, by Wilkinson (2010), Teive's name appears under three different entries 'Teive, Diogo de' (catalogue numbers 18249, 18250, 18251 and 18252; the latter corresponds to the *Epodon libri tres*), 'Tevio, Jacobo' (catalogue numbers 18332, 18333) and 'Tieve, Diego de' (catalogue numbers 18378 and 18379 for the *Tumulus*, of which according to the catalogue 'no se conoce ejemplar en la actualidad' – this is certainly not the case). In Díaz y Díaz's (1993) the humanist's name is recorded as 'Didacus Teuius', although this form of the name was never used by Teive in his career.

Contents:

Book I: *Sententiarum vtilium quidem omnibus hominibus, sed regibus ac rerum moderatoribus praecipue, quibus addita est boni principis institutio.*

f. 2r: Reuerendissimo Episcopo Iuliano Albio regio rerum sacrarum praefecto maximo

f. 6v: Hendecasyllabum ad Sebastianum inuictissimum Lusitaniae regem

f. 7r: Aliud Iambicum (iambic couplet)

f. 7v: *Sententiae* (iambic dimeter) (bilingual edition with the Portuguese translation facing the Latin text)

f. 49v: Soneto (António Ferreira)⁴⁶³

f. 50r: Soneto (Pero de Andrade Caminha)⁴⁶⁴

f. 50v: *Lectori*

f. 51r: *Iacobi Teuui Lusitani Institutio Sebastiani primi felicissimi Lusitaniae Regis* (iambic trimeter)

f. 66r: Poesia de Francisco de Andrade (incipit: ‘Lymphas bibisse te putant Aganippidos’)

f. 66v: Ao Leitor

f. 67r: *Instituição del Rey nosso senhor.* (Portuguese translation of the text of the 1558 edition)

Book II: *Liber secundus, De rebus diuinis. Ad Sebastianum Primum inuictissimum Lusitaniae regem, Hymni Tredecim ad Iesum Christum pro salute Regis et felici regni statu.*

f. 103v: *Incolunitatem Regi suo a Iesu Christo deprecatur* (iambic dimeter)

124v: *Hymnus Virgini Matri Dei Mariae* (sapphic stanzas)

⁴⁶³ Ferreira (2000) 461.

⁴⁶⁴ Andrade Caminha (1998) II 1096.

126v: *Diuo Iacobo Zebedei filio, Hispaniarum Praesidi et Patrono Hymnus*
(iambic couplet)

f. 129v: *Diuo Sebastiano Martyri* (idem)

f. 132r: *Diuo Vicentio Martyri* (iambic trimeter)

f. 137v: *Diuo Antonio Vlyssipponensi* (iambic dimeter)

f. 141r: *Diuae Isabellae Reginae* (sapphic stanzas)

f. 144r: *Diuo Giraldo Bracharensi Archiepiscopo* (iambic couplet)

f. 147r: *Martyribus ... qui Olyssiponem magna classe appulerunt* (sapphic stanzas)

f. 150r: *Diuo Pantaleoni Martyri* (idem)

f. 153r: *Verissimo Maximae et Iuliae Martyribus* (iambic couplet)

f. 158r: *Angelo Custodi Regni et Urbis* (sapphic stanzas)

f. 160r: *Diuo Petro Archiepiscopo Bracharensi, diuis etiam Fructuoso et Martino Dumensi* (iambic couplet)

f. 163v: *Diuae Herenae Martyri* (iambic trimeter)

f. 166v: *Diuo Gundisaluo Amaranthio* (idem)

f. 170r: *Diuo Mancio Mar[tyri] Eborensi* (hendecasyllable)

Book III: *De perfecto episcopo cui addita sunt et alia opuscula quae sequens pagella demonstrat.*

f. Q2r: Serenissimo Principi D. Henrico S. R. A. Cardinali Reuerendissimo, Archiepiscopo Vlyssipponensi regnique moderatori sapientissimo et Domino suo obseruantissimo Iacobus Teuius S. P. D.

f. 1v: *De perfecto Episcopo* (iambic trimeter)

f. 30v: *Congratulatio ad fratrem Ludouicum Granatam de Serenissimo principe Henrico dum Vlyssipponensem Archiepiscopum accepit, relicto Eborensi* (idem)

f. 38v: *Ode in illa verba Euangelii Domine: Si uis potes me mudare* (iambic couplet)

f. 41r: *Epithalamium in laudem nuptiarum Alexandri et Mariae Principum Parmae et Placentiae* (iambic trimeter)

f. 49v: *Ode ad illustrissimum Auerii Ducem. Ab aulicis tumultibus ad ruris tranquillitatem senibus maxime esse secedendum* (iambic dimeter)

f.52v: *Contemplatio in verba quae Iesus Christus Deus noster protulit ab eo tempore cum in horto fuit cum discipulis suis donec spiritum tradit patri. Ex diuo Ioanne sumpta* (iambic trimeter)

f. 59v: *Ode Ad Georgium Alemcastrum Marchionem Turrium nouarum, vt Sebastianum Regem in oculis gerat* (idem)

f. 61v: *Ode ‘Virtus origo nobilitas’* (iambic couplet)

f. 63v: *Ode in exultationem victoriae Melitensis contra Turcas* (idem)

Copies: **BNP** Res. 1975P, Res. 42277//1V, Res. 5533P; **BPE** Res. 811; **BMI** 300; **BNB** Res. 23-1-10(6), Res. 24-4-12; **BCLM** SL/ 1700(1); **BC** Res. 668-12°; **BL** R.B.23.1.23815; **HUHL** PC5 T2356 565e; **UHL** G 2629 A RES.

Independent printed copy of Book III (same edition): **BNP** Res. 42277//1V

Independent printed copy of the *Epithalamium*: **BNB** 023, 01, 10, n.3 F. The poem was bound in *Epithalamios de Reys, Raynhas e Principes de Portugal* compiled by Diogo Barbosa Machado (ff. 41r-49r of the *Epodon libri tres*). Teive’s *Oratio* and *Carmen* composed in 1552 have equally been included in this volume.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁵ Diogo Barbosa Machado also bound a copy of the *Mortis meditatio* in a volume entitled *Elogios funebres, oratorios e poeticos dos Duques, Marquezes, Condes e Fidalgos de Portugal* (shelfmark 024, 01, 03, n.3 F) and a copy of the *Commentarius* in another volume bearing the title *Noticias dos cercos heroicamente sustentados pelos Portugueses*

The surviving copies of the *Epodon libri tres* are extremely rare.⁴⁶⁶ Furthermore, ff. 152-53 are missing in both BNP Res. 5533P and HUHL PC5 T2356 565e. Contrarily to what has been suggested by Anselmo (1926) catalogue number 480, the folia were not cut by the Inquisition (there are no marks of censorship in either of the copies), but may simply have been the result of a printing error. All the copies contain the same version of the *Epithalamium* (no stop-press corrections were made), but in different states of conservation. The copy owned by the British Library is in very good condition (but not perfect), and was therefore used to edit the text.

nas quatro partes do mundo (shelfmark OR 00279 [1]). The interest of Teive's work was significant, as these volumes were part of the collection of the Real Bibliotheca.

⁴⁶⁶ Díaz y Díaz (1993) lists six copies, and Wilkinson (2010) four. The list of copies provided in this chapter complements their work.

V.2 Criteria for the Edition

.1 Abbreviations

The printed version of the poem contains a great number of Latin abbreviations. Yet, for the convenience of the modern reader, the edition of the *Epithalamium* is not a diplomatic edition.

.2 Punctuation

The punctuation of the text has been adapted to modern principles, for three reasons. The first is the fact that the punctuation criteria applied by sixteenth-century humanists are heterogeneous, as M. B. Parkes has amply demonstrated.⁴⁶⁷ The value of colon, full stop and comma in Renaissance texts differs from modern practice. The second reason is that type-setters were often to be responsible for the punctuation of printed texts, and not their authors. Finally, the adaptation of punctuation to modern principles serves, above all, the convenience of the modern reader. Therefore, the changes made to the punctuation of the printed text have not been indicated in the critical apparatus – this would greatly overburden it.

Differences in the punctuation of the edition and the translation are justified by the fact that Latin punctuation has been applied to the text of the edition, and English punctuation to the text of the translation.

.3 Spelling

Accents. All accents (inconsistently used in the printed edition) have been deleted, but this type of intervention was not recorded in the critical apparatus.

⁴⁶⁷ Parkes (1992).

Capitals. The use of capitals has been normalized. Capitals are not used at the beginning of each line, but only at the beginning of a sentence. They are also used for proper names and adjectives derived from these proper names, as well as references to the persons of the Trinity. These changes have not been included in the critical apparatus.

E caudata and ligatures. All instances of e caudata and ligatures have been normalized according to the classical norm, and this intervention has not been recorded in the critical apparatus.

Spelling of words. This edition follows the principles of a moderate adaptation as set out by Rabbie.⁴⁶⁸ Different spellings from those regarded as norms in modern classical editions have been accepted as long as consistent and/or authorised by Renaissance lexicography. On the other hand, variation in the spelling of the same word has been rejected, and in these cases the spelling has been established by confrontation with other ‘loci’ of the Epithalamium as well as with the following Renaissance Latin dictionaries and ‘indices’:⁴⁶⁹

Calepino, Ambrogio (1560), *Dictionarium Ambrosii Calepini* (Basel).

Cardoso, Jerónimo (1562), *Hieronymi Cardoso Dictionarium Iuventuti studiosae admodum frugiferum* (Coimbra).

Cardoso, Jerónimo (1569-70), *Breve Dictionarium Vocum Ecclesiasticarum* (Coimbra).

Cardoso, Jerónimo (1569-70), *Dictionarium latinolusitanicum*. (Coimbra)

Cardoso, Jerónimo (1569-70), *Hieronymi Cardoso Lamacensis Dictionarium ex lusitanico in latinum sermonem* (Coimbra).

⁴⁶⁸ Rabbie (1996) 32 – 36.

⁴⁶⁹ In order to establish the spelling of the text, a thorough search in the ‘Corpus Lexicográfico do Português’ database was made: <http://clp.dlc.ua.pt>. The complete titles of these dictionaries can be found in the Bibliography.

Velez, António (1599), *Index totius artis in Emmanuelis Aluari e Societate Iesu De institutione grammatica libri tres* (Évora).

The most significant variations regarding spelling refer to the variation of the diphthongs -ae- and -oe-, and to the vocalism of these diphthongs (substituted by the long vowel -e-). Since the edition criteria are based on sixteenth-century Latin dictionaries (and not on the spelling of modern Latin dictionaries), the spelling of words such as ‘foecundet’, ‘foemina’, ‘foetus’, ‘moesta’ was maintained and not modernized (‘femina’, ‘fetus’, ‘maesta’).

Other editorial options merit further comment:

1) ‘Camaenae’ changed. Possibly a missprint in the printed edition. Both Calepinus and Cardoso prefer the spelling ‘Camoenae’ (in modern editions, ‘Camenaē’).

2) ‘coelum’, ‘coelites’ not changed. Sixteenth-century dictionaries are not consistent in the spelling of these words, which never varies throughout the *Epithalamium* (Cardoso and Velez both prefer this spelling). Therefore no change has been made.

3) ‘caetus’ changed. In the printed edition, there is variation in spelling: ‘coetus’ and ‘caetus’. Cardoso and Calepinus prefer ‘coetus’: in Calepinus’ dictionary one can read: ‘coetus, cum oe diphtongo’ (1560: 202). For this reason, the spelling ‘coetus’ was preferred.

4) ‘chara’ not changed. ‘chara’ is used in the printed edition of the *Epithalamium* only once, and this is the sole occurrence of this adjective in the poem (l. 147). One can deduce from Calepinus’ discussion of the etymology of the word that ‘charus’ had a widespread use at the time (1560:158), and for this reason this spelling has been accepted in the critical edition.

5) ‘Himen’ changed. ‘Himen’ (l. 210) was changed to ‘Hymen’ (as in other loci of the poem, ll. 181, 182) and according to the preference of the lexicographers.

6) ‘Himeneus’ changed. The spelling (l. 218) has been changed into ‘Hymeneus’, according to other passages of the poem (l. 182, ‘Hymen Hymeneus’).

7) ‘humerus’ not changed. This is the spelling used by lexicographers.

8) ‘humidus’ not changed. *Idem*.

9) ‘Hymeneus’ not changed. Although Calepinus prefers ‘Hymenaeus’ (1560: 514), some Portuguese dictionaries prefer the spelling used in the printed edition of Teive’s poem (e.g. Velez).

10) ‘Inclytus’ not changed. This spelling has been maintained since sixteenth-century dictionaries prefer it: ‘inclytus, cum y’, says Calepinus (1560: 543).

11) ‘propicia’ changed. ‘propitia’ has replaced the original spelling in the printed edition, since ‘propicius’ was not recorded in any of the dictionaries.

12) ‘spacia’ not changed. This spelling is accepted by several lexicographers.

13) ‘sydera’ not changed. In the printed edition ‘sydera’ is used consistently throughout his text, and the spelling ‘sydus’ occurs in the works of the Portuguese lexicographers.

14) ‘vicio’ not changed. This spelling is accepted by several lexicographers.

There is some variation in the use of i and j in the printed text. All instances of j have been changed into i in the critical edition. Although not consistent, the printed text adopts initial v and u medial and final. Given that such spelling is preferable to the use of u/v according to their phonetic value for sixteenth-century authors,⁴⁷⁰ the edition will consistently adopt this spelling. Given that these are minor changes, they have not been included in the critical apparatus.

⁴⁷⁰ Rabbie (1996) 33.

.4 Reference

The lines of the poem have been numbered, and the original pagination of the *Epodon libri tres* can be found between brackets, on the left of the edited text: [f. 41 r] – [f. 49 r].

.5 Critical Apparatus

The critical apparatus can be found on the bottom of the page of the Latin text only. Misprints and misspellings in the printed text, the majority of the responsibility of the type-setter, have been corrected, and clearly indicated in the critical apparatus.

Each line number is clearly indicated in bold, and the text of the critical edition is presented on the left of the square bracket (]); the text, as it was printed in 1565, is presented on the right of the square bracket (]):

e.g. **45** viridantibus] virridantibus

Words or part of words inserted in the text can be found between < > in the critical apparatus, on the left of the square bracket. Parts of words which cannot be read clearly in the printed text and which were inferred from the context can be found between < > in the critical apparatus, on the left of the square bracket. The abbreviation *coni.* on the right of the square bracket will indicate what can be read in the printed text. Words or part of words deleted in the text can be found between { } in the critical apparatus, on the right of the square bracket.

.6 Abbreviations

The use of abbreviations in the critical apparatus was reduced to a minimum, and they are only used when significant change to the text was made.

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM:

add. - addidi

coni. - coniectura

del. - deleui

met. - for metrical reasons

.7 Note on the Translation

It is generally accepted that the edition of neo-Latin texts should be accompanied by a translation. The translation presented in this dissertation aims to take the reader as close to the Epithalamium as possible, and, therefore, it keeps the syntactical structures of the original whenever possible. Finally, given the limitations of this type of academic work, the translation of the *Epithalamium* will replace extensive grammatical explanations in the commentary.

V. 3 Metrical analysis

The *Epithalamium* is composed in iambic trimeters in stichic form, a metrical pattern used by Horace exclusively in *Epod.* 17. Teive's metrical technique in the *Epodon libri tres* is essentially Horatian.

Horace's metrical practice derived from the tradition of the Greek iambic trimeter, and it is different from the use of iambic senarii by his Roman predecessors such as Plautus or Terence. Whereas in early Latin authors there appears to be no significant difference between the six feet of the metron (hence the term iambic senarii), later writers tended to divide the metre into three separate metrical units of two feet, the dipodies (the reason why the label iambic trimeter should preferably be applied).

Both grammars and prosodic treatises available in the Renaissance explain this difference. Terentianus Maurus (2nd – 3rd century grammarian), whose *De literis, syllabis et metris Horati liber*, published for the first time in 1497, became widely popular in the Renaissance, draws the readers' attention to this phenomenon:

'... trimetrus dicitur,
scandendo binos quod pedes coniugimus.⁴⁷¹

That metrical units were understood as being formed by dipodies is further demonstrated by the fact that different metres are used distinctively for odd or even feet. The *Ars Versificatoria* (editio princeps in 1511-12?) by the Flemish humanist Johannes de Spauter was widely used in France from the 1520s onwards, at the time when Teive was completing his education in several different academic institutions in that country. Teive is likely to have studied this work, and to have used it in his classes, as it was prescribed to students taught by Buchanan at the

⁴⁷¹ Maurus (1532) f. 4v.

Collège de Guyenne and most likely too at the Colégio das Artes.⁴⁷² When discussing the use of the iambic trimeter, Spauter describes the occurrence of different metres according to their position in the odd or even feet of the dipodies:

‘Iambicum trimetrum ... locis imparibus recipit iambum, tribrachum, spondeum, dactylum vel anapaestum, locis autem paribus tantum iambum uel tribrachum, et apud comicos frequenter anapaestum.’⁴⁷³

The analysis of the epithalamium reveals that Teive composed his iambic trimeters with a similar structure, distinguishing between odd and even feet, and limiting the use of certain metres accordingly.

Here follows the metrical scheme of the *Epithalamium*, with the indication of the metres which occur in each foot according to their frequency of use. The caesura is indicated by ‘. The metres which are not used by Horace in the *Epodon liber*, but are possible in the freer metrical scheme of the iambic senarius, have been included between brackets, also according to their frequency.

1 st foot	2 nd foot	3 rd foot	4 th foot	5 th foot	6 th foot
- -	˘ -	- , -	˘ , -	- -	˘ x
˘ -	˘ ˘	˘ , -	˘ , ˘ ˘	˘ -	
(˘ ˘)	(˘ ˘)	- , ˘ ˘	(˘ ˘)	(˘ ˘)	
˘ ˘		˘ , ˘ ˘		(˘ ˘)	
- ˘ ˘				(˘ ˘)	

If we were to eliminate from this table the metres whose incidence in the *Epithalamium* is less than 10%, their variety would be significantly reduced:

⁴⁷² Ford (1982) 21.

⁴⁷³ Spauter (1512) f. 158r.

1 st foot	2 nd foot	3 rd foot	4 th foot	5 th foot	6 th foot
- -	˘ -	- , -	˘ , -	- -	˘ x
˘ -	˘ ˘ ˘	˘ , -		˘ -	

As can be seen from these tables, Teive's use of particular metres in the iambic trimeter presents great similarity with those employed by Horace. The following table is taken from Raven:⁴⁷⁴

1 st foot	2 nd foot	3 rd foot	4 th foot	5 th foot	6 th foot
˘ -	˘ -	˘ , -	˘ , -	˘ -	˘ x
- -		- , -		- -	
˘ ˘ ⁴⁷⁵	˘ ˘	˘ , ˘ ˘	˘ , ˘ ˘		
- ˘ ⁴⁷⁶		- , ˘ ˘			
(˘ ˘ -) ⁴⁷⁷					

It should be noted that Teive's iambic trimeters admit more rhythms than those found in classical poets, but the incidence of the non-classical ones is slight. Such a flexible approach to the metrical scheme of the iambic trimeter is symptomatic of the practice of the best Renaissance poets. Buchanan himself did not apply the stricter metrical principles of Horatian lyric in the composition of his *Iambi*, and the non-classical metres employed by Teive in the *Epithalamium* are equally used

⁴⁷⁴ Raven (1966) 58.

⁴⁷⁵ The resolution of long syllables in the first foot of the metron (originating a dactyl or tribrach) and in the second foot of the metron (producing a tribrach) is permissible in classical authors, albeit uncommon. *Epod.* 17.12 has an opening dactyl, followed by two tribrachs in the third and fourth foot of the line, a phenomenon which Raven (1966) 50 considers 'exceptional'.

⁴⁷⁶ *Idem.*

⁴⁷⁷ Horace uses this rhythm in *Epod.* 2. 35 in the first and fifth foot of the line, although, according to Raven (1966) 50, the resolution of the long anceps is rare in the Augustan age.

by Buchanan.⁴⁷⁸ He even admitted the use of tribrachs, dactyls and anapaests in the fifth foot of the iambic trimeter, metres which in the *Epithalamium* are very rarely used. Berkowitz examines Buchanan's metrical technique, and rightly argues that his deviation to the common rules of classical authors is not to be seen as 'poetic license', but as a consequence of his eclectic imitation.⁴⁷⁹

Generally, in the odd feet of the *Epithalamium* preference is given to a long opening syllable. Even feet retain the short first syllable, whether or not the arsis is resolved into two short syllables. Metrical resolution of the arsis in even feet is very rare, except in the second foot.

Since each foot presents individual tendencies, they will be analysed separately.

First foot. There is a clear preference for the use of spondee (67.5%), so the beginning of the great majority of the lines of the poem are long, e.g. '*exaudietur gentium ferme omnium*' (l. 16). Iambus is less frequent (14.5%), e.g. '*suasque peragant functiones foeminae*' (l. 62), followed by anapaest (9%). The incidence of dactyl and tribrach is very low.

Second foot. In contrast to the previous foot, iambus is used almost exclusively (85.5%), e.g. '*Henrice magne, maximi regni decus*' (l. 4). Tribrach is much less frequent (13%), e.g. '*Cur regio operi, regio ortam sanguine/ et regio animo, et regiis virtutibus*' (ll. 1-2). The second foot is the commonest position for tribrach in Teive's poem. Anapaests are only rarely used in this metrical position.

⁴⁷⁸ See Ford (1982) 31 – 32 and 35.

⁴⁷⁹ Berkowitz (1986) 525 – 30.

Third foot. Spondee is the predominant rhythm employed in this metrical position (63.25%), e.g. ‘haec rore multo nocte collapsa humida’ (l. 42), and is followed by iambus (31%), e.g. ‘marem ediditque foeminam, quis subdidit’ (l. 51). In the odd feet, this is the commonest position for the use of iambus. The incidence of other metres in this metrical position is very low.

The majority of the lines (95%) present a regular penthemimeral third-foot caesura, e.g. ‘ac veluti ab hominis costa, ab ossibus viri’ (l. 56).

Fourth foot. Iambic is used almost exclusively in the fourth foot (95%), which is the commonest metrical position for iambus in the poem, e.g. ‘sancto offeramus sancta vota numini’ (l. 98). In this position tribrach is very rare.

Just 5% of the total number of lines of the poem present an hephthemimeral caesura, always in iambic foot, e.g. ‘humana ut edere queat imbecillitas’ (l. 84).

The hypothetical use of spondees in the fourth foot of the iambic trimeter has been disregarded. The first syllable of such a spondee would correspond to word endings in -o:

- ‘vnaque mente ut ambo semper viuerent’ (l. 55)
- ‘ambobus vna mens, ratio, virtus, amor’ (l. 58)
- ‘deos deasque: Iuno prima maximo’ (l. 190)
- ‘sacraque cythara Apollo clarus concinet’ (l. 307)
- ‘summam locabunt: nemo non aliquid dabit’ (l. 316)
- ‘Mariae secunda. Virgo virginum incluta’ (l. 328)

The quantity of final -o in the Renaissance was subject to debate. In his widely popular dictionary, Ambrogio Calepino does not indicate the quantity of final -o, even though he does indicate the quantities of other syllables. As for Renaissance treatises on metrics and prosody, they state that the quantity of final -o may vary, except in some cases. Antonio de Nebrija, in his *Introducciones latinas*, simply says that ‘O terminalis indifferens est’, and he lists some exceptions very

briefly.⁴⁸⁰ Both the Portuguese Jesuit Manuel Álvares and Spauter present somewhat more detailed discussions of this particular question. In a chapter with the title ‘O in ultimis’, Spauter says that the quantity of final -o in ‘Apollo’ and ‘ambo’ may vary,⁴⁸¹ and Álvares also notes the same regarding the quantity of final -o in ‘uirgo’: ‘O datur ambiguus. amö, uirgö, porro’.⁴⁸² The use of spondee in the fourth foot of the metre was therefore eliminated from the table of metres on the grounds of the variable quantity of final -o in Renaissance prosody.

Fifth foot. This is the commonest position for spondee in the poem (68%), e.g. ‘summa attigerunt, liberis *consistere*’ (l. 129). Iambus occurs in this position in less than a third of the lines of the poem (27%), e.g. ‘ab hoste demant Turca, et augeant fidem’ (l. 133), and rarer still are anapaest, tribrach and dactyl.

In the *Epithalamium*, Teive does not observe Porson’s Law (which prohibits a caesura in a spondaic fifth foot of the iambic trimeter). In this respect, his metrical technique is similar to Horace’s, who does not conform to this principle in his *Epodon liber*. With the exception of *Epod.* 17, there are ample examples of this in all the other epodes, e.g. *Epod.* 1. 29: ‘neque ut superni uillas candens Tusculi.’⁴⁸³

Furthermore, Teive does not observe Bentley-Luchs’ Law, according to which if an iambic line ends with an iambic word the preceding foot may not be formed by an iambic word or the iambic end of a longer word. In the *Epithalamium* Teive disregards this principle nineteen times, e.g. ‘cui tu relictus optimi es *patris* loco’ (l. 10).⁴⁸⁴ Teive appears to be following Horace, since he too disregards this principle in the *Epodon liber*, e.g. ‘Parentis olim si quis *impia* manu’ (*Epod.* 3.1).

⁴⁸⁰ Nebrija (1488) 54.

⁴⁸¹ Spauter (1512) f. 158r.

⁴⁸² I am quoting from a nineteenth-century edition of this grammar: Álvares (1859) 13.

⁴⁸³ See Raven (1966) 54.

⁴⁸⁴ So does Buchanan in his *Iambi*, according to Ford (1982) 35.

Sixth foot. In just approximately 15% of the total number of lines of the poem the fifth and sixth feet are occupied by a single word, and in more than 30% of the verses, the sixth foot is occupied by a single word.

As was explained, Teive does not tend to favour the use of metrical resolutions in his poem. The percentage of tribrachs in the second foot of the trimeter may be worth noticing (as in Seneca, it is the commonest position for tribrach),⁴⁸⁵ but it cannot be considered representative of Teive's use of iambic trimeters in the poem.

The double short of resolved elements is very rarely broken by word-division. Division follows the first syllable of the tribrach, with some exceptions which do not conform to classical practice. Teive occasionally has word division after the first short of a dactyl. Finally, and although rare in the poem, at the beginning of a line it is possible that the opening anapaest is broken by word division (l. 146), a practice which is common in Senecan drama (e.g. *Med.* 43), according to Raven.⁴⁸⁶ For the specific occurrences, see the Commentary.

Despite the high percentage of tribrachs occurring in the second foot, the Portuguese poet opts for a more solemn diction in the *Epithalamium*, appropriate for his subject-matter. A typical line of the poem is a sequence where long syllables prevail, especially before the caesura:

- - - - - , - - - - - x

The high incidence of elision is a striking feature of the poem. There is elision in 57% of the total number of lines of the poem. Teive uses (prod)elision throughout the line, but prefers to use it in the even feet, especially after the

⁴⁸⁵ Fantham (1982) 105.

⁴⁸⁶ Raven (1966) 54.

caesura: just below 30% in the fourth foot (e.g. 'cui tu relictus *optimi est* patris loco?' l. 10) and approximately 20% in the second foot (e.g. 'cur *regiam ergo* non canemus virginem' l. 22). Still, in odd feet both phenomena are also relatively common: in approximately 15% of the first, third and fifth feet (e.g. 'Magni *Eduardi filiam illustrissimam*' l. 9; 'Deus ipse *mundi et omnium rerum sator*' l. 27; 'reddat *quietas omnibusque auctas* bonis' l.111, respectively). There is only one case of prodelision in the sixth foot of the poem (l. 376: 'Sebastianus, cuius aetas *florida est*').

Also, there is a high incidence of double elision (26 occurrences) in the 395 lines of the poem, e.g. 'Cur *regio operi, regio ortam* sanguine/ et *regio animo, et regiiis* virtutibus' (ll. 1-2). Over a third of these double elisions occur in the first and fourth foot of the line, e.g. 'vna *et voluntas denique vnus* sit thorus' (l.66).

These results surpass by far the incidence of 16% of elision in Horace's *Epodon liber* given by Kent.⁴⁸⁷ Moreover, given the solemnity of the occasion which the poem celebrates, the high incidence of elision is surprising in the text, and it does not conform to classical decorum. Indeed, it is more common in satyric and colloquial poetry.

The use of the caesura has been previously discussed, but it should be noted that three lines of the *Epithalamium* do not present caesura (ll. 71, 86, 250), something which also occurs in Horace's *Epodon liber*.⁴⁸⁸ There are no elisions immediately before the third or fourth feet in any of the lines lacking a caesura, as in earlier Latin drama.⁴⁸⁹ Nonetheless, with regard l. 71, it is possible to argue that there is a deliberate stylistic effect achieved, as the absence of the caesura emphasizes the meaning of the sentence:

⁴⁸⁷ Kent (1923) 88 apud Soubiran (1966) 561.

⁴⁸⁸ Watson (2003) 45, but none in *Epod.* 17 with the same metrical scheme of the *Epithalamium*.

⁴⁸⁹ Raven (1966) 53-54.

‘quos nulla vis mortalium dstringeret’ (l. 71)
[which no human force will draw asunder]

On the contrary, amongst the words highlighted by the use of the caesura are the names of (or periphrases which refer to) the members of the Portuguese royal family, as well as that of the groom and his uncle, Phillip, reinforcing the political significance of this marriage:

‘vrbes, *Philippi* ’ *Regis* inclytus nepos,’ (l.292)
[Alessandro is significantly described as King Philip’s nephew]

‘Regina *regum* ’ *mater*, et regum soror’ (l. 367)
[Queen Catherine is described as mother, sister and grandmother of kings]

‘auiaque *Regis* ’ *maximi* ac pulcherrimi,’ (l. 368)
[Teive is referring to the future king Sebastian]

‘iuuetque *patruus* ’ *ille* florentissimus,’ (l. 372)
[Teive is referring to Cardinal Henry]

It has been previously pointed out that in the *Epithalamium* (here representative of his use of iambic trimeters in the *Epodon libri tres*), Teive does not observe either Porson’s Law or Bentley-Luchs’ Law, tendencies he appears to adopt from Horace’s own metrical practice in the *Epodon liber*.

It is important to stress that Teive’s metrical technique in the tragedy *Ioannes Princeps* is not in every respect the same as in the *Epithalamium*, and that as a playwright he adopted Senecan turns in the composition of his verses, despite some differences.

His choral odes adopt metres favoured by Seneca: anapaestic dimeters are used in the chorus at the end of acts I and IV, minor asclepiads in the chorus of act II and the sapphic stanza in the chorus of act III. The use of stycomithia also conforms to Senecan practice, as do the changes of speaker – the antilabai,⁴⁹⁰ always in position of caesura, never occur in a resolved foot. The high percentage

⁴⁹⁰ See the edition by Soares (1977) 135 – 37.

of tribrachs in the second foot of the iambic trimeter is clearly indebted to Seneca, but unlike the Roman playwright who almost exclusively favours the spondee in the fifth foot, Teive's use of iambs is comparatively high. If in the *Ioannes Princeps* Teive also disregards Porson's Law (unlike Seneca who respects this principle, if not entirely consistently⁴⁹¹), he appears, like Seneca, to conform to Bentley-Luchs' Law, if not always. In a sample of two-hundred lines selected from each of the five acts of the play, only two cases can be found where Teive disregards this principle (versus nineteen cases in the 390 lines of the *Epithalamium*).

This brief discussion of the metrical technique displayed in the *Epithalamium* does not allow for a more comprehensive commentary on Teive's metrical versification, but some conclusions arise. Teive conforms to Renaissance versification practice. The author's flexible approach to the rhythms allowed by Horatian practice was not unique in contemporary poetry, and one of the best writers of his day, Buchanan, similarly adopted a freer versification than that which can be found in Horace. The inclusion of the *Epithalamium* in book III of the *Epodon libri tres* has been justified on the grounds of the occasionality of Horace's *Epodon liber*. However, the high percentage of elision in the text is not adequate for the solemn occasion it commemorates.

⁴⁹¹ e.g. Ferri (2003) 41-42 and Boyle (2011) 111, n. to l. 12. In *Oedipus* there are four examples of breach of 'Porson's Law' (ll. 78, 89, 965, and 1014).

*Epithalamium in laudem
nuptiarum Alexandri et Mariae Principum Parmae et Placentiae*

[f. 41 r]

1 Cur regio operi, regio ortam sanguine,
et regio animo, et regiis virtutibus,
cunctisque donis expolitam regiis,
Henrice magne, maximi regni decus,
5 firmumque columen, nostra quo spes omnium
fulcita nullos pertimescit impetus,
quos saepe iniquo dura sors fert tempore,
cur non seremus regiam hic neptem tuam,
magni Eduardi filiam illustrissimam,
10 cui tu relictus optimi es patris loco?
Cur nuptiali non canemus tibia
geniale carmen? Quod licet modulamine
sonet insuaui, nec satis leni fluat
vena infacetum - iam senile et horridum
15 vt poscit aetas nostra - sic dulce auribus
exaudietur gentium ferme omnium

[f. 41 v]

quas Christus atris inferorum faucibus
suo redemptas liberauit sanguine.
Duo namque magni concinuntur principes
20 splendore clari regio, quibus nihil

*Epithalamium in laudem
nuptiarum Alexandri et Mariae Principum Parmae et Placentiae*

toto orbe Phoebus perspicit praestantius.
 Cur regiam ergo non canemus virginem
 quam tu paterna caritate diligis?
 Cur non seremus inter haec opuscula
 25 opuscula sacra plena vocibus Dei
 quae nos timidula mente sacramus tibi?
 Deus ipse mundi et omnium rerum Sator
 postquam hanc stupendam machinam, hoc ingens opus,
 ex nihilo opifice condidit dignum suo
 30 formamque rebus iussit omnibus suam
 inesse, et altum luce coelum fulgida
 splendere voluit, ac nigrae terras vicem
 habere noctis, ac libratas pondere
 proprio manere, et legibus certas suis
 35 perstare et illa quattuor firma fide
 quamuis repugnent corpora. Ac iussit diem
 accendi ab ipso candicante lumine
 late micantis solis, atrae cederet
 vt certa nocti spacia, et alternis genus
 40 mortale vicibus cunctaque alerent mutuo

*Epithalamium in laudem
nuptiarum Alexandri et Mariae Principum Parmae et Placentiae*

[f. 42 r] amore nexi Phoebus et Phoebe soror:
 haec rore multo nocte collapsa humida,
 fomento at ille calido amico, blandulo.
 Vnde alma tellus educat foetus suos
 45 laetosque flores herbulis viridantibus
 plenoque mittit vberes fructus sinu.
 Postquam haec supremus ille mundi Conditor
 splendore summo ornauit, ac pecudum genus
 pictasque volucres ac maris vasti incolas
 50 pisces creauit, ad suam hominem imaginem
 marem ediditque foeminam, queis subdidit
 creata cuncta, summum et imperium dedit.
 Hos arctiori vinculo ambos nexuit,
 hos carne in vna iunxit, vno pectore
 55 vnaque mente vt ambo semper viuerent.
 Ac veluti ab hominis costa, ab ossibus viri
 est foemina orta, sic pariter esset caro
 ambobus vna, mens, ratio, virtus, amor,
 idemque corpus, quod tamen seiungitur
 60 vt quaeque munus exequatur pars suum:

45 viridantibus] virridantibus

*Epithalamium in laudem
nuptiarum Alexandri et Mariae Principum Parmae et Placentiae*

virique rebus se implicent virilibus,
 suasque peragant functiones foeminae,
 mortale ac istud prole crescat vt genus,
 [f. 42 v] et excitetur, pulluletque latius.

65 Mens vna, pectus vnum, et vna sit caro,
 vna et voluntas, denique vnus sit thorus.
 Quod ergo summus coelitem iussit Pater,
 quod ipse lege statuit aeterna Deus,
 quod alligauit vinculo firmissimo,
 70 quod ille nodis strinxit arctioribus,
 quos nulla vis mortalium distringeret,
 illudque robur, tam vetus, tam nobile
 primumque sacramentum ab ipso Numine,
 Auctore rerum constitutum maximo,
 75 cur non, sacerdos et senex, antistitis
 teretes ad aures concinam integerrimi,
 si Christus ipse, nostra spes, salus, decus,
 Deique verus natus, et verus Deus,
 quae prima terris edidit miracula
 80 voluit in ipsis edita esse nuptiis,

*Epithalamium in laudem
nuptiarum Alexandri et Mariae Principum Parmae et Placentiae*

nec adesse celebri respuit conuiuio?
 Haec fixa terris, clara cur vestigia
 non insequemur? Non quidem miracula
 humana vt edere queat imbecillitas,
 85 sed quae ille rector omnium ac verus parens
 praesentia ornauit sua, nos versibus
 nostris canamus, regias nos nuptias
 [f. 43r] non infaceta concinamus tibia,
 laetoque laetos explicemus carmine
 90 lusus Amorum, quos pudor sanctus probet:
 sunt laeta sanctis grata, vera nec solet
 obtegere pietas nocte vultum nubila.
 Clarum ac micantem lucidis stellis polum
 oneremus ergo precibus, et cantu pio,
 95 propitia vt istis numina adsint nuptiis
 Christusque sancto faueat vt connubio.
 Illi offeramus pectore ab humili preces,
 sancto offeramus sancta vota Numini,
 cantus suaues, dulcia modulamina.
 100 Nunquam recusat supplices Deus preces,

95 propitia] propicia

*Epithalamium in laudem
nuptiarum Alexandri et Mariae Principum Parmae et Placentiae*

nec dulce carmen perbenignus respuit
 cui vatum ab ore profluens cantus placet.
 Pectus requirit humile, pectus candidum,
 pectusque purum, pectus expers sordium.

105 Illo precemur coelitem aeternum Patrem,
 resonante plectro concinat dulcis lyra,
 poscatque leni cantu ab optimo Deo,
 has vt beatas reddat vsque nuptias,
 reddat perennes, reddat insolubiles,

110 plenas amoris, pacis, et concordiae,
 reddat quietas omnibusque auctas bonis,

[f. 43 v] reddat suaues, in quibus nil tetricum,
 nil sit molestum, nil acerbum aut asperum.
 Nec sit querela, rixa, lis, metus, dolor:

115 a tam beatis haec facessant nuptiis.
 Sint cuncta grata, laeta, amica, lenia,
 placida, quieta, temperata, dulcia.
 Laetitia, lusus, gratulatio, iocus,
 risus, voluptas adsit et concordia.

120 Hic denique adsit terrae et aetheris Deus,

*Epithalamium in laudem
nuptiarum Alexandri et Mariae Principum Parmae et Placentiae*

largitor ille maximus rerum omnium,
 in vnum vt ambos nectat, vna mens regat
 et foueat ambos: velle nolle idem siet.
 Gignantque natos patribus et claris auis
 125 similes, nec ausim postulare maximis
 maiora votis. Si cui ad summum gradum
 penetrare liceat, altius procedere
 non vtique dabitur. Si parentes inclyti
 summa attigerunt, liberis consistere
 130 in gradibus illis nil erit praeclarius.
 Moderentur illi subditos populos sibi
 summa aequitate, forti et alios dextera
 ab hoste demant Turca, et augeant fidem
 virtute Christi et augeant prudentia,
 135 claris vt atavis ac piis maioribus
 [f. 44 r] plerumque validis cum hostibus quondam accidit:
 fudere saeua Marte qui inuicto agmina.
 Rerumque sceptrum firma teneat dextera,
 neutrumque vergat in latus. Constantia
 140 inuicta forti perstet vsque in pectore.

135 atavis] atavius,

*Epithalamium in laudem
nuptiarum Alexandri et Mariae Principum Parmae et Placentiae*

Sint constituta certa honesto praemia,
 supplicia vicio. Caeco amore nil agant,
 nil odio, et ira quae mala male consulit.
 Sit recte agendi norma virtus, sit scopus
 145 eadem ipsa virtus, sit sacer cultus Dei
 in honore summo, sancta sit custodia
 legum sacrarum. Vt chara natos pignora
 amant parentes, sic suos populos ament.
 Ac populi in oculis principes gerant suos
 150 illisque se debere cuncta intelligant:
 illis honores, vitam, opes, nomen, decus,
 accepta referant. His tamen superbia
 non vlla crescat, crescat at modestia.
 Non ergo plebis intumescant plausibus,
 155 nullis agatur mens item terroribus,
 quae infracta venti saeuientis impetu
 nequit moueri, ceu scopulus immanibus
 hinc inde et vsque concitatus fluctibus.
 Haec obsecramus: has preces aure excipe
 [f. 44v] 160 Deus benigna, haec nostra vota perface.

*Epithalamium in laudem
nuptiarum Alexandri et Mariae Principum Parmae et Placentiae*

Haec nostra plectro personante carmina,
 hos musa modulos fuci inanes concinit.
 Haec simplici oro voce: nec sanctis libet
 nec forte possum rebus alios quaerere
 165 simplex colores. Omnis hinc fucus procul
 exterminetur, omnis ornatus procul,
 comptique crines, nimiaque elegantia
 pulchra calamistris: eruditis vatibus
 quos Itala terra nutrit, haec relinquimus.
 170 Hic Parma diues, hic potens Placentia
 opibus et armis, et poetis inclyta
 Parthenope, et illo clara alumno Mantua
 cui Graecia ingens non recusat cedere.
 Cantus ad alta sydera suos euehent,
 175 hos inter aliquis aestuabit Delphico
 vates furore, atque altius modulos suos
 in astra tollet, nuptiarum suscitans
 deum parentem, qui aduocabit omnium
 coetus deorum. Hic tam beatas nuptias
 180 ac tam decoras occinet, et illas suis

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panget Camoenis: “Hymen hic pulcherrimus,
Hymen Hymeneus, hic Hymen” iterabitur,
[f. 45 r] “Io” gestientis dulce gaudium exprimet,
“Io” repetitum millies, moesta omnia
185 excutiet animis. Dum elegans vates deum
laetam coronam lectam in vnum viderit,
aulam superbam maximi scribet Iouis,
pingetque variis quo sedebit fulgidum
solium smaragdis, ac locabit ordine
190 deos deasque: Iuno prima maximo
superba fastu, Pallas artibus micans,
Iouisque cerebro nata et armipotens dea,
materque Amorum fronte radians fulgida
illi sedebit proxima. Hic Phoebus, nouem
195 splendore fulgens aureo Sororibus
comitatus, aderit. Liber et cinctus hedera,
pulchra<que> Iuuenta cuius aetas florida
non consenescit tempore. Hic Maia satus
roseo ore virgam dextera, talaria
200 ornata gestans pedibus. Hi laeti suas

11 Camoenis] camaenis **182** Hymeneus] hymencus

197 pulchra<que>] *add. met.* Pulchra

*Epithalamium in laudem
nuptiarum Alexandri et Mariae Principum Parmae et Placentiae*

tenuere sedes, solus vno non potest
 consistere loco Cypriae matris puer.
 Cui pharetra ab humero spiculis pendet grauis
 gemmis et auro ornata quae foris nitet
 205 latet sed intus toxicum insanabile,
 [f. 45 v] arcusque eburnus: molle qui corpus mouens
 gratos odores fundit. Illum passibus
 aequis sequentur Gratiae. Post coelites
 reliqui sedebunt, Iuppiter tum regio
 210 perpauca solio: "Laetus Hymen me suis
 efflagitauit precibus, vt vos huc simul
 omnes vocarem, vt pauca coram diceret,
 quae maximi ille affirmat esse ponderis.
 Conspectus iste vester est gratus mihi,
 215 nec esse quicquam gratius certe potest.
 Nunc ille referat quae modo illum adegerit
 causa vt senatum cogi in vnum optauerit."
 Hymeneus oculos pulchriores fulgidis
 stellis in altum tollit, ac veluti petens
 220 veniam, decenti sic profatur gratia:

208 sequentur] sequeatur **209** Iuppiter] Iupiter

210 Hymen] Himen **218** Hymeneus] Himeneus

*Epithalamium in laudem
nuptiarum Alexandri et Mariae Principum Parmae et Placentiae*

“Longum ante tempus, Iuppiter diuum parens,
 optaram vt iste coetus ornatissimus
 huc conueniret. Illa quae modo proferam
 iucunda vobis, sic enim fore arbitror,
 225 concessu in isto tum liceret pandere,
 sed obfuerunt summa rerum obstacula.
 Data haec facultas nunc fauore est omnium,
 ex quo secundos auguror rerum exitus.
 [f. 46 r] Quare benignis excipite nostra auribus:
 230 In gente Ibera quam superbus alluit
 fuluis arenis maximisque opibus Tagus,
 longoque fessis cursu equis vbi placidam
 Phoebus quietem carpit, aula in regia
 est clara regum neptis, omni gratia,
 235 omni decore ornata, et omni superior
 praeclara princeps laude, cuius iam soror
 Catarina iunior est duci Brigantiae
 locata. Summa Nympha in ista conspikor
 immensa – stupeo! - dona queis potens nitet.

222 coetus] caetus 228 auguror] arguror

229 auribus] autibus

*Epithalamium in laudem
nuptiarum Alexandri et Mariae Principum Parmae et Placentiae*

240 Quaerendus illi sponsus est par omnibus:
 spectandus opibus, genere, fama, gratia
 magnusque princeps regio dignus thoro.
 Latum per orbem sed meos cum flecterem
 sollicitus oculos, cuncta rimans, perspicax

245 vigilque late conspicatus huic parem
 reperire nequii. At vos quibus mortalium
 est cura, castos qui thoros et virginum
 pudorem amatis, hic mihi succurrite.
 Aetas in illa floret et vigor animi,

250 matura iam viro, nihil simile tamen
 rerum illa mente voluit. Harum conscia
 Isabella mater, mater aulae regiae
 (tali vocare nomine illam possumus),
 matrona sancta, digna vestra est gratia,

255 vestro fauore, summa cuius gloria
 nil crescere meis vtique laudibus potest,
 nec est necesse quidpiam hic referam palam
 quando illa vobis quam mihi ipsi est notior:
 hominum alta virtus nota diis est maxime.

260 Huiusce natam collocare vos decet.”

244 sollicitus] sollicitus **248** succurrite] succurrite

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Hic Phoebus ore tum micante rettulit:

“Haec ista virgo prole nata regia,
curae videtur quae tibi esse maximae,
est tota nostra, hanc coetui nos iunximus

265 nouem Sororum, vt iure nunc decem queas
numerare Musas. Cui nouem quae hic assident
cessere primum perlibenter iam locum.”

Hic pariter assensere cunctae nutibus,
vltroque palmas obtulere virgini.

270 Risere Charites, ac simul coram explicant
tres se extitisse, sed modo esse quattuor,
quod virgini illi porrigant primum locum.

Tunc ipse coeli rector, os manu tegens,
subrisit, oculos ad Cupidinem erigens.

275 Nec latitat illum quod furens egit puer.

[f. 47 r] “Fortasse vobis,” caecus effatur deus,
“perspecta summa non mea est potentia.

Nolite caecum spernere puerum. Omnia
mea tela amantum in corda recta dirigo,

280 nec quispiam hominum est qui meis se liberet,

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modo mihi placeat, facibus. Ego victor polo,
victorque terris, victor incedo mari.”
Acciuit illum mater ac placido sinu
tenere fouebat, mille libans oscula
285 roseis labellis. Tum supremo Iuppiter
solio profatus quae latebant prodidit:
“Hic iste quem videtis in matris sinu
modo recubantem pro suo arbitrio potens
cuncta moderatur: ille quo vult omnia
290 permutat. Ille clari Alexandri Italis
qui natus oris, nunc Iberas incolit
vrbes, Philippi Regis inclytus nepos,
cor molle teli cuspide affixit. Iacet
nunc vulnere graui, caeco et igni carpitur
295 fruique vita non potest diutius,
illi negetur nympha si pulcherrima.
Iaculator iste nympham eodem spiculo
transfixit. Illa sed tacita vulnus tegit,
[f. 47 v] casto et pudore coelat occultam luem,
300 sed illa serpit, nec potest diu tegi.

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Quare iubemus vt beatis nuptiis
 faueatis omnes, atque amore maximo
 hos prosequamini. Haec mea est sententia.”
 Hic explicabit elegans vates deum
 305 quanta illa fuerint gaudia, hic mille modulos,
 hic mille cantus promet, hic dulci cheli
 sacraque cythara Apollo clarus concinet,
 nouem et Sorores, candidaeque Gratiae,
 tacite at dolorem pectus intra suppriment.
 310 Iuno beabit opibus illam maximis,
 firmoque Pallas pectore et sapientia,
 miro et decore et gratia mira Venus
 illam expolibit, pectus eloquentia
 nepos Athlantis viuidum praemuniet,
 315 Charites et ipsa Pitho in ore gratiam
 summam locabunt. Nemo non aliquid dabit
 rerumque promet omnium affluentiam
 donare larga cuncta qui potest manu.
 Ab his ad alia transitu grato effluet,
 320 noster poeta, ac nil omittet sedulus.

309 intra] itra 315 Charites] Carites 315 Pitho] pytho

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Cum classis altum radet aequor Belgicas
dum quaeret vrbes, occinent Nereides
[f. 48 r] Tritonque laetus laeta panget carmina.
Nos ista at aliis deseramus vatibus,
325 figmenta veterum queis poetarum placent,
queis floret aetas, pectoreque sanguis viget
nostroque more deprecemur omnia
Mariae secunda. Virgo virginum inclyta
materque Maria huic adsit, huic sit pronuba,
330 huic sit benigna et mitis aura, huic anchora,
tutela, portus, ara, praesidium, decus.
Isabella mater hanc quidem desideret,
sed prospere agere, sed beate viuere
inter potentes laeta populos audiat.
335 Hanc Eduardus frater aereis potens
visat cateruis, dum manu inuicta truces
Turcas adibit, aut redibit laureis
cinctus coronis. Omnium haec suspiriis
vt nunc recedit, omnium sic plausibus
340 excepta in oris sic triumphet Belgicis

322 Nereides] Nercides **329** pronuba,] pro nuba

331 portus] prortus **333** beate] beare

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ac post in Italis. Vota quae pro virgine
 facimus beata, pro beato principe
 sponsoque facim<us>. Cui<us> vt formae decor
 est similis astris nocte candicantibus,
 345 sic summa virtus clara tanget sydera
 [f. 48 v] auique famam aequabit altam Caroli.
 Vt rebus ille bellicis, vt gloria
 late micabit par auo illustrissimo,
 pietate vera sic auo ille antistiti
 350 rerum sacrarum maximo similis erit:
 Farnesiorum gloriam in coelum vehet.
 Cuncta ergo fausta, cuncta nos felicia
 optamus illi, cuncta foecundet Deus:
 vbi sponsus ergo candidos bellus pedes,
 355 vbi bella plantas sponsa collocauerit,
 fiant virentes violae, et hiacinthi et rosae,
 fiantque thimi sarta, fiant lilia,
 fiatque mirtus dedicata Cypriae.
 Tellus odores pulsa spiret Indicos.
 360 Cedant molesta cuncta, cedant nubila,

343 facim<us>. Cui<us>] *add. con.* Facim .

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procul recedat noctis obscurae chaos,
lux clara ab alto semper illis fulgeat,
sint cuncta laeta, cuncta sint felicia,
haec ista claris vocibus proceres iuuent,
365 iuuetque populus. Inter omnes maxime
Catarina magnis procreata regibus,
Regina regum mater, et regum soror,
auiaque Regis maximi ac pulcherrimi,
summisque clara dotibus matertera,
[f. 49 r] 370 illa illis magnis expetita regibus,
qua nullus vsquam est dignus inuentus tamen,
iuuetque patruus ille florentissimus,
Henricus ille, gentis Hispanae decus,
cui veluti Athlanti incumbit ingens sarcina
375 nec ipse magnus ferre quam potest Athlas,
Sebastianus, cuius aetas florida est
et pauculi anni, summa sed maturitas,
qualis fuisse nunquam in illa creditur
aetate visu, quae in dies crescit magis.

374 Athlanti] Athlanci **375** Athlas,] Athalas

375 nec ipse magnus] *del. met.* nec ipse {te} magnus

376 Sebastianus, cuius] *del. met.* Sebastianus, {ille} cuius

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380 Has clarus aether nuptias, has florida
 tellus secundet, has maris vasti aequora.
 His cuncta spirent, ac benigne consulant.
 Sed maxime ille maximus rerum parens,
 est qui bonorum fons perennis omnium,
 385 qui primus animos stabili amore coniugum
 deuinxit, ille fausta promat omnia,
 et longum in aeuum vinculo firmo liget.
 Perpetua et illos vinciat concordia,
 veroque amore vt alere possint liberos,
 390 possint nepotes patribus dignos suis.

Finis.

380 has] hos **383** maxime] maximi **384** perennis] parennis

*Epithalamium in praise of the wedding of Alessandro and Maria,
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[f. 41 r]

1 Why, if she was born of royal blood, and is refined by a royal spirit,
and royal virtues, and all sorts of royal gifts, o great Henrique, honour
5 of this most great kingdom, and its firm pillar, by which the hope of all
of us is sustained, and fears none of the assaults which harsh chance
brings in adverse times, why shall we not at this point link your niece to
the royal work, your niece, the most illustrious daughter of the great
10 Duarte, to whom you were left in place of her most excellent father?
Why shall not we sing the wedding song to the sound of the nuptial
flute? Though its melody may sound unpleasant, and its tone may not
flow sufficiently softly, coarse as it is - it is already aged and rough as
15 our advanced years demand -, it will nonetheless sound agreeable to the

[f. 41 v] ears of almost all the nations which Christ redeemed from the dark jaws
20 of hell and freed with His blood. For two great princes renowned for
their royal splendour are celebrated, compared to whom Phoebus cannot
perceive anything more pre-eminent in the entire world. Why then shall
we not sing of the royal maiden whom you love with fatherly affection?
25 Why shall not we insert among these minor works a minor sacred work
full of the words of God, which we fearfully dedicate to you?

God Himself, Creator of the world and of all things, after He had
created, out of nothing, this wonderful machine, this prodigious work
30 worthy of its maker, both ordered that His likeness be present in all
things, and wished the sky above to shine with a blazing light, and the
earth to bear the alternation of dark night, and to remain in equilibrium
with its own weight, and to continue firmly fixed according to its

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35 principles, as well as those four elements, firm and reliable, even
though they resist. And He ordered the day to be lit by the white light of
the sun itself which shines far and wide, to give fixed space to the dark
40 night, and Phoebus and his sister Phoebe to take turns in feeding the
[f. 42 r] human race and all things bound together by mutual love: she with the
abundant dew fallen during the moist night, and he with friendly,
agreeable warm nourishment. As a result of this, the nourishing earth
brings forth its fruits, and from her abundant bosom sends joyful
45 flowers to the young tender grass as well as plentiful fruits.

After that supreme Maker of the world had adorned these things
with utmost splendour, and created the animals of the earth and the
50 birds of manifold colours and the fish which dwell in the vast ocean, He
made Man in His own image, male and female, to whom He subdued
all creatures, and gave the highest power. He united both of them by a
closer bond, He joined them in one flesh, so that they would both live in
55 one spirit and in one mind forever. And just as the woman was born
from the man's rib, from the male's bones, in like manner they should
both have one flesh, mind, reason, virtue, love, and the same body,
which nonetheless is separated so that each side carries out its
60 obligations: men to embrace manly duties, and women to execute their
tasks, and this mortal race to grow in the number of its descendants, and
[f. 42 v] not only to renew itself, but also to expand itself even more widely. And
65 there is to be one mind, one heart, one flesh, and one will, and finally
one marriage bed.

Therefore, that which the supreme Father of the heavenly creatures
ordered, that which God Himself established by means of an eternal

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law, that which He united with a most steadfast bond, that which He
 70 bound with most strait knots, which no human force was to draw
 asunder, and that authority, so ancient, so noble and the first sacrament
 instituted by God Himself, supreme Father of things, why shall not I, a
 75 priest and an old man, sing of it to the refined ears of the most virtuous
 cardinal, if Christ Himself, our hope, salvation, glory, and true son of
 God, and true God, wished the first miracle He worked on earth to be
 80 performed precisely at a wedding, and did not refuse to attend that
 crowded feast? Why shall not we follow these illustrious footsteps,
 which have been set in the earth?

It is not that human weakness can bring forth miracles, but the
 events which that ruler of all things and true Father honoured with His
 85 presence, let us sing of them in our poems, let us harmoniously
 celebrate the royal nuptials to the sound of our gentle flute, and with a
 [f. 43 r] joyful song let us unfold the joyful games of the Cupids, such as holy
 90 decency approves: joyful things are agreeable to the saints, and true
 piety is not accustomed to hide its face in the cloudy night. So, let us fill
 the bright sky, shining with brilliant stars, with prayers and with a pious
 95 song, so that a divine spirit favours these nuptials and Christ protects
 the sacred wedlock. Let us offer Him our prayers with a humble heart,
 let us offer sacred vows to the sacred God, gentle songs, sweet
 100 melodies. God never refuses the prayers of a supplicant, nor does He, in
 his great kindness, spurn a sweet poem, He Who is pleased by the song
 which flows from the lips of poets. He asks for a humble heart, an
 immaculate heart, a pure heart, a heart free from filth. With such a
 105 heart, let us pray to the eternal Father of heavenly things, may the

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agreeable lyre sound harmoniously with the resounding plectrum, and
with a soft song may it entreat the most excellent God, to make these
nuptials entirely happy, to make them perennial, insoluble, filled with
110 love, peace and harmony, to make them tranquil and enriched by all
[f. 43 v] good things, to make them agreeable, without gloominess,
grievousness, bitterness, harshness. May there be no complaint, quarrel,
115 dispute, fear, suffering: may these be gone from such blessed nuptials.
May all things be pleasing, joyful, friendly, gentle, peaceful, quiet,
moderate, sweet. May happiness, playfulness, rejoicing, sport, laughter,
120 bliss be present, and harmony. Finally, may God, Lord of the earth and
heaven, be present here, that most liberal bestower of all things, so that
He may bind them both as one, so that one mind may rule and foster
both of them: may they be identical in their wishes and aversions.

125 And may they beget children equal to their illustrious fathers and
forefathers, nor could I dare to wish for greater things in my utmost
wishes. If someone is allowed to reach the highest step, he will not be
permitted to go any higher. If one's renowned fathers reached the
130 summit, nothing will be more prestigious for their children than to stand
in that step. May they govern the people under their rule with supreme
justice, and remove others from the Turkish enemy with their strong
right hand, and may they expand Christ's religion with their courage
135 and with their wisdom, as generally happened in the past to their
[f. 44 r] illustrious forefathers and pious ancestors against strong enemies: never
defeated in war, these routed savage troops. May their strong hand
140 wield their sceptre over things, and not incline to either side. May
invincible constancy stand forever firm in their hearts. May fixed

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rewards be set for what is honest, punishment for vice. May they do
 nothing out of blind passion, nor hate, or evil fury which evilly
 145 deliberates. May virtue be the measure of correct action, may virtue
 itself be the goal, may the sacred reverence for God be held in the
 highest honour, and the holy keeping of the sacred laws too. As parents
 love their children as beloved tokens, may they likewise love their
 people. And may the people keep the princes in their eyes and
 150 understand that they owe everything to them: may they account to their
 credit their honours, life, wealth, fame, glory. In them, however, let no
 haughtiness arise, but rather modesty. So, may they not be elated by the
 155 applause of the people, and similarly may no fear drive their mind,
 which cannot be moved, unbroken by the assault of the raging wind,
 like a rock buffeted by giant waves which continuously come on this
 [f. 44v] side and that.

160 This we beseech: God, hear these prayers with a benign ear, fulfil
 these wishes of ours. The muse sings this song of ours as the plectrum
 plays, these melodies devoid of artifice. I pray for this with simple
 165 words: neither does it please me nor perhaps can I, a simple man, seek
 other tints for holy subject-matter. May all artifice be banished from
 here, away all fine attires, and braided hair, and excessive elegance
 made beautiful by curling irons: to the learned poets whom Italy
 nurtures we leave such things.

170 Here is the opulent Parma, there Piacenza powerful in arms and
 wealth, and Naples famous for her poets, and Mantua renowned for that
 pupil to whom great Greece does not refuse to yield. They will carry
 their songs up to the stars above, among them a poet will be inflamed

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175 by the Delphic frenzy, and he will make his melodies rise even higher
towards the constellations, rousing the god who is the father of nuptials,
who will summon the assembly of all the gods. Then, he will sing such
180 blessed and befitting nuptials, and he will celebrate them with his
[f. 45 r] Muses: ‘Here, most fair Hymen, Hymen Hymeneus, here Hymen’ will
be repeated, ‘Io,’ will express the sweet joy of the joyful, ‘Io’ repeated
185 a thousand times, will cast out all sorrows from the soul. When the
elegant poet of the gods has seen the happy crowd of the gods
assembled together, he will describe the magnificent court of the great
Jove, and he will paint the throne where he will sit, glittering with many
190 different emeralds, and he will place in order the gods and goddesses:
the first shall be Juno, haughty in her great pride, Pallas radiant in her
arts, goddess born from Jove’s brain and mighty in arms, and the
mother of the Cupids, radiant with her beaming face, will sit next to her.
195 Here Phoebus will be present, lit with golden splendour, accompanied
by the nine Sisters, and Liber crowned in ivy, as well as the beautiful
Youth whose blossoming age does not grow old with the passing of
time. There the son of Maia, with rosy lips, bearing the caduceus in his
200 right hand, with winged sandals on his feet. They took their seats,
happily, the son of the Cyprian mother was the only one unable to find
one place for himself. From his shoulder hangs the quiver and the ivory
bow heavy with arrows, adorned with gold and gems, looking bright on
205 the outside, but on the inside concealing an incurable poison: as he
[f. 45 v] moves his tender body, he diffuses pleasing fragrances. The Graces will
follow him with even steps. After the other gods have taken their seats,
210 Jove will then briefly speak from his royal throne:

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‘– The joyful Hymen earnestly insisted and requested that I should
summon all of you here at the same time, so that in your presence he
could say a few words, which he claims are of the greatest importance.
215 To see you here is gratifying for me, and certainly nothing else can be
more gratifying. Now let Hymen tell us what reason has compelled him
to request that the assembly be summoned.’

Hymen raises up his eyes more beautiful than bright stars, and, just
220 as if requesting permission, he thus speaks with befitting grace:

‘– I wished long ago, Jove, father of the gods, that this most worthy
assembly should gather here. The agreeable words that I shall say to
you, for I believe they will be so, I wish I had been allowed to utter
225 them in this assembly at that time, but a great number of obstacles
related to this matter hindered me. Now this is possible thanks to
everybody’s favour, so I predict that the outcome of this matter will be
[f. 46 r] propitious. For this reason, hear our words with a benign ear.

230 Among the Iberian people which the proud Tagus bathes with its
golden sands and great wealth, and where Phoebus enjoys rest when his
horses are tired after a long journey, there is a famous niece of kings in
235 the royal court, adorned with all grace and honour, a renowned princess
superior to all praise, whose younger sister, Catarina, has already been
given in marriage to the Duke of Braganza. In this maiden I perceive –
to my amazement! - the great many gifts in which she powerfully
240 distinguishes herself. She must be found a husband equal to her in all
respects: he should be admired for his wealth, birth, fame, grace, and he
should be a great prince worthy of a royal throne. Yet, although I
solicitously turned my eyes around over the vast orb, searching

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245 everything, and I looked far and wide with a sharp and vigilant eye, I
could not find anyone equal to her. But you who care for mortals, who
hold chaste nuptial beds and the maidens' modesty in esteem, now
assist me. Her youth and vigour of mind are in bloom, she is already of
250 an age to marry, but in her mind she contemplates nothing of such kind.
Aware of this, her mother, Isabel, mother of the royal court (we can call
her by such a name), holy lady, is worthy of your grace, of your favour,
255 she whose supreme glory cannot be augmented by my praise in any
way, nor is it necessary that I should say anything here before you,
since she is more known to you than to me myself: men's great virtue is
260 especially known to the gods. It is fitting that you should give her
daughter in marriage.'

At this point, Phoebus with his radiant face replied:

'– This young maiden born from royal blood, who seems to cause
you much concern, belongs entirely to us, we have joined her to the
265 group of the nine Sisters, so that you can now rightly count ten Muses.
To her the nine who sit here by me have already given the first place
with great delight.'

At this, they all equally nodded in assent, and of their own accord
270 presented the maiden with the palm. The Graces smiled, and explained
at the same time before the assembly that there had been three of them,
but that they were now four, for they presented that maiden with the
first place. Then the ruler of heaven himself, covering his face with his
275 hand, smiled pleasantly, lifting his eyes to Cupid. He is not unaware of
[f. 47 r] what the mad boy has done.

'– Perhaps,' said the blind god, 'you have not perceived my supreme

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power. Do not despise the blind boy. I direct all my arrows straight
towards the hearts of lovers, and there is no man who would break free
280 from my fire, provided that it pleases me. I go victorious in the sky,
victorious on earth, victorious in the sea.’

His mother called him and tenderly kept him warm in her quiet
285 bosom, kissing him a thousand times with her rosy lips. Then, Jove,
speaking from his throne, revealed what was concealed:

‘– He whom you behold now lying back in his mother’s bosom
powerfully governs all things according to his judgement: he changes
290 everything by his wishes. With the tip of his arrow, he has pierced the
tender heart of the illustrious Alessandro who was born in Italic shores,
and now dwells in the cities of Iberia, and is the renowned nephew of
King Phillip. He now lies seriously wounded, and is eaten up by a
295 hidden fire and can no longer enjoy life, should such a beautiful maiden
be denied to him. This archer has pierced the maiden with the same
arrow. However, she hides the wound in silence, and out of chaste
[f. 47 v] decency conceals the secret affliction, but it spreads through her, and
300 cannot be hidden for long. For this reason, it is our wish that you all
favour these blessed nuptials, and that you honour them with supreme
affection. This is my decision.’

Now, the elegant poet of the gods shall unfold how much joy there
305 will be, now a thousand melodies, now a thousand songs shall he bring
forth, now Apollo shall sing clearly to the sound of the sweet lyre and
the sacred cithara, but both the nine Sisters and the bright Graces will
310 suppress the pain within their hearts in silence. Juno shall bless the
princess with countless riches, and Pallas with a steady heart and

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wisdom, and Venus shall adorn her with amazing beauty and wonderful
grace, the grandson of Atlas shall fortify her lively spirit with
315 eloquence, the Graces and Pitho herself shall confer supreme charm
upon her face. Everybody will offer her something and he who has the
power to bestow all things with his generous hand shall present her with
a profusion of all things. Our poet shall go fluently from them to other
320 matters in a pleasant transition, and he shall be careful to omit nothing.
When the ship crosses the deep sea whilst heading to the cities of
[f. 48 r] Belgium, the Nereids shall sing and the joyful Triton shall compose
joyful songs.

325 But let us leave this to other poets, who are pleased by the fictions of
the ancient poets, who are in the flower of their youth, and whose blood
thrives in their hearts, and, according to our usage, let us pray to Mary
330 that all things be favourable. May the illustrious Virgin of virgins and
mother, Mary, assist her, may she be her matron of honour, may she be
to her a favourable and gentle breeze, to her an anchor, safeguard,
haven, altar, shelter, honour. May her mother Isabel yearn for her, yet
may she learn with joy that she lives blessedly and prosperously
335 amongst powerful nations. May her brother Duarte go and visit her
mighty with his troops clad in bronze, when he assails the fierce Turks
with his invincible hand, or when he returns crowned with a laurel
crown. Just as she now departs to the sound of everybody's sighs, so
may she triumph on the shores of Belgium when she is received to the
340 sound of everybody's applause, and afterwards on those of Italy. The
wishes we make for the blessed maiden, we make them for the blessed
prince who is betrothed to her. Just as the elegance of his appearance is

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similar to the stars which shine in the night, so his supreme virtue shall
 345 reach the bright constellations, and will equal the great fame of his
 [f. 48 v] grandfather Charles. Just as he shall shine everywhere with brilliance
 equal to that of his most illustrious grandfather for his military
 achievements, for his glory, so shall he be similar in his true piety to his
 350 grandfather the Cardinal, supreme in sacred matters: he shall carry the
 glory of the Farnese high up in the skies. Therefore, we wish everything
 to be favourable, everything to be happy for him, may God render
 everything fruitful: so where the handsome groom sets his bright feet,
 355 where the beautiful bride sets hers, may there be verdant violets, and
 hyacinths and roses, and may there be wreaths of thyme, may there be
 lilies, may there be myrtle consecrated to Cypria. May the earth when it
 is struck exhale Indian fragrances. May all grievousness be gone, may
 360 the clouds be gone, may the chaos of the dark night go far away, may a
 bright light shine forever on them from above. May everything be
 joyful, may everything be happy, may the noblemen assist in this with
 365 their clear voices, and also the people.

Amongst them all especially may Catarina born of great kings,
 [f. 49 r] queen, mother of kings, and a sister of kings, and grandmother of the
 370 supreme and most handsome king, and that aunt illustrious for her
 supreme gifts, she whose hand has been requested by those great kings,
 yet of whom none anywhere has been found to be worthy, and may that
 most distinguished uncle, that Henrique, honour of the people of
 Hispania, assist in this, upon whom, like Atlas, weighs a huge burden
 375 which not even the great Atlas can bear, and may Sebastião too, he who
 despite being in the bloom of youth and of a very young age, shows the

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greatest maturity, of such kind which is never believed to have been
seen at that age, and grows more by the day.

380 May the bright sky favour these nuptials, may the blossoming earth,
may the calmness of the vast sea. May all things be favourable to them
and show them their benign care. But, above all, that supreme Father of
all things, Who is the perennial fountain of all which is good, Who was
385 the first to have joined the souls of the spouses with a steady love, may
He give all sorts of prosperity, and may He bind them for a long time
with an enduring bond. And may He unite them with a perpetual
harmony and with true love, so that they may raise their children and
390 their grandchildren to be worthy of their parents.

The end.

V. 6 Commentary

1 – 26: note the construction of this section of the text, structured in a sequence of interrogative sentences introduced by *cur* (1, 8, 11, 22, 24). Teive justifies the appropriateness of nuptial poetry, emphasizing, first, that the subject-matter – the marriage of a member of the royal family – suits his priestly status.

1: regio operi i.e. the *Epodon libri tres*, because dedicated to a member of the royal family.

4 – 7: Teive's words are not an exaggeration, as the Cardinal was at the time the only surviving male son of King Manuel's thirteen children. Moreover, having replaced Queen Catherine as regent in 1562, he was simultaneously Archbishop of Lisbon and General Inquisitor at the time of the marriage. Teive addresses the dedicatee of the poem, *magne Henrice* occupying an important position in the line.

6: fulcita the participle is not found in classical authors, and it is also rare in Christian ones (the earliest use attested in Cass. *Var.* 11. praef.).

8: hic the *Epithalamium* is the last poem to be dedicated to the Cardinal and to members of his ecclesiastical entourage in book III of the *Epodon libri tres*.

8 – 10: Princess Maria was the daughter of Prince Duarte (1515 – 1540), the sixth son of King Manuel and Duke of Guimarães, who had died when the Princess was just two years of age.

12: modulamine the noun is to be found only in Christian authors (e.g. Paul. Nol. *C.* 6. 20), with the exception of Aul. Gell. 1.7.19.

14 – 15: Teive was then 51 or 52 years old.

15 – 16: The marriage of Princess Maria and Alessandro Farnese, due to the important family connection of the couple, was an important political occasion, which certainly attracted the interest of the European elites. Teive alludes to the potentially vast audience of his poem, given that it was composed in Latin.

16 – 18: confirming the hymnal mode of this passage, Teive uses phraseology which he also used in some of the hymns of book II: cf. Hymn to Vicent of Saragossa, patron of Lisbon, ff. 134v – 135r: 'vt sanguine suo ab inferorum faucibus/ nos liberaret', and cf. Hymn to

Jesus, f. 112v: 'suo quod ille,/et morte crudelissima,/te liberauit faucibus/ nigrantis Orci'.

- 23: paterna caritate** is found exclusively in Christian authors (e.g. Pet. Chrys. *Serm.* 24. 5).
- 24: opuscula** Teive's (conventional) modesty is evident here, in contrast with the bolder opening of the poem, where the *Epodon libri tres* is referred as a 'regium opus'.
- 25: opuscula sacra plena vocibus Dei** Teive draws attention to the doctrinal content of his poem. Note the word-division after the second short of the tribrach in the second foot.
- 26: timidula mente** i.e. 'timidule'. The adjective 'timidulus' is not found in classical or medieval authors. Calvin uses it in his *Inst.* 3.9.5 ('timidulis animis'), a forbidden book in Portugal which Teive possessed, according to his 'processo' (see the Introduction). The adverb 'timidule' on the other hand can only be found in Apul. *Met.* 4.8.
- 27:** the paraphrase of *Vulg.* Gen.1 corresponding to the Creation of the World begins here.
- 33 – 36:** Teive may have had in mind Ovid *Met.* 15. 239 – 45.
- 43: blandulo** the diminutive form of this adjective is very rarely used (*Hist. Aug.* 25.9 [= quotation of a poem by Emperor Hadrian, incipit: 'animula vagula blandula'], and the humanists Naldo Naldi *Eleg.* 1.6.7 and du Bellay *Poem.* 3.22.3).
- 49: pictas volucres** cf. Verg. *G.* 3. 243, where 'pictaeque volucres' is used in a similar context.
- 50 – 52:** Teive is drawing from *Vulg.* Gen. 2.21 – 23.
- 53: arctiori vinculo** this expression is only found in the works of Christian authors, e.g. Augustine and Jerome. **nexuit** the perfect is used only in the works of post-Classical and Christian authors.
- 54 – 55:** paraphrase of *Vulg.* Mt. 19.6.
- 56 – 58:** confirming Teive's avoidance of Biblical quotations, compare these lines with the text of the *Vulg.* Gen. 2.23.
- 56: costa** there are no instances of the word in Classical and post-Classical authors. 'costa' is, however, frequently used by Christian authors (the earliest is Tert. *Ad vx.* 1.2), namely in the same context of the Creation of Adam and Eve.
- 60 – 62:** God ascribed different functions to both man and woman at the moment of Creation. Woman was Man's equal helper (Gen. 2.18), whereas the Man should work and be responsible for the Garden (Gen. 2.15).

- 63 – 64:** Woman's role as mother (Gen. 3.20) is here alluded by Teive.
- 67 – 70:** the anaphoric construction highlights the doctrinal message Teive conveys in his poem.
 'Quod' is direct object of 'concinam' (l. 75).
- 69 – 71:** 'amplificatio' of the text of the *Vulg.* Mt. 19.6 and Mc. 10. 9: 'Quod ergo Deus coniunxit, homo non separet'.
- 70: nodis ... strinxit** this construction is found only in Christian authors (e.g. Amb. *De virg.* 3. 7. 35).
- 71:** the line has no caesura.
- 76: teretes ad aures concinam** note the non-Classical construction of the verb with the preposition.
- 77 – 81:** allusion to the Biblical episode of the marriage at Cana, cf. *Vulg.* Io. 2.1 – 10.
- 78: Deique verus natus, et verus Deus** paraphrase of an important doctrinal passage of the *Professio fidei Tridentina*: 'Deus verum de Deo vero genitum, non factum'.
- 84: humana... imbecillitas** this is found only in Christian authors. Note that the double short of the tribrach in the third foot is broken by word-division.
- 86:** the line is lacking a caesura.
- 94: oneremus ... precibus** yet another occasion where the construction is only found in Christian authors. **cantu pio** cf. Prud. *Cath.* 2. 50.
- 101: perbenignus** is very rarely used all together, the exception being Erasmus, who favours the adverb *perbenigne*, which is also found in Ter. *Ad.* 702.
- 108 – 119:** Teive most likely had in mind *Vulg.* Col. 3.12 – 17 and 1 Pt. 3. 8 – 9.
- 133 – 37:** Teive is referring to Maria's uncle, Prince Luis, and to Alessandro's grandfather, Charles V. Both the Emperor and the Portuguese Prince fought together at Tuniz (1535), and achieved a strategic and much celebrated victory over the forces of Barbarossa, who was acting under Suleiman's orders.
- 137: Marte** Mars, here in a metaphorical sense, 'war'.
- 143:** note the word division after the second short of the tribrach in the fourth foot.
- 146:** this is the one occasion in the poem where the two short syllables of the opening anapaest are broken by word-division.

- 163: simplici oro voce** Teive portrays himself as the suppliant and devout believer, as other authors of hymns do, e.g. Prud. *Cath.* 2. 49 – 52: ‘Te mente pura et simplici/ te voce, te cantu pio/ rogare curuato genu/ flendo et canendo discimus.’
- 168:** word division occurs after the second short of the dactyl in the first foot.
- 174:** the double short of the tribrach in the fourth foot is broken by word-division.
- 190 – 202:** Teive uses Latin and Greek forms of the names of gods and goddesses indifferently, most likely for metrical reasons. Allusions are not obscure: Teive mentions well-known genealogies, attributes and epithets.
- 193: mater Amorum** i.e. Venus.
- 197:** with the addition of *-que* the first foot of this line becomes a dactyl. An opening dactyl is occupied by a single word in 92, 118, 126, 142, 244 and 388. In 168, the same adjective is used in the opening dactyl: **pulchra calamistris**.
- 198 – 200:** allusion to Hermes, the son of Zeus and Maia, one of the Pleiades (Hes. *Theog.* 938ff.). Teive alludes to the messenger of the gods by referring to his attributes, the caduceus and his winged sandals.
- 201:** i.e. Cupid.
- 202:** note the word division after the second short of the tribrach in the second foot.
- 214:** Such praise of the audience in Jupiter’s opening speech is common in oratory, cf. e.g. the opening of Cic. *Man.* 1 ‘... mihi semper frequenter conspectus vester multo iucundissimo’.
- 221 – 226:** Teive is alluding to the long and painstaking negotiations leading up to the marriage of Princess Maria and Alessandro Farnese. See the Introduction.
- 231:** gold was found in the Tejo river, c.f. e.g. Catul. 29.19, Ov. *Met.* 2.251 and Juv. 14.299.
- 232:** note the word division after the second short of the tribrach in the fifth foot.
- 234: neptis** for metrical reasons.
- 236 – 238:** Princess Maria’s younger sister, Catarina (1540 – 1614), married into the house of Braganza in 1563. Her husband was João, 6th Duke of Braganza. After the death of King Sebastião in the battle of Ksar El Kebir (1578) and the political crisis which followed the death of Cardinal Henrique (who acted as regent once again until 1580), Catarina presented her claims to the throne (she was the granddaughter of King Manuel), but lost

her cause to Philip II.

249 – 250: Princess Maria was 27 years in 1565. Teive uses a conventional phrase ('matura iam viro') which does not apply to the Portuguese Princess, who was older than her husband (cf. Introduction). See Verg. *A.* 7. 53, where 'iam matura viro' refers to the young Lavinia.

250: the line is lacking a caesura.

251: Princess Maria's mother was Isabel of Braganza (1514 – 1576), who was the daughter of Jaime of Braganza and Leonor de Mendonça. Her marriage to the Duke of Braganza in 1537 was celebrated by Manuel da Costa in an epithalamium (see Chapter 3. 1). The piety of the female members of the royal household was renowned. After her marriage, Princess Maria devoted herself to pious works. See Andretta (1999), Carvalho (1999), and Rusconi (1999).

278: the double short of the tribrach in the fourth foot is broken by word-division.

288: note the word division after the second short of the tribrach in the first foot.

289: word division occurs after the second short of the dactyl in the first foot.

290 – 293: the first mention of Alessandro Farnese in the poem, but Teive makes no reference to his illegitimate parents.

294: caeco et igni carpitur cf. Verg. *A.* 4.2 'et caeco carpitur igni' (i.e. Dido). Note that the double short of the tribrach in the second foot is broken by word-division.

308 – 309: i.e. they lament the separation from Princess Maria, whom they regarded as one of themselves (see ll. 264 – 266 and ll. 270 – 272).

313 – 314: i.e. Hermes, whose epithet 'Logios' celebrates him as the god of eloquence and persuasion.

315: Pitho, one of the Graces, is identified with Persuasion.

317 – 318: i.e. the father of the gods, Jupiter.

329: pronuba reverting to the hymnal mode, Teive replaces 'Iuno pronuba' with the Virgin Mary, who is to act as matron of honour and protect the Portuguese Princess on her sea voyage to Brussels.

331: confirming the hymnal mode of this passage, Teive uses phraseology which he also used in some of the hymns of book II: cf. Hymn to the Virgin Mary, f. 125r where the Mother of

God is hailed as ‘omnium ... *praesidium decusque*/ ... *populorum*’.

- 335 – 338:** Prince Duarte (1541 – 1576) was Princess Maria’s youngest sibling and 5th Duke of Guimarães. In 1555, King João III appointed him 10th Condestável of Portugal, the highest military office in the Portuguese Empire, second only to the King. A member of the council of state, he enjoyed a very high status at court. At the time of the royal marriage, Prince Duarte was one of the only three legitimate male descendants of King Manuel I (the others being Cardinal Henrique and the heir, Prince Sebastião).
- 338 – 341:** the farewell to Princess Maria was emotional according to sixteenth-century sources. See Ferreira’s ‘Epitalâmio’, ll. 297 – 312, Andrade Caminha’s ‘Epitalâmio’, ll. 521 – 36, and Luís Pereira’s epic *Elegíada*, canto II. 82 – 85 (for a discussion of this work, and in particular the stanzas celebrating the marriage of the Princess to Alessandro Farnese, see Alves, 1999: 65 – 67). The marriage was lavishly celebrated in Brussels upon the arrival of Princess Maria (Bertini, 1997) and her arrival in the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza in May 1566 (when already expecting her first child) equally magnificent (see Bertini, 1999).
- 346:** i.e. the Emperor Charles V (1500 – 1558), Alessandro’s grandfather.
- 349 – 350:** i.e. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1468 – 1549), who became Pope Paul III in 1534.
- 369 – 371:** i.e. Princess Maria of Portugal (1521 – 1577). Famous for her culture, the last child of King Manuel and his third wife, Leonor of Austria, she was one of the richest European princesses of her time. Should she have married, her dowry would have resulted in a significant loss for the Portuguese crown. Accordingly, despite many marriage proposals from different European kings, Maria never married (Costa Ramalho, 1988, 1997). Instead, she dedicated herself to pious works and to cultural patronage (Michäelis, 1902; Pinto, 1998).
- 374 – 375:** The Titan Atlas was the son of Iapetus and the sea-nymph Clymene. He was condemned to carry the weight of the sky upon his shoulders as punishment for his involvement in the struggle between the gods and the giants (Hes. *Theog.* 507ff.).
- 375:** the deletion of **te** required, both for syntactical and metrical reasons. The second foot of the line is now occupied by an iambus: ‘nec *ipse* magnus ferre quam potest Athlas’.

376: the deletion of the pronoun **ille** required for metrical reasons. The third foot of the line is now occupied by a spondee (*Sebastianus, cuius aetas florida est*'), and **Sebastianus** precedes the penthemimeral caesura.

389 – 390: despite having already wished for children to be born from the marriage in ll. 124 – 25, Teive ends his poem by conventionally wishing for offspring at the close of the poem, similarly to *Catul.* 61.216ff., *Stat. Silv.* 1.2.266ff. and *Claud.* 10.340 – 41.

Conclusions and Further Research

Exploring Diogo de Teive's *Epithalamium* and the *Epodon libri tres* has led to a broader discussion of his humanism and to the transformations which his generation of intellectuals experienced between the late 1540s and mid 1560s in Counter-Reformation Portugal. This thesis sought to illuminate these aspects by examining the later and mature work of this Portuguese humanist which has not yet attracted the attention of scholars.

Chapter One established the grounds for the understanding of the composite character of Teive's *Epithalamium* and *Epodon libri tres* by looking back to the author's intellectual background and literary career. This exploration focused not so much on his early years, his return to Portugal and dealings with the Inquisition, but rather on the subsequent and hitherto unexplored development of Teive's career.

So far, Teive has been seen above all as the humanist condemned by the Inquisition, the heterodox author who, according to Bigalli, was marginalised in the provincial priory of Vila Chã in Miranda do Douro. I have challenged this image in different ways, and instead argued that by the mid 1560s Teive had reached editorial success and regained an important status at court. This thesis has shown that Teive, who had made his *début* as a prose writer with the *Commentarius* (1548), later reinvented himself with the publication of the *Opuscula* (1558), and finally confirmed his status as a court poet in the *Epodon libri tres* (1565). By the end of the analysis into Teive's career and publications, we are left with someone who cannot be considered a marginalised intellectual. I have also demonstrated that Teive sought to carve his own space and identity in the neo-Latin literary scene in Portugal, and that his mastery of Latin proved crucial in his reinvention as a court poet.

The analysis of the transformations in Teive's career has also been set against the broader Portuguese context. The changing patterns of literary patronage had a decisive impact in Teive's work, and the growing interest in moral and religious themes observed in Teive's publications is an excellent example of the general tendencies of cultural

production of this period, which were decisively influenced by orthodoxy.

With regard to the study of Teive's literary career, future research should focus on the recuperation of the neo-Latin texts which Teive left in manuscript form before his death. Proof that Teive was sincere when he speaks of his impending publication projects in his prologue to Julián de Alba are the texts which have come to light in the course of this dissertation. The search for the odes, epistles and epitaphs of which Teive speaks in the *Epodon libri tres* must be pursued, and is a promising avenue of future research.

Chapter Two made a contribution to the study of the reception of Horace and literary theory in sixteenth-century Portugal. The presence of Horace amongst canonical vernacular authors such as Sá de Miranda and António Ferreira has been studied, but a thorough and complete examination has yet to be made regarding neo-Latin authors. Part One of 'Imitatio and Mimesis in the *Epodon libri tres*' attempted to address this gap, by studying Teive's imitation of Horace in the compilation of 1565. My analysis has shown that formal imitation of Horatian lyric metres, imitation of content, and, finally, allusion to different works by Horace in the *Epodon libri tres* amount to a consistent self-representation of Teive's authorial persona, which is in tune with the expurgated reading of the Latin poet in Counter-Reformation Europe. The image of Catholic poet in the *Epodon libri tres* owes much to the 'aemulatio' of Prudentius, both at a formal and content level. Teive's rewriting of the *Peristephanon* in book II of his compilation is an excellent example of this. Also, in the prologue of book III he proceeds to a radical interpretation of the general precepts of Horace's *Ars Poetica*, especially the purpose of literature, openly professing that aesthetic pleasure should be subordinated to moral edification and concerns. His rhetorical strategies, at work both in this prologue and in the *Epithalamium*, are frequently used by Christian authors and emphasize the value of subject-matter of Christian and religious inspiration against the sophistication of form and the 'deliramenta' which Teive attributes to Horace in the prologue, and to Classical writers and Portuguese Italianate poets in the *Epithalamium*.

The analysis of the *Epodon libri tres* and the *Epithalamium* has highlighted how any further research into the reception of classical, medieval and neo-Latin authors amongst

Portuguese sixteenth-century intellectuals should go far beyond the scrutiny of texts in search for verbal borrowings. The creative intertextual relationships which Teive establishes in the *Epodon libri tres* with Horace and its implications for the study of literary imitation and literary theory testify to a more complex engagement with Classical tradition in post-Tridentine Portugal (especially within the circles directly linked to royal patronage). The historical and cultural changes experienced by humanists living in the pivotal period between the 1540s and the 1560s certainly imposed subtle constraints, and the process of adaptation to the new ideological order was not certainly without its tensions and ambiguities, as Teive's rewriting of Horace's *Epodi* as a collection of didactic, religious and occasional poetry shows.

The study of literary theory must not be restricted to the study of literary treatises, as my analysis of the prologue of book III of the *Epodon libri tres* has demonstrated. The same can be applied to the study of literary criticism. The discussion of the concept of 'mimesis' in this work of Diogo de Teive has revealed the particular interest of the author in questions of literary representation. Teive shows an acute awareness of the limitations of language as a means of 'mimesis', and openly relies on his audience to take on an active role in the reading of the text and in the creation of meaning.

My discussion of imitation in the *Epodon libri tres* was necessarily limited by the fact that no thorough study on Ciceronianism in Portugal has yet appeared. I have argued that Teive shared Erasmus's stance and viewed the Classical tradition as a creative stimulus to be independently and innovatively furthered, and this can be seen in the *Epithalamium*. Teive experiments within well-established generic conventions validated by literary tradition, and successfully makes use of these conventions to portray himself as a Catholic priest, a court poet and an advisor of kings.

A study of Ciceronianism in the work of Diogo de Teive should draw from the conclusions here summarised with regard to the author's poetry, but expand them by shedding light on linguistic innovation, on perceptions and attitudes towards literary tradition and genres other than the epithalamium. Particularly important to such an investigation would be to revisit Teive's original *Ioannes Princeps*, which has been

regarded as a dull play. This was the first attempt to stage a contemporary historical event in the history of Portuguese drama. The long defence of the play which Teive embarks on in the prologue of the *Opuscula* (1558: ff. 2v – 3v), where it was published, is revealing of his anti-Ciceronian stance. Teive reacted to the events he witnessed in the political life of the court, and adapted them and shaped them into dramatic subject-matter and form according to his humanistic background. The discussion surrounding the nature of drama, especially the dispute over whether to favour old themes or innovation, took place all over Europe, and the fact that a humanist in a peripheral European country should opt for a contemporary historical occasion as the topic of the foundational moment of national historical drama in that country is bold. Teive's play merits a reinterpretation in this light.

If the *Epodon libri tres* are a fascinating compilation for the issues discussed in Chapter Two, Teive's *Epithalamium* of 1565 is equally interesting text for many reasons, namely its composite character and the underlying tension existing between some of the elements it contains. Chapter Three has brought this into sharper focus by analysing this poem from a generic perspective.

The brief overview of the epithalamic tradition in Portugal up to 1565 is the first so far attempted. Although necessarily tentative, as one would imagine that only few epithalamia made their way to publication, it opened the way to the understanding of Teive's poem. The comparative perspective adopted in this analysis enabled the identification of a textual allusion to the 'Epitalamio' by António Ferreira, as well as of the existence of tendencies in Teive's first nuptial poem of 1552 which were furthered in the *Epithalamium* of 1565.

Teive achieves a much deeper and complex level of originality than his contemporaries in this poem by including elements which pertain to other literary genres. The 'host genre', the epithalamium, is enriched by the creative interaction with the 'guest' genres, the didactic and the hymnal, which feature prominently in books I and II of the *Epodon libri tres*.

The interaction of the hymnal mode in the *Epithalamium* was explored in relation to the doctrinal content of the poem, which is, undoubtedly, one of its most striking features.

One other aspect to which this chapter paid special attention was the careful introduction of a mythological narrative in Teive's *Epithalamium*, certainly suggested to Teive by Ferreira's 'Epitalâmio'. The calculated use of textual strategies adopted by Teive enables the narrative to be seen as openly fictional, and testifies to the climate of intolerance towards anything but the strictest orthodoxy.

The study of occasional poetry is often seen as ancillary, a way of accessing historical information about important events. Notwithstanding the fact that this has had the positive effect of rescuing occasional texts from oblivion and even disappearance, this thesis adopted a very different approach to Teive's text: analysed from a generic point of view, the poem was interpreted as an example of the appropriation of occasional literature for the purpose of self-representation. The readers of the *Epithalamium* would not fail to note how the construction of the poet's persona is an extremely important element of the poem, something which is unique in the history of this genre in Portugal.

The didactic mode is perceivable in the *Epithalamium* in the 'allocutio sponsalis' where Teive offers his political advice to the Dukes of Parma. I have argued that in the *Epodon libri tres* Teive legitimized his status as an advisor of kings by establishing creative intertextual relations revealing of his humanistic background and stance. The *Sententiae* were inspired by Plutarch's *Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata* and the *Institutio* by Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani*. At a time when editions and translations of Plutarch showed the renewed interest in the author's work throughout Europe, Teive reworked the apophthegmatic tradition in his *Sententiae*. The way in which Teive engaged with Erasmus in his *Institutio Sebastiani Primi*, on the other hand, is representative of the reception of Erasmus in Portugal. I have argued that, despite the ideological démarche of the 1550s, the neo-Latin philological and pedagogic works by Erasmus continued to be accepted in Portugal, and that he was valued as an eloquent and elegant writer, and as a Christian political thinker. Our knowledge of didactic poetry in *Quinhentos* Portugal will certainly benefit from a critical edition and study of Teive's *Institutio* and *Sententiae*. The interesting Portuguese translation of these two works which accompanies the Latin text in the *Epodon libri tres* also merits critical analysis.

In the *Epithalamium* Teive condensed his views on good rule into fewer than thirty lines. The analysis of the political content of the *Epithalamium* was complemented by bringing into the discussion other works of the Portuguese author, principally the *Institutio* and the *Sententiae* included in the *Epodon libri tres*, where he had the opportunity to express his ideas on kingship in greater detail. The conclusions of this exploration suggest that Teive appears to avoid some polemical political issues in his writings, the exception being the future of the overseas empire. An example of the author's independent (if carefully laid out opinions) can be best seen in the appreciation of the economically beneficial presence in India, which should be maintained, and the call for a strategic military campaign in Morocco, aspects in which Teive shares the same views as Camões. Textual evidence contradicts the hypothesis that Teive may have supported a military campaign in Morocco either on the grounds of the ideal of crusade or as an end in itself. If in the *Epithalamium* and in the *Epodon libri tres* the rhetoric of spiritual antagonism against the Muslim enemy is present, it has more to do with the pressure which a man of his status at court may have felt to comply to the prevailing orthodox mainstream than with a wholehearted adherence to the ideal of crusade.

The issues explored in this thesis by no means exhaust the investigation into the later stage of Diogo de Teive's literary career. They constitute an essential first step towards a new appreciation of the work of this important Portuguese intellectual. Also, the cultural changes which Portuguese intellectuals witnessed between the 1540s and 1560s, and the way they reacted and adapted to those changes certainly merits further analysis. Hopefully, this thesis will stimulate future (and urgent) research.

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